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VOLUME II

THE ENGLISH PRIVATE SCHOOL 1830-1914,

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PRIVATE PREPARATORY SCHOOL

VOLUME II

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CHAPTER 9

THE ORIGINS, GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF

PREPARATORY SCHOOLS

"For, if the children of the poor be sent out to
 toil, and make money, as soon as they are capable
 of it, then the children of the rich are sent to
 preparatory schools, and boarding schools and
 schools of every description, until the public
 schools and the universities receive them."

Rev. Edward Irving, A.M.,
 Minister of the National Scotch Church,
 Regent's Square. The Last Days ...
 1828. Sermon IV.

Volume I has shown how, in the nineteenth century, private enterprise met various educational needs and how, in many cases, private schools had several functions in supplying these several needs, one of which was the preparation of boys for public schools. 'Preparatory School', in 1828, was a term used to describe not only schools educating young boys prior to their passing on to a public school, but also schools whose educational provision was a means to a different end. In this way the Rev. Edward Irving could allude to preparatory schools in the modern American sense i.e. preparatory for university, as well as for the public schools: and so in the nineteenth century, very many schools prepared boys both for public school, university and the professions.¹ Granted this ubiquity, the origins of the preparatory school became somewhat obscured: it is very difficult to point to any one school as the first preparatory school and, in so doing, to assume that at an early date it had within it, all the built-in assumptions of the modern preparatory school. Even where a

preparatory school took in young boys of a limited age range, preparing them for entry to public schools and possibly Her Majesty's Navy, (thus meeting the main criteria for definition of a preparatory school) such a school was but an individual quasi-preparatory school, a harbinger swallow presaging a summer of preparatory schools; however, it did not itself mark the beginning of that "summer" which began c. 1870 and therefore was not a part of it.² Whilst public schools continued to take boys of very tender years and whilst other private schools continued to have this function as well as others, the establishment of the concept of the English Preparatory School is in danger of being antedated.³ It is not till later in the century, when public schools ceased to take boys at an early age;⁴ when other schools ceased to include the preparation of boys for public schools as one of their functions; and when parents⁵ began to seek some protection for their sons of tender years, that it becomes possible to discern clearly what is meant by an English Preparatory School. By that time, several such schools, which form the subject of Chapter 10, had been in existence for some years.

Some private schools for the sons of gentlemen, even in the eighteenth century, served as preparatory schools to public schools: Smollett's Peregrine Pickle,⁶ for example, attended a school kept by a German Mr. Keystick before going on to Winchester. If this example is taken from fiction, it is likely Smollett's portrayal is based on some contemporary seminary. Certainly, at the time, the practice of separating young boys from older ones was adopted in some instances by the Roman Catholic Church in England. One early example of this was the school at Twyford in Hampshire which for a time was preparatory to Silkstead, a seventeenth century Roman Catholic foundation.⁷ Other early Catholic

'preparatory' schools were to be found at Sedgeley Park (1763) near Wolverhampton,⁸ Bornhem House Academy (1797) at Carshalton⁹ and Tudhoe Academy (1797) in County Durham.¹⁰

Christ's Hospital was one non-Catholic School which, early in the eighteenth century, made provision in Hertfordshire for the preparatory education of its future alumni, completely separate from the Senior School.¹¹ Gradually private quasi-preparatory schools were created to perform this function among which were to be counted the oldest existing preparatory schools. This raises the question, which of these schools is the oldest English preparatory school?¹²

Claims to this distinction have been made from time to time on behalf of both present day and long since defunct preparatory schools. Those schools for which claims have been made are: Hazelwood (1819); Cheam (1646); Twyford (1809); Laleham (1819); Windlesham House (1837) and Templegrove (1810). Eagle House (1820) is another very early one whilst Elstree (?) and Cordwalles¹³(?) are schools also of some antiquity whose foundation dates are unknown. Elstree, for example, was a well established school in 1848 under Dr. Bernhays, acting as a feeder to Harrow School, but there is some evidence for its existence in 1701.¹⁴ It now falls to examine these claims in turn and to estimate their validity notwithstanding the pre-emptive comment earlier concerning the danger of antedating the preparatory school.

The claim of J. Howard Brown¹⁵ that Hazelwood School, Edgbaston, was the first real preparatory school is not to be taken seriously. Apart from the fact that Hazelwood was the successor to Hill Top School founded in 1803, it is difficult to sustain any argument that this Chrestomathic school, established as an alternative to the education of the endowed

grammar school and supported by the Philosophical Radicals for this reason, should be regarded as a preparatory school for those very same public schools which the Benthamites attacked. Further, the school, although teaching the classics, had a commercial bias which made it more a preparation for the world of business.

The claim of Cheam, with by far the earliest foundation date, and its record of distinguished alumni who have gone on to Public Schools, would seem to be, at first sight, more soundly based; but although the school was flourishing in 1646¹⁶ in Cheam, and although it has had a fairly distinguished history with two very famous Headmasters, the Rev. William Gilpin (1752-1777) (Dr. Syntax), and Dr. Charles Mayo (1826-1846), the Pestalozzian pioneer, it was not a preparatory school till 1855 when the Rev. R. S. Tabor took over. He "decided only to have boys from eight to fourteen years old, and weeded out the elder boys, some of whom were twenty years of age."¹⁷ For this reason, Cheam, despite its antiquity and fame as a preparatory school, has to be discountenanced as being the first.

The official accolade for the first English Preparatory School was bestowed, by C. C. Cotterill¹⁸ in the Board of Education Special Report 1900,¹⁹ on Windlesham House School (1837). In so doing he created a second Arnoldian myth in which Arnold is seen as the architect of the English Preparatory School system.²⁰ Cotterill was in no doubt about Arnold's role in this; he wrote: "It was Arnold - Arnold almost alone - that brought them to birth."²¹ As Headmaster of Rugby School, Arnold discouraged the sending of boys before twelve years old and welcomed the taking over of the school²² by Lieutenant C. R. Malden, R.N. for young boys, as an aid to his (Arnold's) programme of reform for Rugby. In

one of his early sermons²³ Arnold had admitted that "the fact is indisputable, Public Schools are the very seats and nurseries of vice."²⁴ The institution of preparatory schools to look after younger boys would seem to be a necessity in Arnold's view and it is not surprising therefore, that following the recognition of the Special Report of 1900, G. H. Wilson,²⁵ in his official centenary history of Windlesham House, should declare that: "it was Arnold himself who stood sponsor to the first born of what has now grown into a huge family in Windlesham House."²⁶ In the early years most of the boys went to Rugby,²⁷ but if there were an early link between Rugby and Windlesham this gradually gave way to a much closer link with Harrow and Eton.²⁸ F. C. Pritchard in his thesis seems to accept this verdict of the Special Report in its recognition of Windlesham House as the first official preparatory school - whatever that may mean. It is difficult to appreciate why Windlesham House, because of its early links with Arnold should be regarded as any more 'official' than earlier schools which had close links with other public schools e.g. Elstree with Harrow and Temple Grove with Eton. It would seem that if there were schools of an earlier date than 1837 which catered exclusively for young boys, it is among these that the 'first English Preparatory School' is to be found.

Arnold's own school at Laleham which he shared with his brother-in-law, the Rev. John Buckland, was a school of an earlier date, founded in 1819. Buckland looked after the younger boys and continued the school after Arnold became Headmaster of Rugby. On these grounds, Norman Wymer makes the extravagant claim that John Buckland was the "Father of the English Preparatory School."²⁹ This judgment fails to take into account that Buckland's younger boys were the junior section of an all age school in

which Arnold and Buckland were partners³⁰ and on these grounds the claim for Laleham and Buckland is invalidated.

Eagle House (1820), Brook Green, Hammersmith,³¹ - referred to in W. H. G. Kingston's Three Midshipmen - because of its early foundation, has some claim to attention. In so far, however, as it was in competition with public schools in the early years and did not become a preparatory school till the time of Rev. Edward Wickham (1833-1847),³² it, too, cannot be regarded as England's oldest preparatory school, a fortiori since there were quasi-preparatory schools before 1820.

Two of the oldest Schools have yet to be considered viz. Twyford and Temple Grove. The claims of Twyford are strong: it is the preparatory school with the longest existence in the same school building and like Cheam School, Twyford has an earlier history dating back to the seventeenth century.³³ It occupies today the same Georgian house that it did in 1809 when the Rev. Liscombe Clark moved the school from Twyford Vicarage. The Rev. J. G. Bedford purchased the school in c. 1815³⁴ and whilst he was Headmaster (1815-1833) the school took on a preparatory school function. The great-great-grandfather³⁵ of the present Headmaster of Twyford was an assistant master at the school from about 1818 to 1820 and from 1823 onwards there would seem to be ample evidence from documents held by the Wickham family³⁶ that the school was 'preparatory' from an early date. Many of the boys under Bedford went to Winchester, either before or just after they were thirteen. This is confirmed by a letter dated January 29th 1902 in which Mrs. Emma Nelson, the second daughter of Rev. J. G. Bedford, informed Rev. C. T. Wickham "My father's school was distinctly a Preparatory School, chiefly for Winchester College, but boys often went to other schools when too old for Twyford. He never kept them after about

twelve or thirteen, and took them as young as eight or nine."³⁷ Other witnesses to the early 'preparatory' nature of Twyford School were the Rev. Godfrey Boles Lee (1826-1830) who left Twyford between thirteen and fourteen years old and who was quite sure no older boys were at the school when he left; and Rev. G. W. Paul (1830-1833) who left Twyford in 1833 for Winchester a similar impression that there were no boys in the school at that time above the age of thirteen or fourteen. As the age of entry to public school was gradually raised the age range of preparatory schools increased so that even before the Headship of Rev. R. Wickham (1834-1847),³⁸ slightly older boys were to be found in the school. The Rev. Latham Wickham³⁹ (1862-1887), writing of his father's days as assistant master at the school referred to his father taking "over all the arrangements from Mr. Bedford for boys under fourteen." He was sure, however, that there were no boys of fifteen or over in the school.⁴⁰ From sometime after 1815, therefore, it would seem that Twyford was a Preparatory School, notwithstanding Thomas Hughes's reference to bullying by the "biggest" boys in the private school that Tom Brown attended in the 1830s.⁴¹

Twyford's chief rival to the claim of being the oldest preparatory school is Temple Grove which was founded by Rev. Dr. William Pearson in 1810. Pearson had owned a small school at Parsons Green (near London) since 1802 before he purchased the country house, belonging to the Temple family.⁴² This small country mansion, in twenty acres at Sheen Grove, near Richmond Park, became a fashionable school first under the Rev. Dr. Pearson (1810-1817) but more especially under Rev. Dr. Pinckney (1817-1835) by which time it was chiefly preparatory for Eton.⁴³ It is not certain at what stage Temple Grove began to specialise in teaching young boys only but an engraving⁴⁴ dated 1818, suggests that it was a seminary for very young boys judging by

the size of the figures disporting in the grounds by the side of the house.⁴⁵

As in the case of Twyford, however, it is difficult to pin-point any clear change of policy which dates Temple Grove solely as a preparatory school, analogous to that when R. S. Tabor came to Cheam in 1855. The most that can be said is that Twyford and Temple Grove seem to be the oldest preparatory schools in the country and that they became preparatory in character between 1815 and 1833 in the case of Twyford and 1817 and 1835 in the case of Temple Grove.

In his Preparatory Schools Today, Philip Masters records that of the 494 preparatory schools in his survey, 204 schools claimed foundation before 1900: of these

22	4.5 %	were founded before 1800
15	3.0 %	were founded between 1801 and 1850
47	9.5 %	were founded between 1851 and 1875
120	24.0 %	were founded between 1876 and 1900

The astonishing figure of twenty-two foundations before 1800 has already received comment:⁴⁶ but nearly all such schools were probably Cathedral

or Choir Schools. Although founded in earlier centuries these schools did not become Preparatory Schools till the late nineteenth century and of these only one was a member of the A.P.S. by the end of the century.⁴⁷

Masters' other statistics for the nineteenth century are more typical⁴⁸ and show a very slow pace of growth in the first half of the century with a significant acceleration in the third quarter which developed into a gallop in the last quarter. It is only in the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century that the preparatory school became firmly established and institutionalised. What occasioned this rise of the Preparatory School?

By the mid-century the days of the private Classical school as an all age institution in competition with grammar schools, were numbered.⁴⁹ Some country rectories continued to prepare boys in classical studies for the Universities but many were turning also to the preparation of boys for public schools. With the introduction of middle class examinations in the 1850s such schools acquired yet another function so that in the 1860s and 1870s many hybrid schools existed with a threefold function of preparation for public school, public examinations and public service. It was from these hybrids,⁵⁰ from the country rectories,⁵¹ from private coaching establishments⁵² and upper class dame schools⁵³ that quasi-preparatory schools emerged in the decades after the mid-century. To these four tributaries was added a fifth; the public school master who turned his talents to the education of young boys of which Alfred Kirk of Leamington College and Arnold House School (1864) and the Rev. L. Sanderson of Harrow and Elstree⁵⁴ are examples, and Rev. J. W. Hawtrey of Eton and Aldin House, Slough (1869) is the chief exemplar.

The middle years of the century were the watershed of development of the preparatory schools when the term 'preparatory' was used in a non-institutionalised sense. The Rev. J. Pycroft referred in 1843⁵⁵ to the custom of using the term synonymously for a finishing school for young gentlemen.⁵⁶ Yet the Rev. William Pound, writing in 1866,⁵⁷ did not use the term to describe schools preparing young boys for public school: instead he adopted the term 'Intermediate',⁵⁸ i.e. schools intermediate between Home and Public school.

The Clarendon Report (1864), however, was in no doubt about the nomenclature of the schools from which public schools recruited most of their boys. Not only did it discuss the age of transfer from preparatory

to public school but also it considered preparatory schools' deficiencies.⁵⁹ These aspects of preparatory schools, though important, are secondary, however, to the fact that the Clarendon Report recognised the need for the separate treatment of young boys. In recommending the separation of the Lower School from the Upper School at Eton, the report declared that:

"the care and instruction of little boys is as important and, in some sense, as difficult as the care and instruction of older boys";⁶⁰ but at the same time great incentive was given to the private preparatory school by the fact that the boys in the Lower School at Eton: "should have no preference over the boys from private schools in the admissions to the Upper School."⁶¹

The Schools Inquiry Commission, reporting four years later, also recognised the existence of preparatory schools as when Mr. Gifford, for instance, in his Report on Surrey and Sussex gave a profile on fifteen preparatory schools in his area, with valuable details about sizes of schools, fees charged and subjects taught.⁶²

The development of railways and the increase in the nation's wealth⁶³ had been early facilitating factors in the growth in numbers of the preparatory schools, but the development of new public schools of the proprietary kind from 1840 onwards and the metamorphosis of endowed grammar schools like Repton (1557), Sherborne (1550) and Uppingham (1584) into public or quasi-public schools in the second half of the century, emphasised the need for preparatory schools to supply these schools with young pupils. The recognition, in turn, by the public schools of the need to gain an academic reputation in the light of parental demands for results in public and university examinations caused many schools to offer scholarships.

Eton⁶⁴ and Winchester had traditionally awarded a number of Foundation scholarships to boys on entry to the school and the distinction between 'scholar' and 'commoner', or their equivalent, was familiar. However, as early as 1840 with the Gregory Scholarships of £100 for four years, Harrow saw the desirability of attracting able boys by scholarships tenable at the school.⁶⁵ Twenty-five years later the Rev. H. Montagu Butler (1860-1885) instituted a number of entrance scholarships which considerably strengthened the hand of Harrow in this purpose.⁶⁶ Marlborough, too, at a relatively early date, in 1854, sought to institute entrance scholarships.⁶⁷ Similarly Clifton, in 1863, established two scholarships of £25 per annum for boys already in the school: these were followed by others in 1864, 1868, 1871, 1880 and 1897.⁶⁸ At Charterhouse, the Governors were deprived of the patronage of nomination to the Foundation by new statutes in 1868, and from 1874 places were thrown open to competition with Junior Scholarships being awarded to boys between twelve and fourteen.⁶⁹ An attempt by the Rev. F. Heptenstall, Headmaster of Sedbergh (1874-1880) to establish scholarships in 1874 was thwarted by the Governors who felt that insufficient funds were available, but Mr. H. G. Hart (1880-1900), his successor, tackled the scholarship problem with more success by remitting house boarding fees.⁷⁰ At Tonbridge, too, under a new scheme of 1880, New Judd Scholarships of £100 and £80 per annum were instituted;⁷¹ whilst at Wellington the number of scholarships was raised from seven to ten in 1897, the values ranging from £80 to £30.⁷² It was this institutionalisation of scholarships over a period of decades by public schools, incurring stiff competition, which H. S. Shelton⁷³ regarded as being the chief determining factor in the evolution of the late nineteenth century preparatory school.

Other factors also contributed to the rapid growth of preparatory

schools in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Apart from the highly competitive scholarship examinations, the Public Schools introduced entrance examinations which made the judicious parent seeking a place for his boy at Public School, send his son to a Preparatory School in much the same way as those seeking entry to the Army or I.C.S. were sent to a 'crammer'. Parents no doubt realised that a preparatory school was the best way of assuring entry especially in view of the relationship that certain preparatory schools had established with certain public schools.⁷⁴ A further factor tending to the patronising of preparatory schools, was the tendency of Public Schools to become large institutions as they entered a period of renewed prosperity, so that the raison d'être of preparatory schools i.e. to shelter the shorn lamb from the rigours of a senior school, became doubly felt on the score of numbers at least.

The demand by the newly prosperous classes of mid- and late-nineteenth century England for a public school education led to the rise of the public school⁷⁵ which in turn led to the rise of the preparatory school, which made this form of private enterprise an attractive proposition to private school masters. For this reason, J. V. Milne, who had kept a private commercial school at Henley House, Kilburn,⁷⁶ decided to run a preparatory school and moved to Thanet where at Westgate on Sea he set up school at Streete Court before 1900.⁷⁷ As his more famous son A. A. Milne observed, he was: "convinced that there was no future for his sort of private school. The only privately owned school which could now succeed was the preparatory school for boys under fourteen."⁷⁸ Another school master who changed the character of his school but for less positive reasons⁷⁹ was F. N. Haywood who had opened Accrington Academy as early as 1856. This school, which was later accommodated at 56, Stanley Street, Accrington and

to which many of the town's leading citizens had gone for their schooling, changed its character and from 1895 to 1905 on the death of Haywood, was almost a preparatory school.⁸⁰ Both Milne and Haywood were economically motivated when adapting themselves to preparatory schools at a relatively late stage in their careers; but there is some conflict of opinion as to the profitability of such institutions. Although the will of Mr. A. H. A. Morton, a successful preparatory school master, was proved with a net personalty of £145,473 in 1913,⁸¹ no doubt this was exceptional. According to Mr. R. J. Curtis:⁸² "the charge has never been high nor the profits large, as anyone can discover for himself who cares to look up at Somerset House the estates left by preparatory school proprietors in the last hundred years."⁸³ On the other hand the scholastic agency of Gabbitas-Thring suggest⁸⁴ that as there is no record of such schools closing in large numbers, but rather the reverse, it can be assumed that a private preparatory school was a profitable undertaking, at least for the Headmaster. The continuing rise in the supply of preparatory schools up to the first world war seems to confirm this.

Preparatory schools at the turn of the century were not, however, popular with everyone. H. M. Rankilor, an assistant master of Blundell's School, advised parents against sending their sons to preparatory schools especially those run by women.⁸⁵ It will never be known what response Rankilor's advice received but Viscount Cecil of Chelwood and his brothers at least did not attend preparatory school, although for a different reason,⁸⁶ before going on to Eton. Nevertheless it was calculated⁸⁷ that at the beginning of the twentieth century some £1,320,000 was being spent per annum by parents on preparatory school education at more than two hundred preparatory schools.⁸⁸

By 1899 there were in fact 228 Preparatory Schools⁸⁹ in Great Britain represented at the A.P.S. and there are grounds for believing that as many again existed which were not members.⁹⁰ The formation of the A.P.S., which is examined in detail in Chapter 13, gave solidarity to a group of discrete private preparatory schools in accordance with the memorandum of objects of the Association adopted at their third Annual Conference in 1894.⁹¹ It would be mistaken, however, to assume, as Margaret Bryant has done, that in the 1890s and 1900s the Preparatory Schools became politically aware because of the continued "exclusion from any contact" of private schools with the newly forming system of maintained secondary schools. Certainly the newly formed Association (1892) was excluded from representation on the Bryce Commission but it would seem that the Association's objections to the Bryce Commission's asking if Preparatory wished to be considered together with other private schools, has been overlooked.⁹² At the time, the A.P.S. emphasised their close ties with Public Schools and rejected association with private schools which "practically were in competition with public schools." This clear division among private schools, between those feeding and those rivalling the public schools was a most deep-seated one which to ignore is to fail to recognise

- a) the gradual development of these schools in the nineteenth century;
- b) the continued commitment of some pedagogic families over a period of time to this peculiar form of private education;⁹³
- c) the continued divergence of aims of the P.S.A. and the A.P.S. after the 1902 Education Act;

d) the initiative taken by the twentieth Headmasters Conference held at Oxford to secure closer co-operation between the two types of school.⁹⁴

The A.P.S. achieved a certain success in their desire for recognition of their close association with Public Schools. The Return of 1897 recognised this in its regarding Preparatory Schools as part of secondary education by virtue of their being an integral part of the public school system.⁹⁵ The Journal of Education⁹⁶ also recognised this integral nature of the Preparatory and Public School but it was not until July 1914 that the Board of Education officially did so.⁹⁷

The remaining four chapters on Preparatory Schools examine first (in Chapter 10) the early preparatory schools up to the decade 1860 to 1870 after which time there can be discerned changes in the ethos of the preparatory school which are examined in Chapter 12. Chapter 11 considers several important aspects which are common both to early and later nineteenth century preparatory schools; Chapter 13 examines the development of the A.P.S. from 1892 till 1914 and attempts to assess the contribution of various Headmasters to this development. Finally Chapter 14 examines preparatory schools as part of the local history of Worcestershire and Warwickshire, especially of Malvern and Leamington, and as part of private school provision in eleven counties.⁹⁸

CHAPTER 10

SOME EARLIER PREPARATORY SCHOOLS

In considering the conditions of life in early preparatory schools, it is sometimes overlooked that they were founded in a harsh and rough age.¹ The pillory, for instance, was not abolished in England till 1837 - the year of Victoria's accession; and public hangings, as late as 1868 - the year of Disraeli's first ministry. During the early decades of the century when the legal code was harshly administered, with very many offences punishable by either transportation or capital punishment, smugglers still infested the coasts and highwaymen, the roads. It is perhaps forgotten, too, that the baiting of bulls, bears and badgers was made illegal in England only in the years 1833-35.² It is in such a setting as this that the experiences of Edward Thring (1821-1887) in Long Chamber at Eton,³ achieve their due proportions. The conditions of many schools were, by later standards, very harsh even among the earliest preparatory schools. The private school, kept by a Mr. Allen, which Thring attended in Ilminster at the age of eight and "much patronised by the country gentlemen of Somerset,"⁴ had such an impression on the young boy that it made him a fervent pioneer of school reform.⁵

A more famous social reformer, who attended an early preparatory or quasi-preparatory⁶ school kept by Dr. Horne⁷, was Lord Shaftesbury (1801-1885) who spent five miserable years at Manor House School, Chiswick. This was a "First class school for the sons of Noblemen and Gentlemen"; yet living conditions were spartan with "no bathroom, no washing arrangements⁹ or lavatories, no matron to look after the boys."¹⁰ The memory of Manor House School had the same searing effect on the young Lord Ashley,¹¹ as Ilminster had on Edward Thring.¹² It is paradoxical, therefore, in view of the aspirations of later preparatory schools towards a homely and kindly environment, that the young Ashley did not begin to enjoy life until he

left preparatory school and went to Harrow.¹³

Similarly, Frederick Blackwood (1826-1902), the diplomatist and first Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, found "floggings at Eton were child's play"¹⁴ compared with the ones that were administered at his preparatory school, kept by a Mr. Walton at Hampton. It was a peculiarity of the nineteenth century that flogging was considered an inevitable part of school life¹⁵ and that it formed a necessary part of the duties of those who administered it. Lord Dufferin, for instance, had considerable respect for Mr. Walton and visited him when he was a distinguished statesman. Sir Charles Rivers Wilson (1831-1916), the civil servant and financier, who attended a preparatory school at Tunbridge Wells, kept by a Mr. Allfrey,¹⁶ wrote that although "there was little personal chastisement ... I have seen Mr. Allfrey thrash a boy so cruelly that even now it makes me sick to think of it, although he was not really an unkind man, and I still retain a friendly feeling towards him." (My italics)¹⁷ Again Dr. Leopold Bernhays, of Elstree School in the 1840s was an extremely savage headmaster who, it has been alleged, foamed at the mouth when in a rage.¹⁸ The Rev. William Church, the Headmaster of another well-known but shortlived preparatory¹⁹ school, at Geddington, near Kettering in Northamptonshire, was equally unable to control his temper.²⁰ The fact that his school was patronised by the sons of nobility made no difference to his flogging propensities.²¹ Guy Kendall recalls²² the preparatory school which he attended, the Grange School, Stevenage (1837), kept by the Rev. J. O. Seager,²³ where flogging was administered by the master sitting on the boy's neck "and the larger or more restive would sometimes lift and carry him across the room in their agonies."²⁴ The uncle of Henry Hart, Headmaster of Sedbergh School (1880-1900), Lord Lawrence

(1811-1879), Governor General of India, was "flogged every day of (his) life at (a Mr. Gough's) school except one, and then (he) was flogged twice."²⁵ Such regimes of terror existed through much of the century: in the 1820s, J. A. Froude (1818-1894) the historian, attended a preparatory school at Buckfastleigh where the Rev. Mr. Lowndes was Rector and where "there was plenty of caning";²⁶ whilst in the 1860s, H. O. Arnold Forster attended the school of his kinsman, Mr. John Penrose, at Exmouth, where the regime was comparatively even more spartan and severe.²⁷

If flogging in early preparatory schools were common place; poor food at such establishments was not unfamiliar. Even if the mid-day dinner were good, breakfast at the Grange School, Stevenage consisted generally only of bread and rancid butter.²⁸ (Sir) Richard Burton (1821-1890) the explorer, who attended a preparatory school kept by a "burly savage" called Rev. Charles de la Fosse, was both ill-taught and ill-fed;²⁹ Lord Hardinge of Penshurst (1858-1944), statesman, was underfed at Cheam School, in 1868, under the Rev. R. S. Tabor.³⁰ It was characteristic of preparatory schools in the early years to be run on spartan lines, - an educational policy which was consonant with a stringent economic policy, involving poorly paid ushers³¹ and the barest victuals required to sustain the constant flogging. Where the boys were treated luxuriously, as at Dr. Everard's fashionable school at Brighton,³² attended by Frederick Leveson Gower and possibly James Payn,³³ there was a danger of bankruptcy and loss of livelihood. This possible personal fate ensured the plainest of food in the case of the majority of schools.³⁴

Many of these schools have been given the sobriquet of 'Dotheboys Hall', among them the school which Herman Merivale (1839-1906), playwright and novelist, and Anthony Trollope, (1815-1882) attended. Although the

food was good and there was no flogging,³⁵ the regime was sufficiently harsh for Merivale to write in his autobiography, "How I did loathe that preparatory school - preparatory, thank heaven, for a life that was not to be."³⁶

These schools were not all uniformly bad. The small school owned by the Rev. William T. Browning, the older brother of Oscar Browning,³⁷ at Everdon, Northamptonshire, in the early 1850s, was run meticulously with attention being paid not only to sound scholarship but also to good food and sound health. After some astonishing success in the Eton³⁸ scholarship examinations in 1853,³⁹ the Rev. Browning took a large school at Thorpe Mandeville, near Banbury, from which he gained a high academic record before he died in 1882.⁴⁰

So far only early preparatory schools, long since defunct, have been considered.⁴¹ However, during the early decades of the century, six preparatory schools of major importance, the origins of five of which were examined in Chapter 9, developed and, like the Abbé Sieyès, survived, to be numbered amongst the premier preparatory schools of the late nineteenth century. These schools were Cheam, Eagle House, Temple Grove, Twyford, Windlesham House and Stubbington House. General biography contains several references to those schools by old boys, both landatory and critical, which serve to season the official views put forward in published histories and articles. It is proposed to examine these in turn, but for the sake of clarity Table 17 sets out the terms of office of the headmasters in each school in the nineteenth century. It can be seen from these lists that three out of the six had strong and two had moderate dynastic tendencies. Only Eagle House had not been handed down from one generation to another within one or two families;⁴² but even

TABLE 17

Cheam (1646)	Eagle House (1820)	Stubbington House (1841)	Temple Grove (1810)	Twyford (1809)	Windlesham House (1837)
1777-1809	1820-1833	1841-1865	1810-1817	1809-1815	1837-1855
Rev. William Gilpin (Junior)	Joseph Raillon	Rev. W. Foster	Rev. Dr. W. Pearson	Rev. L. Clarke	Lt. C. R. Malden
1809-1826	1833-1847	1865-1913	1817-1824	1815-1833	1855-1888
Rev. J. Wilding	Rev. E. Wickham [‡]	Montagu Foster (Senior)	Rev. Dr. Pinckney	Rev. J. G. Bedford	H. C. Malden
1826-1846	1847-1874	1913-	1835-1843	1834-1847	1888-1896
Dr. Charles Mayo	Rev. E. Huntingford	Sir Montague Foster	Mr. J. Thompson	Rev. R. Wickham [‡]	C. S. Malden
1846-1855	1874-1905		1843-1860	1848-1854	1896-1927
Rev. H. Shephard	A. N. Malan		Rev. Dr. Rowden	Rev. J. C. Roberts	Mrs. C. S. Malden
1855-1890	1905-1927		1860-1880	1854-1861	
Rev. R. S. Tabor	Mr. Bruce Lockhart		O. C. Waterfield Esq.	Rev. G. W. Kitchen	
1890-1920			1880-1894	1862-1887	
Mr. A. S. Tabor			Rev. J. H. Edgar	Rev. Lathan Wickham	
			1894-1902	1888-1890	
			Rev. H. B. Allen	Rev. C. T. Wickham	
			1902-1934	1890-1897	
			H. W. Waterfield*	Rev. C. T. Wickham) H. Straham)	
				1897-	
				Rev. C. T. Wickham	

[‡] brothers

* father of P. B. Waterfield, Headmaster of
The Mall School, Twickenham

this school was kept in the Huntingford family through marriage, since the Rev. A. N. Malan (1846-1933) married Huntingford's second daughter in 1872, becoming Headmaster two years later.

Cheam

In addition to the legendary William Gilpin, Senior⁴³ (1754-1777) (Dr. Syntax), Cheam was distinguished in the nineteenth century by two headmasters of national repute: Dr. Charles Mayo⁴⁴ and the Rev. R. S. Tabor.⁴⁵ Both, however, had their detractors. The Rt. Hon. Hugh Childers (1827-1896), Home Secretary in the third Gladstone Ministry, went to Cheam in 1836, at a transitional stage in its development⁴⁶ and had some what mixed feelings about it. Cheam had been a rival to the Public Schools sending boys onto the university; and in the 1830s/40s still offered considerable educational advantages.⁴⁷ As well as the practice of Pestalozzian ideas,⁴⁸ which set Cheam apart from its rivals, it was fortunate in that Mr. Reiner⁴⁹ was one of its ushers whose brilliant teaching⁵⁰ in astronomy, zoology, botany, chemistry and electricity⁵¹ placed it far in advance of other schools in facing up to the changes of an increasingly scientific contemporary world - but all was not well. In Childer's time: "the headmaster was getting old, and saw too much through his wife's spectacles."⁵² The school was run on the 'close surveillance' principle common to private schools; "sneaking and spying" were encouraged, and schoolboy honour was set at nought in this intensely oppressive evangelical atmosphere. Childers observed that "the mistrust of the boys shown by the headmaster and his wife increased and was greatly resented."⁵³ Dean Fremantle (1831-1916), who was also a former pupil, concurs with Childers and writes: "there was ... a closeness about the system not suited to boys

as they grew up. I myself, though leaving at twelve years old, felt glad to find myself in the more liberal atmosphere of Eton.⁵⁴

Before looking at Cheam school under R. S. Tabor, it is well to note that there would seem to have been two schools at Cheam in the early decades of the nineteenth century, which may have been loosely connected.⁵⁵ Edward Freeman,⁵⁶ (1823-1892) the historian, went to a Preparatory School at Cheam kept by the Rev. W. Browne.⁵⁷ Browne appears to have aped Mayo in so far as he adopted Pestalozzian methods in his school;⁵⁸ but if the testimony of Admiral Sir Albert Markham is to be accepted, the atmosphere at Browne's establishment was very much happier than at Charles Mayo's.⁵⁹

The Rev. R. S. Tabor was Headmaster of Cheam from 1855 to 1890 during which time he firmly established Cheam as one of the leading preparatory schools; but until an official history of Cheam School is written, after a careful examination of all available evidence, R. S. Tabor as a person is likely to be regarded with some disfavour. There seems to be little doubt of the efficiency and success of Tabor; both Major Fitzroy Gardner⁶⁰ and Lord Hardinge of Penshurst⁶¹ bear witness to this. According to Gardner, Cheam under Tabor was "the most luxuriously appointed private school in England." It was equipped with "the very latest thing in swimming baths; a carpenter's shop fitted with turning lathes; new Eton fives court, an ideal cricket ground and menservants"⁶² to wait on the boys. Many boys, distinguished in later life, attended the school.⁶³

Lord Hardinge had a high opinion of the teaching and the games at the school and noted that there were always one or more Cheam boys in the Eton and Harrow teams at Lords; but both the Rev. and Mrs. Tabor were unpopular with the boys. Tabor, described by Hardinge as "one of the greatest snobs"⁶⁴ I ever met," was according to General Sir Ian Hamilton,

"sanctimonious" and to the second Earl Russell (1865-1931),⁶⁵ "an unctuous and pious person very soothing to parents."⁶⁶ In a very colourful and lively account of his schooldays,⁶⁷ Hamilton relates the effects Tabor's strict, religious regime had on him. At a very impressionable age, he was terrified by Tabor's fearsome approach to schoolmastering. One of Tabor's customs, which was common practice at other schools,⁶⁸ was to hold court on Monday mornings when the whole school, class by class was summoned to his study. Writing as a hardened soldier in 1939, General Hamilton declared that "at twenty to plunge into the most furious battle was as a game of skittles ... when compared with going, as a ten year old to the study of R.S.T. on a Monday morning."⁶⁹ Tabor was not only choleric⁷⁰ but he was also callous,⁷¹ in Hamilton's estimation, caring little it would seem for the sensitivities of small boys; and yet Tabor felt that he was governing the school by divine right and constantly likened the work of his assistant masters to that of the disciples of Jesus Christ. As Hamilton suggests: "the whole system of Cheam hung upon the assumption that a bevy of young imps had been handed over by Providence to Mr. Tabor so that he might shake them up in a big bag until they had lost their horns and tails."⁷² Hamilton's testimony against Tabor and Cheam is full of invective to the extent that he describes his entry to it as "exactly like a dose of poison." Even making allowances for the obvious psychological effect the school had on Hamilton,⁷³ it would seem, in view of corroborating evidence from Earl Russell and Lord Hardinge, that R. S. Tabor was a religious prig and bully as well as a successful teacher.⁷⁴

Two extant lists⁷⁵ of Cheam School of 1872 and 1884 give some indication of the size and character of the school under Tabor. In 1872 there were ninety-nine boys divided into nine classes with eight assistant masters

(three clergy) together with a French master, German master, Drawing master and Music master. The fees were 150 guineas per annum at this well provided school, the advantages of which were set down in typical Taborian fashion. The prospectus (1872) gives some confirmation about Mrs. Tabor's unpopularity, by inference, since the domestic arrangements were in the hands of Tabor's daughters; but perhaps the sanctimonious atmosphere of Cheam is brought out best in a manuscript letter which is given almost in full below⁷⁶ dated April 27th 1885, from Edward Malan, one of the eight or nine assistant masters, to a prospective parent.

"I can, however, truly say that Cheam School heads the list of schools. The Bible is always open there: the boys are divine: by which I mean they are the sons of the best families in England, and more free from obscure talk, than I have observed elsewhere.

A. S. Tabor⁷² was in the Cambridge XI and I myself was in the Oxford VIII. I wish to mention this, because you must know that there are many other things required besides Latin and Greek, and somehow a blue jacket takes with it a whiff of the broad Atlantic of things. The present Captains of the Boats and eleven at Eton are Cheam boys. There are also Cheam boys scholars of Eton.

We, the assistant masters, are on terms of most affectionate intercourse with the boys, which I do not find hinders discipline in any way. We shake hands across the Rubicon, and we laugh, but we never cross - or very seldom."

Eagle House

Eagle House, Brook Green, Hammersmith, like Cheam School, was not a preparatory school in the early years of the nineteenth century. Founded

in 1820, by Joseph Railton (1779-1857) it was rather a rival of the public schools, preparing boys for the universities and business. There is some conflicting evidence, however, about the qualities as a scholar, of its first headmaster. The Rev. C. B. Mount, who was a pupil at the school from 1837, once informed Rev. A. N. Malan, (Headmaster 1874-1905) that Railton had reputedly "small Latin and less Greek."⁷⁸ This testimony, however, could only be based on hearsay since Railton left the school in 1833 after retiring from schoolmastering to marry a wealthy heiress,⁷⁹ three years before Mount arrived. Another correspondent of Malan, but again one who had not experienced Railton's teaching, was the Rev. Dr. Hiley. Hiley knew at least, of two of Railton's pupils who had attested to his careful and successful preparation of boys for the E.I.C. examinations. Certainly if numbers were a gauge of success, Railton was successful, for the school was larger in Railton's day (90) than in the Rev. Huntingford's (30-60), thirty years later. For Hiley's contention, however, there is some support which is based on direct experience⁸⁰ for the school mentioned in W. H. G. Kingston's Three Midshipmen (1873) is the Eagle House in Brook Green, Hammersmith, which Kingston attended as a boy.⁸¹ In this novel the Headmaster, presumably based on Railton, is described by Kingston as "a first rate schoolmaster," who "understood managing boys admirably" and who had them "fairly taught."⁸²

The Rev. E. C. Wickham (1833-1847), who succeeded Railton as Headmaster of Eagle House, was a fine teacher.⁸³ It was he who restricted the boys to those of preparatory school age and through a fairly spartan regime⁸⁴ prepared them for public school. According to Dr. Warre, Headmaster of Eton, they "suffered much and learnt a good deal of Latin and Greek."⁸⁵ The school became a veritable nursery for future public school headmasters.

During Wickham's time there were seven future headmasters in the school viz. Dr. Blore of Canterbury; Dr. Montagu Butler of Harrow and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; Mr. Arthur Butler of Haileybury; Mr. Faber of Malvern; Dr. Warre of Eton; Mr. Wickham of Wellington⁸⁶ and Dr. Ridding of Winchester.⁸⁷

The standard of work was high under Mr. Wickham, as attested by Dr. Butler, Master of Trinity.⁸⁸ During Mr. Wickham's time several preparatory school customs were adopted in the school: on Sundays, for instance, the boys wore tall hats⁸⁹ and wended their way, in crocodile formation, to St. Mary's Chapel, Fulham; whilst on half holidays they played cricket in a field at Shepherd's Bush.⁹⁰ Such practices were the antecedents of later preparatory school chapel, and inter-school matches.

The School consolidated its position as a preparatory school during the Headship of Dr. Huntingford⁹¹ but it declined in numbers. However, such a decline was more in keeping with the numbers generally to be found in a nineteenth century preparatory school. Huntingford was succeeded by his son-in-law the Rev. A. N. Malan⁹² (1874-1905), both of whom were responsible for changing the site of the school. In 1860, the school moved to Wimbledon⁹³ where the buildings recently vacated by the Rev. J. W. Brackenbury, the army crammer,⁹⁴ were taken over; and in the following year a school chapel was built. The school was destined to stay in London for no more than twenty-three years, before moving to a more typical late nineteenth century rural site at Sandhurst, Surrey.

Temple Grove

Temple Grove School, formerly at East Sheen, Surrey, despite its not having a published history,⁹⁵ is perhaps the best documented preparatory school because of the many references to it in general biography and to its

famous Headmaster Ottiwell Charles Waterfield (1860-1880). By comparison with Waterfield, Dr. Pearson,⁹⁶ the school's founder, is a shadowy figure. It is known however, that he invested capital in extra building. After buying the house, he added schoolrooms, erected out-houses, laid down a playground and gravel paths, as well as drained the sodden parts of the grounds, so providing attractive gardens.⁹⁷ Little, if anything, is known about life at Temple Grove under its founder and first headmaster.

This cannot be said of Dr. Pinckney's headmastership, aspects of which have been recorded graphically by the Hon. Henry J. Coke⁹⁸ in Tracks of a Rolling Stone (1905) and by Major General Sir Archibald Anson in About Others and Myself (1920). Although describing his school as "one of the most favoured of preparatory schools" in the 1820s, to which the three nephews of the historian Lord Macaulay were sent, Coke likens the asperity of the school to that of Dotheboys Hall. Typical of many private schools of the day, Temple Grove in the 1820s/1830s, contrasted strongly with the preparatory schools later in the century. As Coke suggests in 1905: "the progress of the last century in many directions is great indeed; but in few is it greater than in the comfort and the cleanliness of our modern schools. The luxury enjoyed by the present boy is a constant source of astonishment to us grandfathers. We were half starved, we were exceedingly dirty, we were systematically bullied, and we were flogged and caned as though the master's pleasure was in inverse ratio to ours."⁹⁹

The food was served with economy in mind and consisted in the mornings of oblong chunks of bread only one of which was buttered for each boy. The other chunks of dry bread were washed down by an allowance of milk and water.¹⁰⁰ The mid-day dinner began with a rice pudding - (to cut down the butcher's bill, according to Coke)¹⁰¹ followed by roast beef or mutton.

Supper was as dull and as frugal as breakfast, so that although - as has been observed - after soldiers, none complain more bitterly about their food than schoolboys, there were, nevertheless, adequate grounds for such complaints about food at Temple Grove in those early years;¹⁰² nor did the food improve much under Dr. Rowden¹⁰³ (1843-1860).

If during Pinckney's headship, food was not generously given, flogging was. Pinckney had a carefully graded scale of corporal punishment ranging from the application of the cane on the hand to being laid across a table with five boys holding down the struggling victim who had generally a Latin grammar put in his mouth to bite, as pain was inflicted. This punishment was given generally after supper when the boys filed past Dr. Pinckney and bade him goodnight: those due for a thrashing were extracted and hauled off by the five appointed older boys.

Pinckney, despite this callous practice, was not altogether an unkind man. He arranged for the very young boys of eight to be placed in a kind of reception centre, run by two lady teachers, Miss Fields and Miss Evatt and provided a special dormitory for them with only twelve beds in it.¹⁰⁴ Further to raise these small boys' spirits, in cases where they did not receive any post, Pinckney used to address sham letters to them so that they would not feel too lonely in the cruel world in which they found themselves. Dr. Pinckney, then, was somewhat of an enigma: he is described by Eustace Anderson, the author of History of Mortlake as, "a short man with a florid countenance, who enjoyed his glass of port wine after dinner."¹⁰⁵ This "wretched Pinckney," as Disraeli once called him,¹⁰⁶ was also wont to give presents of tea and groceries to local almswomen, which action was in strong contrast to his liberality in other spheres.

Although it is possibly¹⁰⁷ the Rev. Dr. Rowden who has gained some of

posterity's attention by Disraeli's satirization of him in his novel Coningsby (1844), it is O. C. Waterfield who, with the Temple Grove over which he ruled, has been recorded in more detail for historians of education. This is chiefly because of the fascination which Waterfield had on A. C. Benson and his brother E. F. Benson. In fact, apart from the former's ambivalent¹⁰⁸ feeling about his old headmaster, it might be said that in some small measure, A. C. Benson is to Waterfield what A. P. Stanley was to Arnold.

A close study of the ample references to Temple Grove in general biography serves to make the reader wary generally, of the testimony of old boys on grounds of a) the lack of objectivity
and b) the inaccuracy of their observations
about their almae matres.

The majestic impression which O. C. Waterfield made on the two Benson brothers¹⁰⁹ as boys, for instance, is brought out in their writings; for it is very evident from their descriptions of him, that he strode their boy world like a Colossus.¹¹⁰ This is not altogether to be deprecated,¹¹¹ but inaccurate information by not so well-informed old boys is likely to mislead the unwary.¹¹²

Despite the inclusion of consideration of the relatively late headmastership of O. C. Waterfield¹¹³ (1860-1880) in a chapter on early preparatory schools, it is justifiable in so far as Waterfield was a master of the old school.¹¹⁴ He ruled his establishment from Olympian heights,¹¹⁵ striking awe in the hearts of both masters and boys, wherever he appeared in classroom or dormitory.¹¹⁶ He had been a master at Eton in the 1850s where no doubt he had been impressed by the maintenance of order through the liberal application of the cane: he, too, was a martinet.¹¹⁷ He

ruled by a combination of fear and love; and, by a judicious use of his thick ruler, gained both obedience and hero-worship.¹¹⁸ E. F. Benson, in his Our Family Affairs, gives a schoolboy's view of Waterfield's preliminaries before using the stick:- "but the approach of the ruler, like a depression over the Atlantic, was always heralded by storm cones" - the keys were taken from his trousers' pocket; next the appropriate key was inserted in the lock, "then came a short agonizing scene, and the blubbering victim after six smart blows had the handle of the door turned for him by someone else, because his hand was useless through pain."¹¹⁹

Waterfield nevertheless, did hide a kind heart¹²⁰ and did, on occasions, as only Victorian headmasters could do, break into tears of compassion for discovered wrong punishment or kiss a boy if he felt his fearful harangue had been too traumatic an experience for some sensitive soul.¹²¹

He was an excellent Headmaster who believed in delegation¹²² and if he were aloof¹²³ in his manner his presence was soon readily felt.

E. F. Benson relates how when he did visit a classroom: "a hush fell as he strode in, and we all cowered like partridges below a kite, while he glared round, selecting the covey on to which he pounced."¹²⁴ A. C. Benson adds to this picture of formidability, when he writes: "I have never in my life been so afraid of a human being as I was of him. I thought of him as wholly indifferent to us boys - that we were just more or less inconvenient adjuncts to his surpassing greatness."¹²⁵ Waterfield retired in 1880 to become a Director of the Ottoman Bank, later dying in a most obscure fashion on a railway station.¹²⁶

It is clear that Waterfield was a patriarch exercising patriarchal authority in the very patriarchal society of the early preparatory school. The subjective schoolboy views of the academic and literary Benson brothers

makes this very apparent; but even from a man of the stature of Lord Grey of Falloden, he won great respect. Grey thought that Waterfield "had a personality which gave him without effort a complete ascendancy over masters and boys and was one of the best teachers"¹²⁷ he had met.

Temple Grove, under Waterfield, had many characteristic features of mid-century preparatory school life which was both austere and intellectually demanding. Games at this stage were not so assiduously pursued,¹²⁸ were not compulsory¹²⁹ and therefore played a subsidiary role to the task of acquiring more than the elements of Latin and Greek. The School had its own Latin textbook, Elementa Latina, which had to be learnt by heart; Greek, Latin, Mathematics and Divinity were taught by assistant masters; modern languages by the French and German masters. A little History and Geography was taught but the boys were made to concentrate on winning Classical scholarships at the leading public schools, in which activity they achieved considerable success.¹³⁰ Sunday afternoons were periods of rest and like many preparatory schools of the time, as in the portrayal of Crichton House in Vice Versa¹³¹ the boys were given the opportunity of reading specially approved 'Sunday Literature'. Sunday afternoons for the senior boys were the only regular occasions when Waterfield descended from Mount Olympus and read to the boys in the fairly relaxed atmosphere of his drawing room. No doubt A. C. Benson had such scenes in mind when he assessed Waterfield maturely as an Headmaster and wrote: "if he had seen a little more of the boys and expanded more into his delightful talk; if he could have kept more in control the natural irritability of a highly strung imperious man; if he could have introduced a little more amenity into the life of the place, without sacrificing its simplicity and liberty, it would have been at the head of all private schools."¹³²

With Waterfield's departure in 1880 the school was subjected to a new regime under the Rev. J. H. Edgar, more consonant with the times.¹³³

Twyford

Paradoxically, although Twyford School can validly claim to be England's oldest preparatory school with close links with Winchester,¹³⁴ the oldest of the Clarendon Public Schools, its really notable old boys are few in number. Apart from Alexander Pope (1688-1744), who attended the Roman Catholic establishment at Twyford in the seventeenth century,¹³⁵ Thomas Hughes (1822-1896) of 'Tom Brown's Schooldays' fame and Hubert Parry (1848-1918), the composer of English sacred music, it is singularly devoid of very famous alumni. There are only five entries (six including Pope) in the D.N.B. which indicate early schooling at Twyford;¹³⁶ these are namely Charles B. Mansfield (1819-1855), chemist and author who abstracted benzole from coal;¹³⁷ Evelyn Shirley (1812-1882) archaeologist; Richard Chenevix Trench (1807-1886) Archbishop of Dublin; Thomas Hughes; and Robert C. Moberley (1845-1903), the theologian, so that there is little in general biography to supplement by agreement or refutation, the official history of the School published in 1909.¹³⁸ This is unfortunate since the portrait of the private school which Tom Brown attended before going to Rugby, which is generally regarded as being based on Twyford, is so uncomplimentary.¹³⁹

From the early years of the Rev. J. G. Bedford's Headship, the school developed modestly, never quite reaching the fashionable heights of schools like Temple Grove, Cheam, Elstree and the Grange, Hoddesdon or even some of the fashionable schools in Brighton like Lee's¹⁴⁰ and Everard's. Like Temple Grove at East Sheen, Twyford had a pleasant exterior and grounds

but living conditions inside the house were Spartan. These were improved by the Rev. Robert Wickham in 1841 by the provision of a new washing room¹⁴¹ and by the Rev. G. W. Kitchin who provided a Dining Hall and kitchens, together with the cloisters connecting them to the main house.

The headmastership of G. W. Kitchin (1854-1861) stands out in the history of Twyford School, as its nineteenth century heyday. Bedford had started with thirty-seven boys and had increased his numbers: only three times in eighteen years did he have an entry list not in double figures.¹⁴² However, although the entry figures for the period preceding Kitchin, from 1834 to 1854, are not recorded, there are grounds for suspecting a decline during the period since in 1854 there were only thirty-four boys in the school, three less than in 1815, and this despite the 'Arnoldian renaissance' in the public schools. Under the liberalising influence of G. W. Kitchin who encouraged a widening of the curriculum by the study of Mathematics, natural history and science, the numbers recovered. When he left in 1861 to become Censor of Christchurch, Oxford,¹⁴³ he passed on to his successor, the Rev. Latham Wickham, a successful school and a record number of seventy-four boys, exactly double the number of Bedford's original school.

Thereafter, although the school buildings continued to expand slowly under the Rev. Latham Wickham - including accretions in the form of new sick rooms, masters' rooms, and a Chapel (1869) - the high entry of boys, into the school under Kitchin, with as many as thirty-five in 1860, was not maintained. For the first few years the numbers fluctuated with entries as low as fifteen in 1866, fourteen in 1862 and 1864, and twelve in 1867. Thereafter for twelve years the numbers were maintained at a satisfactory level, but began to sink in 1880 and with the exceptions of the years 1883 (21), 1886 (20), 1891 (23) and 1895 (23), entered a period of continuous

decline for twenty years. Figure 1 illustrates this trend.

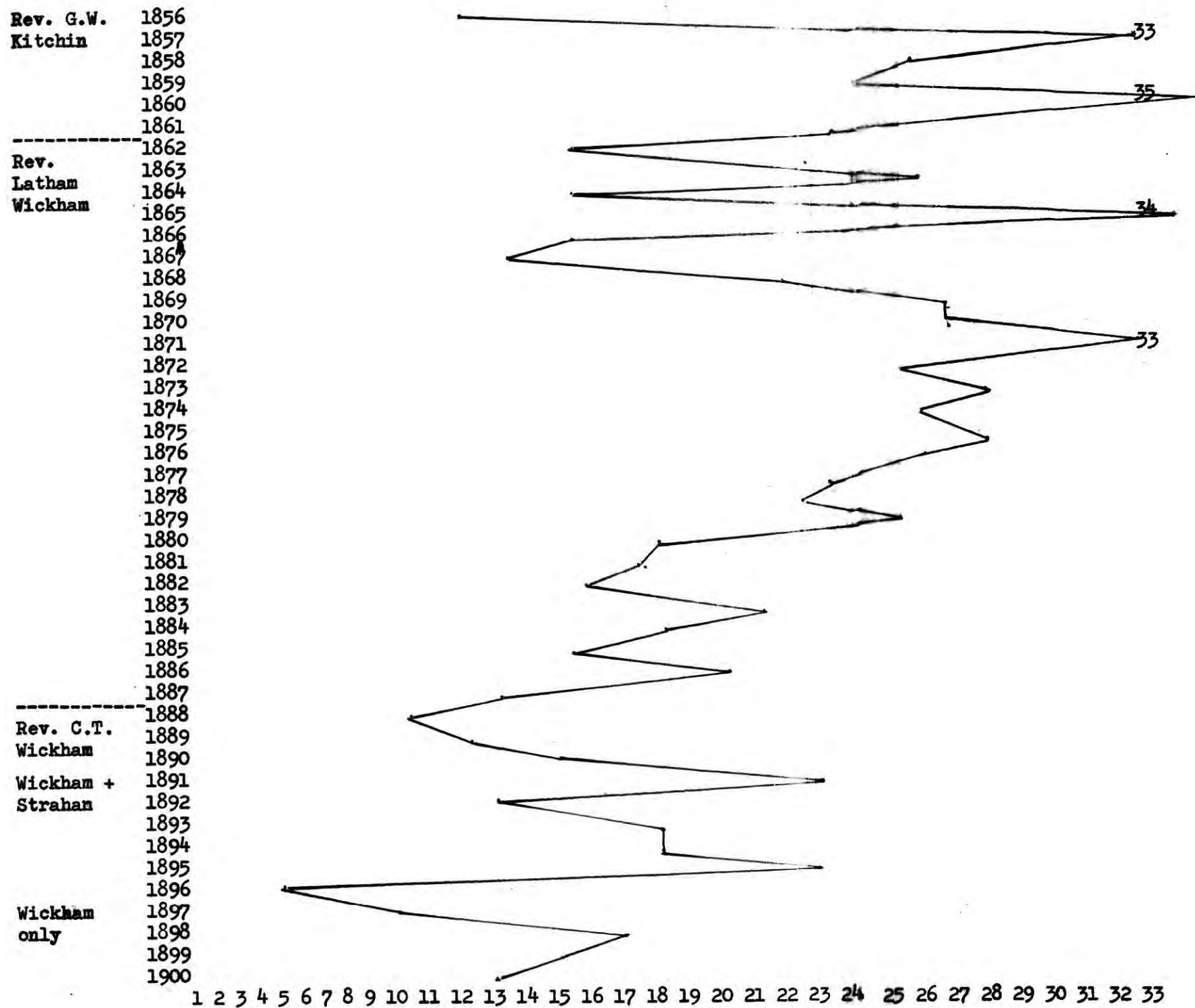


Figure 1

It would seem the fault lay with Twyford's reluctance to accommodate itself to a changing situation. The Rev. J. G. Bedford, "an able and accomplished instructor"¹⁴⁴ had introduced certain educational innovations to the school in 1815 such as the practice of 'Reward Day',¹⁴⁵ 'Standing Up',¹⁴⁶ and 'the Slate',¹⁴⁷ which served as useful extrinsic rewards and punishments to urge on the boys in their classical studies.¹⁴⁸ The conservative tendencies at Twyford ensured the survival of these Bedfordian institutions till quite a late date.¹⁴⁹ That the school was conservative in outlook, conditioned by the success of J. G. Bedford and G. W. Kitchin is readily admitted by the Rev. Latham Wickham (1862-1887): "At first it was quite enough for me to try and carry on everything as nearly as possible in the ways which had already proved so successful. By degrees I found things which seemed to me capable of useful additions, while I was careful to adhere to old traditions."¹⁵⁰ Gradually L. Wickham introduced innovations, but by far the greatest change in policy was that of allowing Twyford boys to compete for scholarships, thus recognising that newer preparatory schools were now vying with others to challenge the ascendancy of the older preparatory schools like Twyford. Wickham had declined to put his boys in for scholarships on educational grounds, for fear of cramming, but he finally saw the economic wisdom of doing so in 1883. The hand of the school was strengthened in 1886, in this task of survival by the engaging as second master of Mr. H. Strahan, son-in-law of the Rev. W. Browning, the successful Headmaster of Thorpe Mandeville School.¹⁵¹ Mr. Strahan later became the co-partner with Rev. C. T. Wickham who had succeeded his father in 1887.¹⁵² During the six years of this dual partnership, which was broken by Strahan's departure to run a school of his own at Seabrook Lodge Sandgate, scholarships were won at Winchester,

Clifton, Bradfield, Marlborough and Kings School, Canterbury.

The 1890s must have been years of great financial and emotional strain for the Rev. C. T. Wickham with a smaller income from the school than in the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s. Moreover, such was the lack of faith in the school that of the ten boys who left in December 1896, five went to other preparatory schools.¹⁵³ Entries for that year reached a record low number of five. If these adversities were not enough, three boys died at the school during the year 1895/1896 which no doubt accounted for the low intake in 1896 but which also occasioned the migration of the school to Copthorne, Sussex, for a year whilst the school was rid of existing health hazards and equipped with a completely new drainage system.¹⁵⁴ Despite these setbacks the school succeeded in breaking through its hide bound traditions and not only competed successfully for scholarships but also experimented with the curriculum.¹⁵⁵ By degrees, England's oldest preparatory school overcame the crises of the late 1880s and 1890s and survived into the twentieth century.

Windlesham House

Twyford School, like Temple Grove in the nineteenth century, was a school which, because of its long and comparatively successful past did not face up to the change that was taking place in the preparatory school world in the late 1870s and 1880s. As the Rev. C. T. Wickham of Twyford commented,¹⁵⁶ the new type of preparatory school like St. Michael's School, Aldin House, Slough (1869) of the Rev. John Hawtrey "and its many daughter schools", set up "a new standard of comfort for small boys" and "new ideas of supervision out of school" to which Twyford was slow to adjust.

Windlesham House needed no such adjustment: it differed from other

early preparatory schools in so far as it adopted a different attitude towards master/pupils relationships. Instead of teaching the boys and leaving them to the care of poorly paid ushers, which was the practice in the earliest preparatory schools where numbers reached any proportions, Lieutenant Malden, the school's founder, regarded his constant close contact with the boys in a family atmosphere as a necessary part of his school policy. Although the policy at Windlesham during the early decades was not of the order referred to by C. T. Wickham, it was at least a stage nearer to the close supervision by assistant masters in the late nineteenth century. This development of the master/boys relationship will be discussed more fully in Chapter 11 but suffice it to note at this stage that the policy which Lieutenant Malden adopted of close supervision by the Headmaster rather than by ushers, and followed by his son H. C. Malden¹⁵⁷ after 1855, held the seeds of one of the few recorded revolts in preparatory schools. Because H. C. Malden was such a devoted schoolmaster and took on his shoulders out of school supervision he tended not to be so well supported by his assistant masters: in his absence from school on one occasion a revolt by twenty boys took place, lasting two days in which masters and maids had ink squirted over them by the rebels.¹⁵⁸

Windlesham House differed from its fellow early preparatory schools too, in its less settled beginning. Whereas Cheam School did not move site to Headley in Berkshire till 1934; nor Temple Grove to Eastbourne in Sussex till 1907; nor Eagle House to Brackenhurst's, Wimbledon till 1860, Windlesham House or Malden's as it was called in the early years experienced a series of locations. It began life at Newport on the Isle of Wight but at a very early stage Lieutenant Malden recognised his premises were insanitary: he moved his school to No. 1, Brunswick Place, Brighton in

1838: a few months later the school moved again to 78, Montpelier House. Even this third site did not satisfy Lieutenant Malden who bought two acres of ground and built new school buildings in 1846 called Windlesham House. Windlesham House was therefore the first purpose designed preparatory school.

Stubbington House

Stubbington House, Fareham, Hants was another early preparatory school which was equipped with purpose designed buildings at an early date. Founded in 1841 by the Rev. William Foster¹⁵⁹ in an early eighteenth century manor house, the school was enlarged by extensive additions.¹⁶⁰ Although these extensions were quite outstanding for a preparatory school of the mid-century, Stubbington's peculiar contribution to nineteenth century preparatory school history is its special attention to the preparation of boys for the Royal Navy. With the change in naval policy in the late 1850s and early 1860s with regard to the recruitment to the navy¹⁶¹ which instituted the training ship H.M.S. Britannia, Stubbington (or Foster's as it was often called) became more and more recognised as the leading preparatory school for the Navy. By the time of Rev. William Foster's death in 1865 the school had already prepared one future Admiral, Lord Charles Beresford.¹⁶² Although many were prepared for the Navy¹⁶³ many boys also gained places in public schools, mostly Wellington, Sherborne and Cheltenham, whilst a few others went to Eton. So successful was the school's preparation of future naval officers that the second headmaster of Stubbington, Montagu Foster, Senior (1865-1913) opened an Army side to prepare boys for eventual entry to Woolwich and Sandhurst.¹⁶⁴ This section of Stubbington was being run in 1885 by the Rev. Courtenay Foster in a

separate building within the school grounds. By the turn of the century, however, Stubbington's reputation as a leading preparatory school was firmly based on its close links with the Navy¹⁶⁵ so that in the early twentieth century many future Admirals including Royalty¹⁶⁶ received their early education there. Assuming a fairly consistent intake at the turn of the century, Stubbington had a well nigh monopoly amongst preparatory schools for entrants to the Navy:¹⁶⁷ in December 1894 and in June and December 1895, Preparatory schools contributed forty-two per cent of all successful candidates for the Navy¹⁶⁸ yet in 1906 the Report of the Departmental Committee ... on certain questions concerning the extension of the new scheme of the training of naval officers (Cd 2841 p.p. 1 XX 493) affirmed that Stubbington House prepared more than thirty-three per cent of those entering.

Today, when the Preparatory School entry for the Navy has ceased, Stubbington House takes its place as one of the leading preparatory schools, but is very conscious of its naval traditions.

Other Early Preparatory Schools

The existing preparatory schools, other than those examined so far in this chapter and those to be examined in the local studies in Chapter 14, which are known¹⁶⁹ to have existed before 1860,¹⁷⁰ fall into three categories and will be considered briefly in turn.

Category A

Elstree (1848)?
Hoddesdon Grange (1854)
Orley Farm (1850)

Category B

Mostyn House (1852)
The Elms, Colwall (1814)
St. Michael's, Tenbury
(1856)

Category C

Stoneygate, Leicester
(1844)
Hollingbury Court (1850)
Northcliffe School,
Bognor (1842)

Prebendal School,
Chichester (1497)
et.al.

Those in category A are schools which have achieved some reputation either by their teaching or their distinguished old boys. Perhaps the most famous of those in this category is Elstree School which has had two lives. Before the Rev. L. Sanderson, an assistant master at Harrow, began his Preparatory School at Elstree in 1869, with the blessing of the Harrow Headmaster, the Rev. H. Montagu Butler,¹⁷¹ a school had existed by the name of Hill House Elstree, of which the notorious Rev. Dr. Bernhays was Headmaster in 1848.¹⁷² The records of the school before and after Dr. Bernhays are missing - his flogging seems to have ensured his remembrance by posterity - so that little is known about the School till 1869. As the Rev. L. Sanderson was one of the pioneers of the later preparatory school, he will be considered again briefly in Chapter 12.

Hoddesdon Grange School, Hertfordshire, founded in 1854 by the Rev. C. G. Chittenden and now called Newlands School, situated in Seaford, Sussex, is a good example of the links between private coaching in the nineteenth century and the development of preparatory schools. Personnel, for both types of institution, were recruited from the same social group, the classically educated parsons. The Rev. C. Chittenden was an assistant and son-in-law to the Rev. Francis J. Faithfull Vicar of Hatfield (1811-1854).¹⁷³ When Faithfull gave up private coaching, Chittenden took the youngest ones as a nucleus and set up a preparatory school consisting of nine boys at Hoddesdon Grange, a Queen Anne house of some grace. Chittenden was a very successful teacher and had amongst his pupils A. J. Balfour (1859-1861),¹⁷⁴ the future prime minister; the Hon. Julian Byng (1872-1874) Governor General of Canada; George Wyndham (1874-1877) and Viscount Lascelles (1893-1897), later Earl of Harewood. In fact, Chittenden's establishment was one of those preparatory schools which attracted the

landed gentry. Despite his success Chittenden kept the school to a small size and did not increase it beyond twenty-five boys.

Testimony to Chittenden's teaching ability is amply given in several biographies and autobiographies.¹⁷⁵ Lord Frederic Hamilton who went to Hoddesdon Grange, at the age of nine in 1866, was impressed by Chittenden's emphasis on concentration and observation in the process of learning. He felt that Chittenden was "a remarkable man with a very rare gift ... a born teacher."¹⁷⁶ Chittenden's method was to apply his pupils' minds to a branch of study for no more than a quarter of an hour, but he did exercise a leather strap to exact concentration where it was not forthcoming. Nevertheless, George Wyndham could write to his old Head when he (George Wyndham) was resident in Dublin Castle, with his old fellow pupil A. J. Balfour that: "you are the only person who ever taught him (Balfour) anything, and that all his other knowledge has been acquired by himself. The result is to me very encouraging for I find myself in precisely the same position."¹⁷⁷

Life at Hoddesdon in the 1860s was Spartan: there were no fires or heating in the dormitories where the windows were left open day and night. The boys never washed in warm water, and often the jugs of water were frozen over. Although Hoddesdon was advanced in its academic life so much so that "the first year or two at public school seemed like child's play",¹⁷⁸ it was backward in its provision for games compared with Cheam or St. Michael's School, Aldin House. Nevertheless when the Rev. C. G. Chittenden¹⁷⁹ retired in 1891 he could be well pleased with the overall reputation of his school.

The third school in Category A, Orley Farm,¹⁸⁰ though closely connected with Harrow as was also Elstree, did not achieve great distinction under its

first headmaster. This is reflected in Arnold Lunn's novel The Harrovians (1913), the first chapter of which is about Orley Farm (under the pseudonym of Trollope House) and the success of the second Headmaster.¹⁸¹ The perceptive Lunn comments on "private schoolmasters ... too often marked by ferocity towards their staff and pupils, tempered by abject servility towards the parents."¹⁸² It is not known whether his remark was directed at Mr. E. R. Hastings who was Headmaster from 1850 to 1897 - but it is more than likely that it was.

The schools in Category B although of early foundation were not preparatory schools in the early part of the century. Mostyn House (1852), which was a leading school in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century under the leadership of A. G. Grenfell, took boys of all ages till 1890 when Grenfell became Headmaster, and turned the school into a purely preparatory one, as R. S. Tabor had done at Cheam in 1855. The Elms, Colwall Herefordshire, founded in 1614, was a school which belonged to the Worshipful Company of Grocers. Not only is its constitution different from that of most other preparatory schools in so far as it is proprietary in character, but also it did not at first take in boys of preparatory school age. St. Michael's, Tenbury, Worcestershire (1856), founded by Sir Frederick Ousely (Gore) (1825-1889) on a Collegiate basis, was essentially a Choir School as were, of course, the Prebendal School, Chichester (1497) and other Cathedral or Choristers Schools which are discussed briefly in Chapter 12.

Category C contains little known preparatory schools of which perhaps the Stonegate school at Leicester is the most interesting. To begin with, it was of early foundation being opened by a Dr. Franklin in Leamington in 1844 but was not 'preparatory' for Leamington College which opened in

the same year. Like Mostyn House, it was not purely preparatory till 1890, long after it had moved to Leicester, its present location. There are no extant records of the school before 1918 but it would seem that although the school has had no distinguished old boys, but has rather provided an education quietly for the sons of professional men and manufacturers, it has distinguished itself in one respect - it has had girls at the school: not many,¹⁷³ but it would seem that after the Dragon School, whose Headmaster C. C. Lynam displayed considerable sympathy towards the emancipation of women, Stoneygate had educated the most girls who were not daughters of staff.

Although the early preparatory schools differed in philosophy, in size and success, they had several features in common in varying degrees which distinguished them from the schools of the later period, after 1880, viz:

1. Living conditions were generally Spartan even by comparison with later school life.
2. In some cases there were masters in charge of boys who by twentieth century standards would be deprived of their living and probably prosecuted for cruelty.
3. Games were at a very rudimentary stage of development, if played at all¹⁸⁴
4. Many of the schools were situated in old houses or mansions - generally large and therefore draughty.
5. The boys were given comparative freedom though some schools were run on a close surveillance principle of the private school as opposed to the freedom of the public school.
6. The ushers, where employed, were generally hacks of the profession who compared usually unfavourably with assistant masters of the later period.

7. Great emphasis was placed on the learning of the classics, which emphasis did not seem to change as the century progressed.

In this respect the preparatory school did not differ from any other institutions providing middle and upper class education in the nineteenth century.

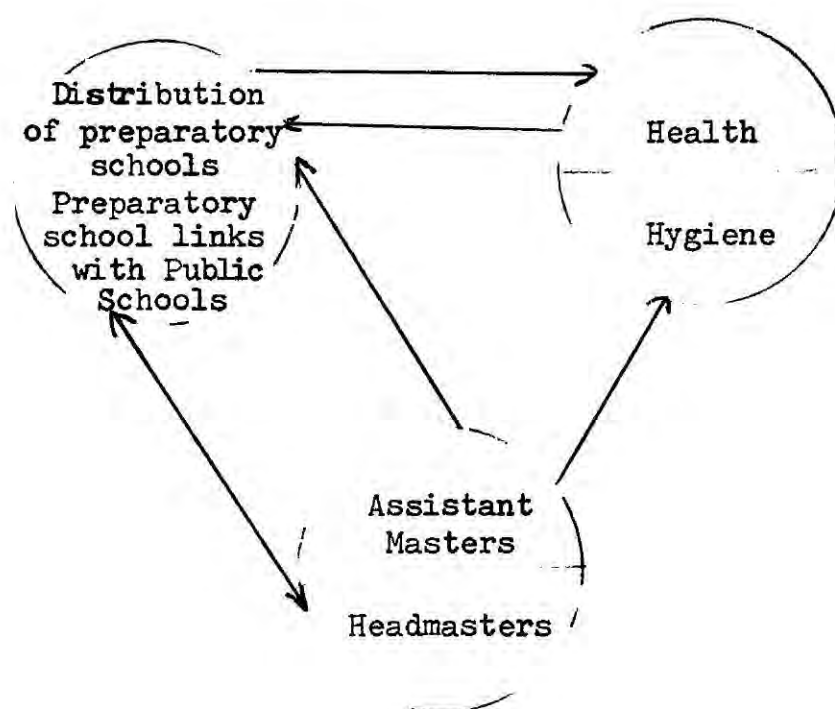
CHAPTER 11

SOME NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH

CENTURY ASPECTS OF PREPARATORY SCHOOLS

This chapter sets out to examine three, not so very discrete, aspects of nineteenth century private preparatory schools. Figure 2 below indicates the links that exist between them.

FIGURE 2



Health considerations such as in the case of Aysgarth School, determined the position of some preparatory schools and of course, were the basic reason for the siting of so many other Preparatory Schools in health resorts on the South Coast. Moreover inland, the spa waters and healthy climate of Malvern made it a natural centre for preparatory schools. The corollary of this observation is that the preparatory school sites in their turn affected the health record of the school, for instance, Red House School escaped any infectious diseases for twelve years¹ largely because of its bracing air in its comparatively remote location in North Yorkshire.

Taking another aspect, such were the poor career prospects of assistant masters in preparatory schools that often they broke away and set up their

own schools. The discontented assistant master of yesterday became the enterprising headmaster of today and in such a way influenced the number, if not the distribution, of preparatory schools in the nineteenth century. Himself, an ex-assistant master of Harrow, the Rev. L. Sanderson, in his school at Elstree provides one of the best examples of a Preparatory school going forth and multiplying. No fewer than six of Sanderson's assistant masters became Headmasters of preparatory schools.² Another example was Charles G. Allum (1849-1900) who was assistant master at Stoke House School (1867) under Rev. St. John Parry and started his own preparatory school at the Wick, Hove in 1887.³

The establishment of links between Preparatory Schools and Public Schools was influenced sometimes by the Headmaster's connection with his previous school. A good example of this is to be found in the case of the Rev. Walter Earle who, leaving Uppingham as Second master, established close links between that school and his own school at Yarlet Hall, Staffordshire and later Bilton Grange, near Rugby. Just as E. P. Frederick introduced Lorettonian ideas into Wells House School, Malvern, so did Walter Earle introduce Thringian ideas to his. Perhaps one closest link though, was established between public schools and private preparatory schools when an assistant master at Rugby School, Mr. Vecqueray, set up his own preparatory school in Rugby, but continued as assistant master at Rugby School.⁴ The last link in the chain, shown in Figure 2, is forged when it is recognised that the close supervision, so characteristic of later preparatory schools - with one of the notable exceptions being the idiosyncratic Lynam's - led to better health and hygiene standards both in the dormitories and the ablutions, under the watchful eye of the duty assistant master, who at any time was likely to demand closer attention to personal hygiene.

The first of these aspects, the distribution of preparatory schools and the preparatory school links with Public schools will now be considered.

Preparatory School Distribution and Links with Public Schools

A brief glance at the map⁵ showing the distribution of A.P.S. Schools in February 1902 gives a clear idea of the pattern of this distribution. These schools were to be found mainly in the home counties of Surrey, Berkshire and Middlesex,⁶ in London itself and the South Coast resorts, with more Preparatory schools in Sussex and Kent than in any other county. They were more heavily concentrated in Eastbourne and Brighton. Outside these areas the greatest concentration of Preparatory schools was to be found at Malvern. Before reaching any firm conclusions about their overall distribution, it is as well to remember that by no means all preparatory schools belonged to the A.P.S. at this time.⁷

It has been suggested that one of the prime considerations in the siting of a preparatory school was the quality of its climate. A healthy climate⁸ meant a prosperous school: an unhealthy climate could lead to financial loss, or even ruin. This factor was an important one but there were others, for instance, schools were often located where large houses were to be found. The Oxford Preparatory School was sited first in Crick Road Oxford,⁹ in a large Victorian villa; many of the Georgian houses in Brighton lent themselves to adaptation as Preparatory Schools. Some preparatory schools were sited near to Public Schools: the schools in and around Rugby like Bilton Grange, Oakfield,¹⁰ Hill Brow¹¹ and Hill Morton¹² are good examples of this kind of development.

Topographical proximity to a public school led to close educational links

as in the cases of St. Goar (1887) and XIV School (1885)¹³ with Clifton School. Other obvious cases of close linkage arising from this 'near neighbour' factor are Twyford with Winchester; Elstree until 1939¹⁴ and Orley Farm with Harrow; and the Bow School with Durham School. Yet another example, though not so close spatially, is Mostyn House, Cheshire, with Shrewsbury, to which school as many as fifty per cent of the Mostyn House boys went between 1890 and 1894.¹⁵

Close links existed between some of the London Preparatory schools and the London Public School, for instance, Durston House, Ealing (1886) sent many boys to St. Paul's School as did Hall School, Crossfield (1889)¹⁶ as well as to Westminster. Rokeby School (1875) in Wimbledon had close links with Westminster from 1883 onwards; and with St. Paul's from 1886 at the same time establishing links with Charterhouse in 1886 and later with Kings School Canterbury in 1897.

In a similar way, it is noted that the Devon Schools of St. Peter's School (1885) and Wolborough Hall School, Newton Abbot (1877) sent many boys to Royal Naval College Dartmouth, thus combining proximity of distance with that of county tradition.

The close ties of other preparatory schools with Public Schools were less easy to explain but were likely to be determined by the clientele at the Preparatory Schools who through their family tradition forge links with Public Schools. In this category were the schools which sent large numbers of boys to Eton viz. Summ^merfields (1864) Parkside (1879) East Horseley, Surrey, Hoddesdon Grange (1854),¹⁷ Stoke House (1867) and Cheam. Under R. S. Tabor most boys went to Eton; fifteen per cent went to Harrow; some half dozen went to Rugby and another half dozen were shared by Winchester, Wellington and Marlborough.¹⁸

Some schools like the Knoll, Woburn Sands Bletchley (1892) had links with a number of schools viz. Harrow, Oundle, Felsted, Charterhouse and Uppingham. St. Andrews School, Eastbourne (1877) had close links with Uppingham and Malvern and to a lesser extent with Charterhouse and Rugby. Homefield School, Sutton (1870) had links with Epsom, Dulwich College, Tonbridge and St. Paul's: whilst less closely linked, during the space of thirty years¹⁹ boys from Eaton House School, Aldburgh had gone to Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, Haileybury, Marlborough, Wellington, Radley, Bradfield, Malvern and Rossall. On the other hand, Liscard Castle Preparatory School, in Cheshire, under Mr. Grundy who was a profound admirer of William Temple, had closest links with Rugby²⁰ only. Similarly Cordwalles, under Canon T. J. Nunns, although having links with Rugby, Charterhouse, Eton and Marlborough had very close links with Winchester.²¹

The importance of a boy going to the right preparatory school for the public school of his choice was made apparent in the case of the future Cardinal Manning who at thirteen went to an early Preparatory School at Totteridge in Hertfordshire where he was prepared for Westminster.²² He found to his cost that he "was made to learn the Westminster Greek Grammar, so that when ... (he) went to Harrow where the Eton Greek Grammar was used ... (he) was thrown out, and had to begin all over again."²³

A closer look at the registers of some Preparatory schools helps to establish patterns of supply between the two types of school. In the case of the Bow School, Durham, it is seen from the Register of the Members of the Old Bowite Society (1918) that seventy-two old Bowites went to Durham School after leaving Bow, almost as many as to all other public schools together. Marlborough had the next highest with thirteen.¹⁴ The same picture is gleaned from an inspection of the Scholarship boards in the Dining Hall. The school

gained thirteen scholarships at Durham School before 1914 and only four at Marlborough, two at Rossall and one each at Loretto and Pocklington.

At another northern School, at Aysgarth, near Bedale, a similar pattern of close links with one school in particular and several others is established between 1877 and October 1906. Charterhouse tops the list with 121, with Eton a fair second with 72 and Harrow 65.²⁵

The now defunct preparatory school of Greenbank, Liverpool of which at one time C.C. Cotterill, the first Honorary Secretary of the A.P.S., was headmaster, had a more evenly spread distribution with sixty-two boys going to Sedburgh, fifty-two to Rugby, forty-seven to Shrewsbury, thirty-eight to Loretto and thirty-four to Uppingham, between 1888-1912.²⁶ Greenbank School's links with the Public Schools are a good example of a changing pattern of provision. In the late eighties and nineties Sedburgh and Rugby were more frequently patronised by old Greenbankians whilst Loretto and Shrewsbury were in the second half of this period.

Taking examples from long established schools the close links with Eton and Harrow are very evident. At Windlesham House, for example from 1837 to 1902, 152 boys went to Harrow, 91 to Eton, 48 to Haileybury and 47 to Rugby.²⁷ At Hoddesdon Grange out of 311 boys, 154 went to Eton, 50 to Harrow²⁸ whilst Charterhouse was a very poor third with eleven.²⁹ By the time the school moved to Seaford in Sussex and became known as Newlands in 1905, it had lost its special relationship with Eton whose position had been lost to Wellington and Charterhouse as chief repositories of Newlands old boys. A glance at Appendix 28 will show that Twyford too had, in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, lost any particularly close link with Winchester compared with other preparatory schools in so far as it sent in some years fewer boys to Winchester than to other public schools.³⁰

The two leading Oxford Preparatory Schools present contrasting pictures of provision. The O.P.S. or Dragon School during the period 1882 to 1913 sent inter alia fifty-five boys to Winchester, twenty to Rossall and sixteen to Repton.³¹ At Summerfields with a longer history and more academic environment, different links were forged. The case of Summerfields is an instructive one in so far as places gained at Public Schools from the Register (1864-1929) for the years 1864-1909 fall into four groups. It can be seen from these four sections how the pattern of preparatory school/public school liaison changed:

Period I 1864-1879

Eton 56 ; Wellington 14 ; Charterhouse 11

Period II 1880-1889

Eton 51 ; Winchester 21 ; Harrow 20

Period III 1890-1899

Eton 98 ; Winchester 46 ; Radley 30

Period IV 1900-1909

Eton 130 ; Radley 35 ; Wellington 29

It can be seen from the above that there was one constant factor in Summerfields' close relationship with Eton.³²

To complete this section on Preparatory and Public School relationships, a glance across the border to Scotland³³ suggest the findings may be a reflection of the advances made in travelling facilities during the years 1883-1933 which allowed a Scottish Preparatory school to be a feeder of English Public Schools. From Ardvreck Preparatory School (1883) boys went in large numbers to English Schools as given on the following page but only the first five schools are listed in rank order:

Rugby	66
Glenalmond	58
Charterhouse	53
Eton	45
Uppingham	43

Fettes received only 36, and Loretto 16 of these Scottish boys.

Health and Hygiene

If Edwin Chadwick (1800-1890), the sanitary reformer, lived in obscurity from 1854 when he resigned from the General Health Board, to 1889 when he was knighted within a year of his death, the debt which the nation owed him in the nineteenth century was incalculable. Through his efforts and later those of Sir John Simon (1816-1904) the standards of health and hygiene were raised so that the overall conditions of life in 1900 contrasted strongly with those of 1800. Gradually the lessons to be learnt from Edwin Chadwick and the social reformer Lord Shaftesbury, another pioneer against dirt and disease, and colleague of Chadwick on the Board of Health, were reluctantly accepted by a grudging populace³⁴ in much the same way as the effects of modern pollution have been only gradually realised. As the standards of hygiene were raised, so naturally did the standard of health and a marked decline was evident in the incidence of infectious diseases from the decade 1870-1880 onwards. In the early years of the century, cholera epidemics were always possible especially in areas of squalor. Edward Frankland (1825-1899), Professor of Chemistry at Owen College, Manchester,³⁵ remembered an outbreak of cholera in Salford in 1831 when "the persons attacked (were) carted away to the hospital and ... everyone wore a Burgundy

pitch plaister on his chest and a little bag of camphor round his neck as preventives."³⁶ General Sir Richard Harrison, as a boy attended the school of the Rev. J. C. Chase at Iver, Buckinghamshire in 1845 where necessary sanitary precautions were taken against cholera by "the washing and scrapings, the purifyings and restrictions put on plums and apples."³⁷ Conditions had so improved by the mid-century that there were no serious cholera epidemics after 1866, and, from 1870, deaths from cholera became few indeed. Further, after 1871, the deaths from small pox, the disease which so fiercely attacked Thomas Cooper, the Chartist, as a boy,³⁸ sharply declined.

The importance of high standards of hygiene in the promotion of good health and the prevention of infections in the closed community of a private boarding school - which the majority of the nineteenth century preparatory schools were - cannot be over emphasised. In such circumstances when few schools had separate sanatoria the visitation of scarlet fever to a school could mean its closure for a month or three weeks, involving loss of income, and in extreme cases could mean the loss of livelihood through the permanent closure of the school. Infectious diseases were regarded by schoolmasters therefore in the nineteenth century as a scourge from which few expected to escape for very long. Though not a preparatory school, Thorp Arch Grange (see p.136*) is a good example of how illness could bring death to a school, which almost ruined it. In 1870 there was an outbreak of scarlet fever in which the Rev. Hiley lost two sons and another pupil; and almost lost his wife. The whole school was sent home (which was the usual measure taken in the absence of a school sanatorium) for an indefinite period. Strong measures were necessary in this crisis and a whole building was purified with "papers being washed off the walls and windows left open night and day"³⁹ Only after

four doctors had pronounced it safe to do so did Hiley recall his diminished flock.

Similarly in the 1850s Eagle House School, Hammersmith, was attacked by scarlet fever and diphtheria: three boys died. Such a record could be ruinous to a school and for three years no new boy came to the school. The Rev. Dr. Huntingford, Headmaster (1847-1874) saw the need for prompt action as "the calamity of illness had branded the house with ill repute"⁴⁰ and removed the school completely from Brook Green, Hammersmith to the vacated buildings of the army "crammer", the Rev. J. M. Brackenbury.

Again in 1896 an outbreak of diphtheria at Twyford seriously disrupted the school, with boys going sick, and it engulfed the telegraph department of the village post office with enquiries from anxious parents.⁴¹ A lease had to be obtained on another building in Winchester so that the healthy could continue school work whilst the Twyford school building was given over to diphtheria and its victims. It was not for nothing that prayers for any members of school who were sick were to be found in the Twyford School Prayer Book.⁴² After the death of two boys in 1896, a change of location was mooted but in the event a new sanatorium and a complete overhauling of the building, including the drainage system in 1897, was the final outcome.⁴³ The overhaul consisted of "the complete excavation of the soil beneath all floors and round all foundations; the laying of a bed of concrete over the whole of this space; the removal of a large block consisting of very mysterious and unapproachable cupboards and dark places around the boot room itself."⁴⁴

If a complete overhaul saved Twyford from further upheaval by a complete removal to another location, it was felt at Hoddesdon Grange that conditions were not conducive to healthy living. The school was beginning to gain a

reputation for its insanitary conditions and numbers were dwindling. The school therefore moved to Seaford in 1905 where first of all two houses were rented. After the area had been carefully surveyed, land was bought cheaply and £10,000 was expended to build a purpose designed preparatory school free from the taint of insanitation.⁴⁵

Illness, however, in Victorian times was a part of the general expectation of life. Children were expected to experience the childish ailments of whooping cough, measles, chicken pox, mumps and scarlet fever. Some caught typhoid, and a few diphtheria and small pox. As P. Shaw Jeffrey has observed, "in the 60s, 70s and 80s we knew nothing about vitamins or slimming or diet ... Nobody had ever heard of appendicitis. Typhoid and diphtheria and typhus and small pox were always epidemic somewhere, and people still talked of and feared the Plague, the Black Death."⁴⁶ It is probably not generally realised that the first operation carried out with anaesthetic was performed as late as 1846; that chloroform was used for the first time in 1850 and that antiseptic surgery was probably not universal till 1870⁴⁷ - such was the comparatively rudimentary knowledge of scientific medicine by mid-century.

The fear which School Principals and Headmasters had of a scarlet fever or measles visitation is expressed in the Private Schoolmaster when it noted that "outbreaks of even mild epidemics have proved so disastrous to schools - public and private - that the mere suggestion of measles and scarlet fever is sufficient to instil fear into the hearts of all ... sanitary conditions are now as much desired by principals as examination successes."⁴⁸ A later edition of the Private Schoolmaster of December 15th 1887 (Vol. 1 No. 2) noted that in the then current epidemic, fifteen more schools had broken up including three of the largest grammar schools in the country. Felsted

"which possesse/d sanitary appliances of remarkable excellence" had closed. A crie de coeur went up from the Editor who asked "How can we keep this monster from assailing us? How can we check the ruinous epidemic when once it obtains admission?" Clement Dukes,⁴⁹ the Medical Officer of Rugby, offered advice in the columns of the Private Schoolmaster - instant isolation - perfect quarantine - perfect disinfection - plenty of cubic space - ventilation - efficient drainage - pure water. The Summerfields School Magazine for April 1898 noted a serious influenza epidemic in which "scarcely a boy in the school has escaped." The Editor added that nevertheless the school had much to be thankful for since "nearly every school in England, whether public or preparatory, has been visited by mumps, measles, etc., and sometimes by two or three of these epidemics at the same time." The Editor of the Draconian, the school magazine of the Dragon School, its near neighbour, noted gloomily that "with a measles epidemic on the tapis, it is unlikely that there will be much to record in the way of football, hockey or athletic fixtures during the term."⁵⁰ School fixture lists in football and other Spring term sports were constantly being wrecked by schools being in quarantine.⁵¹

It is interesting, despite the unhealthy situation of Oxford in the damp laden atmosphere of the Thames basin, that C. C. Lynam, the Headmaster of O.P.S. should refer in his speech at prize days in July 1897 and 1904 to the healthy situation of the school, especially in view of the outbreaks in June 1890, July 1891, July 1893, April 1895,⁵² February 1898, April 1902,⁵³ December 1903, April 1906 and March 1907. Could it be that he was using the opportunity of prize day, with many parents present, in a euphoric mood to reassure them of the unlikelihood of being attacked by some infectious disease?

It is ironic that sickness and disease which were a constant threat to the closure of several schools should also be a cause of the birth of another. In September 1903 a small contingent of seven boys went from Summerfields, Oxford, to St. Leonards on Sea and under the guidance of Mr. Maclaren and a Mr. and Mrs. Compton set up Summerfields by the Sea where time was spent by delicate boys in brine baths.

Such was the persistence of some of the childish diseases in preparatory schools that even in 1930 Eagle House School, which had moved from Brackenbury's in 1886 to Sandhurst, Berkshire, was reduced from twenty-nine to five by an outburst of chicken pox and measles.⁵⁴ It would be misleading, however, if a general impression is left of infectious disease attacking most schools and most schoolboys most of the time. Although through a school career of ten years one could expect to meet with illness of some kind, some were fortunate and escaped. F. Anstey (alias T. A. Guthrie) experienced no epidemic whilst at his private school in Surbiton:⁵⁵ and Osbert Sitwell could recall very few cases of illness at his preparatory school of Bloodsworth, despite the insanitary conditions of the school where boys bathed once a week" in the same, thick viscous warm water."⁵⁶

What were the early preventive measures in health and hygiene to combat illness? Some schools like Rev. Rawson's School at Seaforth which W. E. Gladstone attended,⁵⁷ were fortunate in being placed in healthy situations: other schools less favoured had to resort to physic to retain a healthy record. It was for this reason that at Temple Grove, where A. G. Liddell "was soon troubled with chilblains",⁵⁸ caused as much by calcium deficiency as by cold, that sulphur and treacle was periodically dished out to the boys⁵⁹ whilst at Eagle House the matron brought in before breakfast a tray full of wine glasses containing a black dose of senna for those not well.⁶⁰

The boys' heads were infrequently washed at Temple Grove in the morning which task was carried out by the lady teachers who rinsed the boys' heads with a spongeful of rosemary: feet were washed once a fortnight by the maids.⁶¹

Later in the century some schools saw the advantages of having a separate school sanatorium away from the school buildings, as was the sick house at Mortlake which served Temple Grove in O. C. Waterfield's time and must have been one of the earliest sanatoria. Stubbington House was another school which pioneered the way in the provision of sanatoria and in its building additions in mid-century, two sanatoria were provided. Yet another early provision of this nature was the sick wing at St. Roman's, Hawkshurst, Kent, which was provided in 1883 when the school first opened. Aysgarth (1890) and Mostyn House (1890) were two further schools to be furnished with sanatoria at an early date. Mostyn House regarded this provision as more important than the early provision of a gymnasium which it did not build till two years later in 1892, and a Chapel in 1897. Similarly the The Knoll, Woburn Sands, Bletchley provided a sanatorium first in 1893, then a chapel in 1897 followed by a gymnasium in 1902.

In a survey of 120 schools which Rev. C. T. Wickham conducted in connection with his Report on Health and Physical Training in Preparatory Schools for the Board of Education Report 1900, he discovered that of the seventy schools with more than thirty boys, forty-five had a sick room and a sanatorium; thirteen had a sick room and twelve had a sanatorium only. Of the other fifty schools with fewer than thirty boys, twenty-four had a sick room with a sanatorium; twenty-five had a sick room and two had only a sanatorium. Progress, in the larger schools especially, had been quite considerable.⁶²

The risk of illness was minimised in later years by the practice of instructing the boys to bring a doctor's clearance certificate to be sent with the boys at the beginning of the term.⁶³ The restriction of exeats also helped to prevent the introduction of diseases from outside.

During the early years of the twentieth century, the A.P.S. became very conscious of the problem to schools, arising from epidemic diseases which were so disruptive of school routine; and from time to time reference was made in the columns of the P.S.R. to this aspect of school life. In July 1900 (No. 16) the P.S.R. reported on a case of nasal diphtheria in a school which had to be closed down for three weeks in January 1900 to allow it to be disinfected.

From time to time letters appeared in the P.S.R. demanding action to combat school epidemics. In July 1901 (No. 19), a letter signed Maculosis, asked the Headmasters of Preparatory Schools to act against the scourge of measles in Lent term. Lionel Helbert, of West Downs School,⁶⁴ suggested in July 1907 (No. 37) that the whole subject ought to be brought out into the open so that Headmasters, who were usually reticent about admitting to the presence of an epidemic for fear of losing boys taken away by anxious parents, could be free to discuss openly possible ways of combatting the problem by pooling experiences. In the same edition of the P.S.R. appeared a report on the 1907 International Congress on School Hygiene, at which Mr. J. T. Ainslie Walker had read a paper on "Disinfection of Schools". The main purport of this paper was the recognition of the need to deal with dust, if infectious diseases were to be prevented. As if to emphasise the point, there appeared in the same edition an advertisement for 'Florigene' by the Dust Allayer Co. of 165 Queen Victoria Street, London, offering to process floors of schools and laboratories during vacations. It was claimed

that this service was already being used by the Rev. E. L. Browne of St. Andrews School Eastbourne; Mr. L. T. Thring of The Wick, Brighton and Mr. O. H. Latter of Charterhouse.

At the Tenth Annual Conference in 1901, W. Collier, Hon. Physician to the Radcliffe Infirmary, Oxford read a paper on the "Preparatory School from a Health Point of View" which was duly reported in the P.S.R. (No. 21 March 1902). Dr. Collier observed that during the past twenty-five years more thought had gone into the general health of boys as the number of preparatory schools had increased. More attention was being paid to the sanitary conditions of buildings;⁶⁵ to the ventilation of dormitories and classrooms; to the quality of food⁶⁶ and to the prevention of zymotic or epidemic diseases.

Concern for the damaging effects of school epidemics led the A.P.S. to form a sub-committee to inquire into the possibility of taking out insurance against the eventuality. H. Strahan,⁶⁷ (of Seabrook Lodge School, Sandgate) the Chairman of this sub-committee, found that insurance schemes were too prohibitive and reflected the notoriety of school epidemics in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁶⁸

Finding no comfort from this quarter, the Association, in December 1911, really got down to the task of considering the problem, when a paper entitled "Infectious Diseases" was read at the Annual Conference by H. G. Armstrong, the Medical Officer to Wellington College. Armstrong demonstrated by statistics that preparatory school boys were twice as unprotected from epidemic diseases as public school boys because of the nature of some diseases not striking twice.⁶⁹ His figures were based on five public schools in 1911 and thirty-one preparatory schools with a total of 1,800 boys. He concluded that generally amongst preparatory school boys, 33% get measles;

19% whooping cough; 32% Chicken pox; 11% mumps; 17% rubella⁷⁰ and 3% scarlet fever.

Preparatory Schoolmasters

Preparatory School Headmasters by the end of the century were generally graduates of Oxford or Cambridge. Most of them had been public schoolboys and many of them had been public Schoolmasters like Rev. William Earle (Uppingham) of Bilton Grange, Mr. E. D. Mansfield (Clifton) of Lambrook and the Rev. Herbert Bull (Wellington) of Wellington House School, Westgate-on-Sea. Such men were apostles of public school and university ideas. According to C. C. Cotterill, in his Report on Masters in Preparatory Schools in the Board of Education Report 1900,⁷¹ the ratio of laity to clergy was six to one. Preparatory school headmasters' incomes varied from £150 per annum to £15,000 and their profits from nil upwards.⁷² Such men had a spirit of financial enterprise, common to all private schoolmasters, and judging by their success in the last two decades of the nineteenth and the first two of the twentieth century, were resourceful and persistent men who devoted much time and patience to their boys.

Some assistant masters in preparatory schools at the turn of the century might quarrel with this last comment on the grounds largely that they too devoted much time to the boys, but with much less financial reward. By comparison with Headmasters, assistant masters were poor not only in financial remuneration but also in career prospects. The glut of schoolmasters which G. Baron⁷³ noticed, building up from about 1870 and reaching saturation point in the 1890s, was evident also in the preparatory schools.⁷⁴ The preparatory schools became the repositories for athletic young men like Mr. Simpson, sports master at Elmley Preparatory School⁷⁵ or for those

"uninterested and mentally lazy men who devoted themselves too much to playing fields," to whom Osbert Sitwell referred in his The Scarlet Tree.⁷⁶ Some were failures in the profession like the Rev. Mr. Adcock, also at Elmley Preparatory School, or like those unnamed failures described by the Rev. Hon. E. Lyttelton in Memories and Hopes.⁷⁷ Other preparatory school masters were "birds of passage", like Marcus Dods, a musician at Greenbank Preparatory School (1898-1900); Shelley W. Rix (1900-1906), who became a solicitor at Beccles; Guy Rathbone; and George R. Loch, who entered the Home Civil Service in 1910 - all of whom were also at Greenbank Preparatory School, Liverpool,⁷⁸ filling in time before entering other professions. Many other "birds of passage" who stayed in the profession stayed only a short while at one school before moving on to another, so that often schools had a rapid turnover of staff:⁷⁹ for instance at Aysgarth Preparatory School between 1876 and 1914 there were eighty-two assistant masters; but thirty-nine of them stayed for one year or less.⁸⁰ Such "birds of passage" were a source of income to unscrupulous scholastic agencies whose profits depended on a constantly fluid market. Eric Parker was doubtful whether more than a few Oxford and Cambridge graduates had any definite purpose in taking up a teaching career - at least in preparatory schools. For penniless newlyqualified graduates, the schools provided a means of employment pro tem.⁸¹ He went on to note that of sixty preparatory school assistants with whom he had worked, twenty-four were still assistant masters, eight were curates, four had achieved schools of their own, one became a barrister, another a solicitor, one a professional tenor, one a grower of tomatoes, another became a bookmaker whilst "another digs for gold". He further observed that "of these twenty-four, one ha(d) set himself to learn shorthand; another ha(d) unsettled notions as to the bicycle trade and the profits of a beer house." He concluded that a man was worse off at forty than at twenty-five.

since a) he had the same salary and b) he was still expected to play games on the sportsfield. Rather like the prostitute, the assistant master in a preparatory school who remained so, started at the peak of his career.

A.P.S. members were very conscious of the plight of the preparatory school assistant master which they themselves were largely responsible for, since their respective interests, of Head and assistant, in some respects, were diametrically opposed. For a preparatory school Headmaster to make the maximum profit, the assistant had to be poorly paid: and for the Headmaster to satisfy parents by his guarantee of constant supervision of their sons, the free time of the assistant master had to be encroached on by irksome duties. In the very first issue of the P.S.R. in 1895, an article appeared entitled "The Assistant Master, Past, Present and Future" which distinguished between the graduate usually to be found teaching in Preparatory Schools and those in Public Schools or Quasi-Public Schools, who having gained firsts and seconds had been advised by their College tutor "Never have anything to do with a Preparatory School if you want to get on." The Master in the Preparatory School normally had a Third Class Honours or Pass Degree and "with the nip of poverty ... at his heels plunges in at the door which bids him leave all hope behind." Although this article is patronizing to the assistant preparatory schoolmaster, it did make useful suggestions⁸² some of which were later taken up by the A.P.S. It suggested inter alia

1. an insurance scheme for assistant masters;
2. a register of assistants;
3. lower salaries initially to allow for increments;⁸³
4. responsible and well paid posts for successful preparatory schoolmasters over thirty without supervision duties;

5. a system of student masterships for pre-university men wishing to take up schoolmastering after gaining their degree.

In the very next edition of the P.S.R. (Vol. 1 No. 2 December 1895), A. C. Bartholomew, Headmaster of Park House School, Reading, contributed a much discussed article in which he considered the Assistant Master and his career prospects, at the same time exhorting Thrift⁸⁴ on his part. This article was based on the premise that "an assistant master who has not started on the uphill task of building up a school for himself by the time he has reached thirty-five, has a very unpromising future before him."⁸⁵ He reiterated the suggestion of a pension scheme and in consequence all A.F.S. Heads, Headmasters of Public Schools and retired preparatory School headmasters were circularised, but only twenty per cent replied. The Mutual Life Assurance Society was approached and when this firm showed interest, the Public School Headmasters were approached a second time to see if they would support a bonus scheme for assistant preparatory schoolmasters who exercised thrift and saved. This appeal had a mixed reception. James of Rugby (November 6th 1895) was prepared to send a subscription whenever it was wanted; Glazebrook of Clifton (November 11th 1895) promised to subscribe £10 per annum; G. C. Bell of Marlborough (November 11th 1895) expressed "hearty sympathy"; but Fearon of Winchester (December 7th 1895) was more sceptical: he wrote:

"As soon as twenty Headmasters of Preparatory Schools have become subscribers, I will contribute £10 a year as long as I am at Winchester."

Individual assistant masters of preparatory schools who had no organization like their Heads,⁸⁶ were cynical of A. C. Bartholomew's proposals and complained under cover of pseudonyms in the columns of the P.S.R. In July

1897 one wrote very bluntly: "the Assistant master claims your respect. He is not your servant, he is your assistant. Treat him as such. Treat him and trust him as you ought ... Pay him rather more than you pay your butler or coachman, but above all, treat him and trust him as a gentleman." Addressing Headmasters he continued, "Individually we do honour some of you, but as a body, I repeat we do not respect you." Another contributor described Bartholomew's scheme as charity⁸⁷ which should rightly be rejected. As an alternative he made the far more radical proposal that Heads ought to offer partnership to long serving and successful assistant masters. Schemes for the improvement of the lot of assistant masters were as the kiss of death unless there were a fundamental reappraisal of the respective roles of both head and assistant. The days of the usher⁸⁸ should be over: no longer should an O. C. Waterfield terrify both boys and masters alike.⁸⁹

Despite the cynicism of some assistant masters, the A.P.S. through the efforts of individual members pressed forward with their reforms. Some like the pension scheme were a failure: others like the arrangements for teacher training with Oxford University were a very qualified success.⁹⁰ The dissident preparatory schoolmasters, because they were not organised could either accede, become public schoolmasters or leave the profession altogether. At the Sixth Annual Conference, when Mr. E. P. Arnold,⁹¹ Headmaster of Wixenford,⁹² was in the Chair, a concession was made to the assistant masters in that they were allowed to the public part of the A.P.S. Conferences. E. D. Mansfield, Headmaster of Lambrook one of the guiding influences in the A.P.S. in its early days, re-proposed the institution of student Masterships in Preparatory schools in an article in the P.S.R. (No. 9 March 1898). This followed the Committee of Council's Report of the Joint Committee on the Training of Teachers (1898) which recommended a year's

training for future graduate teachers, (only now being implemented). Such a scheme would partly tackle the problem of "birds of passage" who used the preparatory schools to pay off college debts and to "look around" and in doing so diminished the value of the dedicated long serving assistant master.

Before 1914 then, A.P.S. members tried hard to close the gap which had existed from early days between Heads and Assistants. C. C. Lynam, on his speech days at O.P.S. always had a special word of praise for the worthiness of his staff. Such new attitudes were necessary by the end of the nineteenth century if discontented masters were not to leave and set up their own schools, for as Vigilemus⁹³ noted, "Headmasters cannot better safeguard their interests than by reducing the number of prospective competitors."⁹⁴

CHAPTER 12

LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY PREPARATORY SCHOOLS

"Whatever the alleged cruelties of public schools of that day, (1812) I cannot believe that they equalled the atrocity of a genteel preparatory establishment in which the smallest boy was given up, without any check from the bigger, to the mercies of boys less small."

Earl of Lytton : The Life of Edward Bulwer,
1st Lord Lytton.
 MacMillan 1913 p. 40.

One of the basic premises concerning nineteenth century preparatory schools is, that in the last quarter of the century, fundamental changes took place in their character which transformed them from Spartan institutions to ones in which the comforts of home, the appreciation of maternal solicitude, the practice of muscular christianity and the ideas of rudimentary child psychology, were allowed full play. The changing attitudes to health and hygiene were but one aspect of this upper class educational revolution. There were others and it is the purpose of this chapter to examine the changes and in so doing, characterise the later nineteenth century preparatory school.¹

By way of commending the 1900 Report or Blue Book on Preparatory Schools, Michael Sadler, as Director of the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports, wrote to Sir George Kekewich, Secretary of the Board of Education, in the following way:

"During the last two decades [*my italics*] they have made notable advances in general efficiency, and it is doubtful whether any other part of our national education has been distinguished by a more rapid and comprehensive improvement. In many respects

they may be said to be the best schools of their kind in the world."²

Certainly public school masters agreed with Sadler in view of the difference which the then recent products of the preparatory school made, in the life of the public schools in the 1890s. There was less evidence of boys baiting masters in the public schools, largely due thought the Rev. Hon. E. Lyttelton, Head of Haileybury,³ to the very good relationship existing between masters and boys in the modern preparatory school. Because of their preparatory school experience, public school boys could look on their masters as friends and advisers. Apart from the storm in the teacup at Monkton Combe in 1900, and the odd affair at Isleworth International College,⁴ there had not been a rebellion since that which took place at Marlborough in 1851.⁵ In such a climate of friendly social intercourse, most of the early barbarity to be found in public schools had disappeared.⁶

Arthur Benson, assistant master at Eton College, likewise appreciated the good influences of preparatory schools on public schools. He gave them credit for

- i) their improvement of the status and social position of the assistant master, as apposed to the usher;⁷
- ii) their improved teaching;
- iii) their improved standards of health;
- iv) the decrease in their size.⁸

As regards his last observation, Benson was only partly correct. Modern preparatory schools were generally smaller⁹ than some early preparatory schools i.e. those which were run on professional lines, but Benson was overlooking the fact that many early preparatory schools, of the rectory school type, had only six to twelve pupils: further, at least one well

established early preparatory school (Hoddesdon), was never allowed to be larger than twenty-five.¹⁰

It is tempting to reflect that the main reason for public schools being less of a bear garden was that perhaps life was less rough generally in any case, than it had been in 1850. On the other hand, because of the close attention to food, heating,¹¹ lighting,¹² clothing and games, there could be, to use Benson's words: "few of the ill-fed, dirty neglected looking boys that existed in most of the large preparatory schools of fifty years ago."¹³ Further, "unobtrusive vigilance," made easy by the adoption of a domestic system,¹⁴ had replaced "sturdy neglect",¹⁵ as the modus vivendi in these schools: at Eaton House School, Aldeburgh, the very young boys were encouraged to come at all times to the ladies of the school, and to the matron; whilst the masters "who spend the greater part of their time with the boys" made a point of "establishing a high tone and developing a manly spirit."¹⁷

Perhaps, too, the improvement of the preparatory schools might be linked with the movement for the emancipation of women which J. S. Mill, F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley supported. With her having a greater say in the running of the household, the partly emancipated Victorian mother would be instrumental in securing change and a less harsh regime for the education of her son in his tender years.¹⁸ One such innovation in preparatory schools, where dormitories had been large, was the cubicle system first introduced by William Sewell at Radley.¹⁹ At St. George's, Ascot, for instance, this system was adopted which gave to each boy some of the privacy of his home. Similarly, Abbey School, Beckenham, Kent, had two dormitories divided into seventy-one cubicles.²⁰ Eaton House, adopted a different system and all the school bedrooms were close to staff bedrooms

and were 'visited late and early, and watched and guarded, as those of children at home."²¹

Under the guiding influence of "muscular Christianity",²² the aim of which was to produce Christian gentlemen of a manly disposition, preparatory schools began to take an increasing interest in the value of the sports field,²³ perhaps too much so in some cases:²⁴ for instance at Gresson's School, Worthing, (General Sir) Charles Harrington's foot was pegged down in the nets so that he could not run away.²⁵ Eaton House School took their games seriously too: one of the assistant masters, the Rev. E. B. H. Berwick, a county football player, supervised the football and all boys were expected to play.²⁶ Cricket and football, in their respective seasons, were played regularly every Wednesday and Saturday afternoon, either in the form of school practice or a school match. The main change that had taken place in this area of school activity was that whereas in early days some masters used to play in school matches in a desultory and less organised system, later, schools became very competitive. Often professional coaches were used who, with the drill sergeant, helped to create in every boy mens sana in corpore sano. Sporting clashes between schools, such as those between the Dragon School (O.P.S.) and Wells House School, Malvern (both upholders of Lorettonian ideals) became matters of great import.²⁷ School magazines were filled with reports of matches and critical comment²⁸ on the strengths and weaknesses of individual players in the teams, which were usually listed. At St. George's Ascot, the three best Rugby players were allowed to wear a light blue velvet cap with a silver Maltese cross and a tassle on it.²⁹ It was this cult of athleticism, as rampant in the preparatory as in the public schools, which Arthur Benson criticised, but to which not all schools were so heavily committed.³⁰

A contemporary development of this cult and one which, to a certain extent, acted as a counterpoise to it, was that of hobbies in preparatory schools. Boys were encouraged to take an interest in nature, in keeping gardens, collecting stamps, in carpentry, woodcarving, model making and instrumental music, some of which activities made wet days less purgatorial for masters on duty, left to cope with boys who in earlier days would have been otherwise mischievously employed.

Even before the improvement of the preparatory school in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, official recognition of the existence and role of preparatory schools was given in the Taunton Report.³¹ By 1868 it was recognised as common place practice that the education of boys of the upper classes was given in at least two school stages and that it was beneficial for the smaller boys to be separated from their older brothers. Following the early example of Arnold, public schools were generally taking only boys of thirteen or fourteen although Eton still continued to take boys of a slightly younger age.

The S.I.C. recognised the close links between the Public Schools and Preparatory Schools in view of the former's dominance of the latter's curriculum.³² In its logical way the Taunton Commission, having graded the secondary schools into three categories, attempted to do the same for preparatory schools,³³ and so recognised three grades of preparatory school. Those preparatory schools run usually by Oxford and Cambridge graduates were regarded as first grade preparatory schools; dame/preparatory schools, where the age range went beyond that of the pre-preparatory stage were regarded as second grade preparatory schools.³⁴ Driven on remorselessly by the logic of its argument, it concluded that National Schools were the preparatory schools of the third grade for the sons of farmers and tradesmen who left school at fourteen. The curriculum of such "preparatory schools"

would only be elementary in character.

In its consideration of the preparatory school, the S.I.C. concluded that endowed grammar schools like Honiton Grammar School and Fauconberger's School, Beccles, which were taking on the role of preparatory school by taking in only boys of less than fourteen years old, were not altogether fulfilling the founders' original intention, and advised against such future developments.³⁵ The fact that the S.I.C. could consider the position of the endowed school vis a vis a preparatory school role suggests that despite official recognition of its role, the preparatory school concept was still in a fluid state and that the institutionalization of preparatory school education, characteristic of the last two decades of the century, had not noticeably begun. The reference in the Bryce Commission Report, on the other hand, to the possible creation of rural preparatory schools by local authorities³⁶ and public preparatory schools for elementary school children,³⁷ suggests that the private preparatory school of the late nineteenth century was an institution which was not only recognised but also admired as a possible subject of emulation.

O. C. Waterfield, of Temple Grove, who gave evidence to the S.I.C., on the same day that John Collingwood Bruce of Percy Street Academy was questioned,³⁸ (24th April 1866), spoke against small preparatory schools opened in an amateurish fashion by indigent clergymen (rectory schools) and orphaned clergymen's daughters (Dame Schools). These views were natural from one who might have regarded these dame schools, in particular, as possible rivals to early 'professional' preparatory schools, since it might seem that the gentler sex could become recognised as the more natural teacher of young boys. It might have seemed that the 'orthodox' preparatory school could be slowly ground between the two mill stones of the public

school above and the dame school below, so that little remained for the preparatory school except the age range of eleven to thirteen. In the event, the dame schools tended to concentrate on the lower age range from five to eight and in many cases were pre-preparatory rather than preparatory schools.³⁹ Such possible fears were perhaps unfounded.

An understanding critic of the preparatory school was the Saturday Review which published an article on "Private or Preparatory Schools" on February 7th 1880, later reproduced in the Private Schoolmaster. This article noted a decline in the dame schools providing preparatory education "which seem to have fallen into disfavour of late years." This statement is a debateable one in view of the very profuse evidence for the sturdy continuation of the dame/preparatory school into the twentieth century, and at the most this decline can have been only relative. No doubt many so-called dame preparatory schools continued into the twentieth century, concentrating largely at the younger end of the age range and overlapping perhaps with the kindergarten and P.N.E.U. movements. The education of John Rushworth, Earl Jellicoe, is a case in point of the preparatory and pre-preparatory schools finding their respective roles. At the age of seven, the future victor of Jutland, attended the dame school kept by the Misses Shapcott at Southampton, in 1866 staying three to four years before moving at the age of eleven to Field House Preparatory School, Rottingdean, kept by two schoolmasters J. and W. Hewitt.⁴⁰ Sir Henry Johnston attended two dame/preparatory schools viz. the Misses Selby of Surbiton, and the Misses Pace of Camberwell which school Joseph Chamberlain once attended. Both these Schools were in contrast to his early dame schooling at Brixton referred to in note 113 of Chapter 2. Having mastered the three R's at Brixton, Johnston went on to learn French and study Botany at the school of

the Misses Selbys.⁴¹

Among dame/preparatory schools which existed after the Saturday Review's 'valediction' on them, was the Fir Lodge Preparatory School kept by a Miss Higgins at Crystal Palace, which Ernest Shackleton (b. 1874) attended before going to Dulwich College in 1887.⁴² Further, Sir Henry Tizard (b. 1885), the pioneer aviator, attended Enfield House kept by three maiden ladies, who had sent more than one boys to H.M.S. Britannia.⁴³

Although the dame/preparatory school which Robert Graves attended at Wimbledon⁴⁴ (before going to Mr. C. D. Olive (1877-1909) at Rokeby, Wimbledon), was not a good school,⁴⁵ there were nevertheless many women in other schools who were very suited to the task of teaching young boys. One such teacher was Mrs. Moore who kept St. Andrews School, a small school of about twenty boys at Tenby. She taught Mathematics and Latin to Admiral Lord Chatfield⁴⁶ who paid tribute to her teaching in his autobiography when he wrote "it was to her I owe it, that when twelve years old, I passed the competitive examination at Burlington House, fairly high up."⁴⁷ This widow, Mrs. Moore was a remarkable woman and played football and cricket with the boys; ran in paper chases and looked after them like a mother. It was dame/preparatory schools like this and the one belonging to Miss Roberts of Bath (10 Lansdowne Crescent)⁴⁸ which Arthur Waugh attended, which caused him to write:

"I am inclined to believe that, in spite of all its drawbacks, it was as good and as wise an institution as any that could be contrived by the wit of man. In many respects, indeed, it was better, for very few men understand boys of such tender years, or can manage them as tactfully as women do."⁴⁹

The afore mentioned dame/preparatory schools are all now defunct but some nineteenth century schools have survived into the twentieth century

and now, under Headmasters, are members of the I.A.P.S. One dame/preparatory school, in fact, St. Bede's, Eastbourne, started by Mrs. Browne, the widow of the Rev. F. H. Browne, Headmaster of Ipswich School, in 1894,⁵⁰ has not only survived into the twentieth century but has also incorporated Tyttenhanger Lodge School⁵¹ (formerly of Hertfordshire and later of Seaford), an early A.P.S. School, once owned by Mr. A. H. Trollope. The most famous of dame/preparatory schools was that started in Oxford in 1864 by Mrs. Archibald Maclaren, who was succeeded by her son-in-law, the Rev. C. E. Williams in 1897 when it ceased to be a dame/preparatory school. The two Bristol Preparatory Schools, XIV School and St. Goar, were both started by women. XIV School, started in 1885, at 14 Apsley Road, Clifton, was kept for two years by two sisters; St. Goar School was started by the Misses Lemon and in 1890 (?) was passed to a Miss Peake, who in 1906 (?) handed it on to a Miss Rose. The old Buckenham School, (1862) which was known as South Lodge School, Lowestoft till 1937, was owned by the Misses Ringer until 1891 when it was taken over by the Rev. W. R. Phillips⁵² and ceased to be a dame/preparatory school. Another such school started in the 1860s was Mulgrave School (1868) which was called Homefield from 1870 onwards. It was owned by a Miss Rose (1868-1892) and then by a Mrs. Bomford from 1892-1912, when this feminine citadel fell to a Mr. Walford who was Headmaster for forty-one years (1912-1953). Marton Hall School, Bridlington, Yorkshire was a dame/preparatory school which had changed location four times by 1912.⁵³ It began in c. 1889 when two Wilson sisters set up school with two sons of a solicitor and three children of a doctor. By the end of the century it had acquired some playing fields and a male partner, moreover, boarders were taken in for the first time. Some day preparatory schools were man-and-wife affairs, like St. Faith's Cambridge (1884), which

was started by Mr. and Mrs. Goodchild and later bought in 1909 by a Mr. H. Lower; yet others began as preparatory schools with Headmasters at the helm; but because of an early death of the Headmaster, the widow found herself in charge so making the school pro. tem. a dame/preparatory school. Two good examples of this are Arden House (1869)⁵⁴ where the Rev. W. Nelson died in 1879 and Mrs. Nelson carried on the school before she remarried and W. L. Bicknell, her second husband, became Headmaster.⁵⁵ Mrs. Nelson was not alone for long before she was joined by her second husband; but Mrs. Charles Malden, ran Windlesham House School, after her husband's death, single handed (with her assistants), from 1896 to 1927.⁵⁶

As Arthur Waugh has suggested, the dame/preparatory schools contributed in no small way to the improvement of preparatory schools in the late nineteenth century, but such improvements were gradual, the beginnings of which are almost imperceptible to the educational historian. However, in 1869, a decision was made by an assistant master at Eton, the Rev. John Hawtrey, which represents something of a landmark in the improvement of the English Preparatory School.

On June 5th 1869, following the celebrations of the Fourth, a notice appeared in the Times announcing that the Rev. John Hawtrey intended to continue his work of looking after young boys but outside Eton.⁵⁷ The school began at Aldin House, Slough, in September, when most of the boys who formed the nucleus of the new school, had been the youngest boys at Eton. From that time, Aldin House or Hawtrey's as it was generally called, was the preparatory school for Eton. Hawtrey's boys were prepared psychologically for Eton which was only two miles away but occasionally, as in the case of Stanley Baldwin,⁵⁸ the boys went to other schools. From the beginning, it was renowned for its special care of young boys, for its small teaching

groups (1-10) and its compulsory games.⁵⁹ In 1871 Aldin House began to play other Schools like Waterfield's of East Sheen (Temple Grove) and Tabor's of Cheam: Hawtrey's boys were made to dress professionally for their games for which they were intensely coached so that many old boys played in public schools XIs.⁶⁰

Arthur Sebright, who was originally at Eton as a small boy and was one of Hawtrey's original pupils at Slough, was full of praise for his early alma mater. This aristocrat, sportsman and man of the world wrote:

"I do not suppose that there ever was or ever will be a school where the boys were so well cared for, so well fed, of received in every respect so much individual attention as they did at Aldin House. No School ever possessed a better tone, or took more pains to bring up the boys to be gentlemen in every sense of the word."⁶¹

Despite this encomium, Hawtrey's provides an excellent example of conflicting views about the merits and defects of a nineteenth century preparatory school, which suggest that all evidence from general biography about such schools should be tempered by a recognition of its subjective quality. If Sebright was very happy at Hawtrey's, Douglas Ainslie was very unhappy. In his Adventures, Social and Literary he writes:

"What a monstrous and foolish tradition this is of the private school! Boys would be better taught at home until they go to Eton. A private school like Aldin House of my day might be described as 'Dotheboys and Parents Hall'."⁶²

Ainslie was particularly hostile to Mrs. Hawtrey whom he describes as "pompous" and as much in touch with the boys as Queen Victoria. Even on

simple questions of fact there appears conflicting evidence when Ainslie's comments are compared with those of W. Somerset Maugham.⁶³ Maugham refers to the small classes but Ainslie avers that "the classes were far too large to be managed efficiently, and boys followed more or less their own desires." With Sebright the food was plentiful: but Ainslie⁶⁴ referred to it as being poor consisting some days of "dry bread and tasteless stodge", which food the Hawtreys shared with the boys only once a week.⁶⁵

This conflict in evidence re the worth of Hawtreys is partly resolved by the independent witness in the form of R. H. Quick, the educational historian. As a former preparatory school master himself,⁶⁶ Quick was interested in Hawtreys which he visited in his recently adopted role of educationist. Unfortunately most of his comments are concerned less about the conditions of living than the standards of the school's scholarship; but the ruthlessness of Hawtreys's methods and of his treatment of his well paid masters,⁶⁷ if they failed to produce scholarship winners, worried Quick. However, Quick did note, en passant, that the food at Hawtreys was good and that everyone there was sumptuously fed.

Another preparatory school which began in 1869, but prepared boys for Harrow, was that of the Rev. Lancelot Sanderson at Elstree. This school, according to Walter Headlam, was "one of the pioneers ... of the modern luxurious and efficient private preparatory schools."⁶⁸

Hawtreys and Elstree were not the only stars in the late nineteenth century preparatory school firmament: nor were the Rev. John Hawtreys and the Rev. Lancelot Sanderson the only distinguished Headmasters starting new schools in this later period. Amongst others were the Rev. J. Cowley Powles who kept a preparatory school at Blackheath at least until 1859.⁶⁹ This school at Blackheath, opposite the private school where Mr. Pothicary had taught the young Disraeli, had at least three entries in the D.N.B.

viz. Frederick Myers (1843-1901),⁷⁰ poet and essayist; Samuel Birch (1813-1885),⁷¹ the Egyptologist and Arnold Toynbee (1852-1883), social philosopher and economist.

Some time after 1859 the Rev. Cowley Powles, who was a well known schoolmaster and great friend of Charles Kingsley, Rector of Eversley, moved his School to be near his friend who visited the school often and gave the boys an interest in natural history.⁷² Quite a number of Scots boys attended this school⁷³ but amongst the other mainly English boys were to be found Nugent Hicks the future 64th Bishop of Lincoln; the future Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (1859-1925)⁷⁴ and Sir Thomas Carmichael (1859-1926) administrator, together with other future famous men.⁷⁵ In 1878 the Rev. Cowley Powles went into partnership with a layman bearing the famous name of Arnold - E. P. Arnold, Dr. Arnold's great nephew. With Powles' death Arnold became the sole owner and moved the school to Wokingham in Berkshire where he carried out his ambitious plans in school buildings and equipment which made Wixenford one of the best appointed schools in the country. Under Arnold, who not only had "an outstanding personality" but also "a commanding presence",⁷⁶ Wixenford (now defunct) entered the twentieth century as one of the leading preparatory schools, with its headmaster, who was Chairman of the A.P.S. in 1897, in the inner circle of preparatory school influence.

Like Wixenford, the two Oxford preparatory schools made their mark well before the end of the century. Not only do Summerfields and the Dragon School (O.P.S.) exemplify the successful late nineteenth century preparatory school, but also they show the possible contrasts to be found within this relatively closed circle. Further, the senior of these schools, Summerfields, is the best example of a former dame/preparatory school

achieving pre-eminence amongst preparatory schools. The wife of Archibald Maclaren,⁷⁷ the founder of Oxford University's gymnasium, began her school in 1864 in a very modest way, teaching the two sons of Shirley Brooks, the Editor of Punch, and the son of Thomas Hughes of Tom Brown Schooldays fame,⁷⁸ in her back drawing room. These were soon joined by the son and nephews of the publisher Alexander Macmillan. The School, from the beginning, developed two characteristics which it shared in common with other preparatory schools - but perhaps with greater intensity. It was firstly a family school and the two sons-in-law of Mrs. Maclaren, the Rev. Dr. Charles E. Williams⁷⁹ and the Rev. Hugh (Bear)⁸⁰ Alington became each in turn, in 1897 and 1917 respectively, Headmaster after Mrs. Maclaren's death. This continuity in the family, which lay behind the success of Summerfields, seemed also to be characteristic of the assistant masters, some of whom stayed for many years.⁸¹ This continuity was reflected also in the school doctors,⁸² School matron, and the School groundsman Charlie Fathers who held the record of sixty-three years continuous service.

The other Summerfields characteristic was the emphasis that it put on classical scholarship, especially under the headmastership of Dr. Williams who was a fine Classical Scholar and excellent forecaster of examination questions.⁸³ Already reference has been made to the close links between Eton and Summerfields⁸⁴ which was always well represented on the Eton lists. It was a veritable hot-house of classical scholarship in which climate Ronald Knox⁸⁵ flourished and in which encouragement was sometimes given by a generous use of the cane.

After Mrs. Maclaren's death (1897), the Rev. Dr. Williams, set to work to mould the school and started with the school buildings which had

grown in size in a haphazard fashion since 1864.⁸⁶ He built a chapel as a memorial to Mrs. Maclaren, a pavilion, a carpenter's shop, gymnasium and dining hall, all of which were completed by 1903 when he extended Summerfields still further by instituting a Summerfields-by-the-sea at St. Leonards for the more delicate of his pupils.⁸⁷

With the school's reputation for scholarship, it is not surprising to find it patronised by those who prized such achievements. Christopher Hollis, who was at Summerfields from 1911 to 1914 noted in Along the Road to Frome (1958) that, for instance, the sons of Liberal cabinet ministers tended to patronise it, since two sons (1912 and 1913) and a nephew of Runciman, the McKenna boys (1918 and 1920) and Anthony Asquith (1913)⁸⁸ were all at the school. Many rival scholarship seekers amongst the preparatory schools regarded Dr. Williams as "a crammer" but as Ronald Knox pointed out in the Times, 15th March, 1941, the 'Doctor' was but "an amazingly successful educationist."

There are several points of comparison between Summerfields and the Dragon School: both are famous Oxford Preparatory Schools; both had strong family links⁸⁹ and further both Dr. Williams and C. C. Lynam were senior officers of the executive council of the A.P.S. The points of contrast, however, were much greater. Summer Fields was an orthodox⁹⁰ school and so differed from the Dragon School under Lynam, which aimed at producing individuals and eschewed any moulding. The contrast basically lay in the differing characters of the two headmasters - the Rev. Dr. Williams (1897-1917) and C. C. Lynam (1886-1920): the one, the austere scholar with the traditional preparatory school clerical background and the other, an easy going yachtsman with distinct ideas on freedom, character and religion. The one was a 'hot house expert' in the rearing of scholarship holders at Eton, who strode in his school in majesty and authority:

the other, a man with ideas on coeducation, who liked to be called 'Skip' rather than 'Sir' by his boys and who took them to the British Museum and Madame Tussauds.⁹¹

The O.P.S. was founded in 1877 when according to E. P. Poulton "the sudden liberation of the University Society from a mediaeval celibacy had led to inevitable and instant results."⁹² Another observer has suggested that: at that time perambulators began to appear in North Oxford, and the school was founded to supply a natural want."⁹³ It was the creation of some thirty resident graduates including four college heads and seven professors, as well as the Rev. G. W. Kitchin, former Headmaster of Twyford Preparatory School and then Oxford don. Most of the early pupils were sons of the founders.

The first headmaster Mr. (later Rev.) A. E. Clarke, who had been on the staff of Dr. Walker of Manchester Grammar School, was of the old school - a strict disciplinarian who was not loth to use the cane. It was during the Headmastership of Clarke that C. C. Lynam came to the school as an assistant master. When Clarke died of pneumonia in 1886 Lynam borrowed £2,000, bought the school off Clarke's widow⁹⁴ and so became Headmaster.

The new Head, acknowledging his debt to Clarke for his apprenticeship, at first carried on the traditions of the cane,⁹⁵ but as time went on, Lynam's attitude changed and he became one of the most avant garde idealists among the preparatory school Headmasters. He took great pride in the shorter hours of school and longer holidays; he was not a believer in the prefect system amongst little boys; he gave his boys much opportunity for independence allowing them to go almost anywhere⁹⁶ on their bicycles, much to the envy of the Summer fields boys who were kept on a much tighter rein: unlike other preparatory schools which did their best to discourage

the practice, Lynam allowed the boys to see their parents during the term. J. D. Dennistone, Old Draconian (O.D.) suggested that he gave "to England a totally new idea of what a preparatory school" could mean.⁹⁷ Lynam developed a faith in giving his boys freedom and complete trust. At the prize day on 24th July 1900 he declared to the parents: "I think there are few Preparatory Schools where the boys have so much liberty as they have here. The elder boys are greatly trusted, they can go into Town by just asking leave, they can go on the river, they can spend what they like and as they like, they can read what they like, and I hope and believe that this trust is not at all abused."⁹⁸

If C. C. Lynam appeared to be a very early twentieth century mild A. S. Neill, with his emphasis on freedom so little known in the Preparatory School world, he did display other 'progressive' tendencies which distinguished his school from others. He favoured co-education and introduced it into his school before the Bryce Report had referred to its desirability for boys and girls between six and nine.⁹⁹ This innovation was not such a startling development, since the girl pupils never formed more than a very small fraction indeed of the total in the school. On average one girl pupil was admitted per term: but the Speech Day of 1914 did admit of one record the 'Head boy' was a Norah Joliffe.¹⁰⁰ Lynam's other innovations were the institution of a Shakespearean play which he produced annually and to which all parents¹⁰¹ were cordially invited; he instituted the holiday diary task;¹⁰² under him was produced a school magazine, the Draconian, from 1889 onwards, of which, after the early boy executives had gone bankrupt (1893), he became Editor. This school magazine is thought to be the oldest magazine amongst preparatory schools.¹⁰³ Many of its pages were given up to describing the Scottish sailing holidays of the Headmaster

in his yacht the "Blue Dragon" which he had harboured in Oban Bay. Like Arnold who made for Fox How in the Lake District as soon as he could from Rugby, C. C. Lynam was sure to be on his way northwards as soon as his duties had ceased to enthrall him. The headmaster became the mariner as the train sped from Oxford to Oban. It was rumoured that "the Skipper used to make out the boys' accounts in the train on the way to Scotland ... with few data beyond his impression of the wealth or otherwise of the parents."¹⁰⁴

The memorial volume to Lynam, entitled The Skipper is in its way an unusual document about an unusual headmaster, in so far as it is the only one of its kind - apart from the Memorials of Lionel Helbert - as far as it is known. This is in itself a tribute to the man. Part of it is quite naturally full of encomiums to Lynam but none perhaps are so poignant as the contribution of C. P. Harvey, an O.D. who left in 1915. He wrote:

"What would he (Arnold) have thought of a Headmaster who arranged strawberry feasts for his pupils at the Trout Inn; who played cards with them out of school hours; who encouraged them to write English verse rather than Latin verses; who laid bets with them in the classroom; who kept livestock in his study, and who did not wear a neck-tie?"¹⁰⁵

This was the man who controlled the Dragon School in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and shaped its character - a character very different from its early predecessors.

The older preparatory schools also were benefiting from the general raising of expectations by the end of the century. At Eagle House, for instance, Edward Huntingford who was fearsome with the cane as Newton Apperly found to his cost,¹⁰⁶ was succeeded by his son-in-law the Rev. A.N. Malan (1874-1905) who thus had gone through the stages in the promotion

ladder described by H. G. Wells in Joan and Peter.¹⁰⁷ Not only was the new Headmaster a writer of boys' stories, which suggested in him a certain humaneness and understanding of some boys' minds, but he was also a brilliant and lively teacher who could teach classics, mathematics, science, drawing and religion; cricket, fives and football, all with equal success.¹⁰⁸ It was he who was responsible for the school moving to its present site at Sandhurst in 1886, into a large Victorian residence, adapted for the purpose. In 1905, Mr. Bruce Lockhart, with a very different background,¹⁰⁹ took over the school.

Windlesham House also experienced a different kind of Head at the end of the nineteenth century, when Mrs. Charles Malden succeeded as Principal on the death of her husband in 1896 (see page 76). She was a most remarkable woman who fought against Dr. Welldon of Harrow's condemnation of women principals.¹¹⁰

A woman of impulse, self will and determination¹¹¹ she was also an excellent organiser¹¹² who kept her school well to the fore in efficiency and reputation. She did not find being a woman a handicap even in the male world of the private classical preparatory school, since Mr. H. M. S. Malden deputised for her at A.P.S. so that Windlesham was not excluded from it by virtue of its having a woman Principal.¹¹³

Her reforms and experiments were manifold: Windlesham was one of the five preparatory schools to be inspected by the Board of Education before 1913 (in 1903 and 1913); she started the first Company in England of the Church Lads Brigade for the sons of gentlemen;¹¹⁴ but after a while the Scouts stole a march on the Church Lads Brigade and finally superseded them at Windlesham in 1907. Both units were formed to make the smaller boys self reliant.¹¹⁵ Another one of her experiments was the dropping of the

monitorial system in favour of the 'progressive' idea of a School Council, based on Red Indian law with a Head Chief and Medicine man. Yet she could be pragmatically autocratic when she chose. Her 'progressive' experiment in self government lasted one year only when she decided it was not working. On at least one occasion when the Scouts were grumbling at their lot, she disbanded the whole troop and began again, building up carefully a more contented group. Both the boys and masters went in awe of her, but during her long term of office from 1896-1927, she ensured that Windlesham House moved with the times.

Temple Grove, after O. C. Waterfield, continued in its traditional ways, still preparing boys mainly for Eton and Harrow. Waterfield's successor, however, the Rev. J. H. Edgar, though lacking his breadth of personality was in some ways a beneficial influence in the school. He caused to be published, a booklet entitled General Rules for the Conduct of Temple Grove School. This guide to assistant masters set out rules about punishment, hygiene and other school matters, which clearly defined areas of jurisdiction and determined rights of others. During this period the school prospered and the numbers rose to 140. The school was expanded by the additions of a swimming pool and a chapel. Temple Grove moved with the times in the field of sports which it took seriously and with some success, for instance, the school cricket group of 1887, included five future university blues.

Even by the time of Rev. H. B. Allen's succession in 1894, the conditions of living at Temple Grove were still Spartan. "In the dormitories snow frequently piled upon the blankets and ice formed on the water jugs: the lavatories ... would have been condemned in a slum tenement."¹¹⁶ However, in 1907, under the pressure of medical advice which advocated a

a seaside location, the school moved to Eastbourne, where it took over the buildings of New College, a quasi-public school which had been a rival to Eastbourne College, run by Frederick Schreiner.¹¹⁷ The school did not finally move to its present very pleasant location at Uckfield, Sussex till 1935.

Lambrook School, founded in 1860 by Mr. R. J. Burnside, was a school whose fortunes rose towards the end of the century, when many children of the court at Windsor attended the school including two of Queen Victoria's grandchildren. From 1884 to 1904 the Headmaster was Mr. E. D. Mansfield, author of the Latin primer Initia Latina and co-author of the famous Greek grammar. He was also a leading influence in the A.P.S., to be examined in the next chapter. This School had a "considerable reputation" according to W. F. Bushell¹¹⁸ but he does also suggest that Mansfield was aloof with the boys which tends to go against the character projected by Mansfield as a leading A.P.S. man with a fund of sympathy for schoolboys.¹¹⁹ Adrian Alington's novel Chaytors, gives a picture of a preparatory school not unlike Lambrook.

Bushell, who went both to Lambrook School and Orley Farm, found the latter a more enlightened school under Mr. G. B. Innes Hopkins, the kindly headmaster who succeeded E. R. Hastings in 1897 and who is portrayed in the early chapters of Sir Arnold Lunn's The Harrovians.¹²⁰ Bushell spent his happiest days at Orley Farm before going to Charterhouse in 1899. The ethos in the school was similar to that of a happy family and Hopkins "who had a genius for dealing with small boys," kept Orley Farm in the forefront in the Harrow district, forging even closer links with Harrow School.¹²¹

A school which came into prominence from 1890 onwards as a preparatory school was Mostyn House, Parkgate, near Chester. It had existed as an all-age private boarding school since 1854.¹²² By the 1880s it was beginning

to concentrate on the Preparatory School age range (8 - 14½) and when A. G. Grenfell, brother of Sir Wilfrid Grenfell of Labrador,¹²³ took over the school in 1890, it became a purely preparatory establishment. Grenfell launched a massive building programme and almost rebuilt the school, at a cost of more than £20,000, giving it at least three times the original floor area.¹²⁴ His efforts were matched by his success. Starting with fifteen boys in 1890, by the summer of 1893 Grenfell had seventy-three boys and six assistant masters; and by 1896 the number of boys had risen to about a hundred. From the forty-seven page prospectus of 1897,¹²⁵ it can be seen that Mostyn House was being steered on an enlightened course by a preparatory schoolmaster whose appreciation of all the contemporary consideration for small boys was impressive. Grenfell believed in the sturdy preparation of boys for public school from the age of eight and declared that it was the aim of the school more "to ensure that every boy who leaves it shall enter a public school creditably and do well once there than that a few of the best should be crammed for special results."¹²⁶ His school timetable was thoughtfully arranged to allow for an hour's break in mid-morning. There was no school before breakfast (a common practice among early preparatory schools) or after tea; and only the upper classes were to do preparation, and then only twice a week.

The evenings were devoted to other activities and each boy in the school was expected to spend two evenings a week at drill, two at drawing and two for preparation on 'general information'.¹²⁷ The drill for cadets was thirty minutes military drill and thirty minutes of dumb-bell exercises to music: for those not in the cadet corps, 'drill' consisted of gymnastics instead of military drill.

Much attention was paid to health¹²⁸ which was greatly improved in 1894

by the installation of electric light which eliminated the need for gas jets.¹²⁹ In 1897, the drainage system was re-organised, the whole system being thenceforth flushed periodically by 22,000 gallons of water from the swimming bath.¹³⁰ Special attention was paid to the spacing of beds in the dormitories and partitions, three feet high, were placed between each bed to allow for 600 cubic feet of air for each boy. The school had a large sanatorium 200 yards along the sea shore, under the care of a trained hospital matron. Being very health conscious Grenfell made it quite plain to parents that he did not expect boys to go home during term time. He "earnestly begged that parents will never [*Grenfell's italics*] ask to have their boys home during term time without some really urgent reason"¹³¹ for Grenfell feared the risk of infection from railway carriages as being too great. The 1912 prospectus of the school shows that Almond's ideas on dress had reached Mostyn House where the boys were dressed entirely in either flannel or wool.

Outside the walls of this well regulated Preparatory School, Grenfell put Mostyn House on the Preparatory Schools map by his activity at the A.P.S. He was responsible, with Rev. E. L. Browne of St. Andrews, Eastbourne, for leading the Association's opposition to the Government's Inhabited House Duty,¹³² a revenue tax which they managed to get reduced temporarily from ninepence to sixpence, as far as preparatory schools were concerned.

Grenfell, a keen cadet corps supporter,¹³³ was the leading spirit in the institution of the Preparatory Schools Rifle Association (1906) the history of which can be traced in the pages of the P.S.R.¹³⁴ His advocacy, too, of his Stars and Stripes system of extrinsic reward,¹³⁵ which more than a hundred preparatory schools in England adopted,¹³⁶ gave the school a reputation as one of the Association's pace-setters.

It is a debateable point whether Dickens' strictures on Yorkshire private schools or the relatively cold northern climate is more responsible for the lack of preparatory schools in that part of the country. A glance at the map in Appendix 27 showing the distribution of A.P.S. schools in February 1902, shows very few schools north of the Mersey and on the east side of the country these consist only of:

- 1) Gyll Royd School, Ilkley
- 2) Marton Hall School, Bridlington
- 3) Oatlands School¹³⁷ (now defunct)
- 4) Carteret House, Harrogate (later Red House School, Moor Monkton)¹³⁸
- 5) "The School" at Aysgarth
- 6) Bramcote School
- 7) Orleton School (now defunct)
- 8) Southcliffe School (now defunct) at Filey
- 9) the Bow School, Durham.

These were all small schools so that by the late 1880s the North East was without a large preparatory school to match some of those in the South. It was the Rev. C. T. Hale who in 1890 made up for this deficiency by his building a large school for about a hundred boys just outside the Yorkshire village of Bedale and so provided the first great preparatory school of the North.

Hales' Scholastic career before becoming a private preparatory school headmaster was fairly typical. A graduate of Cambridge which he left in 1868, he was for a brief period private tutor to Lord Verulam before taking a post as assistant master at Richmond Grammar School, Yorkshire, in the same year. After five years, Hales was given permission to form a preparatory department to boost the numbers¹³⁹ in the school which was in decline under

the Headmaster James Snowden. It is of importance for the concept of institutionalised preparatory schools that a preparatory school at this time was not confined only to the preparation of boys for public school. The preparatory department was a great success and by 1876 had 138 boys; but after a quarrel with Snowden, Hales, a very forceful character, left the school taking forty-five boys with him in 1877, and in so doing contributed directly to the resignation of Snowden in 1884, following a continued sharp decline in numbers.¹⁴⁰

Hales set up school first at the Zetland Hotel, Saltburn by the Sea, but moved to another location, the Palmer Flatts Hotel at Aysgarth in Wensleydale, in the same year. He stayed there for thirteen years before setting up a purpose designed¹⁴¹ school finally, on a carefully chosen site,¹⁴² near Bedale Village and Newton le Willows. It is not known from where Hales secured the £27,000¹⁴³ for the building of Aysgarth School¹⁴⁴ but there is no doubt that it was an astonishing and impressive provision at the end of the nineteenth century and remains today in much the same form with a few minor modifications as in 1890. The architects' drawings (of Clarke and Moscrop) and plans in Appendix 29 give some indication of the magnificence of the provision.

Sited in forty acres of grounds with gardens, greenhouses and stables to promote self sufficiency, the main buildings complex contained detached classrooms; a dining hall; gymnasium; concrete playground; fives and racquets courts on both the Eton and Harrow plans; dormitories for six to eight boys in each room; a water and clock tower (which gives the school great character); a fine chapel (opened by the Lord Bishop of Ripon in June 1891) and a magnificent organ. Within the grounds there was, and still is today a swimming bath with water, pumped by a pulsometer, at 45°F to 70°F

a dynamo for electric lighting¹⁴⁵ installed by Mr. Massey, the electric light engineer to Queen Victoria and a sanatorium with two large and four small wards.¹⁴⁶ In addition to this, a separate well-proportioned house was built for the comfort and privacy of the assistant masters, of which many contemporary public schoolmasters would have been envious, so complete was the provision and so thoughtful had been the Rev. C. T. Hales. The most astonishing factor in this was that it had been provided all in one fell swoop. In a letter to R. H. Charles, Editor of the Cantuarian, dated 8th March 1900, the Rev. J. Mitchinson, Headmaster of Kings School, Canterbury said of Hales that: "the creation and development of Aysgarth, one of the very best preparatory schools ... of the latest decades of the nineteenth century - was the great achievement of his life. He devoted himself body and soul to it."¹⁴⁷

Hales, a monocled and fanatical Jacobite,¹⁴⁸ was a very successful schoolmaster: of this there can be little doubt. Although he was against any special preparation for Scholarships, since such practice might lead to the neglect of the ordinary boy, yet twelve Aysgarth boys in ten years gained places at Eton, three of whom became Newcastle Scholars.¹⁴⁹ Colonel R. Meinertzhagen, the ornithologist, who was a boy at the school judged that "the school was no doubt one of the best in Britain and though severe and hard, had many good features."¹⁵⁰ Meinertzhagen, in his autobiography, Diary of a Black Sheep gives a fairly good idea of life in this northern school in the late nineteenth century. Life was still rough and harsh compared with home comforts but his memories of the school were pleasurable ones with no overdue strain in the work and little harsh discipline. The boys enjoyed a large measure of freedom, and as at Lynam's, were allowed on half holidays to go out (in pairs) wherever and whenever they wished.¹⁵¹

The history of Aysgarth School after Hales' death in 1900 is relevant in two further details. Firstly after the resignation of George Brooksbank¹⁵² in 1908, the school was taken over by the Rev. W. H. Chitty, another successful Headmaster responsible for several improvements,¹⁵³ but not before some acrimony between him and Mary Hales, the founder's daughter. This acrimony arose through Chitty, who was a good businessman,¹⁵⁴ not taking on the school till he had received a satisfactory sanitary report - such was the importance attached to this aspect of school administration, by an experienced headmaster.¹⁵⁵

Secondly, Aysgarth school is an excellent example, especially in view of the magnificence of the provision, of the paramount importance of the Headmaster to the success of the school. At the time of Hales' death in 1900, the numbers in the school were eighty-five: during Brooksbank's headship the numbers sank to fifty-five which left the school almost half empty and was therefore economically disastrous. After Brooksbank's departure, and under the positive leadership of the Rev. Chitty, the numbers gradually rose again to ninety-eight.

It would be misleading if the account of general improvement and enterprise amongst preparatory schools in the later nineteenth century were not tempered by some recognition of their weaknesses. Harsh discipline and even sadism¹⁵⁶ were still to be found in some schools. At St. George's School Ascot, for example, the Rev. H. W. Sneyd-Kynnersley was sometimes a cruel headmaster and Winston Churchill always one of his more self-willed pupils. The young Churchill and Sneyd-Kynnersley were in constant conflict and although, as Randolph Churchill suggests, "schoolmasters, who preside over fashionable establishments, tend to mitigate the severity of their reports to influential parents lest these should encourage the parents to

believe that it is a bad school and take their children away",¹⁵⁷ this school was particularly harsh, as evidenced in the unsolicited testimony of others at the school. Virginia Woolf refers in her Life of Roger Fry to the floggings which Fry had to attend and as head boy had to assist in by holding down the victim whilst Sneyd-Kynnersley vent his spleen - on some occasions caning, till blood was drawn.¹⁵⁸

At the "select and expensive establishment" of Cordwalles,¹⁵⁹ the Headmaster, the Rev. C. W. Hunt, although less ferocious and, on the credit side, a good administrator, was nevertheless one who indulged in favouritism.¹⁶⁰ Maurice Collis, who was not one of the favoured ones relates how he (Collis) "was no more than an item in his (Hunt's) income."¹⁶¹ If this were the case, Hunt's School of Cordwalles deserves some censure, as some of the boys were treated unfairly; which although less of a crime to humanitarian reformers of corporal punishment, to the schoolboy, is an even more serious offence than wielding justice with the cane.

The late nineteenth century preparatory school, despite the very evident transformation, was the subject of criticism, at least among a few writers. Generally complimentary about the new levels of efficiency attained by these schools, the Saturday Review¹⁶² nevertheless criticised those clergymen headmasters of small preparatory schools for their opportunism in choosing the profits to be made from private schools rather than resting content with the relative poverty of a clerical stipend.¹⁶³

The Blackwood Magazine, at a much later date (March 1894) when there had been time to assess the new preparatory schools, was more critical of the vitiating effects some of the reforms would have on the character and stamina of future public schoolboys. It felt that "a preparatory school should be a nursery for hardening young cuttings, not a hothouse to force

exotic plants."¹⁶⁴ "Instead of days of long night journeys on mail coaches and being greeted by the chilly atmosphere of the big schoolroom"¹⁶⁵ at the beginning of term, the modern preparatory schoolboy, "the Jaeger-clad wearer of night socks", on the morning of the first day of term "is to be seen struggling at 6.30 on a frosty morning to get warm on the hot water pipes."¹⁶⁶ "Instead of having treacle and brimstone - 'the black draught' - which was given indiscriminately,"¹⁶⁷ the modern preparatory schoolboy in 1894 had his own private bottle of medicine. In short, "in every detail of routine the wind is marvellously tempered to the shorn lamb." Acknowledging the teaching, the sanitary arrangements, the personal cleanliness and the food to be better, Blackwood was concerned about the overemphasis on coaching in games which robs boys of their initiative and originality of style.

With this view Eric Parker in Longman's Magazine¹⁶⁸ is in complete agreement. He, too, was of the opinion that the modern schoolboy was overtaught and over-supervised. Criticising the excessive supervision he acknowledged that "at many schools a boy is not out of his master's sight for ten minutes, from the time he has finished dressing in the morning to the time the gas is put out at night."¹⁶⁹ Moreover the molly-coddling was to be strongly deprecated: he knew of one school: "where the blinds are immediately drawn down should Robinson complain of the sun in his eyes; and yet another where Thompson, finding it hard to follow the ways of sleep, luxuriated with two pillows."¹⁷⁰

Before considering the development of the Association of Preparatory Schools, it is necessary to look briefly at three types of preparatory school existing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

- These are:
1. The Preparatory day school
 2. The Junior Schools of Public Schools
 3. Choir Schools.

The Preparatory Day Schools

An examination of the seventy-five schools known to have existed before 1892,¹⁷¹ shows that just over twenty per cent were day or mainly day schools. These schools fall loosely into four categories viz.

1. Those schools, situated in or near large towns, which include

London - Orley Farm (1850); Shrewsbury House School, Surbiton (1865),¹⁷² The Mall School, Twickenham (1872); Rokeby School (1877); Dulwich College Preparatory School (1885); Durston House, Ealing (1886) and the Hall School, Crossfield Hampstead (1889). Homefield School, Sutton (1870) had twenty per cent boarders.

Bristol - XIV School (1885)
St. Goar (1887)

Birmingham - Hallfield Preparatory School (1879)

Liverpool - Greenbank School (1888-1912)

Leicester - Stoneygate (fifty per cent boarding)

2. Those schools catering for the sons of university dons

Oxford - Oxford Preparatory School (1877) O.P.S. or Dragon School

Cambridge - St. Faith's Cambridge (1884)

3. The Devon schools seem to have a tradition of day or part day preparatory schools. Of the three known to be in existence in 1892, Wolborough Hall School (1877), Newton Abbot was completely day; and Montpelier School (1885) and St. Peters (1885) were both concerned with partly boarding and partly day school boys.

4. Those schools which fall into none of the other categories

i.e. i) The Elms, Colwall, Herefordshire (1614)

- ii) Marton Hall School, Bridlington (1889) - day school
probably because of its being a dame school in early years.
- iii) Gyll Royd School, Ilkley (1889)
- iv) Bishop's Court School, Formby (1892)

The remainder of the preparatory schools were either almost or wholly boarding schools.

Public School Junior Schools

The preparatory department attached to a public school was a phenomenon of the second half of the nineteenth century. It arose as all other educational institutions of a private nature have done - as a supply meeting a demand. Some public schools were experiencing difficulties in recruitment: it was felt that the answer to the problem was to create a ready-made supply by the institution of junior cadres. Such an arrangement had several advantages, viz:

For the boys - they imbibed the traditions of the senior school at an early stage;
they had no examination pressures as those in private preparatory schools had;
they acquired a more balanced view of their own relative prowess by their proximity to older boys.

For the schools - a constant supply of young pupils;
the masters had a better chance of knowing their boys over a longer period.

One of the earliest, if not the earliest Junior School or Preparatory School of a Public School was Rossall Preparatory School, founded in 1861. Up until 1933 this school was situated at Cleveleys, two miles from the

main school and provided for some thirty-five sons of mainly Anglican clergymen.¹⁷³

The Preparatory School at Sherborne School, attended by J. C. Powys,¹⁷⁴ emerged from an unsuccessful attempt to form an army class in about 1870.¹⁷⁵ Again in the West country, a day preparatory school opened at Clifton in January 1874, where, although the preparatory schoolboys were accommodated in a separate building, they met the senior school in chapel on Sunday. This was, however, the only point of contact, for games were fixed at different times so that there was no social contact, which arrangement tended to limit the social interaction of the two schools.¹⁷⁶ The preparatory school of St. Paul's, Colet Court, which Compton Mackenzie attended,¹⁷⁷ was created in 1881 at the suggestion of the High Master of St. Paul's, Dr. F. W. Walker, to stimulate recruitment, with Samuel Bewsher, an assistant master of St. Paul's as Headmaster. Within three years it had two hundred pupils; by 1890 it had more than three hundred.¹⁷⁸

Dulwich College Preparatory School was another London Public School Junior School which reached very high figures in a short space of time. Founded in 1885¹⁷⁹ in Alleyn Park, Dulwich, it began with ten boys but by 1914 it had approximately four hundred. As early as 1880 the Saturday Review had passed comment on the large size of the forms in Preparatory Schools attached to the public schools, when it denounced the slackness to be found there and recommended schools to be of no more than fifty boys, if the Headmaster were to be allowed to know the boys in his school.¹⁸⁰ Such successful schools as St. Paul's and Dulwich College Preparatory Schools seemed to give the lie to the Saturday Review's assumptions.

Not all Junior Schools, however were so large. The Junior School of St. Lawrence, Ramsgate, founded in 1886, for sons of Church of England

evangelical clergymen, numbered about sixty only by 1914. The comparatively small size of this figure may be due, however, to the fact that the school began as a private preparatory school and was not purchased by the Headmaster of St. Lawrence College till just before 1900. Such a take over by the Senior School was in keeping with the views expressed by the Bishop of London, who gave evidence to the Bryce Commission on June 13th 1894.¹⁸¹ The now defunct preparatory school of Crowthorne Towers¹⁸² which (General) Anchinleck attended from 1894 to 1896,¹⁸³ and Repton Preparatory School, begun about 1901,¹⁸⁴ were yet other Junior Schools to Public Schools.

The relationship between the two types of school varied according to the constitutional arrangements. Sometimes, as in the case of Colet Court and St. Paul's the two schools were closely linked but operated entirely independently of each other; other times the Headmaster of the Senior School regarded it as his prerogative to examine closely the future recruits to his school.¹⁸⁵ In either case diplomacy was required by these Junior School Headmasters to ensure smooth relations between the two institutions.

Not all Junior Schools or Preparatory departments belonged to Public Schools. Several Grammar Schools, realising the value of having a junior cadre set up preparatory schools of their own as at Richmond. The Rev. Robert Stuart de Courcy Laffan, Headmaster of King Edward Sixth Grammar School, Stratford on Avon, from 1885-1895, suggested the formation of a Preparatory School which took the shape of the Guild Preparatory School, with W. I. E. Cary B.A. as Headmaster. This school was held in a room in School House, consisting of ten boys, but did not last long.¹⁸⁶ A preparatory school was set up in 1893 in Harvey Grammar School, Folkestone when twenty-five small boys were put under the separate charge of two lady teachers.¹⁸⁷

G. S. Turpin, Headmaster of Nottingham High School (1901-1925), suggested the setting up of a preparatory school in 1905, which would aid the expansion of his grammar school. He drew up detailed plans for the proposed school at 11, Waverley Mount, Nottingham but the Governors were slow to agree. Their hesitation was influenced by the previous Head of Nottingham High School, Dr. J. Gow (1885-1901) who "pointed out that schools which started their own preparatory departments at once created ill-will among the other preparatory schools ... That there (would) be some jealousy (was) certain, and it (was) not worthwhile incurring it unless ... sure of beating it." Nevertheless the school opened in 1905 with thirty two boys.¹⁸⁸ Similarly, at King Edward Sixth School, Bury St. Edmunds, where A. W. Collis became the headmaster in 1894, there was a need to boost numbers since in that year there were only twenty-four boys in the school, including one boarder. In 1910 the governors bought up the premises of an old private preparatory school belonging to a Mr. Formen and began their own Junior School.

Although Junior Schools met with some success, especially schools like Colet Court and Dulwich College Preparatory School, as a genre of Preparatory school they have been inhibited by the fact that their existence, while beneficial perhaps to the parent school, is antithetical to the interest of their colleagues in the private preparatory schools.

Choir Schools

Many (23)¹⁸⁹ of the thirty-four English Choir Schools in the Choir Schools Association are preparatory schools and as such merit some attention very briefly. Source material on Choir Schools qua choir schools is fairly limited but qua preparatory schools it is even more severely limited. The

reason for this is that preparatory choir schools qua preparatory schools are of comparatively recent date. By 1899, for instance, only one choir school, Llandaff School¹⁹⁰ (and that a Welsh and not an English School) was a member of the A.P.S.¹⁹¹ This School was refounded by Dean C. J. Vaughan, ex Headmaster of Harrow in 1880 as a preparatory school for twenty choristers. St. John's Choir School, Cambridge was constituted a preparatory school only in 1955. The Pilgrim School, Winchester was founded only in 1931 and the previous Choir School in Winchester was in no sense a preparatory school. One notable exception to this late preparatory school character of Choir Schools was the Prebendal School, Chichester (1497) which as early as 1868 was noted by the S.I.C. as being entirely preparatory in character having eighteen scholars all of whom were under fourteen.¹⁹² In Vol. VII of the S.I.C., C. J. Elton, in a memorandum on Cathedral Schools, linked Choristers Schools with Cathedral Grammar Schools which suggestion would virtually make the Choir Schools preparatory to the senior schools.

Although the evolution of Salisbury Cathedral School as a preparatory school has been carefully documented in D. H. Robertson's Sarum Close,¹⁹³ showing that by 1906, under the leadership of the Rev. A. G. Robertson, the school had developed into a fully fledged preparatory school, a study of the authorities on Choir Schools¹⁹⁴ gives no suggestion of such a general metamorphosis before 1914. Claude Martin Blagden, in Well Remembered (1953), which gives an account of the Choir School of St. Mary Magdalen, Paddington, is sure that few boys went to public schools from there.¹⁹⁵ Nor is there any suggestion that the celebrated St. Michael's School at Tenbury Wells, Worcestershire, founded by Sir Frederick Gore Ouseley in 1856, was anything but a model Choir School before 1914. Only Salisbury Choir School would seem to admit of becoming a preparatory school before World War I.

From the time of the institution of Common Entrance in 1903, boys from this school took this examination as a matter of course. Boys went from Salisbury Choir School to Lancing, Haileybury, Durham, Ardingly, Hurstpierpoint, Bruton, Dulwich and R.N.C. Osborne. A number of foundation scholarships were won too at St. Bee's, Cumberland where a close link was struck between the two schools. The subject of the nineteenth century reform of Choir Schools through the efforts principally of Maria Hackett¹⁹⁶ and later of Cathedral organists¹⁹⁷ is a full study in its own right and must be left to others.

CHAPTER 13

PREPARATORY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS: THE GROWTH

AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ASSOCIATION OF

HEADMASTERS OF PREPARATORY SCHOOLS

Arthur Tabor was to Herbert Bull, what John Mitchinson was to Edward Thring. This comparison between the inaugurators of the H.M.C. (1869) and the A.P.S. (1892) is not without foundation. For just as Mitchinson of King's School, Canterbury, was responsible for first calling together heads of some leading endowed grammar schools,¹ (after which Thring took over the helm and suggested an annual meeting, the next of which was to be at Uppingham), so Herbert Bull (Wellington House School, Westgate on Sea), seized the initiative amongst preparatory school headmasters by suggesting a second meeting following the initial one in March 1892, called by A. S. Tabor (Cheam). This now almost legendary meeting on March 30th 1892 in London, called to discuss the appropriate size of cricket balls and lengths of cricket pitches, unanimously resolved: "That this meeting is of the opinion that it is not advisable for boys under fifteen to use a full sized ball with the wickets pitched at twenty-two yards." Thereafter, at Rev. Herbert Bull's suggestion, the Preparatory School Heads met annually and discussed more weighty matters than smaller cricket balls.² It is the purpose of this chapter firstly, to consider the constitutional background to this development; secondly, to examine the effectiveness of the Association; and thirdly to assess the backgrounds of individuals both as members of the A.P.S. and as Headmasters.

The first meeting of this body of preparatory school headmasters ostensibly arose out of the need for them to determine ways in which their small charges could the better emulate the cricketing prowess of their elder brothers in public schools; but the basic reason for this development was that both public school and preparatory school were in need of defining aims and objectives with regard to their mutual relationships. The H.M.C. from 1869 had discussed many topics,³ mainly orientated to the upper age

group in the public schools, but had not discussed Preparatory Schools as a leading topic, till the twentieth conference at Oxford in 1890, again pointing to the relatively late institutionalization of preparatory schools.

At this conference, Welldon of Harrow put forward the motion: "That it is desirable to make the relation between preparatory and public schools somewhat closer and more systematic." Speaking to this motion, he referred to the rise of large preparatory schools as "one of the most remarkable developments of modern education" and cited as evidence of public school interest in preparatory schools, the institution of Junior School departments. He admitted that some 134 different Preparatory Schools had provided boys for Harrow during his Headship and spoke of the dangers of a small minority of preparatory schools passing on poor quality boys to the public schools. For this and other reasons,⁴ Welldon put forward his motion which was seconded by Rev. W. Furneaux of Repton. In the discussion which followed, the Rev. T. Field, (King's School, Canterbury) like his predecessor Mitchinson, was responsible for initiating a new idea, in that he proposed a rider to the resolution: "That the Committee be asked to associate with themselves a number of the Preparatory Schoolmasters to discuss in what manner Mr. Welldon's resolution might best take effect," and so gave some positive suggestion for the establishment of future close links between public and preparatory schools. After some further discussion, this rider was withdrawn when the Rev. E. C. Wickham of Wellington College, alluding to the successful co-operation between public and private Schools in the Church of England Purity Society, on the question of moral problems in schools, put forward a second motion: "That the Committee be requested to bring this resolution to the notice of Preparatory Schoolmasters, and to invite them to consider whether by some representative organization they

can put themselves into fuller communication with schools represented in this conference." This motion was seconded by Moss of Shrewsbury. It is of some significance that at least one Headmaster on the conference did not recognise the special relationship between preparatory and public schools. Mr. Eve, of University College School, took the view that such a move as suggested by Wickham would lead to dull uniformity, which view was later voiced in the A.P.S. itself.⁵ Eve denied that preparatory schools had the sole prerogative of feeding public schools and asserted that endowed grammar schools and private schools did this too.⁶ Eve himself had been at Mill Hill School till he was over fourteen before going on to Rugby. Apart from the odd dissentient voice of Eve, there was a general feeling that the time was ripe for the institution of an organization amongst preparatory schools, analogous to the H.M.C. with which the latter could confer.

Who else was better qualified to bring about the initial meeting than the Headmaster of the famous Cheam School which had gained such a reputation under R. S. Tabor? In view of A. S. Tabor's eclipse after the first meeting, there are strong grounds for believing he was but the catspaw of the H.M.C. and that with the emergence of a natural leader in the Rev. Herbert Bull, a headmaster of an obscure preparatory school in Kent, the Association was truly launched. It was at the second meeting on December 23rd 1892,⁷ initiated by the Rev. Bull, that it was decided to form the A.P.S. A committee of fifteen was chosen whose first task was to organise the 1893 Conference. These initial meetings were important ones for the Association in so far as it was at these early meetings, as in any other Society's formative period, that leaders emerged, policy was formulated and problems were raised and discussed by them. It is proposed to examine matters of policy raised at early conferences at a later stage; at present attention is

focussed on the constitutional development of the Association both internally and externally.

The need for such an association became even more evident than it had been in 1890, when in 1894 the Bryce Commission, charged with examining secondary education committed the indiscretion of not having the newly formed A.P.S. represented on it. If this were not enough, the Commission was sufficiently indiscreet to ask the preparatory schools whether or not they wished to be considered with private schools. A special conference was hurriedly called in September at which Rev. C. Darnell (Cargilfield) took the Chair, and a memorandum for transmission to the Commission was drawn up which stated that:

"This Association does wish to draw the attention of the Commission to the difference between preparatory schools, in the proper sense of the word, and private schools in general, upon the ground that preparatory schools confine themselves to boys at an age earlier than that at which they enter public schools, and therefore provide an organization of which private schools, taking older boys, are in no sense the equivalent." ⁸

In this memorandum is the basis of the preparatory school raison d'etre. It was the view which their chief friend, in government circles, Michael E. Sadler, reiterated time and time again, that preparatory schools were to be regarded as the first stage of a public school education.⁹ The third Annual Conference in December 1894, over which Rev. C. Darnell again presided, endorsed this policy by passing a Memorandum of the objectives of the Association

viz: 1. To draw more closely together Headmasters of Preparatory Schools and organize their opinion;

2. to advance the interests of education as affecting those schools; and
3. to provide a recognised channel of communication with the public schools and other educational bodies.

From the beginning, certain Headmasters played a leading part in the affairs of the Association. Amongst these leaders were to be found Bull and Darnell, to whom reference has already been made; C. C. Lynam (Dragon School), who became first editor of the P.S.R.; E. D. Mansfield (Lambrook), who was Honorary Treasurer for nine years; Clement C. Cotterill (ex-Greenbank, Liverpool), who from 1898 to 1901 was the Honorary Secretary of the Association and who liaised with Michael E. Sadler over the production of the 1900 Board of Education Special Report on Preparatory Schools; E. H. Parry (Stoke House), an early committee member and Chairman; E. P. Arnold (Wixenford) Chairman of the Sixth Conference and early committee member; Rev. Walter Earle (Bilton Grange), committee member and early contributor to P.S.R.; Rev. J. H. Wilkinson (Waynflete, Woodcote near Reading) a representative of A.P.S. in 1896 when the first meeting with H.M.C. members took place concerning the reform of the curriculum; Rev. C. T. Wickham (Twyford) and Dr. E. C. Williams (Summerfields), both Vice Chairmen before 1900; Mr. Frank Ritchie (ex Seven oaks Preparatory School) who succeeded both Cotterill and Lynam as Secretary (1901) and Editor of the P.S.R. (1900) respectively, and who also became Secretary of the Board of Management of the Common Entrance examination (1904); C. D. Olive (Rokeby) and Rev. C. W. Hunt (Cordwalles) committee members. In the early years, the preparatory schools of Malvern were well represented by Rev. C. Black (Colwall), Chairman of the eleventh conference and W. Douglas (The Link School): later E. P. Frederick of Wells House played some part. At the beginning of the

twentieth century, new leader members came forward in the shape of G. Gidley Robinson (Hillside, Godalming), third editor of P.S.R.; Lionel Helbert, who introduced lasting constitutional reform; E. L. Browne (St. Andrews School, Eastbourne), who seemed to play the role of gadfly, until elected on the committee; A. G. Grenfell (Mostyn House) and H. Strahan (Hythe)

Those who, like Eve of University College School, feared uniformity of mind and character amongst Preparatory Schools, by the foundation of the A.P.S., were early confounded when the Association became deeply divided over the question of the reform of entrance scholarship examinations. So strongly did some feel on this issue that members of the committee, whose schools were wont to gain a large number of scholarships, resigned en bloc rather than pursue a policy of dilution¹⁰ which they strongly deprecated. The dissidents who resigned from the Committee were H. B. Allen (Temple Grove); Walter Earle (Bilton Grange) and E. H. Parry (Stoke House); other leading dissidents were H. M. Draper (Locker Park); Lancelot Sanderson (Elstree); A. S. Tabor (Cheam) and E. C. Williams (Summerfields). A referendum was held on the subject and the dissidents lost quite heavily.¹¹

This rift in the Association was significant on two accounts:

1. It showed that the A.P.S. could not always be relied on to display unanimity and that critics' fears of uniformity were unfounded.
2. It demonstrated that the Association had a 'traditionalist' and a 'progressive' element which occasionally revealed their polarity.

The lowering of the standard of Greek was to continue to be a bone of contention within the Association. The dissidents had lost the day on this occasion but in 1908, when the membership of the Association was well

over 300, 114 members representing 101 schools, tried to influence the deliberations of the H.M.C. on the future of Greek by expressing satisfaction with the status quo in a letter of February 1908. This letter and the number of its signatories¹² showed the strength of the traditionalists, but the views of 'progressives' inside the Association like E. D. Mansfield; C. C. Lynam and Lionel Helbert finally prevailed. Other differences of opinion became evident in the Association as when in 1899 C. C. Lynam, as Editor, for the second time tried to influence policy on another fundamental issue through the columns of the P.S.R. At the time of the rift in the Association over the scholarship examinations in 1897, he had attempted to sway opinion even more firmly for the majority by writing an article about the possible dangers to health of cramming. Two years later he was to be found suggesting in his "Notes and Comments" that the constitution of the Association be changed and that all members of the Committee instead of being three years in office should reapply each year. It is not clear what was the reasoning behind this suggestion but, like a prima ballerina, Lynam offered his resignation at the same time, on the grounds of criticism having been levelled at him for showing partiality as Editor¹³ and also because some members had resigned from the Association. His suggestion was not taken up; neither was his resignation accepted. Meanwhile in 1900, the Rev. E. L. Browne (St. Andrews School, Eastbourne), suggested a different kind of alteration to the constitution viz. regional representation on the Committee to allow centres of scholastic concentration like Brighton, Hastings and Eastbourne to be fully represented. However, he withdrew the notion on the advice that it would raise organizational difficulties. Thus his idea, which anticipated Lionel Helbert's scheme by nine years, was abortive.

If the Association were not ready for regional representation in 1900, two years later in 1902 it felt sufficiently well-established to accept

the offer, again at the suggestion of the Rev. E. L. Browne, of a well-known firm of accountants in the City to act as honorary auditors.¹⁴ This was followed in 1906 by the appointment of Mr. H. Hughes Onslow as solicitor to the Association, which appointment marked yet another stage of the Association's consolidation.¹⁵ There appeared to be a feeling, however, amongst the rank and file against the bureaucratization of the A.P.S., when it rejected a proposal for a permanent home for the Association.¹⁶ In this, once again, the majority of members had shown an independence of mind.

One preparatory school principal who showed perhaps an excess of independence of mind and was one of the Association's sternest critics, was Thomas Pellatt.¹⁷ As Headmaster of Durnford Preparatory School, which under Pellatt sent something like seventy-five per cent of its boys to Eton, he attacked the way in which the Association was developing. In 1903 he wrote an article for the P.S.R. entitled "A word in time" in which he pointed out that many preparatory schools, some leading ones,¹⁸ were not members of the A.P.S. and that this Association was tending to arrogate too much power to itself. According to Pellatt, "the great danger of such organizations is that they may fall into the hands of a clique." He warned against the dangers of uniformity, blaming the continental influences and accusing the Blue Book of 1900 of being full of "Germanolatry." This article which seemed to be defending the position taken by traditional public schools, in the debate of the content of the curriculum, fired a lethal shaft when it cuttingly suggested that preparatory schoolmasters (public schoolmasters who had failed) should not criticise those who had succeeded. The new curriculum, largely introduced through pressure on the H.M.C., by the 'progressive' members of the A.P.S., was denounced by Pellatt

as "a strange medley of ill-digested Froebelism." In the following year, Longmans published Pellatt's Public Schools and Public Opinion (1904), in which he set himself up as the self-appointed preparatory school conscience, eager to rectify some false impressions given by some other preparatory schoolmasters in the Blue Book.¹⁹

Pellatt's most scathing criticism was levelled at the Association very many years later, in his Autobiography Boys in the Making (1936). He pointed to a via media, attacking both the 'cram for exam' techniques of some preparatory schools and the 'progressives' with their diluted and varied curriculum. On one meeting with Public School headmasters, he attended as a preparatory school representative, Pellatt commented:

"We all felt as we listened to the arguments on the other side that it was no use fighting anymore; the entrance examination provided a most convenient means for regulating the public schools' entrance list ... so there was the end of it. As we broke up, I seemed to see the shade of Thring²⁰ looking down upon these public school headmasters in their splendid struggle after the ideals they preached in their school chapels."²¹

He viewed the movement to unify the preparatory schools as "a most pitiable tragedy." He was not critical of Herbert Bull, the nephew of C. M. Bull - the Marlborough Senior Master whom Pellatt knew well²² - but he attacked "the axe grinders, the faddists, the Johnny head-in-the-airs (who) collared the machine."²³ Of these he declared "They cared nothing whatever about the welfare of little boys; if they had they would never have joined hands with a certain type of public school headmaster and invented an entrance examination of twelve or fifteen papers which is condemned root and branch by ... Dr. Cyril Norwood."²⁴ Pellatt was here attacking 'progressives' like

E. D. Mansfield and F. Ritchie who played such an important part in the setting up of the Common Entrance examination in 1904. His loyalty to his old colleague, C. M Bull at Marlborough, where he had been an assistant master for four years, made him blind to the fact that Herbert Bull sat on the first Board of the Common Entrance with E. D. Mansfield and three public school Heads.²⁵

For a year T. Pellatt allowed himself to be a member of the A.P.S. Executive Committee but found himself out of step with the rest of his committee colleagues. He did not agree with the main aim of the Association which seemed to him to be to interfere with other schools. Criticising this tendency of the Association to attempt to dictate to headmasters, Pellatt asserted that he had "in vain tried to catch Mr. Boots devoting his morning to the furtherance of Mr. Timothy White's prosperity."²⁶ Why should the A.P.S. arrogate to itself this privilege?

Pellatt was like a voice in the wilderness in his criticism. Although from time to time other critics, like Mervyn Voules (Windermere House, Barnes Common), voiced their opposition to 'progressive' tendencies, Pellatt for the most part was a one man ginger group. Not so Lionel Helbert (West Downs, Winchester), who was responsible for the major change in the constitution of the Association in 1909. Joining the A.P.S. in 1898, he was elected to the Committee in 1907, but was later (1908) critical of its tending to fall into the hands of a clique whose schools were centred around London. He proposed to give the Executive Committee a local representative character by dividing the Association into local branches, representatives from each of which were to be elected to the Executive Committee. The then recent letter to the Public School headmasters concerning Greek, signed by 114 members had shown the need for this Committee to become representative.

Exploratory letters were sent out by Helbert and the replies showed strong support for his proposals. Helbert's motion "That this Conference approves of the principle of local representation"²⁷ was carried after two amendments had been rejected. His scheme was finally accepted, after some considerable opposition in some quarters, at a special conference on October 2nd 1909.²⁸ Despite Helbert's own doubts about the strength of his opponents, his scheme of local representation still largely holds today²⁹ with thirteen local representatives and nine general representatives on the I.A.P.S. Council, and this despite early setbacks.³⁰

The Effectiveness of the A.P.S.

How effective was the A.P.S. in the pursuance of its aims? A brief survey of its achievements between 1892 and 1914 evinces an impressive record: in fact, most of the features of the I.A.P.S. today were either established before 1914 or at least had been mooted.

The main achievement in the early years was the reform of the preparatory school curriculum³¹ which involved also the reform of entrance scholarship examinations and the institution of a common entrance examination. Over a period of eight years from 1895,⁷² when the H.M.C. first discussed the curriculum of preparatory schools at the instigation of the A.P.S.,³³ to 1903 when agreement was reached about a common entrance examination for some public schools, the views of the majority of the Preparatory School headmasters, that the curriculum was overcrowded, were pressed on some receptive and other not so receptive, public school headmasters.

Opinion on this subject was never unanimous as has been shown, but in July 1899 the Executive Committee of the A.P.S. had worked out a policy to present to the H.M.C.³⁴ Even as late as December 1902, however, the

Rev. H. Bull (Wellington House School) and Rev. C. T. Wickham (Twyford) could not agree. On this occasion, as on so many others, the wisdom of E. D. Mansfield prevailed. To shorten the protracted proceedings which seemed to be leading into an impasse he moved formally,

1. "That no settlement of the curriculum will be satisfactory to this Association which imposes on young boys the rudiments of three languages besides their own (For 27; Against 8)"
2. "That this Conference is in favour of one single leaving examination for Preparatory Schools in place of the present widely differing examinations of the different public schools."³⁵

Further negotiations between the H.M.C. and A.P.S., in which Mansfield, Parry, Lynam, Bull and Ritchie represented the A.P.S., finally resulted in the institution of a Common Entrance examination, first held on 28th/29th June 1904, in which thirty public schools had agreed to experiment. 320 entries, for eleven³⁶ schools in particular were registered from 190 preparatory schools, of which 133 belonged to the A.P.S.³⁷

There is no doubt whatever that despite internal dissensions, the Association gave the private preparatory schools a solidarity of action that made them achieve in the space of a short while what would not have been achieved in decades had they remained unorganised. As the Blue Book reported, it gave them a sense of a common public spirit - "Before the existence of the Association, each man was usually pursuing his own work in his own way and devoting himself to his own school, ignorant of the work, aims, difficulties, mistakes, successes of others, giving nothing to them, receiving nothing from them. All this is now changed."³⁸ Not only were they now in communication with one another but also a precedent for official

discussion with public schools had been created by a joint sub-committee of heads of Public and Preparatory Schools. The prolix discussions on the curriculum and examinations had been beneficial in more ways than one.

Having gained success with the institution of a Common Entrance examination and having got the Public Schools to acquiesce in general principle to a broadening of the curriculum (which was partly achieved by the exclusion of Greek as an absolute requirement in entrance scholarship examinations)³⁹ the A.P.S. was baulked from gaining a further success at the 35th H.M.C. Conference at Oxford. Here a motion calling for the lowering of the standard of Greek in preparatory schools was put by Dr. Burge (Winchester) and seconded by Rev. Hon. E. Lyttelton who, in so doing, complimented preparatory schoolmasters, by reminding the H.M.C. "how great a debt Public schoolmasters owed to those men."⁴⁰ Despite the encomium, the motion was lost, with the arch-traditionalist Dr. James of Rugby leading the opposition to it. This division amongst the public school headmasters was a signal for the 114 traditionalists in the A.P.S. to frame their status quo letter,⁴¹ giving encouragement to Dr. James to remain firm. However, the struggle did not last much longer: in December 1908 the H.M.C. passed resolutions which displaced Greek from the preparatory school curriculum. This led Dr. James to make the gloomy forecast about the future of Greek in public schools; but it caused much satisfaction amongst many preparatory school headmasters who had regarded the comparatively high standard of Greek required by public schools, as the chief time consumer and stumbling block to a more liberal education. Looking at these very complex negotiations between the H.M.C. and the A.P.S., from a standpoint of nearly seventy years after, the overall impression is one of success for the majority view in the A.P.S. who impressed/^{public} school heads eventually with the reality of their

situation, so that by 1914 the view expressed by Thomas Arnold to Lord Denbigh as long ago as 1829⁴² concerning the widening of the Preparatory school curriculum was much nearer to fruition.⁴³

In other fields the A.P.S. gained success. Very early, largely because of the initiative of E. D. Mansfield⁴⁴ and the Rev. C. Darnell,⁴⁵ an Oxford University scheme for the training of preparatory schoolmasters, was instituted whereby M. W. Keatinge, the Tutor and Lecturer in Education at Oxford, ran a one month course in 1897⁴⁶ and in succeeding years. This was one early measure calculated to improve the lot of the assistant master. Another measure was the institution of a Benevolent Fund,⁴⁷ the nucleus of which was formed from funds obtained through the Common Entrance Examinations; a measure to assist the Headmaster, was the Guarantee Fund, set up in 1902/1903, to assist those who found themselves involved in costly litigation.⁴⁸

In their dealings with the Royal Navy when, at the turn of the century, the senior arm was in the process of changing its policy with regard to the training of its young officers, the A.P.S. were able to persuade the Admiralty that 13½ years was a better age than 12 to 13⁴⁹ for entry to the navy,⁵⁰ if it were to fit in with the preparatory schools' other function of feeding the public school.

The A.P.S. was not quite so successful with another Government Department as it was with the Navy. When the Inhabited House Duty tax was introduced in the late 1890s, which revenue tax the preparatory schools were liable to pay, A. G. Grenfell (Mostyn House) and E. L. Browne (St. Andrews School, Eastbourne) led a vigorous campaign to cut the tax by 33½ per cent as far as preparatory schools were concerned.⁵¹ A fighting fund of £360 was set up, in December 1899, to fight a preparatory school case in the courts. A test case was conducted before Justice Phillimore on 20th June 1902 to see

whether Rev. E. L. Browne's School at Eastbourne had been legally assessed at £750. Browne won the case, which victory was duly reported in the Preparatory Schools Review (No. 22 July 1902); but his triumph was short lived. The Crown appealed against the decision awarded to Browne; and the Court of Appeal reversed it.

If the A.P.S. finally lost their case over the Inhabited House Duty, they were more successful, in a negative way, in one domestic matter. Despite the many protests in the columns of the P.S.R.⁵² and the attempts at Conference to secure a reversal by democratic vote,⁵³ A.P.S. members continued to exclude Lady Principals from the Association. This display of masculine solidarity was maintained in face of influential opposition from C. C. Lynam, and was based it would seem on the declaration by Welldon of Harrow at the 1890 H.M.C.⁵⁴ that preparatory schools run by women were inferior.⁸⁵ This view was supported by Rev. W. Earle (Bilton Grange) and Rev. E. L. Browne (St. Andrews) against C. C. Lynam's attempt to obtain an amendment to the constitution at the Tenth Annual Conference in December 1901.⁵⁶ In their view a woman was unable to be in loco patris to boys over ten.⁵⁷ No doubt there was some support for the masculine prejudice displayed in a letter by H. R. Heatley of Beaudesert School, Henley in Arden, who in a letter to the Editor suggested that to keep women principals out would safeguard the conference from feminine "garrulity."⁵⁸ Whatever the individual reasons, the I.A.P.S. continued until 1971 to be a male preserve.^{58a}

In 1914 the preparatory schools managed to come within the orbit again of Secondary Schools despite their being hitherto disqualified on account of their pupils' age range. In the absence of a modern concept of primary education, which had no class connotation, the preparatory schools had been isolated since the Secondary Schools Code of 1904, being neither

elementary nor secondary in nature. Because of this exclusion, up to 1913 the preparatory schools had been charged the full amount for the cost of any inspection, which had been prohibitive: consequently only five Preparatory Schools had been inspected.⁵⁹ A combined deputation from the H.M.C. and A.P.S. had sought recognition of the Preparatory Schools as an integral part of the public school system,⁶⁰ which would give the right to preparatory schools of free inspection. In the event, the Board of Education compromised and gained from the Treasury, sanction to inspect up to twenty Preparatory Schools per year free of charge.⁶¹ It would seem that the preparatory schools, to quote the words of C. C. Cotterill,⁶² were "at last recognised to be, not an aimless aggregate of private commercial establishments, but an integral and quite indispensable portion of the national system of Secondary Education."

Some prominent members of the Association of Headmasters of Preparatory Schools 1892-1914

A little insight has already been gained into the character and background of Headmasters like O. C. Waterfield (Temple Grove) and C. C. Lynam (Dragon School); but what were the characters and backgrounds of some of Lynam's colleagues in the A.P.S. and its Executive Committee? Many of them were assistant masters in public schools before they took up the care of very young boys. Edward Stone (1832-1915), for instance, who opened a school at Stonehouse, North Foreland, near Broadstairs, which was closely connected with Eton, was an Eton master for twenty-seven years from 1857 to 1884 before becoming a preparatory schoolmaster; E. P. Arnold (d. 1917) had been the chief Modern Language master at Clifton (1874-1878) under Dr. Perceval; E. D. Mansfield, too, was an ex-Clifton master;

Frank Ritchie had been a master at Westminster; Arthur M. Curteis (1833-1922), a Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, had been an assistant master at Leamington College and Sherborne, where he helped Harper build up the School, before taking over Hillside Preparatory school, Godalming in 1876: here, he was joined in 1888, by Mr. Gidley Robinson (third editor of P.S.R.) an assistant master from Charterhouse. Herbert Bull began his school - mastering as an assistant master at Wellington College; whilst C. C. Cotterill (1842-1917) was a master at Haileybury under A. G. Butler and at Fettes (1870-1890), having been invited to be second master by Dr. Potts.

Some were decidedly influenced by their previous experience. E. P. Frederick (Wells House, Malvern) was influenced by Almond of Loretto; the Rev. Walter Earle (Bilton Grange, Rugby), a former assistant master of Uppingham, was a disciple of Edward Thring. Earle began a preparatory school at Yarlet Hall in 1873, and moved to Bilton Grange in 1887. Like Thring, he believed in giving every boy his chance and at his school there was a wide range of interests to promote self discovery: again like Thring, Earle was no musician, but he saw the value in bringing professional musicians to the school. The Rev. Charles Darnell, who was educated at Rugby under Temple and "venerated" Arnold,⁶³ started a preparatory school at Hill Morton, near Rugby.⁶⁴ Six years later he was invited by Dr. Potts, Headmaster of Fettes, to begin a preparatory school in Edinburgh which was the origin of Cargilfields, perhaps the most famous Scottish preparatory school.⁶⁵ It would seem that Darnell, who was Chairman of the A.P.S. in 1894 and played a leading role in the formation of the Association in 1892, had something in common with C. C. Cotterill who was also an 'Arnoldian' summoned to Edinburgh by Dr. Potts. After Haileybury, Cotterill had been Headmaster at Hill Brow School for M. Vecquerary⁶⁶ who was Modern Language

master at Rugby. After spending twenty years at Fettes, during which time he became a friend of H. H. Almond, Cotterill was the second Headmaster of the Greenbank School⁶⁷ outside Liverpool, but he had to retire in 1898 through ill health. From 1898-1901 he was the Honorary Secretary to the A.P.S. in succession to Rev. H. Bull, the Association's first Secretary. For a short while, from 1903 to 1906 he became Headmaster of Combe Field Preparatory School, Godalming. Cotterill was a man with a great social conscience and he spent his last years championing the cause of the poor, by writing books on the subject.⁶⁸

Cotterill in his day had been a powerful figure in the A.P.S. but perhaps F. Ritchie, who at one time held three posts in the Association⁶⁹ was even more influential. After his spell at Westminster School, Ritchie had served as an assistant master at Oakfield Preparatory School under the Rev. W. Furness.⁷⁰ His career took him to Plymouth where he helped to found a Secondary School (later Plymouth College) before founding his own preparatory school at Sevenoaks in 1881.⁷¹ In 1899 he, too, retired from schoolmastering to write books. His retirement allowed him to play a full part in the Association and he was responsible for setting up the machinery for Common Entrance examinations. In C. C. Lynam's memoirs, The Skipper, some recognition is given of colleagues who helped to mould the A.P.S. in the early years. He wrote: "Darnell, Herbert Bull, Arnold, Mansfield, E. L. Browne, Gidley Robinson, (and) Black all did noble work, and I was proud to be associated with them. They were the first to get into intimate touch with the Headmasters of the Public Schools and to get our Schools recognised as the Junior Departments of the Public Schools."⁷² To these names should be added those of 'Clem.' Cotterill and Frank Ritchie, as being two who contributed as much, if not more than Lynam himself, to the stability

of the Association in the early days.

Undoubtedly, the two headmasters to whom the Association owed most for their guidance and its consolidation after foundation, were the Rev. Herbert Bull and Edward Mansfield. Bull was a man who had to struggle against certain physical disabilities,⁷⁴ but this did not affect his capacity for beating little boys when he felt it necessary. Having been at Rugby as a boy and served as an assistant master at Wellington 1880-1886 Bull launched out in 1886, with his brother,⁷⁵ on a school at Westgate on Sea, which he named Wellington House School after Wellington College. By 1896 some considerable new building⁷⁶ had been carried out and Bull had a prosperous school of fifty boys. One old boy of the school and ex pupil of Bull,⁷⁷ in^a short memoir, has described him as "completely honest and always trying to do his best for us": he goes on "but I doubt if he really knew us. His own outlook was 'play up, play up and play the man.' He felt simply and deeply himself, and expected us to do the same." There is a suggestion in this memoir that Bull was out of touch with the sentiment of his boys who showed not the slightest patriotism or interest as did their Headmaster in the Second Boar War.⁷⁸ He was, however, a man devoted to his school and education. The first honorary secretary (1892-1897) and twice Chairman of the A.P.S., he was "one of the first to realise the importance of a properly constituted body to act as a liaison between the Public and Preparatory Schools."⁷⁹ He was always an enthusiast, a man with definite views, who looked upon the Association as a band of brothers of which he was one of the natural leaders. A deeply religious man, he waged a campaign in his later years against the public sale of 'obnoxious' literature⁸⁰ and made his last appearance at the A.P.S. Conference in 1917 when he spoke strongly in favour of the retention of the Scripture paper

in the Common Entrance examination. Outside the Association he was a member of Westgate Council for many years and worked tirelessly for the Canterbury Diocese⁸¹ to whose care he left his school.⁸²

More 'progressive' in outlook than Herbert Bull, Edward Mansfield was perhaps the cornerstone of the A.P.S. in the early years. He became Headmaster of Lambrook School in 1884 "to test his own carefully thought out ideas about the education of young boys."⁸³ In 1892, he took a leading part in the formation of the A.P.S. and shared with Bull, the unique distinction, up to 1914, of being Chairman of the A.P.S. twice (1895 and 1903). For nine years, he was the Honorary Treasurer and "it is not too much to say that, as long as he remained in the profession no voice carried so much weight as his in Committee at the Annual Conference."⁸⁴ Throughout his membership of the A.P.S., Mansfield was the champion of reform whereas Bull continued to be found amongst the moderates. Mansfield was a leader in the movement towards the reform of the curriculum, towards providing teacher training courses for preparatory schoolmasters, and he played a leading role in the establishment of the Common Entrance examination. It has been said of him that "if Frank Ritchie devised the machinery of the examination, Mansfield's [sic] was the guiding spirit."⁸⁵

In 1904 Mansfield retired from Lambrook but continued to give public service: he became an Alderman on the Berkshire County Council and was on the governing bodies of Secondary Schools, on the Berkshire Education Committee and on the Council of the University of Reading.

The view of Mansfield given by W. F. Bushell⁸⁶ is not a flattering one; but in contrast, even taking into account that obituaries are usually of a hyper-laudatory nature, the P.S.R. obituary on Mansfield⁸⁷ suggests that he was a schoolmaster of the highest quality with a belief in his

mission to boys. With leaders like Mansfield, the Association achieved much in these early years.

Having considered the growth and development of Preparatory Schools at a national level in Chapters 9 to 13, we will now examine their growth and development at local level in Warwickshire and Worcestershire in the nineteenth century, especially in the districts of Leamington and Malvern.

CHAPTER 14

A LOCAL STUDY OF NINETEENTH CENTURY

PRIVATE EDUCATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE

TO PRIVATE PREPARATORY SCHOOLS IN

WARWICKSHIRE AND WORCESTERSHIRE

The main purpose of this final chapter on private preparatory schools is to examine their growth and development in Royal Leamington Spa and Malvern. However, to ensure an adequate background for this undertaking and to provide a balanced view of Warwickshire and Worcestershire viz.

a viz. the rest of the country, a centripetal process is adopted starting with a statistical consideration of the eleven counties which have been the basis of this study,¹ then passing on to private and preparatory schools in the two Midland counties, before examining the growth and development of Leamington Spa and Malvern districts, which were the main growth centres of private education for Warwickshire² and Worcestershire respectively, during the nineteenth century.

This convergent approach begins with a comparison between sizes and growth rates of these eleven counties in the nineteenth century. The counties in question differed in character and size both at the beginning of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries. In 1801 before the onset of industrial conurbations, the still rural counties of Somerset and Norfolk were the most populated of the eleven with 273,000 - 274,000 inhabitants; whilst Cambridge, with the smallest population of only 89,000 had 22,000 and 23,000 fewer than Berkshire and Oxfordshire, respectively. Sussex with 159,000 was the median county whilst Warwickshire and Worcestershire were fourth and eighth largest, respectively. By 1911, because of the effects of the industrial revolution, the positions of Durham and Somerset in the table of county populations were reversed: Durham, with a population of 1,370,000, was the most populated county and Somerset only the seventh most populated. By 1911, the arithmetical difference between the most populated, and the least populated county of Oxfordshire (190,000) was as much as 1,180,000. Norfolk with a population of 498,000

was then the median county and Warwickshire and Worcestershire were second and eighth in population size, respectively.

Before making a comparison of the provision of private schools within the eleven counties, their relative sizes, in terms of population during the nineteenth century, may be more readily assessed by reference to Table 19 on the following page.

It is seen that by 1851 Somerset had lost the distinction of being the most populated of the eleven counties to Warwickshire, which with Birmingham within its boundaries, was increasing at a fairly rapid rate. Durham, too, under the impact of the continued industrialization of the North East was becoming more populated with over 550,000 inhabitants. As reference to Table 18 below shows, already by that time Hampshire (or Southampton as it was sometimes called in the mid-nineteenth century) was well provided with private day schools, taking into account a) its size of population and b) its provision of public day schools. Sussex, too, a county rich in private preparatory schools, had more than its share of private schools in view of its relative position in the population table for 1851 (table 19 on the following page. Warwickshire by comparison was relatively light in both public and private schools, especially if compared with Sussex and Hampshire.

TABLE 18

Private and Public Day Schools in 1851⁴

County	Public Day Schools	Order of Provision	Pupils	Private Day Schools	Order of Provision	Pupils
Berkshire	218	10th	16,584	289	11th	6,065
Cambridge	188	11th	16,559	398	8th	7,770
Durham	287	7th	29,763	550	6th	19,468
Norfolk	497	1st	34,961	864	3rd	18,745
Northumberland	301	6th	24,765	341	10th	12,524
Oxfordshire	247	8th	16,574	344	9th	6,924
Somerset	490	2nd	36,512	891	2nd	17,208
Southampton	487	3rd	39,906	1,021	1st	18,054
Sussex	359	4th	29,655	819	4th	16,514
Warwickshire	337	5th	34,295	764	5th	16,866
Worcestershire	233	9th	21,279	468	7th	9,278

TABLE 19

County	Order of size	in 000's												Order of size
		1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	
Berkshire	10th	111	120	133	147	162	170	176	196	218	241	259	281	9th
Cambridge	11th	89	101	122	144	164	185	176	187	186	185	186	199	10th
Durham	7th	149	165	194	239	308	391	509	685	867	1,017	1,187	1,370	1st
Hampshire	3rd	219	246	283	314	355	405	482	544	593	694	801	953	3rd
Norfolk	2nd	273	292	344	390	413	443	435	439	445	468	476	498	6th
Northumberland	5th	168	183	213	237	266	304	343	387	434	506	603	697	4th
Oxford	9th	112	120	138	154	163	170	171	178	180	185	180	190	11th
Somerset	1st	274	303	356	404	436	444	445	463	469	428	433	455	7th
Sussex	6th	159	190	233	273	300	337	364	417	491	548	602	663	5th
Warwickshire	4th	207	229	274	337	402	475	562	634	737	921	1,087	1,250	2nd
Worcestershire	8th	146	169	194	223	248	277	307	339	380	337	360	380	8th

Warwickshire had 34,295 children in 337⁵ public schools, compared with Sussex's 29,655 children in 359 schools: and of private schools, Warwickshire had 764 to accommodate 16,866 pupils compared with 16,514 children in 819 Sussex schools. The relatively smaller number of private schools in Warwickshire, which was noted both by T. H. Green, S.I.C. Assistant Commissioner in 1868⁶ and by John Massie who reported on Warwickshire to the Bryce Commission in 1895,⁷ was slightly more evident in Birmingham in 1851 than in the rest of the County (Coventry excepted), as is shown in Table 20 below:

TABLE 20

	Public Schools	Pupils	Private Schools	Pupils	Average number of pupils in private schools
Birmingham	66	13,032	388 ⁸	9,151	23.6
Warwickshire	337	34,295	764	16,866	22.1

T. H. Green cited the immediate success of the then recently opened Bridge-trust School at Handsworth,⁹ as a sign of a comparative lack of boy's private schools in Birmingham. He calculated that if six boys out of every 1,000 head of population were to be found in middle class (private) schools, Birmingham with approximately 400,000 population in 1865 should have had about 24,000 boys in middle class schools: in fact there were only 1,700 in attendance. He attributed this depression to the success of King Edward the Sixth School and suggested that private school proprietors might consider becoming preparatory schools to King Edward's and so increase the numbers of their clientele.

Although Green expressed some concern for the deficiency in private schools in Birmingham, by comparison with some other towns in the eleven

counties, the Midland capital was not so badly served, as reference to Table 21¹⁰ shows:

TABLE 21

Town	Public Schools	Pupils	Private Schools	Pupils	Average no. of pupils per private school
Bath	46	5,564	113	1,959	17.3
Brighton	32	5,094	210	4,346	20.7
Coventry	17	1,667	41	1,138	29.0
Dudley	14	2,359	53	1,157	21.8
Norwich	45	5,207	106	2,553	24.0
Newcastle on Tyne	26	5,328	89	3,761	42.3
Portsmouth	32	4,585	234	4,929	21.0
Southampton	20	3,224	126	2,285	14.0
South Shields	14	2,603	48	1,736	36.1
Sunderland	20	3,469	109	4,077	37.4
Tynemouth	10	1,600	39	1,424	36.5
Yarmouth	11	1,702	69	1,791	26.0

By 1895, Mr. John Massie, was able to report that private schools for boys in and around Birmingham were numerous,¹¹ some of which were kept by women which no doubt accounts for the appearance also in the trade and commercial directories, in the later part of the century, of some mixed schools for boys and girls, possibly the result of economic pressures.

What was the overall pattern of private education like in Warwickshire and Worcestershire during the nineteenth century? A survey of the two counties

and the City of Birmingham at three stages in the century - in approximately 1840, 1868 and 1896 - shows a distinct pattern of provision which is set out in Table 22 below:

TABLE 22

Showing the extent of the provision of various forms of private education in sample survey.

		1839-1841		Kelly's P.O. Directory	
				1868	1896
BIRMINGHAM	L.B.	7	R D	12	6
	L.D.	44	o i	131	57 + 8 mixed
	B.D.	34	b r	23	13
	B.B.	3	s e	9	4
	C/C	4	o c	4	2
	L.P.	9	n t	10	7
	C.P.	0	s o	0	1
WARWICKSHIRE	L.B.	32	r y	25	1
	L.D.	24	P D	63	42
	B.D.	21	i g	15	11
	B.B.	19	r e	23	2
	C/C	1	o t	2	1
	L.P.	3	c t	6	9
	C.P.	1	o r	8	9
WORCESTERSHIRE	L.B.	36	y	18	11
	L.D.	55	B D	70	54 + 3 mixed
	B.D.	43	e n	11	10
	B.B.	16	t r	6	2
	C/C	0	e l	5	1
	L.P.	7	e c	4	7
	C.P.	0	t o	5	10
TOTAL		359		450	271

The schools have been analysed into seven broad categories viz: ladies boarding (L.B.); ladies day schools and seminaries (L.D.); boys boarding (B.B.); boys day schools and academies (B.D.); commercial and/or classical schools (C.C.); ladies preparatory schools (L.P.) and classical preparatory (C.P.).

From Table 22 it is seen that:-

1. the preponderant part of private school provision was that of ladies' day and boarding schools in both county and city;
2. provision for boys, by comparison, was less in evidence; even counting academies (included in boys' day schools), many of which took commercial subjects, commercial schools were comparatively few;¹²
3. the classical preparatory school represented only a small part of all private schools;
4. the classical preparatory schools were to be found in or around country towns and not in the City of Birmingham;
5. in Birmingham, the few preparatory schools in the main were run by ladies who prepared boys for King Edward Sixth School;
6. even by 1896, the classical preparatory schools could hardly be said to outnumber the preparatory schools run by ladies, although no doubt they were generally more substantial educational establishments;
7. all types of private school experienced relative decline from 1868 to 1896 and beyond, except the preparatory school.

1. Ladies' Schools - Looking at these points in turn, amongst ladies' day schools in Worcester were to be found the five schools which Mrs. E. O. P. Sturgis attended in the 1830s, but none of these appear in the trade and

commercial directories.¹³ These schools were comparatively humble and consisted mainly of two rooms, such as the school kept by Miss Martha Stearns which was approached by an outside flight of stairs. Another such 'female academy', kept by Mr. and Mrs. John Wright¹⁴ was held in the Post Office Building in Main Street, Worcester. The School of the Byerly sisters, 'Avonbank' at Stratford on Avon, however, catered for a higher class clientele, and was well established by 1830. This school was attended by Julia Leigh Smith (niece of Harriet Martineau), Elizabeth Stevenson (later Mrs. Gaskell), Jessie Boucherett (1840-1842), the feminist and it was even once suggested that the Princess Victoria be sent there.¹⁵ The four Byerly sisters, Maria, Janet, Anne and Fanny were grand-nieces of Josiah Wedgwood and kept the school for some years before passing it onto the Misses Ainsworths.¹⁶ That the Byerly sisters made a more than adequate living from this fashionable school is evident from the bank book of Miss Anne Byerly¹⁷ who during the period 1828-1832 increased her net savings from £2,008 to £3,563 which at one time were as much as £4,291. No doubt 'Avonbank' was a superior ladies school¹⁸ but during the nineteenth century, several of such ladies' boarding schools functioned as is seen by reference to table 22 above.

In the early twentieth century, such girls' schools had more academic educational aims than in the nineteenth when the acquisition and development of accomplishments had been the bases of girls' schools curricula. They participated in secondary schools examinations and like the private High School for Girls, Church Road, Moseley, under Miss A. K. Jordan (B.A. London), were taking university examinations as were the girls of Westbourne House School, 40 Varna Road, Edgbaston. They took not only the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations but also the examinations of the College of Preceptors, the Associated Board of the Royal Academy of Music and the Royal College of

Music as well as South Kensington examinations.¹⁹ A long established girls' school, the Elms School, Nuneaton, attended by 'George Eliot' (1828-1833), also took the Cambridge Local examinations and music examinations, which practice was becoming typical of ladies schools at the end of the century.²⁰

2. Commercial Schools and Academies - Although the commercial schools were small in number in Warwickshire and Worcestershire during the nineteenth century some, through family ties, were well established over a long period. One family which kept a commercial and boarding school for many years in Stratford on Avon was the Warrilow family. There is record of an Austin Warrilow keeping a school attended by the young Joseph Wedgwood.²¹ Austin Warrilow Senior had a son William Warrilow who at one time was a writing master at Avonbank under the Misses Byerlys. He in turn later became head master of the commercial academy in Chapel Lane, Stratford²² from at least 1845 to 1876 by which time he had moved the school to 1 College Street, Stratford, and continued there until at least 1880 and possibly until 1883.²³ Francis Reeves, too, kept a commercial school for many years at Littleton House, Worcester, which Edward Elgar attended.²⁴ Thomas Cooper was another schoolmaster who kept a commercial school over a period of many years at Henley in Arden, but whose stewardship was a little chequered. His name first appears in Pigot's Commercial and Trade Directory for 1841 where his establishment was described as a 'boarding and day school'. There is a possibility that this school was handed from father to son since Kelly's Post Office Directory for 1845 refers to Thomas Cooper (Junior) as being headmaster.²⁵ Thomas Cooper tried his hand at another trade and was, in 1854, agent to the Atlas Insurance Office.²⁶ By 1860, however, Cooper had abandoned this occupation and gave his school, which was now styled a 'classical, mathematical and commercial boarding academy', his undivided attention running

it successfully presumably, till 1880 and possibly beyond. By 1884 his school had closed but another academy which lasted only a very short while,²⁷ run by an Edward H. Bryan, opened to take its place.

From just before the 1880s onwards, Henley in Arden was the home of a Warwickshire preparatory school, to be considered in more detail later (pp.141-142) founded by the Rev. William Nelson. The disappearance of Thomas Cooper's School in the 1880s, after forty years, and the appearance of Nelson's Arden House Preparatory School were symptomatic of the changes taking place nationally in educational provision and accords with J. V. Milne's views about the economic prospects of private schools at the end of the century.²⁸

3-7(i) Early Classical Boarding Schools - Arden House, in the 1880s, founded by yet another clergyman, was one of the nineteenth century Warwickshire schools for the sons of gentlemen that developed, through an evolutionary institutionalizing process, into a late nineteenth century preparatory school, of the kind examined in Chapter 12. There were other schools, throughout the century, started by clergymen who did not gain such success or achieve longevity. The Rev. George Salmon kept a gentlemen's boarding school for a short while at Coleshill as early as 1835;²⁹ as did the Rev. William Field at Leamington and the Rev. Richard M'Pherson at Rugby.³⁰ Francis Galton F.R.S., the pioneer in the study of heredity, attended an early private school of six pupils, kept by Rev. Mr. Attwood³¹ at Kenilworth. He related³² how during his three years there, he experienced nothing but kindness and "unconstrained". This school was patronised also by the Boulton and Watt families from Birmingham. Another Fellow of the Royal Society, who attended an early type preparatory school was John Beddoe³³ who was sent by his father, a Worcestershire businessman, to the Rev. Charles Wharton at Mitton near Stourport in 1836. Henry Scott Holland, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford,

before going to Eton in 1859, had attended another such school, kept by Rev. Charles Bedford at Allesley, near Coventry, in February 1856. He, too, was happy at his "preparatory school" despite the daily eight hours of lessons.³⁴

3-7(ii) Preparatory Schools in Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Birmingham³⁵

The observations on Table 22, numbered from 3 to 7, on Classical and Ladies' Preparatory Schools, are self explanatory and need little elucidation. Appendix 33 gives further details of these schools in the two counties and Birmingham. From this it is seen that in the early years, many of the schools so listed were styled gentlemen's boarding schools.³⁶ In Pigot's Directory in 1830, for instance, ten schools in Worcestershire, nine of which were kept by laymen, were designated 'gentlemen's boarding schools,' but, as might be expected in view of the relatively early date, no mention was made of preparatory schools as such. The first references to Worcestershire preparatory schools appear in Pigot's 1835 Directory but these were the dame/preparatory schools of Miss Sarah Turner at Shipston on Stour and Miss Esther Whall at Stourbridge. The first recognisable classical preparatory school in Worcestershire was that of Thomas Essex at Great Malvern in 1860 which declared itself to be a preparatory school for Eton. At this time another preparatory school opened in Great Malvern, kept by E. R. C. Hays at South Lea but it was described as a 'boarding school' and can therefore be presumed to be one of the several schools in the latter part of the century which only gradually evolved and developed the function of preparing young boys for public schools.

The general pattern of preparatory school provision which evolved in Worcestershire during the nineteenth century shows a concentration of such schools in the Malvern district and very few elsewhere. Worcester itself,

for instance, had perhaps only one school which could claim to be a classical preparatory school - Barbonne College, which was opened in c. 1884 as a 'boys school',³⁷ at Claines, just outside Worcester, by William Caldwell M.A., but which by 1900 was inside Worcester's boundaries and was designated a 'boys' boarding preparatory school.'³⁸ The school of Frederick Marcus M.R.C.P.³⁹ at Albany House, Britannia Square (1865), although described by Kelly's 1880 P.O. Directory as 'a school for young gentlemen' was in fact a middle class school preparing pupils for professional and commercial pursuits.

It might be expected that Bromsgrove⁴⁰ would have some preparatory schools since, as in the cases of Rugby and Malvern, the presence of a 'public school' would tend to attract preparatory schools to accommodate the younger sons of 'sojourners'.⁴¹ Despite such an expectation, Bromsgrove was, except for the preparatory boarding and day school of Eliza Pearce in 1855, peculiarly devoid of preparatory schools till the dame/preparatory school of Mrs. William Holyoake at Windsor Cottage,⁴² Chapel Street was opened in 1880. Near Bromsgrove, in the Lickey Hills, the Rev. Edward Healey M.A., opened a classical preparatory school sometime during 1892 and 1896 which was still in existence in 1912.

Of the preparatory schools in Birmingham during the nineteenth century the majority were ladies' preparatory⁴³ or dame/preparatory schools of which Mary Fearon's school at 10 Monument Place was one of the earliest.⁴⁴ Perhaps the preparatory school of Mrs. Mary Shyrte at Witton Hall (1850-1876) was a good example of a dame/preparatory school suited to the education of the young sons of upper class families. It is difficult to determine from data given by Trade and Commercial Directories how many dame/preparatory schools in Birmingham were, to a greater or lesser degree, providing for the early preparation of boys for public schools. There were some, however, which

were kept by men who, probably lacking a classical background, were like the more humble dame/preparatory schoolkeepers on the dame school continuum and could not claim to prepare boys for public schools. Such schools were those of Richard Parker, 34 Woodcock Street⁴⁵ (1839); Thomas H. Morgan of Smethwick (1854); John W. Pink, High Street, West Bromwich (1854) and William M. Anthony, 52 Ford Street, Hockley (1888). At least one⁴⁶ classical preparatory school, however, emerged in Birmingham during the century viz. Hall field Preparatory School (1879), founded by G. P. Nowers and C. F. Pughe.

In the rest of Warwickshire the pattern of preparatory school provision was more diffuse than in Worcestershire. Rugby was a natural focal point but Leamington, and to a lesser extent Kenilworth, Coventry and Henley in Arden were centres where preparatory schools appeared. As in Worcestershire, the earliest mention of preparatory schools in the directories refers to dame/preparatory schools. One of the earliest was Miss Jane Parry's boys' preparatory school in Binswood Terrace, Leamington in 1835 which was joined in 1841 by Mary Payne's preparatory school at 14 Binswood Crescent and Eliza Perry's School at 2 Binswood Terrace East. The Warwickshire equivalent of Thomas Essex of Malvern was the Rev. Thomas L. Bloxam M.A. who kept a classical Preparatory boarding school in Rugby in 1845, at least fifteen years earlier than Essex. His was the first response to Arnold's raising of his school joining age in 1837/1838.

By the late 1850s, more classical preparatory schools for the sons of gentlemen were being set up by others, emulating Bloxam's initial success. By 1854 the Rev. J. Congreve had opened Overslade private classical school at Bilton, near Rugby, which was attended by L. Forbes Winslow, the expert in criminal lunacy⁴⁷ before he went on to Rugby. Meanwhile the Rev. C. Bickmore had opened (c. 1845) Berkswell Hall, near Coventry, "a boarding establishment for the education of the sons of the nobility", not so far from

the gentlemen's boarding school of the Rev. Charles Bedford at Allesley.

(See p. 134)

The 1860s saw an efflorescence of preparatory schools in Warwickshire if at the same time the year 1864 witnessed the retirement of the Rev. T. L. Bloxam from the field of competition. The decade began with the establishment of Oakfield preparatory school in 1860 where the Rev. John M. Furness had 130 boarders and day boys. Furness had made a reputation in the 1850s as a coach for boys when, under Dr. Temple, the demand for entry to Rugby attained new levels of intensity. Many boys who had failed once to get into Rugby had gone to Furness's and then achieved success. Furness himself had been curate of Newbold on Avon where he had gathered the younger sons of "sojourners" who came to live in the Rugby area before the alteration of the foundation regulations in 1874. Furness resigned his curacy in 1858 and took two houses in Rugby. Such was his reputation, however, that his numbers grew too large and he had to remove to Oakfield in 1860 where he ran a very successful school preparing boys not only for Rugby but also for Eton, Uppingham, Cheltenham, Wellington and Winchester.

In the 1860s the Rev. John Congreve was joined at Overslade (c. 1864) by the Rev. George F. W. Wright who became partner and then sole proprietor by 1868. Meanwhile in the early 1860s Northcote House preparatory school was opened by the Rev. Charles Houghton: about four years later, William Vecqueray⁴⁸ opened another classical preparatory school in Rugby. An interesting example of social mobility in schoolmastering arises in the case of Thomas Trott who in 1864 kept a commercial academy at 39 Pennington Street, Rugby. He became ordained and then joined other clergymen in the neighbourhood by setting up a classical preparatory school in the same schoolrooms. By 1876 he had acquired a B.A. degree; but having started teaching as a

parochial schoolmaster and having laboriously achieved the heights of social success, Trott's comparatively prestigious existence as a graduate/clerical preparatory schoolmaster was comparatively shortlived since his name does not appear in the Kelly's P.O. Directory for 1884. It is possible that his school suffered from being situated in the 'wrong' part of the town as he did not change location when he changed from being a commercial school Headmaster to that of a Headmaster of a preparatory school. Equally his school's closure could have been part of a more general picture of change in Rugby, brought about by its increased industrialization; or yet again it could have been caused by increased competition from schools outside Rugby, towards the end of the century.

Just outside Rugby, two other classical preparatory schools were opened, one by Mr. David Hanbury at Clifton upon Dunsmore and the other by the Rev. Charles Darnell⁴⁹ at Hillmorton. Meanwhile at nearby Leamington, two classical preparatory schools were established: the Rev. F. Clark Walsh took over the premises at 1 Waterloo Place, formerly occupied by Miss Sarah Robbins, a dame/preparatory school proprietress and some four years earlier, in 1864, Mr. Alfred Kirk, who had been English master at Leamington College for eleven years, opened a preparatory school, which was the beginning of Arnold Lodge School.

If Rugby and Leamington were developing as 'preparatory school districts' in the 1860s, so was Coventry. Since the 1840s the quasi-preparatory school at Allesley had existed near Coventry, but in the late 1860s, the Allesley school was faced with competition from the Rev. George Heaviside at 126 Much Park Street, Coventry where he had opened a 'gentlemen's boarding school', and by Mr. Arthur Hammerton who set up a 'preparatory school for young gentlemen' at Priory Hill, Wolston, before 1868.

The 1860s were years of preparatory school efflorescence in Warwickshire: the 1870s and 1880s, on the other hand, were years of consolidation for some schools and closure for others,⁵⁰ but more classical preparatory schools came into existence to take their place.⁵¹ Amongst these were two schools which have survived to the present day viz. Bilton Grange School and Arden House.⁵²

Bilton Grange School, founded by the Rev. Walter Earle,⁵³ began at Yarlet Hall, Staffordshire in 1873 before moving to Dunchurch, near Rugby in 1887. This school is an exemplar of classical preparatory school continuity in-so-far as it was owned by the Earle family from 1873 to 1930.⁵⁴ The school prospered in its new location since at Yarlet Hall in 1878 it had about fifty boys but by 1893, only six years after its establishment at Dunchurch, it had as many as 120, which was a large number for the late nineteenth century.⁵⁵ The School had strong links at first with Uppingham,⁵⁶ since Walter Earle had been second master to Edward Thring. Table 23 on the following page, based on the Bilton Grange Register (1931), shows the early close ties with Uppingham which later gave way to a similar close tie with Rugby from about 1880.

The prosperity of the Earles at Bilton, near Dunchurch was not affected by the presence of another classical preparatory school in the immediate neighbourhood. Since 1876, Alfred F. Harrison had kept first a 'classical boys' school' and then a 'classical preparatory school' at Dunchurch. His school was at first accommodated in a house called the Lodge^{56a} from c. 1876 to c. 1888 when he transferred to The Hall and changed his school's designation. Harrison remained owner of The Hall Preparatory School until sometime after 1900, when Charles G. Mallon M.A. became its new Headmaster.

Amongst the pupils who attended Bilton Grange School was W. Ernest Nelson who then went on to Haileybury.⁵⁷ Nelson later became a partner and

TABLE 23

Showing links between Bilton Grange School and
Uppingham and Rugby 1873-1902

Year	Total entrants to Public Schools	Uppingham	Rugby	Next largest number	
1873	20	8	1	Wellington	3
1874	27	14	1	Harrow, Cheltenham	2
1875	38	13	3	Rugby, Winchester	3
1876	24	12	2	Rugby	2
1877	29	9	2	Five Others	2
1878	27	2	4	Marlborough, Repton	4
1879	25	4	3	Marlborough	4
1880	32	2	8	Clifton, Harrow, Marlborough	3
1881	28	3	6	Charterhouse	4
1882	31	2	10	Repton	4
1883	20	1	5	Harrow	3
1884	21	0	9	Eton	3
1885	21	2	10	Harrow, Winchester	2
1886	24	1	4	Marlborough	4
1887	47	7	11	Eton	5
1888	36	2	9	Harrow	4
1889	43	4	7	Eton	5
1890	43	7	9	Marlborough, Repton, Harrow	4
1891	35	1	9	Cheltenham	6
1892	35	4	14	Winchester	3
1893	28	4	9	Winchester, Cheltenham, Marlborough	2
1894	43	2	23	Four Others	2
1895	33	0	13	Wellington	4
1896	41	1	13	Winchester	5
1897	36	2	12	Cheltenham	4
1898	46	4	11	Eton, Wellington	4
1899	29	1	11	Winchester	4
1900	41	7	10	Harrow	4
1901	42	2	15	Charterhouse	3
1902	43	7	16	Charterhouse	3

and school doctor of a second Warwickshire Preparatory School, Arden House, which distinguished itself by being owned by the same family from 1869 to 1959.⁵⁸ Like Bilton Grange this school started in a different county, at the Manor House, Feckenham, before transferring to Henley in Arden in 1876 when the school's founder, the Rev. William Nelson (see p.133) leased "Arden House" from Rev. J. H. Short.⁵⁹ Like many other preparatory school masters he had been a public school assistant master, in his case at King Edward VI, Birmingham, before taking to preparatory school teaching. Three years after moving to Arden House, the Rev. William Nelson, who had been a successful⁶⁰ Headmaster of his small⁶¹ preparatory school, died leaving the school in the hands of his widow to pass on to his sons William Ernest and Oswald Nelson. Unlike Mrs. Charles Malden, who remained Lady Principal of Windlesham House from (1896-1927),⁶² Mrs. Nelson re-married and so caused her second husband Mr. W. L. Bicknell,⁶³ who had been second master at Arden House, to take a family interest in the school. The headmastership of W. L. Bicknell (1879-1895) proved to be a period in which this small school gained several scholarships at public schools. From 1882 to 1897 twenty scholarships were won at nine different public schools.⁶⁴

If Bicknell was a classical scholar who laid stress on the importance of study,⁶⁵ his stepson Oswald Nelson who became Headmaster in 1898 on his mother's death, was primarily a sportsman⁶⁶ who gave to Arden House that other chief characteristic of a nineteenth century preparatory school, a decided taste for sport.⁶⁷ For some twenty-eight years from 1899 to 1927 the school was run efficiently by Oswald Nelson (as Headmaster) and Dr. W. E. Nelson (as school doctor and business associate).

The school had several famous old boys including (Sir) Desmond Lee, Headmaster of Winchester;⁶⁸ (Sir) Gerald Canny, the distinguished civil

servant; C. P. Evers⁶⁹ housemaster at Rugby; F. D. H. Joy, Headmaster of Aysgarth Preparatory School (1919-1936) and Eric Maschwitz, the song writer.⁷⁰ Amongst the school's assistant masters were Orlando Wagner, the founder of a successful preparatory school at Queensgate, London and former Chairman of I.A.P.S.; and Fiddian Green the University triple blue who played cricket for Warwickshire.

Not only did individual preparatory schools like Bilton Grange and Arden House prosper in the late nineteenth century but also private preparatory schools generally slowly increased in number following the period of consolidation in the 1870s and 1880s, so that by the twentieth century there were more preparatory schools to be found in Warwickshire, for instance, than previously. Apart from the preparatory schools already mentioned, other classical preparatory schools appeared at Beaudesert, near Henley in Arden, (c. 1911 A. E. Richardson M.A.);⁷¹ at Kenilworth (c. 1904 Mr. Inwood Jones B.A. - Gosforth House and c. 1908-1912 Mr. William Spencer B.A. - Winterdyne); at Wylde Green, Birmingham (c. 1912 Mr. O. H. Friedrich - Highfield); at Ullenhall (c. 1904 Mr. Francis Norton⁷² - The Laburnums) and at Leamington (c. 1912 Liddle and Laing - Beech Lawn).⁷³

It now falls to examine the growth of preparatory schools in the two main centres of private education in Warwickshire and Worcestershire in the nineteenth century, and in so doing to trace the growth of the towns of Royal Leamington Spa and Malvern and compare and contrast the effects of this growth on the provision of schools in the two respective areas.

The Growth and Development of Royal Leamington Spa and Malvern

Whereas Royal Leamington Spa today is a borough which in the past was jealous of its independence of nearby Warwick,⁷⁴ the county town, Malvern

is more like a confederation of discrete communities scattered around the Malvern Hills and consisting of Great Malvern, North Malvern, West Malvern, Malvern Wells, Malvern Link, Little Malvern and Wyche.

Topographically different in character, the two districts contrast also architecturally. The Royal Leamington Spa possesses many fine examples of Regency style architecture interspersed here and there with red brick neo-gothic buildings of which perhaps the best example is that of the buildings of the former Leamington College: Great Malvern, on the other hand, which represents the greatest concentration of architecture in the Malvern district is essentially a neo-Gothic town, strongly influenced by A. W. Pugin (1812-1852)⁷⁵ "the greatest exponent of nineteenth century Gothic architecture."⁷⁶ The local governmental, topographical and architectural differences between Leamington and Malvern suggest the need for a completely separate consideration of the two, especially in view of the present disproportionate size of their respective populations which in no small measure contribute to their respectively different ethos.

Malvern and Leamington in the nineteenth century, however, were more alike than they were variant. Both were essentially nineteenth century towns, although many of the buildings in Regency Leamington existed before the Gothic Malvern builders got underway, after 1840. Both were Spa towns owing their beginnings to the mineral springs, which later made them famous as holiday and hydropathic resorts in the nineteenth century: both had either little or no industry. Because of the health properties of the Springs and, in the case of Malvern the healthy and bracing air of the hills, they both attracted private school teachers to open schools, including preparatory schools, in these districts in view of the close link between medical and economic factors in schoolkeeping. Both attracted royal visitors for similar

health reasons and, in the case of Leamington Spa, gained the epithet 'Royal' in its civic designation; and both were the home of a public or quasi-public school which no doubt had some significance for the growth of the number of preparatory schools in their respective areas.

Before examining the growth and development of the two townships separately, it would be well to compare the growth of populations of Leamington Spa with Great Malvern, according to the Census returns throughout the century. It is seen from Table 24 on the following page that whereas in 1801 Great Malvern had the larger population, by 1821 the population of Leamington Spa was one and a half times as large as that of Great Malvern. Within ten years it was more than three times as large: by 1841 it was more than six times the size of Malvern after which Leamington continued to expand but at a less disproportionate rate than previously. By the end of the century Leamington had a population three times the size of Malvern but by then both were experiencing a recessional period.

Nineteenth Century Royal Leamington Spa

Although mineral springs were discovered at the villare of Leamington Priors (as it was originally called) before the nineteenth century⁷⁸ and attempts had been made to capitalize on the alleged health properties of these Springs, by 1800 Leamington Priors was still only a small community.⁷⁹

The first twenty years of the nineteenth century were, however, the formative years of this Spa town. With the realisation of the springs' potential in view of the many visitors⁸⁰ to the town, a period of large scale building, encouraged by the Leamington Building Society, was initiated. Clemens Street - the first of the modern streets of Leamington - was laid out in 1808. Two years later a line of lofty houses was built in Union

TABLE 24

The Growth of Population in Leamington Spa and Malvern
in the Nineteenth Century

Year	Leamington Spa ⁷⁷	Great Malvern only
1801	545	951
1811	754	1,338
1821	2,376	1,693
1831	6,746	2,140
1841	13,695	2,911
1851	16,785	3,911
1861	17,402	6,054
1871	20,910	7,605
1881	25,141	7,934
1891	26,930	8,450
1901	26,888	8,670
1911	26,713	8,106

Row (now the Parade) and in 1811, when Leamington's population was only 754, the Bedford Hotel - with fifty well furnished rooms - was opened with due ceremony. In the same year the Ranelagh Gardens were laid out, but perhaps the opening of the Assembly Rooms in Regent Street in that year⁸¹ marked one of the more significant stages in the social rise of Leamington Priors. With such provision for social gatherings it was possible to hold balls every week "from June to December", card parties, assemblies, and performances by musical virtuosos, including Paganini.

The town's realisation of the potential of their local springs was given visible expression when in 1813/1814, the Pump Room was built which gave it a certain architectural grandeur. Invalids from afar visited the baths which promised to restore them to health, and amongst the local doctors Dr. Henry Jephson (1798-1878) in particular was successful in the treatment of such patients which brought fame to the town and himself. In fact by mid-century, and before, Dr. Jephson was the leading citizen in Leamington and "nothing of any importance took place in the town without the Doctor being one of the prime movers."⁸²

By 1818 Bath Street and High Street had been built, the Warwick-Napton canal had been constructed and on the north side of the river 'new town' was being developed. Sixty-five acres of farmland were sold at £5,000 per acre for building development! By 1834 the Clarendon, Beauchamp and Binswood Avenues had been laid out, and in 1840 the Victoria Bridge was erected to join the new and old towns.

Meanwhile the town had been gaining a national reputation and many distinguished visitors came to sample its saline waters.⁸³ The influx of visitors, apart from those of royalty and the nobility, occasioned more hotels to be built and so, to supplement the efforts of the Bath Hotel (1786)⁸⁴ and Bedford Hotel (1811),⁸⁵ the Regent Hotel (1818/1819)⁸⁶ and the Royal Hotel (1827) were constructed. The Royal Hotel was equipped with a hundred beds and stabling for fifty horses and stands for forty carriages.

Amongst other 'public' buildings erected in the 1830s, symbolic of the new affluence of the town, were the Leamington Post Office (1830);⁸⁷ the Warneford Hospital (1832) and the Athenaeum Library and reading rooms (1832).⁸⁸ Meanwhile amongst the private houses built at this time, two were of significance for the history of private schools in Leamington. In 1832 Dr. Jephson the very successful hydropathic physician, had Beech Lawn built for his

private residence, which was later the home of a private girls school - conducted by the Misses Browne⁸⁹ - and later a private preparatory school for boys. The other private residence under consideration, also built in 1832, was Waterloo House, Waterloo Place, built as a boarding house for a Mrs. Startin. This did not prove to be a financial success and was first used as a boarding school by a Mrs. Sarah Robbins in c. 1860⁹⁰ who by 1864 was describing her school as "a preparatory school for young gentlemen."⁹¹ By 1868, however, the Rev. Frances Walsh M.A. had taken it over as a classical preparatory school.

To return to the general development of the town, by mid-century, the importance of the saline springs to Leamington's prosperity was beginning to decline. After attempts first by the Royal Leamington Spa Pump Room Association⁹² and then by the Leamington Royal Pump Room Co. Ltd.,⁹³ to resuscitate Leamington's main 'industry' which involved some considerable financial loss, the Local Board of Health bought the baths for £15,000.

Meanwhile Leamington had increased its town facilities with the introduction of street gas lighting in 1823⁹⁴ and a newspaper, the Leamington Spa Courier and Warwick Standard which started in 1828. Banking facilities were provided by the Warwick and Leamington Bank⁹⁵ in 1834 and the Leamington Priors and Warwickshire Bank⁹⁶ a year later. About this time Flavels, the manufacturers of stoves and ranges set up business in Leamington, but for a long time they were the only large factory in town. Railways came to Leamington in 1844 and in 1852 the present station, which linked Leamington with Birmingham and Oxford, was built.

It was the increase in such facilities which contributed no doubt to the continued rapid increase in the town's population until it began to expand less rapidly from about 1880 onwards. Such facilities, too, would

help to swell the private school population and increase the number of schools as illustrated by Table 25. In Table 22 (p.129), the schools have been analysed into seven broad categories.

TABLE 25

Showing the Growth of Private Schools in Leamington from
1835 - 1912 ⁹⁷

Year	B.B.(i)	I.D. 8(iii)	B.D.	B.B.	C/C(ii)	L.P.	C.P.	Total
1835	7	8(iii)		4	0	1	0	20
1841	2		9	5	1	0	2	0
1845	0	6	4	1	0	0	0	11
1850	4	0	0	0	0	5	0	7
1854	4	9	4	1	0	3	0	21
1860	2	12	0	3	0	1	0	18
1864	1	16	1	2	0	2	0	22
1868	6	13	2	2	2	2	1	28
1872	5	12	2	1	1	5	1	27
1876	4	12	2	3	1	4	1	27
1880	6	15	1	4(iv)	0	3	1	30
1884	3	12	2	3(iv)	0	5	0	25
1888	2	11(v)	0	2	0	5	0	25
1892	2	10	0	1	0	4	0	15
1896	0	11	1	0	0	4	3	19
1900	1	8	0	2	0	5	2	18
1904	0	6	0	2	0	5	1	14
1908	0	5	0	0	0	2	1	8
1912	0	4	0	0	0	2	1	6

(i) including boarding and day schools.

(ii) including classical and mathematical schools.

(iii) not differentiated.

(iv) including Brunswick Collegiate School.

(v) including boys and girls mixed schools.

Several observations can be made on Table 25:

1. Schools for girls predominated throughout the century but from 1880 they suffered almost a continuous decline falling ⁱⁿ number from twenty-one to four in 1912.
2. Commercial schools were non-existent, (though from time to time a boys' academy, teaching no doubt commercial subjects, was opened for a few years.)
3. Although ladies' or dame/preparatory schools existed, but never in profusion, for much of the century, the classical preparatory school never took root as firmly as it did in both Rugby and Malvern.
4. Schools which have been listed under Commercial and/or Classical were in fact Classical and Mathematical Schools viz. (i) Richard F. Hosken's Edge Combe House in Newbold Terrace (1868) which Kelly's Directory described as 'a classical, mathematical and first class boarding school for gentlemen' and (ii) Alfred Kirk's Arnold Lodge School in Lillington Place (1868-1876) which was later described in 1880 as "a first class boys' preparatory school for the sons of gentlemen" under the Rev. Henry George Alfree M.A. who took the school over from Kirk c. 1880.
5. Mr. Alfred Kirk's School, Arnold Lodge, which though not appearing in the 1864 Directory, was opened in that year and was in fact Leamington's first classical preparatory school. It is significant to the pin-pointing of the institutionalized preparatory school that the oldest of Leamington's preparatory schools was not called such until 1880.
6. The decline in preparatory school numbers occurred some twenty years later than other forms of private education.

Perhaps the most astonishing aspect of preparatory schools in nineteenth century Leamington was the time lag that existed between the establishment of Leamington College founded in 1844,⁹⁸ and the appearance of a classical preparatory (or Classical and Mathematical School for the sons of gentlemen) in the county directories in 1868, some eight years after Thomas Essex at Malvern and twenty-three years after Bloxam at Rugby. This is the more surprising in view of the reputation which Leamington gained nationally especially later under the Rev. Joseph Wood (1870-1890)⁹⁹

From the time a company was formed to provide "for the sons of the nobility, clergy and gentry, a sound classical and mathematical education,"¹⁰⁰ it was intended that Leamington College should be of a public school character. Mr. T. H. Green who reported on Staffordshire and Warwickshire to the S.I.C. noted that the tradesmen of the town were virtually excluded since the fees for day boys were as much as £20 per annum. This exclusion of the town's tradesmen had been the reason for the Rev. John Craig, the controversial¹⁰¹ Vicar of All Saints Parish Church, opening a grammar school, known as the Vicar's Grammar School,¹⁰² in 1848 but which lasted only five years. Leamington College was, in fact, intended for the 'unemployed gentry' of the town and others who might come to Leamington to attend the school. As early as 1868 Green pointed to Leamington College's difficulties in attracting sufficient numbers because:

- a) the more wealthy residents of Leamington were likely to prefer the older public schools and
- b) Rugby was too near.

An examination of the Leamington College Register from 1845-1898 tends not to bear out Green's observation.¹⁰³ Out of 1,501 boys entering the school during that time some 814 or 54.2 per cent were local boys from either

Warwickshire or closely adjoining towns, like Daventry, in other counties. Sons of the town's leading citizens were to be found in the lists including the son of Dr. Jephson (1854), the town's leading citizen. It is interesting to note, too, that in connection with Green's remark about Rugby being too near, this did not prevent the Rev. T. L. Bloxam the preparatory school Head, who was the guardian of Robert H. Story, the son of Major General Story, from sending him to Leamington in 1858.

Comparing Leamington College with Rugby School, there would seem to be a close link between the practice of 'sojourning' and the growth of preparatory schools. As Dr. T. W. Bamford has shown, many parents came to live in and around Rugby for a few years whilst their sons were educated at the school: this led in turn, as had already been suggested¹⁰⁴ to the growth of preparatory schools in and around Rugby to cater for the younger sons. In the case of Leamington there is little evidence¹⁰⁵ of this practice despite the claim made in the Leamington Courier of May 1st 1902 that the closure of the College would have the effect of "emptying our villas," thus affecting the commercial interests of the town. Frank Glover¹⁰⁶ in his Leamington College: its rise and fall made the same point when he wrote: "it (the College) has added much to the popularity of the Royal Borough, and not a little to its commercial prosperity, in as much as it has caused well-to-do families to settle down with a view to the educational advantages to be secured for their boys." Despite these assertions and that of Headmaster Rev. R. Arnold Edgell that one lady had written to him protesting against the impending closure of the school, in-so-far as she had come to Leamington to have her son educated there, there is little evidence in the School Register of 'sojourners'. Four entries only¹⁰⁷ show a local address and at the same time indicate a non-local origin. From 1851 there are no

examples of this double address entry, but it may be that the practice of noting two addresses ceased after 1851. On the other hand it is more likely

(a) in view of the relative dearth of preparatory schools in Leamington and

(b) the lack of scholarships

that sojourners were not attracted. Moreover the relatively high fees at Leamington College for day boys (£30 per annum in 1902)¹⁰⁸ would deter some from wanting to enter their sons at Leamington College.

John Massie, reporting on Warwickshire to the Bryce Commission in 1895 noted the class feeling in Warwick and Leamington.¹⁰⁹ Local private schools shared with Leamington College a reluctance to embrace a system of a scholarship ladder for the local boys lest the sons of gentlemen were taken away from the school. Massie noted that after Leamington College there was only one private boys school of any size or importance: this was the school, which though not named by the Report, is recognisable from the clues given by Massie as Leamington Collegiate School kept by Mr. Arthur Riches,¹¹⁰ which was formerly called Brunswick Collegiate School.

Massie reported on the presence of "two or three" classical preparatory schools in Leamington which were mainly boarding and small in character. One preparatory school was kept by a Cambridge graduate with forty-three local pupils and six boarders, but reference to Venn's Alumni Cantabrigienses does not confirm that this school belonged to any of those listed in either the 1892 or 1896 directories. It is significant, that even at this late stage, such a classical preparatory school could be concerned with entering boys for the junior examination of the College of Preceptors. It would seem that for this preparatory school at least, preparation for entry to the Navy and Public Schools, if the major, was not the sole function of

such a school. It was possibly for this reason that Mr. Alfred Kirk,¹¹¹ ex-English master of Leamington College and admirer of Thomas Arnold, continued to describe his 'preparatory' school of Arnold Lodge at 2 Lillington Place,¹¹² as 'a classical and mathematical school', even though he sent several boys to Rugby.

The position of classical preparatory schools in Leamington was likely to be affected by the institution in 1894 of the Leamington College Preparatory School or Junior Department, as predicted by Massie.¹¹³ It would seem to have adversely affected Mr. Charles Mallan's School at Beech Lawn which closed after 1900¹¹⁴ when Mallan migrated to Dunchurch.¹¹⁵ The preparatory school of Mr. David Gilmore M.A. and Miss Gilmore did not survive much beyond 1896, probably as a result of competition from "Uplands" as the Leamington College Preparatory School was called. The object of its institution was partly to strengthen the recruitment to Leamington College.¹¹⁶ Certainly the Preparatory School was placed on firm foundations. The School Visitor was the Lord Bishop of Worcester; the President of the Council was Lord Leigh, the Lord Lieutenant of the county. Amongst the Vice-Presidents were to be found the Rt. Hon. A. W. Peel, the Speaker of the House of Commons; the Very Reverend G. G. Bradley, Dean of Westminster and Chaplain in ordinary to the Queen; the Rev. Austen Leigh, Provost of King's College Cambridge and Vice Chancellor of the University, and J. L. Strachan - Davidson,¹¹⁷ Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford. The School was to be run by the Rev. D. J. Bidwell M.A., who was to be responsible directly to the Rev. Arnold Edgell, the Headmaster of Leamington College.¹¹⁸ The preparatory school survived a little longer than the College itself which closed in 1902¹¹⁹ as a result of heavy financial debt, lack of support and absence of endowment.¹²⁰

Nineteenth Century Malvern

Although there are many similarities between the development of Leamington Spa and Malvern in the nineteenth century the topographical difference of Malvern's being scattered in small communities over a wide area of hillside has given it a basically different character from that of Leamington.

Like that of the Warwickshire town, Malvern's history is closely linked with the springs which brought the town early fame. In the eighteenth century at a time when Bath, Harrogate, Tunbridge Wells and Cheltenham were becoming fashionable as Spa towns, the virtues of Malvern were extolled by Dr. John Wall who was the first to analyse the therapeutic properties of the water in his Experiments and Observations on the Malvern Waters (1757). The Well House, a hotel built about 1740, became a focal point in the late eighteenth century and during that time extensions were carried out to allow the building to accommodate more visitors to the Wells whose mineral waters were advertised at a shilling a bottle in London newspapers.

In Great Malvern, a private schoolmaster, George Roberts, closed down his school in 1796 and converted it into the Crown Hotel¹²¹ in order to make more profit. The closure of Roberts school in order to capitalise on the commercial interests of the saline springs, was an early example of the adverse effect of the wells on Malvern education: during the nineteenth century, they had the opposite effect and were instrumental in making Malvern one of the leading centres in the country for private and preparatory schools.

By 1817 Great Malvern was beginning to overtake Malvern Wells as the centre for the therapeutic waters 'industry'. According to Brian Smith, the local historian,¹²² the shift of interest from Wells to Great Malvern

was because of the foresight of a few hotel keepers and businessmen in Great Malvern. Between 1815 and 1819, the Pump and Bath Rooms were built and Chalybeate Well, (Great Malvern) was covered in 1825. The erection of a library¹²³ and the baths gave Great Malvern a focal point and ensured its future growth. As in Leamington, the post-Napoleonic period in Malvern was a period of growth in hotels. The two oldest hotels, the Well House at Malvern Wells and the Crown at Great Malvern were becoming inadequate for the visitors attracted by the reputation of the mineral springs.

In Malvern Wells, William Steer, owner of the Well House, opened Rock House before 1817. By 1820 the Malvern Hills were becoming a centre of attraction and local enthusiastic benefactors like Lady Mary Harcourt and Edward Foley provided footpaths along which the town donkey carts¹²⁴ could amble at leisure. As with Leamington, this was the period when the town's social amenities¹²⁵ were provided and led to the consolidation of Great Malvern's position as the heart of the Malverns, which was helped considerably by the visit of Princess Victoria and the Duchess of Kent in 1831.¹²⁶ An estimate of Great Malvern's early growth can be gained from a comparison of the number of houses in the Censuses of 1801 and 1821. During these two decades the number of houses almost doubled from 170 to 313. By 1841 the houses in Great Malvern numbered 477. Meanwhile communication between Malvern and the outside world continued to improve. During the 1820s and 1830s the Worcester Turnpike Trustees became responsible for all main roads around Malvern.¹²⁷ More traffic came into the town, including long distance coaches. In the 1830s as many as seven coaches plied between Malvern and Worcester daily.

By the mid-nineteenth century two main factors contributed largely to the town's continued growth viz. 1. Hydropathy 2. Railways. During

the 1840s Malvern became a boom town largely because of the fame of two doctors - James Wilson and James Gully who made hydropathy a major concern for the town just at the time that Leamington was experiencing decline as a Spa town. Gully was the more successful of the two doctors and amongst his visitors were W. E. Gladstone, Lord Macaulay, Charles Dickens, Thomas Carlyle, Alfred Tennyson, Charles Darwin, Bishop Samuel Wilberforce and Florence Nightingale.¹²⁸ At the height of his career he was earning as much as £10,000 per year. Other hydropathic doctors¹²⁹ joined in this very profitable practice, which led to the establishment of large houses like Priessnitz House (1845) which accommodated fifty guests and cost £18,000 to build. Such houses as these and the hotels built to accommodate the town's visitors, would be fairly suitable for private boarding schools after the decline of hydropathy in Malvern during the 1870s. The Imperial Hotel¹³⁰ at Great Malvern, for instance, is now the main building of Malvern Girls College whilst the Link Hotel, also very grandiose was according to Brian Smith the home of the Link Boys Preparatory School from 1889 till its closure in 1964.¹³¹

Both these hotels were built originally as railway hotels to accommodate visitors in mid-century. It was the railways in the 1850s and 1860s which helped to increase the prosperity of Malvern which had invested, to such an extent, in hydropathy. In 1852 the Oxford, Worcester and Wolverhampton Railway completed the line between London and Worcester. From then on visitors swarmed into Malvern from Worcester by coach until Malvern was linked to Worcester by rail, in 1859, by Thomas Brassey. At that time nine trains a day came from Worcester to Malvern. The service was extended by linking Malvern Wells with Malvern Link in 1860-1861.

Stations were built at Malvern Link and Great Malvern, the latter of

which was provided with a private first class waiting room for the convenience of Lady Emily Foley, Malvern's local magnate.¹³² By 1861 one could travel to London in six hours by train and such was the build-up of railway traffic through Malvern that by 1868 forty four trains a day, passenger and goods, passed through the town. One of the main results of the increase in railway traffic was the creation of more new hotels in Malvern.¹³³ By 1855 there were ninety five hotel and lodging house keepers in the Malverns, mostly in Great Malvern.¹³⁴ One lodging house keeper in Malvern Link was a schoolmistress, a Mrs. Whitwell, who also kept a ladies' seminary.¹³⁵ Ten years later over twenty-five per cent, 235 out of 803 houses in the town were lodging houses.

Malvern in the mid-nineteenth century was a place to visit and became what Leamington had been in Regency days. Among its mid-century visitors were the Dowager Queen Adelaide (1843) and William Wordsworth (1849); but as the century progressed West Malvern became the cynosure of a group of brilliant visitors who stayed at the Westminster Arms, among them Dr. Benjamin Jowett; the poet A. C. Swinburne and Mark Roget the mathematician. Other visitors to West Malvern included Stanley Baldwin, Dr. William Temple, Dean Inge, Robert Bridges and Sir Jesse Boot.

Emphasis so far has been put on the factors which contributed mostly to the town's growth i.e. hydropathy, hotels, railways and their attendant visitors; what of the development of the town of Great Malvern generally? This development which dates from about the mid forties - and which makes Malvern a Victorian Gothic rather than a Regency town like Leamington - began with the death of James Mason, the postmaster, in 1846 when more than 180 acres were put on the market. From the beginning there were detailed clauses in the conveyancing of land which provided safeguards against piecemeal development. Abbey Road, Priory Road (extended) Southfield Road, Orchard

Road and Radnor Road (later renamed College Road) were developed on spacious lines. Many of the houses were planned as hydropathic or lodging houses (and would make excellent boarding schools later!). Amongst these were Wellington House, a ladies' seminary kept by Miss Elizabeth Jay in 1864; South Bank; Hardwick House (1850/1851); Townsend House (1851); Malvernbury and Ellerslie (1852); Nether Grange (1852); Southfield House and Priors Mount (later Douglas House School). In the 1850s and 1860s, land belonging to the Foleys was released for development but it had the same restrictions on the density of building.¹³⁶ In contrast, some land sold in 1851, not belonging to the Foleys and with no restrictions attached in the conveyance, resulted in the closely packed houses in Lansdowne Crescent¹³⁷ which nevertheless later contained private schools including from Malvern Link, Mrs. Sarah Whitwell's Seminary at No. 4 (1860-1864); Miss Mary Garlick's at No. 38 (1868) and Miss Jefferson Davis's at Nos. 36 and 37 (1876).

Educational facilities in Malvern were minimal until the 1840s. During the next forty years, however the churches and chapels in Malvern built schools so that eventually the town became well endowed with denominational schools for the children of the lower classes; but it was less well served for secondary education and apart from Malvern College and private schools which thrived on this lack of competition from an endowed grammar school, Lyttelton School¹³⁸ was the only 'public' secondary school in the town.¹³⁹

Before looking closely at private and preparatory schools in Malvern, it would be well, as was done in the case of Leamington Spa, to gain a synoptic view of the pattern of private school provision through the century from 1830-1912, which is given in Table 26 on the following page. Several points arising from this table require comment:-

1. The usual preponderance of ladies' seminaries or ladies' day schools is in evidence as is the usual paucity of commercial

TABLE 26

Showing the pattern of private educational provision in
Malvern and district from 1830-1912

Year	L.D.	L.B.	B.D.	B.B.	C/C	L.P.	C.P.	Total
1830	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1835	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
1841	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	4
1847	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
1850	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
1854	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
1855	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
1860	5	0	0	2	1	0	1	9
1864	8	1	1	4	0	0	2	16
1868	9	4	2	1	1	1	3	21
1872	13	4	2	2	1	0	5	27
1876	17	3	1	1	1	0	5	28
1880	9	3	1	1	1	1	5	21
1884	7	2	2	1	1	2	5	20
1888	14	2	1	1	0	2	7	27
1892	7	1	2	0	0	2	7	19
1896	12	1	2	0	0	2	9	26
1900	11	1	2	0	0	1	8	23
1904	11	6	2	1	0	1	6	27
1908	8	5	1	1	0	2	6	23
1912	9	4	0	1	0	1	8	23

schools, boarding and day schools for boys.

2. The most striking fact about the earlier years is the dearth of any private schools in Malvern until about 1864.
3. Dame/Preparatory Schools did not take root, but Classical preparatory schools and schools for the sons of gentlemen (of a classical preparatory nature), found Malvern to be a congenial soil especially after the establishment of Malvern College.
4. Unlike Leamington, Malvern did not experience a general decline in private school provision by the turn of the century.

Whereas Leamington ceased to be a town closely linked with private education in the twentieth century - of which the allowing of the closure of Leamington College was symptomatic - Malvern has maintained this link and private schools continue to flourish in its larger houses built for medico-commercial rather than for educational reasons, in more spacious days. Malvern in the nineteenth century had been a Mecca for the old and the feeble because of its healthy, bracing air¹⁴⁰ and its mineral waters.¹⁴¹ For similar reasons, because of the great importance of the health of school pupils for the health of school finances, private school principals congregated in Malvern in large numbers.

During the early years, however, as Table 26 has demonstrated there were very few private schools in Malvern. One of the earliest Schools was that kept by the Goodman family in the 1820s in St. Ann's Road.¹⁴² The ladies' boarding academy kept by the Misses Salmon in 1835 was the first and only school recorded in Pigot's Directories between 1830 and 1835. This was at a time when Pershore had four private schools, Kidderminster had seven and Stourbridge had fifteen. The gentlemen's boarding schools of W. J. Fancourt at Ankerdine House in Great Malvern and of the Rev. Edward Meade M.A., at

Rugby Cottage, Malvern Wells - both shortlived - formed fifty per cent of the total number of private schools in the Malvern district in 1841.

From 1864, when there were nine schools for girls and seven for boys (including two classical preparatory schools), schools became more numerous. Amongst the girls' schools was the ladies' seminary kept by Miss Elizabeth Jay at Wellington House (c. 1860-1872). She was a strict disciplinarian who was nicknamed the "General" and could be seen mounted on a cob escorting her crocodile of girls across the Malvern Hills. Another girls' school which enjoyed a certain longevity was Miss Janet Leighton's School of 'Oakhill', Albert Road, Great Malvern, which in c. 1883 was transferred to 'Lawnside' another large house in Albert Road. Miss Leighton kept this school till sometime after 1896.¹⁴³

By the late nineteenth century Malvern had a national reputation for being the home of several famous girls' schools.¹⁴⁴ Malvern Girls College, now a famous girls public school, started as Isabel Greenslade's small private ladies' seminary of Ivydene in College Road, Great Malvern, in 1893.¹⁴⁵ Miss Greenslade prospered and took additional partners in Miss Poulton in 1904 and Miss Mitchell in 1908, whilst at the same time having to move to larger premises in Albert Road in 1904 (called Ivydene Hall in 1908).¹⁴⁶ Other late and successful girls' schools at Malvern were:

- i) the Abbey School at Malvern Wells founded by Mrs. Margaret Judson in 1880 at Blockley, Worcestershire, which moved to Malvern in 1897 and to its present site in 1908,¹⁴⁷ and
- ii) St. James's School founded by Miss Alice Baird in 1896.¹⁴⁸

Antony C. Deane, who was Vicar of Holy Trinity Church, Malvern from 1903 relates in his Time Remembered how he organised joint school end of term services at which the church was full of girls' and boys' schools. Because

of the success of this venture he started a joint schools' beginning of term service, which scheme was strongly supported by the Misses Alice and Katrine Baird of St. James's School.¹⁴⁹

Passing to the education of boys, it has already been noted that dame/preparatory schools were few in number, one of the earliest¹⁵⁰ being established by Miss Emily Chaffer who first gave private tuition to a few little boys at Hillstone, Great Malvern as late as 1880. The majority of boys' schools were classical preparatory schools which were even more numerous in Malvern than in the Rugby district. The first boys' preparatory school to appear in Malvern was that of Thomas Essex in May Place, Malvern Wells in 1860. Essex claimed his school of twenty-five to thirty boys was a preparatory school for Eton. Certainly he had pupils from some distinguished families at his school including the two sons of the third Duke of Sutherland - Stafford, later fourth Duke and McLeod, later Earl of Cromartie; Colin Campbell, the son of the Duke of Argyll; Offaly, later Duke of Leinster; Mandeville, son of the Duke of Manchester; Belgrave, grandson of the Marquis of Westminster; Newark, son of Lord Manvers; W. H. Grenfell, afterwards Lord Desborough and Charles Gore, later Bishop of Oxford.¹⁵¹ According to Colonel Hugh Sinclair, who also attended the school, Mr. Essex was a pompous and rather vulgar but kind-hearted man.¹⁵² He had as chief assistant a Mr. Benjamin Hoch who although a good teacher had an uncontrollable temper. Hoch appears to have continued the school till sometime after 1884 as an academy at May Place, after Essex had ceased to be Headmaster in c. 1876.

Mr. E. R. C. Hays, who was later recognisably a preparatory school owner, was listed in Kelly's P.O. Directory for Worcestershire in 1860 as having "a boarding school", Montpelier House, at Great Malvern and can therefore be

regarded as a contemporary preparatory schoolmaster of Thomas Essex. By 1864 Hays had moved his school from Montpelier House to South Lea and by 1872 was describing his school as a "Boys preparatory school." In c. 1861 Essex and Hays were joined by Henry Wilson B.A., who moving from 'Rockburn', Great Malvern, sometime after 1868, came to 'Hollymount',¹⁵³ Great Malvern, between then and 1872. The Rev. Frederick W. Young, of Barnards Green, Great Malvern, was another private schoolmaster who, in 1864, set up school most probably conducted on classical preparatory school lines.

By 1876, when the G.W.R. and the Midland Railway served the Malvern district, and when omnibuses attended the arrival and departure of each train, thus facilitating travelling to school from outside, the preparatory school world in Malvern¹⁵⁴ was beginning to expand. The Rev. William Wilberforce Gedge¹⁵⁵ had been at Wells House School, Malvern Wells, for five years and was then well established.¹⁵⁶ Gedge and his fellow preparatory school proprietors were joined in 1876 by the Rev. Edward Ford M.A. at Hillside, West Malvern where he claimed he kept "a school for the sons of noblemen and gentlemen."¹⁵⁷ He was joined by G. W. Dutton as a partner in the school in 1884. Meanwhile E. R. C. Hays M.A., was declaring that his school was preparatory for Eton and Harrow as well as other public schools¹⁵⁸ but in c. 1880 South Lea was taken over by the Rev. Samuel Latham M.A. Another change of ownership which was significant for Malvern and the preparatory school world generally was the taking over of Henry Wilson's school by William Douglas M.A. who was later to be a member of the A.P.S. Council.¹⁵⁹

In the late eighties and early nineties, at a time when preparatory schools were becoming very much more numerous nationally, Malvern produced its share. Some¹⁶⁰ - like Frank Freeth's school for young gentlemen at 36 and 37 Lansdowne Crescent¹⁶¹ and Henry S. Romer's school for young gentlemen,

also of Lansdowne Crescent - were ephemeral but others - like that of Alfred E. Tillard who set up school (c. 1888) in May Place, Malvern Wells where Thomas Essex had been preparatory schoolmaster in the sixties - were a little more permanent.¹⁶² Although the school experienced at least three changes of Headmaster in the first eight years, Fairfield School (1888), founded by the Rev. John D. Wallace M.A. in Worcester Road, Great Malvern, later became a firmly established school for some twelve years under Mr. Edward Capel-Smith M.A.¹⁶³

These exclusive schools for the sons of gentlemen may have been prohibitive as regards entry by their high fees,¹⁶⁴ but they were by no means inward looking institutions: some of the Headmasters played important roles in the town life. Already reference has been made to the Reverends Young and Gedge being governors of the Lyttelton School. The Rev. W. Gedge was the Honorary Secretary of the Malvern Education Society whilst his wife was a member of the Malvern Ladies Education Association of which Lady Emily Foley was the President. Gedge, as Governor of Lyttelton School gave an exhibition of £2 in 1877 to the best Latin Scholar in the school whilst Mr. E. R. C. Hays of South Lea Preparatory School endowed a Scholarship to Lyttelton's School from Mill Lane and Wyche National Schools.¹⁶⁵ Hays was on the Malvern Lending Library Committee as well as being an examiner from time to time at Lyttelton's school. Alfred H. Stable, Headmaster of Wells School (1889-1903) was a very active member of the local community being a school Manager; the Honorary Secretary of the Malvern Provident Dispensing Society; Honorary Treasurer of the Malvern Flower Show and a parish representative on the diocesan conference. He was also prominent in the negotiations for the amalgamations of the Malverns. Later, in 1914 Mr. Paterson of the Wells School and partner of Mr. E. P. Frederick from 1907, became Chairman of the Malvern Wells Ratepayers

Association.¹⁶⁶ Sometimes the private and preparatory school Heads proved to be a vital force within the local community as when they banded together to improve the local water supply to Malvern houses. Miss Elizabeth Jay (the General) and the Rev. Samuel Lattam of South Lea were amongst other private school Heads who wrote a letter in 1888 to the Board and persuaded it to obtain a supply of soft water for the town.¹⁶⁷

Wells House School

By the twentieth century Wells House Preparatory School had, like perhaps the Link School, established itself as a leading preparatory school in the Malvern area with connections with other leading preparatory schools outside Worcestershire. It had experienced two Headmasters before Mr. E. P. Frederick became Head in 1903, each of whom had contributed to the gradual growth of the school. The Rev. William Wilberforce Gedge M.A., founder of the school, had moved to Malvern from Cheltenham in 1870 and brought a good many of his boys with him.¹⁶⁸ Gedge had a commanding personality and was a great influence in the town. As a schoolmaster "he had gained a great reputation for his ability in coaching for Scholarships¹⁶⁹ and many boys came for a short stay presumably to get their final polish"¹⁷⁰ before going to public school. Some 411 boys had passed through his hands from 1870 to 1889 when he retired including Sidney Ball the Oxford Tutor; E. H. Kempson, Headmaster of King William School, Isle of Man; Sir A. Vicars K.C.V.O., the Ulster King of Arms; H. T. Bowlby, Headmaster of Lancing College; W. B. Waters of the British Museum; H. Le Mesurier, Commissioner of Dacca, and Charles Oman, the historian.

Oman, who was sent in 1871 to Wells House for one year to experience boarding school before public school suggested¹⁷¹ that Gedge was both liberal

with his exeats and with the cane, being one of the old school who ruled by a mixture of fear and freedom rather than by close surveillance which became the later pattern in preparatory schools. Oman was happy at the school and if the food was simple it was good. The dormitories were warm and comfortable and "the masters good disciplinarians but perfectly just."¹⁷²

Mr. Alfred H. Stable (1859-1907) who succeeded Gedge on his retirement in 1889 had been his second master. He was a less forceful character than either Gedge his predecessor or Frederick his successor. Some idea of life at Wells House under Stable is gleaned from a Wells House Prospectus (1896).¹⁷³ Stable claimed in this that the curriculum was wide and included English, Mathematics, French, Handwriting, English Composition and letter writing, Geography and History as well as the Classics. He disclaimed cramming and referred to his interest in Natural History which he inculcated in the boys. Six hundred feet above sea level, the school was set in eighteen acres of gardens and fields and was particularly healthy for delicate boys. No doubt conscious of the importance of health he stressed that the sanitary arrangements had been recently remodelled in accordance with the "best known requirements" of the Worcester Diocesan Surveyor. Moreover a sanatorium consisting of three sick rooms was provided with a separate entrance in case of isolation. The school was supplied with fresh vegetables from the school gardens - he was a keen gardener - and it enjoyed the fresh milk from its four cows. The boys were in a homely atmosphere being housed in small dormitories for two to five boys at the most. Although not a lover of organised games Stable continued to have Cricket, Football, Swimming and Lawn Tennis¹⁷⁴ played at the school but the boys were also encouraged to keep gardens. A covered playground was provided for wet weather. In 1903 he resigned through ill-health, going to live at Swanage where he took pupils for University coaching and had boys from the Wells School during holiday periods.¹⁷⁵ When he retired

the school had twenty-six, or fewer pupils.

Stable's successor, as already intimated, was a very much more forceful personality who in the pages of the Wells House Magazine from 1903, was not slow to show pride in his achievements. He was a devoted disciple of Almond of Loretto¹⁷⁶ whose portrait was hung in Big School, and under whom he had worked as an assistant master at Loretto before opening a Scottish preparatory school, Routenburn at Largs. Despite his devotion to and links with Loretto, E.P. Frederick had closer ties scholastically with Uppingham, sending seventeen boys to Uppingham and only five to Loretto in eleven years (1903-1914).

Amongst Frederick's early reforms and provisions at Wells House were the institution of a school chapel (1904), albeit that it was a corrugated iron affair; new dormitories (1905); a rifle range and armoury;¹⁷⁷ cricket field considerably enlarged (1905); new sanatorium (1907). Minor, but no less important, were the change in the school uniform and the change from Association to Rugby football.¹⁷⁸

As a disciple of Almond, Frederick reversed Stable's policy of minimizing the importance of games and in the space of nine years doubled the size of the cricket fields twice. He arranged a large number of cricket fixtures with local schools: as they did not play Rugby Frederick established the important fixture with the Oxford Preparatory School. Eventually after several heavy defeats the School became a very strong Rugby School and in 1908-1909 the first XV scored 252 points with nil scored against. Having shown O.P.S. finally how to play Rugby, Wells House was instrumental in converting C. C. Lynam to adopt the Lorettonian style of general dress.¹⁷⁹

By 1912 E. P. Frederick could justifiably claim that he had placed the school once more in the forefront of Malvern Preparatory Schools. He found it gratifying that a fair number of sons of the men who were boys under

W. W. Gedge were coming to the school. Apart from Mr. William Douglas of the Link School, he was the most Senior preparatory school Headmaster in the district and to complete his triumph he was elected to the A.P.S. Council for the third time.¹⁸⁰

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter has been twofold - firstly to examine the growth and development of preparatory schools in Warwickshire and Worcestershire and in so doing to draw comparisons between them; and secondly, to show in the microcosm of a local study characteristics of preparatory schools, similar to those discussed at a national level in macrocosm. The local study has helped more especially to determine, to a certain extent, the relations in distribution between dame/preparatory and classical preparatory schools and also the numerical relationship between some other forms of private education discussed in Chapter 2 - 8. To consider the preparatory schools locally it has been necessary to look at the wider setting of general private educational provision as was done in those chapters dealing with private education at a national level. It has been necessary also, to examine the relationship between the growth of private and preparatory schools against the background of their general environment, just as Chapter 1 examined the general background of the nineteenth century at national level. In this sense Chapter 14, is complementary to the rest of the study since points arising in previous chapters such as for example the schools' emphasis on health and hygiene; the varying fortunes of schools under differing headmasters; the problem of pin-pointing the process of the institutionalisation of preparatory schools - all features to be found in microcosm in

Wells House School alone - and the family nature of some preparatory schools (e.g. the Nelsons of Arden House), re-occur in this concluding chapter on the private preparatory school.

CHAPTER 15

PRIVATE AND PREPARATORY SCHOOLS

The English Preparatory School in the early twentieth century represented a double paradox. The first paradox arose from the mutual recognition in the late nineteenth century, by public and preparatory schools, of the need for beneficially closer links between them. This had led to the establishment of the A.P.S. and to preparatory schools being included in the 1897/1898 Returns from Secondary Schools in England. Whilst the Association worked hard, strongly aided and abetted by Michael Sadler and by the H.M.C., at gaining official recognition as an integral part of the public school system and so gaining recognition as part of Secondary education, other forces which were eventually to preponderate, were fashioning the educational structure in a different way. The first quarter of the twentieth century saw the development of the concept of education being in two stages - primary and secondary. This concept, based on age-grouping rather than on class, found expression in the Labour Party Manifesto of the early 1920s; in the Board of Education Circular 1350 in 1925 and in the first Hadow Report of 1926. Against the background of the gradual evolution of this concept, the almost quixotic efforts of the A.P.S. seemed to lead to paradox.

The second paradox was intrinsic. On the one hand, the Preparatory School claimed to be an integral part of the public school system which had emerged largely, though not entirely, from the endowed grammar school of an earlier age; yet on the other hand, the preparatory school itself had emerged from a pattern of private education, part of which was in essence antithetical - as were also both private commercial and proprietary schools - to the endowed grammar school.

The concept of a preparatory school in its widest sense - i.e. a school that prepares a child for education at another institution - has been seen to have existed in the eighteenth century as in the case, for instance, of

some few Roman Catholic Schools. The institutionalised preparatory schools of the 1880s and 1890s were, however, products of nineteenth century private education. Their antecedents were to be found variously at the upper end of the dame school continuum in dame/preparatory schools; in private classical schools, both of an institutional character and in smaller rectory schools kept by scholarly clerics; in private coaching establishments, which in some cases afforded, like some rectory schools, outdoor relief to indigent clergy. With the advent of the middle class examinations in mid-century some of these clergy, whilst continuing to offer preparation for entry to public school, were found to offer preparation also for these new examinations, for commerce and the professions. Many hybrids were, in this way, transitional phenomena. As schools partly with a preparatory school function, they formed one aspect of the evolutionary process from quasi-preparatory schools - which, like Ealing and Cheam, rivalled to a certain extent the public schools at the beginning of the century - to that of the institutionalised preparatory schools, at the end of the century, which were, to a large extent, subject to the domination of the public school.

This institutionalisation which took the form of providing solely for boys from eight to fourteen years old, in largely small boarding schools in the country, with many having a school chapel and most playing organised games as at public schools, provided a formula for many public schools assistant masters who took up the keeping of schools for younger boys. In some cases private schoolmasters,¹ like the educational weathercock J. V. Milne, decided to divert their energies from other declining forms of private enterprise to the more promising one of preparatory school-keeping.

Some private schools, like Wellington (Somerset) and Bradfield College, developed in the course of the century, as quasi-public schools and have

become, in the twentieth century, accepted public schools: many of these nineteenth century quasi-public schools like Eastbourne and Leamington had a proprietary constitution. A realization of the links between these various forms of 'private' and 'proprietary' school and of the possibility of 'progressive' education being found in all three main types viz. private, proprietary and preparatory, as suggested in Chapter 4, readily provides a rationale for the form which Volume I has taken.

The classification and assessment of the number of these various types of private school, have been difficult tasks throughout. These difficulties have arisen largely from the political and social philosophy of laissez-faire which dominated much of the century and which was responsible not only for the piecemeal development of the state system of education but also for the completely uncontrolled growth of the private sector. As suggested by Adam Smith, the principles of supply and demand governed the private school market which in turn was partly determined by the limitations imposed on endowed schools and other schools of a 'public' nature. Where 'public' school provision was poor, private schools thrived; where not, there was often internecine strife, although in the case of private preparatory schools the presence of schools of a public nature was irrelevant to their fortunes since, like public schools, they were not 'local' in character.

Four factors were of great importance to the success of private schools in the nineteenth century. Firstly without there having been some considerable prosperity in nineteenth century England, it is unlikely that such an increase in provision of education for the upper and middle classes would have taken place. No supply is made without there being previously an effective demand. Secondly whilst affecting generally the supply of nineteenth century private education, this prosperity was responsible also for raising parental

expectations of educational and institutional standards and transformed the early preparatory schools from harsh and rough educational establishments into models of comfort and close magistral supervision, capable of successfully assuaging anxious mothers. Thirdly, the increase in railways, from 1840 onwards, helped to promote the institution of boarding schools - or non-local schools - which largely characterised middle and upper class education. A fourth important factor which determined the character of private school development in the second half of the century, was the introduction of competitive examinations. These served to harness the energies and re-direct the efforts of classical, private and proprietary schools of the first grade as well as transforming the private tutor into a private coach. Furthermore, the local examinations for commercial and private schools of the second grade and below, caused a similar catalysis which gave many schools a scholastic lease of life.

Two groups of people, in particular, played significant parts in the nineteenth century private educational provision. These were firstly, the clergymen, who were to be found in large numbers in both preparatory, proprietary and private schools from the early nineteenth to the twentieth century, when it became of less importance for scholastic success, to be in Holy Orders; and secondly, Lady Principals who not only outnumbered male principals, - if girls' boarding schools and ladies' seminaries are taken in to account - but also formed a considerable part of the total of early preparatory school principals.

These boys' preparatory school Lady principals ran their dame/preparatory schools, in many cases, with great success despite the deficiency of a Classical background to their own education. Some of them had sought entry to the A.P.S. and formed the upper part of a 'dame school continuum', the

recognition of the existence which suggests a corollary - the need for a re-examination of the generally accepted concept of the dame school.

The 'private adventure' schools - only a few of which were avowedly styled 'commercial' schools - effloresced in the first half of the century, declined in the second half and shared the same profit motive as the late nineteenth century preparatory schools. Like many preparatory schools, which were the only continuing profitable form of private school at the end of the nineteenth century, the private adventure school distinguished itself from the public school by its system of close surveillance and watchful care of the young offspring committed to its charge. Both types of school - the private and the preparatory - profited from parental anxieties.

It has generally been accepted that some private schools have been the agencies of experiment in education. It was left to the private schools of the Mayos' Cheam and Heldenmaier's Worksop, for example, to experiment with Pestalozzian ideas. In the main, private preparatory schools contrasted with such 'progressive' schools, by pursuing more traditional aims of classical scholarship and entry to public schools, yet nevertheless, with headmasters of the ilk of Lionel Helbert and C. C. Lempriere, preparatory schools could claim some links with the seemingly philosophically distant private progressive school.

The links with early nineteenth century classical schools were much stronger since these schools, most often kept by clerical classical scholars, were one of the mainsprings of the private preparatory school. The dividing line between the smallest classical schools, held in country rectories, and rectories where a handful of private pupils were taught - and later in the century, under the pressure of examinations, coached - was very blurred.

The proprietary school, a largely nineteenth century phenomenon, generally financed on a joint stock basis - having something in common with

both the private school and the public endowed school - was very much the educational child of a laissez-faire age. It shared, with the private school, the rivalry with the endowed grammar school but at the same time the private profit motive was lacking. Many of these schools were founded in the 1830s and 1840s but by the twentieth century, even famous ones like Blackheath School, (1907) had closed. Some proprietary schools like Malvern and Cheltenham survived into the twentieth century but they were those of a quasi-public school character. Like many formerly private and very successful schools of a quasi-public school nature, such schools form a not inconsiderable part of the schools of the H.M.C.

These varied forms of private education then, form the general background from which the English private preparatory school emerged during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Although the question of seniority is, to this tradition - based sector of private education, an important one, such a question to a certain extent detracts from one of the main tasks of this thesis, which is to trace from the origins of preparatory schools the process, which had taken place by 1914, of the institutionalisation of these schools. From the evidence, it would seem that such a process gathered momentum in the decade between 1875 and 1885. Finding expression in the early 1890s in the Association of Headmasters of Preparatory Schools and in the mid-nineties in the creation of the P.S.R. To read into the early origins of some of the schools whose subsequent headmasters were members of this Association, the purposes and character of later nineteenth century preparatory schools, would be as misleading as it was for Bishop Stubbs to see, in early fifteenth century English Parliamentary institutions, the constitutional forms of nineteenth century British democracy.

1. See Appendix 38 for list of private schoolmasters mentioned in the D.N.B.

Bibliographical Note

Sources for this Chapter were: Clarendon Report (1864)
 Board of Education : Special Report on Preparatory Schools (1900)
 Published School Histories (see Bibliography)
 School Magazine of Temple Grove School
Preparatory Schools Review (P.S.R.)
Journal of Education
 General biography (see Bibliography)
D.N.B.

These have been supplemented by information from fifty-five answers to questionnaire sent to seventy-five preparatory schools which existed before 1892. Several public school histories have been consulted as have also the theses of F. C. Pritchard and E. Stones (see Bibliography).

Notes on Chapter 9

1. See Appendix 8. F. S. de Carteret-Bisson Op. Cit.
 William Newbould (1819-1886) the botanist, attended a 'Preparatory School' in Doncaster from whence he proceeded to Trinity College Cambridge.
2. However, in so far as there must have been a 'first preparatory school', this problem is examined on pp. 3-8.
3. Admiral Sir William Goodenough : A Rough Record Hutchinson 1943 p. 12 rightly hesitates in his description of Temple Grove and other schools in 1875. He writes:
 "Temple Grove, then, with Eagle House and Hawtreys, among the - what shall I call them? - better known private schools of the day."
4. Eton still takes boys at the age of twelve.
 Examples from the D.N.B. show that till mid-century and beyond young boys were accepted by public schools.
 e.g. Albert H. Wratislaw (1822-1892), entered Rugby in 1829 aged seven.
 Thomas H. Baylis (1817-1908), lawyer, entered Harrow in 1825 aged seven.
 Sir Edward R. C. Bradford (1836-1911), the Anglo-Indian administrator and commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, attended Marlborough aged ten in 1846.
 Henry Hayman (1823-1904), Headmaster of Rugby, entered Merchant Taylors' at nine.

Alfred Lyttelton (1857-1913), lawyer and statesman, went to Eton at eleven in 1868.

Sir John Lubbock (1834-1913), banker and scientist also went to Eton at eleven in 1845.

Robert Bridges (1844-1930) poet laureate, was sent to Eton in 1854 at age of ten.

See also S. C. Carpenter : Winnington Ingram Hodder & Stoughton 1949.
Arthur F. Winnington Ingram went to Marlborough at twelve in 1871.

See also the Clarendon Report 1864 Vol. 1

p. 93 "Hardly any age is considered too early, nor any age (under fourteen) too late, for admission into the Lower School" /Eton/. "Boys may enter as soon as they are able to read; and they in fact enter, not unfrequently /sic/, at seven years old."

See also Vol. III p. 206 M. 5869.

Vol. I p. 211 Harrow - majority are fourteen on entry: hardly any under twelve.

See also Vol. II pp. 334-385 for general statistics of boys' ages at Public Schools.

See Ibid. pp. 504-505 for average age and lowest age of lowest division in each school.

viz.	<u>School</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Lowest</u>
	Eton	10.3 years	8.0 years
	Winchester	14.9	11.11
	Charterhouse	10.4	9.8
	St. Paul's	11.2	9.9
	Merchant Taylors'	10.6	9.1
	Harrow	13.11	13.5
	Rugby	10.6	10.2
	Shrewsbury	11.8	11.8

See Ibid. p. 253, Nine earliest age for entry to Merchant Taylors!

In 1847 two boys of nine and three of ten years old entered Rugby.

The Future of Independent Schools University of Sheffield Institute of Education. Occasional Paper No. 3 1957

R. J. S. Curtis : "Preparatory Schools"

5. It was customary for the mother to regard the early schooling of her children, boys as well as girls, as part of her functions.

See Pycroft : Op. Cit. p. 51

6. Tobias Smollett : The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle O.U.P. 1964
First published 1751. p. 54.
7. Silkstead was closed in 1745. See J. Kitching : Op. Cit. p. 58
F. C. Pritchard : Op. Cit. p. 12
8. Boys were aged between six and fourteen at Sedgeley Park.
See Ibid. p. 20
9. A. S. Barnes : The Catholic Schools of England London 1926 pp. 93/94
10. Ibid.
11. See E. H. Pearce : Annals of Christ's Hospital Methuen 1901 pp. 163-168
12. This question becomes very interesting in the light of a recent survey by Philip Masters - Preparatory Schools Today London (1966) in which twenty-two schools, 4.5 per cent of 494 existing preparatory schools, claim to have been founded before 1800. Unfortunately the questionnaire papers for this survey have been destroyed but it can only be assumed that some very loose claims have been made concerning the seniority of some schools. See p. 8
13. Now called St. Piran's, Maidenhead.
14. According to Commander I. C. M. Sanderson, ex Headmaster of Elstree whose family have run Elstree for a hundred years.
15. J. Howard Brown : Schools in England Blackwell 1961. p. 39
Hazelwood did, however, have a preparatory class of the youngest boys
See Hill : Public Education (1825) p. 95.
16. See Cheam School Prospectus p. 1. The school celebrated its tercentenary in 1947. The first known headmaster was the Rev. George Aldrich who brought some pupils with him in 1665 from London to escape the Great Plague.
See also Maud Roberts-West : "Early History of Cheam School"
The Genealogists' Magazine March and June 1930. Vol. V Nos. 5 and 6.

also C. J. Marshall : History of Cheam and Sutton Cheam 1936
17. Ibid. p. 50
See also The Students Magazine or Cheam School Journal 1833-1836, 1839 and 1842.
During these years there are several contributions to the magazine by boys of seventeen; many contributed aged sixteen.
See June 1839 for reference to a boy at Cheam, from the age of eight to eighteen, who then went to University.
At this time Cheam was as much a rival as a feeder to the Public Schools.

18. See p.201 (1) Cotterill was Hon. Secretary of the Association of Headmasters of Preparatory Schools (A.P.S.) when he contributed to the Special Report on Preparatory Schools (1900)
19. This Blue Book formed one of a large series of reports produced by the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports set up in 1895 under Michael Sadler.
20. It fails to take into account that even if Arnold's example were taken up by all public schools - which it wasn't - such a unilateral action would not determine the preparatory school nature of Windlesham. There is evidence that Windlesham boys were not just of preparatory school age only.
e.g. Lord Monson's two boys attended Windlesham but the elder did not leave till seventeen. (1838-1846). He then spent six months at Mr. Bull's select 'cramming' establishment at Sowerby before going to Oxford. See p. 145 (1)
21. Special Report 1900 p. 4
22. On the Isle of Wight. Malden had retired from Royal Navy in 1828 on half pay of £90 per annum, and to supplement his income had coached pupils privately for entry to the Royal Navy from 1826 to 1836. In 1837 he took over a school in Newport owned by a Dr. Worsley who had opened it in 1832.
23. T. Arnold : Christian Life at School Sermons Longmans 1878 p. 80
Sermon xii on Galatians iii. 24.
See also Ed. Sir Frederick Pollock : Macready's reminiscences Macmillan 1876
24. Arnold borrowed this phrase from Dr. Bowdler, the Shakespearean critic.
25. Wilson was an assistant master at the school.
26. G. H. Wilson : Windlesham House School 1837-1937 London 1937 p. 11
27. Board of Education Special Report 1900 p. 3
28. Of 977 ex-pupils of Windlesham House it is known to what public schools 615 went.
Of these 615,
47 went to Rugby
152 went to Harrow
91 went to Eton
48 went to Haileybury
29. N. Wymer : Dr. Arnold of Rugby London 1953 p. 55
See also G. H. O. Burgess : The Curious World of Frank Buckland London 1967 p. 16
30. They ran their 'departments' in separate houses but it was essentially a combined effort with expenses shared: they separated in 1824.

31. In 1860 Eagle House took over school premises vacated by Rev. J. Brackenbury, the crammer, at Wimbledon. See p. 26
1886 A. N. Malan, as Headmaster, moved school to Sandhurst, Berkshire.
32. Former assistant master of Winchester College for ten years.
33. See The Story of Twyford School Wykeham Press 1909. pp. 5-7
34. There appears to be some discrepancy about the date of Bedford's purchase of the school. See Ibid. pp. 5 and 9. 1815 would seem to be the more likely date.
35. The (Rev.) Robert Wickham assisted Rev. J. G. Bedford before going to Oxford. On his return as a graduate in 1823 he became a permanent assistant master. He later became Archdeacon of St. Asaph.
36. Information in typescript letter dated 1st January 1970 in my possession from Rev. Robert Wickham, former Headmaster of Twyford. The Preparatory School Review (P.S.R.) No. 42 March 1909 cites similar evidence.
37. Manuscript letter in the possession of the Rev. Robert Wickham.
38. There were three Wickham brothers who became noted Schoolmasters of Preparatory Schools:
- | | | |
|-------------------|---|--------------------------|
| Robert Wickham | - | Twyford |
| Edward Wickham | - | Eagle House, Hammersmith |
| Frederick Wickham | - | Exmouth |
39. Son of Robert Wickham.
40. P.S.R. No. 42. March 1909
41. Thomas Hughes : Tom Brown's Schooldays (1856) Nelson Edition p. 64
Thomas Hughes was a pupil at Twyford and his unflattering remarks about the school which Tom attended for a year are thought to be about Twyford. "Biggest" as a superlative term is relative only in meaning.
42. Palmerston, as a member of the Temple family, knew the house well.
The house built in 1610 gave its family name to the school.
43. See Major General Sir Archibald Anson : About Others and Myself
Murray 1920 p. 45.
- See also H. W. Waterfield : Temple Grove P.S.R. No. 43 July 1909
for view of Bishop of Marlborough.
44. This engraving is in the possession of P. B. Waterfield, Headmaster of the Mall School, Twickenham, whose forbear O. C. Waterfield was a famous Victorian Headmaster of Temple Grove. See pp. 29-31

45. The engraving showing young boys does not of course prove that no older boys were at the school. Pritchard : Op. Cit. p. 49 only partly takes this view. Tends to regard Headship of Dr. Rowden from 1843 onwards as beginning of the purely preparatory Temple Grove.
- In his article in the P.S.R. No. 43 July 1909, Rev. H. W. Waterfield, Headmaster of Temple Grove, considers the question of Temple Grove and its Preparatory status. He refers to two old boys Hon. Mr. Henry Coke and Sir Archibald Anson, both remembering older boys at Temple Grove down to the Headmastership of Mr. Thompson (1835-1843). Sir Claude Champion de Crespigny thought that fifteen was the age limit in Dr. Rowden's time. This is not surprising since 14½ was the age of transfer to the Navy till the twentieth century. If the school was tending to being preparatory in Pinckney's day; Dr. Rowden accelerated the process and Mr. O. C. Waterfield, who felt very strongly about the separation of young boys from older ones, completed it.
- It is interesting to note that the Editor of the P.S.R. in his July 1909 edition (No. 43) adjudicates on the question of seniority as follows:
- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Twyford | 3. Temple Grove |
| 2. Windlesham House | 4. Eagle House |
46. See p.178 note 12.
47. Choir Schools in the twentieth century joined the A.P.S. but only Llandaff Cathedral School was a member by 1899. Most of these schools like The Prebendal School Chichester (1497) are of ancient origin but like St. John's Choir School Cambridge (1955) became Preparatory Schools at a later date. See pp. 100-101 Colwall School (1614) Herefordshire is a school run by the Worshipful Company of Grocers.
48. See Appendix 26 based on replies to questionnaire sent out in December 1970. Seventy-five preparatory schools founded before 1892.
49. See Chapter 5. p. 135 (1)
50. M. E. Bryant : Op. Cit. V.C.H. Middx. 1. p. 284 gives good example of metamorphosis of dual purpose school to single function of preparing boys for public school in progress of West View Preparatory School, Hampstead from 1860 to 1879.
51. See J. Dover Wilson : The Schools of England London 1928 p. 64
M. L. Clarke : Classical Education in Britain 1500-1900
C.U.P. 1959 p. 82.
- Chapter 5
52. See Chapter 6.
- The Rev. Chittenden who set up The Grange, Hoddesdon, Herts. in 1854 had been an assistant coach to the Rev. Francis J. Faithfull.
- Lt. C. R. Malden R.N. had been a coach for a few years before setting up his preparatory school in 1837.

53. See Chapter 2 pp.26-29 (1)
54. See W. F. Bushell : School Memories London 1962 pp. 20-21
55. Pycroft : On School Education Longman 1843
56. Ibid. p. 37
57. Rev. William Pound : Remarks upon English Education in the Nineteenth Century Rivingtons 1866.
58. Ibid. p. 26 passim
59. Clarendon Vol. III p. 122. Minutes 3736-3737 Rev. E. Coleridge
p. 182. Minute 5294 Mr. W. Warre
60. Ibid. Vol. I p. 110
61. Ibid. Vol. I p. 109
62. S.I.C. Vol. VII p. 172 Table N (see following page)
63. See Chapter 1 pp.11-17 (1)
See also J. Dover Wilson Op. Cit. p. 65
also C. Sankey : 'The Evolution of the Preparatory School' Preparatory Schools Review June 1925 p. 145
64. See A. Clutton Brock : Eton London 1900 p. 169
65. J. Fischer Williams : Harrow London 1901 p. 156
66. E. D. Laborde : Harrow School London 1947 p. 59
67. A. G. Bradley et al : A history of Marlborough College Murray 1893 p.152
68. O. F. Christie : A history of Clifton College 1860-1934 Bristol 1935
pp. 233-235
69. A. H. Tod : Charterhouse London 1900 p. 133
70. H. L. Clarke : History of Sedbergh School 1525-1925 Sedbergh 1925
& W.H. Weech pp. 142 and 152.
71. S. Rivington : Tonbridge School Rivingtons 1925 p. 324
72. David Newsome : A history of Wellington College 1859-1959 Murray 1959
p. 245
73. H. S. Shelton : Thoughts of a Schoolmaster London 1937 p. 84
74. See Chapter 11 pp.47-52
75. See T. W. Bamford : The Rise of the Public Schools Nelson 1967
Chapters 2 and 7.

TABLE N

	No. of Pupils	Terms for boarders gns.	Number of pupils learning									
			Greek	Latin	French	German	Maths	Arithmetic	Nat. Sc.	Instr. Music	Vocal Music	Drawin
a	91	150	91	91	91	91	40	91	91	20	91	20
b	14	60	7	11	7	0	4	14	0	5	0	3
c	25	60-80	16	25	20	4	12	25	0	0	0	6
d	19	50	2	19	11	0	2	19	0	6	0	5
e	19	100	15	20	19	0	0	19	0	3	0	11
f	24	70-80	12	23	22	1	4	24	0	2	15	7
g	35	100	35	35	35	10	?	35	?	?	?	?
h	42	100	35	42	42	1	13	42	0	8	0	7
i	33	55-65	12	30	30	?	?	33	?	?	?	?
j	40	50-60	15	40	30	?	?	40	?	10	?	?
k	18	50-55	6	15	15	0	0	18	0	3	0	2
l	22	50	6	22	18	0	?	22	?	16	?	7
m	19	40	2	14	7	?	?	19	?	4	?	5
n	9	45-55	0	5	5	?	?	9	?	?	?	?
o	13	40	2	9	11	?	?	?	?	3	?	?
	423		256	401	363	107	75	410	91	80	106	73

Average 28

76. See Chapter 3. Note 176 pp. 248-249 (1)
 Alfred Harmsworth, later Lord Northcliffe and newspaper tycoon was at this school at which he started a 'Henley House School Magazine' in 1881.
 See also Max Pemberton : Lord Northcliffe Hodder & Stoughton 1922 p. 4. Pemberton mistakenly refers to school being run by brothers J. V. and Alexander Milne.
77. After purging his school of day boys and boys over fourteen Milne had a nucleus of ten boys with which to start his school at Street Court which prospered and increased to fifty, an average size for a preparatory school in late nineteenth century.
78. A. A. Milne : It's too late now Methuen 1939 p. 84
79. i.e. Competition from the Municipal Technical School
80. See E. Stones : The Development of Education in Accrington 1790-1903 Sheffield University M.A. 1957 pp. 359-360.
81. Journal of Education September 1913. Jottings
82. Headmaster of Hurst Court Preparatory School, Ore, Sussex.
83. The Future of Independent Schools. University of Sheffield Institute of Education. Occasional Paper No. 3 1957.
 See P.S.R. No. 35 December 1906
 Advertisement for sale of first class Preparatory School on South East Coast. Established thirty years. Average receipts for last three years were £3,819.
 See also J. Dover Wilson : Op. Cit. p. 83
84. Letter dated 25th August 1970 in my possession.
85. Herbert M. Rankilor : Suggestions on the Preparation of Young Boys for Public School Life 1897
 This advice was in accord with Rev. Welldon's attack on preparatory schools run by women.
86. Their father wanted them confirmed before going to School.
 See Viscount Cecil of Chelwood : All the Way Hodder & Stoughton 1949 p. 16
87. Edited by Spenser Wilkinson : The Nation's Need Undated work c. 1902/3 p. 171
88. J. Dover Wilson : Op. Cit. p. 65, states that there were four hundred preparatory schools in Great Britain, which number is based on the estimate of four hundred given by the Special Report on Preparatory Schools 1900. Dover Wilson goes on to estimate the existence of

over 700 in 1928.

F. C. Pritchard : Op. Cit. p. 122. The figure of 280 members is not correct. According to the list published in the P.S.R. for March 1899 there were 263 members of whom thirty-four were partners.

As one member Rev. C. Darnell, (late of) Cargilfield School, Edinburgh, was a retired Headmaster only 228 schools were therefore represented on the A.P.S.

89. Strictly speaking Headmasters and not schools are registered with the A.P.S.

90. In view of the exclusion of women principals from the A.P.S.

91. See P.S.R. Vol. I No. 1 July 1895.

With the Rev. C. Darnell in the Chair the Conference adopted the Memorandum of objects of the Association viz.

1. to draw more closely together Headmasters of Preparatory Schools and organize their opinion;
2. to advance the interests of education as affecting those schools; and
3. to provide a recognised channel of communication with the public schools and other educational bodies.

92. Ibid.

93. The Wickhams; the Maldens; the Chittendens and the Waterfields.

94. 1890 Rev. Welldon's motion was "That it is desirable to make the relation between Preparatory and Public Schools somewhat closer and more systematic." See p. 104 (2)

95. By this time some public schools had created their own preparatory schools e.g. 1881 St. Paul's Junior School, successively called Colet House and Colet Court.

e.g. 1867 Preparatory School created by Mr. Spurling one of the Senior Assistant Masters at Wellington School.

See also R. W. Hiley : Memories p. 309

also A. H. H. McLean : Law Concerning Secondary and Preparatory Schools 1909

the importance of which, for this thesis, lies in the title.

96. December 1908. Occasional notes.

97. Foster-Watson : Encyclopaedia and Dictionary of Education Vol. III 1921-1922 p. 1337

98. See Preface pp. ii-iii

Notes on Chapter 10

This chapter is based on source material taken from general biography, the D.N.B.; published school histories; school magazines and the questionnaire of December 1970 together with letters and other documents in the possession of Mr. G. W. D. Chittenden, Newlands School, Seaford.

The following documents are deposited at Newlands School:

The Grange Recorder 1903 June Vol. I No. 1
1904 March Vol. I No. 2

Article on life at R.N.C. Osborne.

Several photographs of the Grange and Chittenden family.

Mss. letters and legal documents regarding the school.

Newspaper cuttings.

Programmes of School Concerts.

1. Charles Kingsley, as a preparatory schoolboy at Clifton, saw the Bristol Riots of 1831. See A. W. Palmer : A Dictionary of Modern History 1789-1945 Penguin 1962 pp.58-59
2. G. Kitson Clark : Op. Cit.
3. G. R. Parkin : Life of Edward Thring Macmillan 1904 p. 23
4. Ibid. p. 12
5. Ibid. p. 13 "it was my memories of that School and its severities which first made me long to try if I could not make the life of small boys at school happier and brighter"

Edward Thring
6. See Chapter 5. The term quasi-preparatory school has been used in this thesis to indicate early preparatory schools which because of their early date are unlikely to have been inspired by the same principles of those today.
7. See p. 129 (1)
8. F.S.R. March 1909 pp. 338-339. Letter from T. J. F. Haskoll, dated February 18th 1909, re Chiswick House School.
9. After breakfast three large tubs were brought into the dining room or schoolroom, filled with water and used to wash some fifty boys.
10. Ibid. p. 338
11. See G. H. Blore : Victorian Worthies O.U.P. 1920 p. 74

- Robert Cochrane : Beneficent and Useful Lives Chambers 1890 pp. 12-13
12. Parkin : Op. Cit. p. 13
 13. Blore : Op. Cit. p. 74
 14. Sir Alfred Lyall : The Life of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava Murray 1905 p. 21.
 15. In large schools at least there may have been some justification for resorting to this form of punishment in order to achieve minimal order.
 16. He had been a tutor to the Russian royal family: called his school Romanoff House. School had seventy well fed and well taught boys.
 17. Sir Charles Rivers Wilson : Chapters from my official life London 1916
 18. Mary E. Richardson : The Life of a Great Sportsman 1919 p. 56
 19. It existed for nearly twenty years.
 20. General Sir Neville Lyttelton : Eighty Years Hodder & Stoughton Undated p. 16
See also Ainger : Eton Sixty Years Ago Murray 1917 pp. 40-44
 21. The Duke of Buccleuch, the patron, of Church's parish, sent his son to the school.
Attended also by (Lord) Walter Kerr, (Admiral of the Fleet) (Admirals Lord) C. Scott and Arthur Moore. Edward Talbot, later Bishop of Winchester.
See Gwendolen Stephenson : Edward S. Talbot 1844-1934 S.P.C.K. 1936
 22. Guy Kendall : A headmaster remembers Gollancz 1933 pp. 28-42
 23. Known as "Old Jos" which name was used by Kendall to keep the Head and School incognito.
 24. Ibid. p. 28
 25. G. G. Coulton : A Victorian Schoolmaster : Henry Hart of Sedbergh Bell 1923 p. 3
 26. Herbert Paul : Life of Froude Pitman 1905 p. 9
 27. See Mrs. H. O. Arnold Forster : Memoir of H. C. Arnold Forster London 1910 p. 22.
 28. Kendall : Op. Cit. p. 29
 29. Thomas Wright : The Life of Sir Richard Barton London 1906 p. 52
 30. Lord Hardinge of Penshurst : Old Diplomacy Murray 1947 p. 4

31. See G. M. Trevelyan : Sir George Otto Trevelyan Longmans 1932 p. 17
The usher at Little Berkhamsted school was "employed on almost menial terms."
32. Nicknamed the young house of Lords on account of most of the boys being related to the peerage. See p. 138 (1)
Dr. Everard became a bankrupt and had to flee the country. See Frederick Leveson Gower : Bygone Years Murray 1905 p. 3
33. See James Payn : Some Literary Recollections London 1884 pp. 9-11
34. References to uninteresting food, always a point of interest to boys, are numerous in biography. 'Resurrection Pie' a common description used. Sometimes taboos which newcomers to the school found puzzling were built up round certain dishes.
See Admiral Sir William Goodenough : A Rough Record Hutchinson 1943 p. 14
A. C. Benson : Memories and Friends Murray 1924 p. 32.
E. F. Benson : Our Family Affairs Cassell 1920 p. 80
35. Herman Merivale : Bar, Stage and Platform Chatto & Windus 1902 p. 162
36. Ibid. p. 161. A. Trollope attended two schools: 1. Orley Farm - his father's early home.
2. Sunbury School owned by Arthur Drury an ex-Harrow master.
37. See Oscar Browning : Memories of Sixty Years London 1910 p. 12
38. Durham House, Chelsea, owned by a French émigré, Monsieur Granet was a school which built up strong links with Eton earlier in the century. See Anne Pollen : John Hungerford Pollen Murray 1912 p. 5
39. Rev. Browning gained first, second and third place in the Eton Scholarship lists.
40. A. C. Ainger : Memories of Eton Sixty Years Ago Murray 1917 pp. 6-9
See also The Story of Twyford School Winchester 1909 p. 26
41. See also 1. P. M. Thornton : Some things we have remembered Longmans 1912 p. 120 re Crescent House, Brighton 1850.
2. Major General Sir Alfred E. Turner : Sixty Years of a Soldier's Life Methuen 1912 p. 15 re preparatory school at Esher in 1851.

42. The Chittendens of Hoddesdon Grange (1854) Hertfordshire and Newlands (1905) Sussex are another example of a dynastic family.
43. See Stewart and McCann : Op. Cit. pp. 3-13
44. As Mayo's Cheam was not really a preparatory school he will be considered very briefly.
45. Rev. the Hon. E. Lyttelton, Headmaster of Eton, in his Memories and Hopes refers to the preparatory/dame's school he attended in Brighton. He goes on to comment "it was considered quite one of the best in the country ... except that the well known Waterfield's at East Sheen and Tabor's at Cheam were well spoken of and certainly were far better than our seminary in teaching."
46. At this time the rivalry of Rugby and the reformed Eton was being felt.
47. Although to the contemporary view such advantages were not so telling as they are to those with historical hindsight.
48. e.g. The boys kept small gardens in the school grounds.
49. Later tutor to Edward VII in his youth.
50. See Edit. W. H. Draper : Recollections of Dean Fremantle Cassell 1921 pp. 10-11
51. A Professor Schonbein was invited to give a series of lectures at the school in c. 1841, including one on the certain future of the electric telegraph.
52. Lt. Col. Spencer Childers : The Life and Correspondence of the Rt. Hon. Hugh C. E. Childers (2 Vols) Murray 1901 Vol. I p. 8
53. Ibid. p. 11
54. Fremantle : Op. Cit. p. 11
55. W. R. W. Stephens : Op. Cit. p. 16
56. See Chapter 5 p. 143 (1)
57. Other pupils at this school were James Riddell, Fellow of Balliol and eminent Greek Scholar; Edward St. J. Parry, Bishop of Dover; Admiral Clements Markham K.C.B., F.R.S.; Rev. R. E. Bartlett, later Scholar and Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford.
58. Admiral Sir Albert Markham : Life of Sir Clements Markham Murray 1917 p. 7
59. Ibid. p. 9

60. Major Fitzroy Gardner : Days and Ways of an old Bohemian John Murray 1921.
61. Hardinge : Op. Cit.
62. Gardner : Op. Cit. p. 26
63. Lord Randolph Churchill (1849-1894); Lord Durham; Admiral Sir H. Lampton; Lord Aberdeen; General Sir Ian Hamilton.
64. General Sir Ian Hamilton recalls how Tabor's attitude to him changed when on one occasion "a state coach complete with footmen" came to collect him for London.
65. the elder brother of Bertrand Russell and grandson of Lord John Russell. Russell's private tutor before going to Cheam was a Mr. Cardew who married the daughter of Dean G. W. Kitchin, Head of Twyford 1854-1861.
66. Earl Russell : My Life and Adventures Cassell 1923 p. 39
67. I. S. M. Hamilton : When I was a boy Faber & Faber 1939
68. e.g. At Lee's Preparatory School, Brighton. E. M. Hogg : Quinton Hogg Constable 1904 p. 30
 At St. George's, Ascot - 'reading over' once a week.
 Maurice Baring : The Puppet Show of Memory London 1930 p. 96
 At Rev. Herbert Bull's School, Wellington House, Westgate on Sea.
69. Ibid. p. 104
70. Ibid. p. 104
71. Ibid. p. 90
72. Ibid. p. 93
73. Ibid. p. 87
 See also I. B. M. Hamilton : The Happy Warrior Cassell 1966 p. 10
74. I. S. M. Hamilton : Op. Cit. p. 105
75. Deposited in the Bodleian Library
76. Bodleian Library
77. Came to school as assistant master in 1875: became Headmaster in 1890.
78. P.S.R. No. 41 December 1908.
79. Marianne Letitia Sergeant, a well known lady at the court of George III.
80. See also Eagle House Magazine 1906 for letter from J. A. Morgan (1810-1913) who was a boy under Railton (1826-1831). He recalls hoops in the playground; a tectum - for wet weather. Violin lessons and drawing lessons.

81. As did also the brother of Disraeli, James Disraeli.
82. Kingston : Three Midshipmen London 1873
83. Lonsdale Ragg : A Memoir of Edward Charles Wickham London 1911 p. 4
84. Even as late as Dr. Huntingford's time, up to the move in 1860, ablutions were performed in a leaden trough around the ablutions room which had leaden bowls for washing but no hot water.
85. F.S.R. No. 41 December 1908.
86. He was born at Eagle House.
87. See C. R. L. Fletcher : Edmund Warre Murray 1922
 Lady Laura Ridding : George Ridding, Schoolmaster and Bishop
 London 1908 pp. 6-7
 Edward Graham : The Harrow Life of Henry Montagu Butler Longmans
 1920 p. 26
 also Eagle House Magazine 1906. Letter from Rev. Dr. H. Montagu
 Butler referring to the seven future headmasters.
 The Editor added two more: Dr. B. Pollock of Wellington
 (1893-1910)
 Rev. L. G. B. Ford of Repton
 (1901-1910)
- See also P. Wootton : Eagle House 1820-1970 Thame 1971 p. 5
 of 140 boys under Wickham, 17 became Scholars of Winchester
 including 11 scholars and Fellows of New College
 Oxford.
88. Ragg : Op. Cit. p. 5
89. See Eagle House Magazine 1906 : Annals of Eagle House pt. 7 by Newton
 W. Apperly.
 In Dr. Huntingford's day the walking out uniform was long trousers,
 Eton jackets and top hats.
90. But there was no School XI; no colours, nor inter-school matches.
91. Former Scholar of Winchester and Fellow of New College, Oxford. Related
 by marriage to the Tremenheere family.
 See Wootton : Op. Cit. pp. 5-7
92. Came as assistant master in 1870; Headmaster in 1874. Highly skilled
 craftsman in glass, wood and stone. Writer of short stories in
 1880s and 1890s. Regular contributor to Boys Own Paper as a serial
 writer. See obituary Eagle House Magazine. H. C. Barnard liked
 to read Malan's stories.
- See also H. C. Barnard : Were those the days? 1933 p. 62

93. See p. 54
94. See pp. 150-151 (1)
95. Mr. A. A. M. Batchelor, Headmaster of Temple Grove 1934-1959, is in process of writing a history of the school.
96. He was a friend of the Prime Minister Spencer Perceval who was murdered in 1812.
97. See W. L. Rutton : Temple Grove in East Sheen Surrey 1906 p. 140
Article in unknown periodical in possession of Mr. P. B. Waterfield and once belonged to Mr. H. W. Waterfield, Headmaster of Temple Grove.
For description of the grounds and gardens see A. C. Benson : Escape and other Essays London 1915 pp. 193-194.
98. A member of the Holkham family.
99. Coke : Op. Cit. p. 9
100. Anson : Op. Cit. p. 46
101. See Story of Twyford p. 10 It was customary in many homes to serve the meat after the pudding because meat was not regarded as a luxury. As prices changed and meat became more of a luxury item the Rev. R. Wickham, Headmaster of Twyford decided to put meat before pudding on the menu.
102. The food, according to the Bishop of Marlborough in 1909, who had been a pupil at Temple Grove, was "execrable". P.S.R. No. 43 July 1909. Food received by boys from parents was shared among friends listed by the recipient. Regarded in much the same way as tobacco is regarded by modern prisoners.
103. A. G. C. Liddell : Notes from the Life of an ordinary mortal Murray 1911 p. 18
104. Anson : Op. Cit. p. 46
105. P.S.R. No. 43 July 1909.
106. Temple Grove School Magazine
107. Although it is suggested in Rev. H. W. Waterfield's article in the P.S.R. No. 43 July 1909 that Coningsby refers to Dr. Rowden it is more than likely in view of Coningsby's publication date that Disraeli had in mind Dr. Pinckney rather than Dr. Rowden.
108. A. C. Benson's views on C. C. Waterfield and Temple Grove are contained mainly in two works:
Escape and other Essays London 1915 and
Memories and Friends Murray 1924

In the earlier work he is very critical of his preparatory school days which is reflected in his emotional title : nine years later he seems to be filled rather with awe than with terror of his school. But the fault may have lain with Benson who himself admitted that he "had little animal spirits, and none of the boisterous rough and tumble ebullience of boyhood."

109. Arthur and Edward Benson had an elder brother, Martin Benson who died in 1878. Had attended Temple Grove before them. See David Newsome: Godliness and Good Learning Murray 1961 pp. 148-193
110. See E. F. Benson : Op. Cit. p. 77
111. Their descriptions of him are probably valuable as giving an insight into the schoolboy's view, or more accurately an adult's recollections of a schoolboy's view. See A. C. Benson : Op. Cit. p. 42.
112. e.g. M. R. James : Eton and Kings Williams and Norgate 1926
 p. 5 1. Suggests that Dr. Pinckney was Headmaster of Temple Grove as early as 1792 - it was still in the Temple Family at that time.
 2. Suggests that the Pinckney family still owned Temple Grove and that O. C. Waterfield rented it from them. This is contrary to evidence of A. C. Benson who states that Waterfield purchased the school. See Benson : Memories p. 27
 e.g. Col. B. de Sales La Terriere : Days that are gone Hutchinson 1924
 p. 24 Refers to the second master, the Rev. J. H. Edgar who later became Headmaster, as Waterfield's son.
 p. 28 He suggests that Waterfield died in the streets which is contrary to Benson's testimony of his death at a railway station.
113. Waterfield was nicknamed the COW by the boys because of his initials.
114. See A. C. Benson : Memories p. 48
115. In marked contrast to the rest of the school buildings, the Library, curtained and carpeted, led to Waterfield's study.
 Benson : Memories p. 31. See also E. F. Benson : Op. Cit. p. 76
116. Ibid. p. 41. He was a tall impressive looking man: always dressed like a gentleman with frock coat.
 "When he was arrayed in a full silk gown he was almost too majestic for words. A faint scent of Havana cigars hung about him. He walked with a slight limp, which gave him a swaying motion, and he had eyes of great brilliance which opened wide, if he was surprised or vexed, and struck terror into our souls."
117. Thring's experiences at Eton had exactly the opposite effect, in so far as he sought more humane ways in controlling Uppingham by his emphasis on the importance of the individual. See G. R. Parkin :
 Op. Cit. p. 28

118. E. F. Benson : Op. Cit. p. 77
119. Ibid. p. 78 See also Goodenough : Op. Cit. p. 14
120. See A. C. Benson : Memories p. 44
See also La Terriere : Days that are gone p. 23. New boys spent the first night away from the rest of the boys "out of harm's way".
121. This behaviour pattern is a good example of the gulf that lies between nineteenth century sentiment and twentieth century realism.
122. Benson : Memories p. 48
123. La Terriere : Op. Cit. p. 28
124. E. F. Benson : Op. Cit. p. 79
125. Benson : Memories p. 41
126. He apparently died of a heart attack and was not identified till two or three days after his death.
127. C. M. Trevelyan : Grey of Falloden Longmans 1937 p. 7
128. A. A. M. Batchelor : Temple Grove from 1810-1880 Temple Grove School Magazine 1967 p. 6.
Football played in knickbockers and open shirts after ties had been removed.
129. Although it is suggested that a professional coach was employed for the cricket XI, M. R. James suggests that in the 1870s games were compulsory but that no one taught the boys how to play.
130. Benson : Memories Op. Cit. p. 33
131. F. Anstey : Vice Versa First edition 1882 47th Impression 1929 p. 174.
See also H. A. L. Fisher : An unfinished autobiography O.U.P. 1941
Headmaster read from Keble's Christian Year weekly.
See also Proceedings of the British Academy Vol. XXV 1939. Oliver Elton. Lascelles Abercrombie attended well known preparatory school, Locker's Park, Hemel Hempstead where H. M. Draper was Headmaster. He read Scott and Wordsworth to the boys on Sundays.
See also P.S.R. Vol. II No. 2 December 1896.
Rev. Walter Earle of Bilton Grange "Sunday at School".
132. Benson : Memories Op. Cit. p. 48
133. Temple Grove as a late nineteenth century preparatory school will be considered in Chapter 12.

134. See G. W. Kitchin : Prayers for the use of Twyford School 1857
Some prayers are taken from Bishop Ken's Manual,
used by Winchester.
- also The Story of Twyford School Wykeham Press 1909 p. 21
Twyford played Winchester Football in the nineteenth century
but the links between the two schools have always been informal.
135. See The Story of Twyford School pp. 5-7
136. This does not mean that only five entries in the D.N.B. attended
Twyford. One of the weaknesses of the D.N.B. for the educational
historian of preparatory schools is that preparatory school
attendance is more often than not omitted. See p. 110 (1)
137. See E. C. Mack & W. H. G. Armytage : Thomas Hughes - The Life of the
Author of Tom Brown's Schooldays
London 1952 p. 13
138. This is a very unbalanced book consisting of a compilation of a short
history of the early years, reminiscences and memories together with
a large section devoted to the pages of the Twyfordian 1895-1909.
This is virtually the only secondary document on the school's
history and is not likely to contain references to poor food, caning
etc.
139. Inter alia it attacks the system of close supervision to be found
in private schools and the low standing of ushers.
140. See E. M. Hogg : Quintin Hogg Constable 1904 p. 30
141. At one time boys had to wash themselves at a tap outside.
The Story of Twyford p. 11
142. 1816 11 1822 10 1828 12
1817 9 1823 9 1829 10
1818 7 1824 13 1830 13
1819 12 1825 12 1831 12
1820 17 1826 14 1832 17
1821 11 1827 14 1833 10
143. Kitchin was not only Dean of Durham and Winchester during his career
but he was the first Censor of the Non-Collegiate students at
Oxford (1868-1885) which body became St. Catherine's Society in
the twentieth century, and later St. Catherine's College.
144. Quoted from Francis Trench : A few notes from past life 1818-1832
in J. Bromley : The Man of ten talents 1959 S.P.C.K. p.13
145. When the school year was divided into two halves there was an Autumn
Reward Day and a June Reward Day. The boys had been graded from
Quam Optime to Male on a six point scale. Those with quam Optime
or optime were allowed to stay in bed till breakfast time after
which they prepared themselves for a picnic outing where they were
joined by those who had secured lower marks and who had been up at
the usual time doing usual school work.

146. See Story of Twyford pp. 20-21. This was basically a mammoth quiz game in which the whole school took part having been divided into two halves.
147. This was altered in the time of Kitchin. 'The slate', instituted by Bedford, consisted of a record of offenders in two columns. Those 'late' and 'other offences'. A daily record of bad marks was kept but no boy knew how he was faring until perhaps called to expiate his misdemeanours by caning. Kitchin introduced a more liberal institution the 'black book' which was examined at the end of each term: the contents were divulged and those with good records were awarded prizes.
- See also G. H. Wilson : Windlesham House London 1937 Chapter 4 for details regarding the Classicus which is the record of marks kept in huge tomes since 1837. The daily marks of boys were recorded on a ten point scale from quam optime to quam pessime. The 'crimes' and punishments of the boys are also logged in the margin.
148. Bedford had put great emphasis on memory which caused boys to accomplish great feats of rote learning.
149. e.g. The Reward Day was not abolished till 1878.
150. Story of Twyford p. 15
151. See p.19
152. Rev. Latham had to retire through ill-health and was succeeded by his son who had been an assistant master at St. George's Ascot.
153. Story of Twyford p. 53
154. Ibid. p. 52
155. For instance a carpentry class was started under the Hampshire County Council Instructor to Technical Education Schools. The gymnasium was temporarily converted for the purpose into a carpenters shop. Ibid. p. 45.
156. P.S.R. No. 42. March 1909 - "History of Twyford School."
157. President of the Sussex Educational Society 1876
Town Councillor of Brighton and later Godalming.
158. The future Marquis of Sligo led the mutiny just before going to Warron in 1870. See G. H. Wilson : Windlesham House School
London 1937 p. 39
159. See p. 148 (1)
160. Viz. Classrooms and a handsome dining hall; a large library; a large Assembly hall equipped with a stage; a gymnasium well over thirty yards in length together with a well equipped

Science laboratory and two sanatoria. The School only vacated these buildings when it moved to Earley Wood, Ascot in 1962.

161. See p. 148 (1)
162. (1846-1919) Attended Bayford School before coming to Stubbington.
See p. 148(1) A friend of the Prince of Wales he was a sailor who took up politics. Distinguished action at the bombardment of Alexandria in 1882. Given a State funeral at St. Paul's.
163. See Appendix 19
164. By strict criteria of A.P.S. it ceased to be a preparatory school since the army candidates were older than what was regarded later as the preparatory school age (eight to fourteen). Moreover, by the definition given by C. C. Cotterill, Hon. Secretary of the A.P.S. in the Introductory Chapter in Board of Education : Special Reports on Educational Subjects 1900 Vol. 6 viz.
"Schools which prepare only for the Public Schools and the Royal Navy and do not keep boys beyond the age of fourteen":
preparation for the army would disqualify. This is a partial comment on the non-institutionalization of the term 'preparatory school' till a fairly late date.
165. See P.S.R. December 1901. Stubbington House was one of five centres chosen by the Civil Service Commissioners for the holding of the Naval examination.
166. e.g. Prince Alexander Albert of Battenburg, grandson of Queen Victoria and later Marquis of Carisbrooke.
167. Its closest rivals in early twentieth century were:
Mr. Eastman's Royal Naval Academy, Northwood Park, Winchester and
Mr. Little John's, The Limes, Greenwich.
168. P.S.R.
Vol. II No. 2 December 1896
169. These lists are based on the returns to the questionnaire of December 1970 which is in turn based on details in the Public and Preparatory Schools Year Book of 1966. Mr. L. H. A. Hankey of the I.A.P.S. was most helpful in offering information and advice about individual preparatory schools.
170. Lambrook School, Berkshire was founded in 1860 but is regarded as more typical of the later preparatory school.
171. See W. F. Bushell : School Memories Liverpool 1962 pp. 20-21
Sanderson had only a second class honours degree and was thereby excluded from being a House master at Harrow, under Rev. H. Montagu Butler's rule. Butler encouraged Sanderson to start a preparatory school which would receive Butler's support.

172. See p.17
173. See p.142 (1)
174. Balfour's early exercises in Latin composition are still to be seen - in G. W. D. Chittenden's possession.
175. One very different view of this school is given by Antony C. Deane in Time Remembered (1945) in which the Rev. Chittenden is depicted as somewhat of an ogre whom the boys called "the Jowler." According to Deane he was subject to violent tempers, was moody and ought not to have been a schoolmaster.
- See Deane : Op. Cit. pp. 23-25
176. Lord Frederic Hamilton : The days before yesterday Hodder & Stoughton 1920 p. 94
- See also J. W. MacKail and Guy Wyndham : Life and Letters of George Wyndham Vol. 1 Hutchinson 1925 p. 23
- John Biggs-Davison : George Wyndham Hodder & Stoughton 1951 p. 16 "Mr. Chittenden was an advanced educationist who never mistook destructive indiscipline for creative self expression."
- Kenneth Young : Arthur James Balfour London 1963 p. 12
177. Ms. letter from George Wyndham to C. G. Chittenden, sent from Dublin Castle.
178. MacKail and Wyndham : Op. Cit. p. 23
179. The Rev. C. G. Chittenden was related by marriage to Rev. George Renaud of Bath, ex-tutor of Lord Rosebery. Both priests officiated at the wedding between Mr. T. F. Chittenden and Miss E. C. Wheeler; Chittenden as father and Renaud as Uncle of the groom. On this occasion, which must have been unique, two ex-teachers of two future prime ministers conducted the wedding service.
180. The Headmaster of Harrow laid the foundation stone of Orley Farm School in 1850.
181. Antony Trollope had once lived in Orley Farm before it was a school. See W. F. Bushell : Op. Cit. p. 29. The early Chapters of the Harrovians ~~are~~ concerned with a kindly Mr. James who is based on Mr. G. B. Innes, the Headmaster who succeeded Hastings in 1897.
Hopkins
182. Lunn : The Harrovians Methuen 1913 p. 6
183. Six. There are now twelve in the school (December 1970) and vies with the Windlesham House Scheme for coeducated preparatory school.
184. See G. M. Trevelyan : Grey of Falloden Longmans 1937 p. 7

Bibliographical Note

This Chapter breaks new ground in several ways:

1. Its intensive reference to the Preparatory Schools Review from 1895 onwards.
2. Its use of Preparatory School magazines - Carterian (Red House School), Eagle House Magazine, Wells House Magazine; Draconian; Summerfields School Magazine.
3. Its use of Preparatory school registers - Hoddesdon, Aysgarth, Windlesham, Summerfields, Ardvreck, Bow School Durham.
4. Use of details from Questionnaire December 1970.
5. The pages of the Bodleian copy of Longmans Magazine February 1898 were uncut and probably contain new material brought to the subject.

These have been supported by use of general biography; school histories; Blue Book of 1900, nineteenth century Warwickshire Directories and the Private Schoolmaster 1887-1891.

Notes to Chapter 11

1. Carterian No. 66 April 1914
2. viz. A. J. Richardson of St. Peter's Court, Broadstairs.
Arthur Dunn of Ludgrove, Wokingham
W. Hornby and C. P. Wilson of Sandroyd near Salisbury
Ernest Smith of Folkstone
Rev. Vernon Royle of Stanmore Park, Middlesex.
3. P.S.R. No. 16 July 1900. Obituary notice.
See also P.S.R. No. 41 December 1908 Obituary notice on H. G. Underhill.
and Draconian July 1896. Mr. Healey, at O.P.S. for thirteen years, left to start own preparatory school (St. Cuthberts) at Malvern.
4. See Saturday Review February 7th 1880
also Kelly's P.O. Warwickshire Directories 1868 and 1872
also Chapter 14 p. 137
5. See Appendix 27
6. Reflecting the importance of London and the comparatively slow forms of transport compared with twentieth century.

7. e.g. in 1899 Moorland House Preparatory School, Dee Valley. Founded by L. J. Dobie who was Headmaster for forty-five years. Died in 1937.

See Noel Annan : Roxburgh of Stowe Longmans 1965

8. Eaton House School, Aldeburgh claimed in its prospectus of 1892 that the school's climate was "peculiarly suited to the requirements of Indian children's constitutions." Though perhaps difficult to sustain such a claim, it does show the school's appreciation of the climate as a factor to consider in gaining clientele.
9. Began in the very beginning in 1877 in two rooms at Balliol Hall in St. Giles. The Skipper Oxford 1940 p. 9
10. Oakfield School (1860) founded by Rev. J. M. Furness.
11. Hill Brow School (1859) moved to Northumberland in 1941.
12. Hill Morton School - owned by Rev. C. Darnell who was first Headmaster of Cargilfield School.
13. Originally called St. Oswald's from 1885-1900.
14. Moved to Woolhampton, Reading Berkshire.
15. From 1900 to 1914 St. Bees, Shrewsbury, Clifton and Charterhouse had half the boys in roughly equal shares; whilst the other half were divided between twenty-eight other schools.

I am very grateful to Mr. Geoffrey Place and Mr. A. D. Grenfell, Headmaster of Mostyn House School for this information.

16. The Scholarships gained by this school were more widely scattered and up to 1909 not one was at St. Paul's school. From 1900 to 1909 scholarships were won at Westminster; Clifton; Fettes; Dover; Highgate; Aldenham; U.C.S.; Cheltenham; Epsom and Bromsgrove.

Ed. P. G. Drury-Lowe The Hall School Hampstead 1889-1964 Hampstead 1964 p. 9

17. See School Register at Newlands School.
18. General Sir Ian Hamilton : When I was a Boy p. 92
19. See Eaton House School Prospectus 1892.
20. G. B. Grundy : Op. Cit. p. 13
Liscard was "a castellated building with turrets and battlements". The School had about fifty boys of whom about two thirds were boarders; mainly sons of prominent businessmen in Liverpool and Manchester.
21. P.S.R. No. 48 March 1911
22. See p. 138 (1)

23. E. J. Purcell : Life of Cardinal Manning Macmillan 1896 p. 12
24. See Appendix 28
25. See Appendix 28
26. The grouping of Sedbergh with these other schools, all fairly high in Professor Honey's four levels of interaction, suggests preparatory school criterion for judging status of Public School to be a sound one and that Sedbergh ought to be included.
27. See Appendix 28
28. St. Cyprian's, popularly known as "the Kippers", and now incorporated into Summerfields (1942) had a good scholarship record at Eton : but even more boys went to Harrow. The Headmaster, Mr. Vaughan Wilkes in 1912, had a close liaison with Harrow.
- In September 1912 one of the Harrow house masters telephoned Mr. Wilkes to ask him if he had any likely lads coming up. Through this close liaison Lashmer G. Whistler went to Harrow on an Athletic Scholarship instead of to Haileybury where he had been going because his parents thought the Harrow fees too high.
- See Rt. Hon. Sir John Smyth : V.C. M.C. : Bolo Whistler London 1967
p. 32
29. See Appendix 28
30. See Appendix 28
31. See Appendix 28
32. See Appendix 28
33. See Appendix 28
34. Kitson-Clark : Op. Cit. p. 98
35. See p. 43 (1)
36. Sketches from the Life of Edward Frankland p. 3
37. General Sir Richard Harrison : Recollections of a Life in the British Army London 1908 p. 6
38. Life of Thomas Cooper p. 6
39. Wilely : Memories pp. 253-254
40. P.S.R. No. 41 December 1908
41. Story of Twyford p. 39
42. Op. Cit. p. 44

43. Story of Twyford pp. 46-52 passim. During 1897 the school carried on at Copthorne, Sussex.
44. Ibid. p. 51
45. I am grateful to Mr. H. F. Chittenden, Headmaster of Newlands School from 1930-1967 for this information.
See also G. H. O. Burgess : The Curious World of Frank Buckland Baker 1967 p. 16. Laleham School moved to Bexhill on Sea for health reasons.
46. P. Shaw Jeffrey : A Schoolmaster's Apologia Whitby 1948 p. 12
47. Kitson Clark : Op. Cit. Chapter 3
48. Vol. I No. 1 November 1887
49. Dukes was to the Public Schools what Lt. Col. C. H. Melville was to the Army. Both were medical men who served an institution. Duke an expert on school health and hygiene : Melville on venereal disease and army hygiene.
50. The Draconian February 1898
51. Football at Eagle House in Easter term 1906 confined to two matches only.
52. On one day thirty boys were absent: seventy five per cent of school had 'flu.
53. Only thirty-two out of ninety answered names at roll call for a whole week.
54. Eagle House Magazine Lent term 1930
55. F. Anstey : A Long Retrospect O.U.P. 1936 p. 52
56. Osbert Sitwell : The Scarlet Tree Macmillan 1946 p. 125
57. Morley : Op. Cit. p. 15
58. A. G. C. Liddell : Notes from the Life of an ordinary mortal Murray 1911 p. 17
59. See Anson : Op. Cit. p. 48
P.S.R. No. 43 July 1909
Coke : Op. Cit. p. 9
See also Eagle House Magazine Summer Term 1906. Eagle House boys also dosed with treacle and brimstone in the Spring.
60. Lonsdale Ragg : A Memoir of Edward C. Wickham Arnold 1911 p. 3
61. H. J. Coke claimed that he never had a bath at Temple Grove during the two years he was there. Coke Op. Cit. p. 10

See also P.S.R. No. 43 July 1909. H. W. Waterfield : "Temple Grove"

62. See Rev. C. Black : "The Economics of Preparatory Schools" Board of Education Report 1900 p. 47
63. Generally the school prospectus was very explicit about this important school rule which was enforced strictly, quite naturally, by head masters. See also Board of Education Report 1900 Vol. 6 p. 327
- See Prospectus for Leamington College Preparatory School 1894
The school had adopted regulations for infectious illness drawn up by the Association of Medical Officers of Public Schools which included the need for all boys to bring back from holidays a certificate of good health.
64. See p. 122 (1)
65. See also Clement Dukes : Health at School Rivingtons 1905 pp. 160-178 fourth edition.
66. The Hon. E. Lyttelton noted in an article "Feeding of Schoolboys" in Nineteenth century (March 1922) that
- "by 1880 even in low class private schools, under-feeding was ... very rare ... ever since 1890, not only have boys been encouraged to stuff themselves always to the point of surfeit, but it is very nearly true that, if in any boarding school in England one single case of under-feeding was definitely proved, the Headmaster would have to resign forthwith, for the scandal would inevitably result in a decline in numbers, owing to an appalling indictment in the most sensational daily papers, at a cackling at five o'clock tea from John O'Groats to Lands End."
67. Formerly partner to Rev. C. T. Wickham at Twyford. See p. 35.
68. Details of the scheme are interesting in gaining insight into the extent of the nuisance value of infectious diseases. The Insurance Company consulted, laid down the following conditions:

1. A payment to be made if pupil suffers certain specified diseases.
2. Payment to be made when a Medical Officer recommends isolation and suspension of school activities.
3. Diseases and periods covered:

<u>Disease</u>	<u>Maximum number of weeks</u>
Chicken Pox	3
Diphtheria	5
Influenza	1
German Measles	2

<u>Diseases</u>	<u>Maximum number of weeks</u>
Measles	3
Measles (with complications)	6
Mumps	3
Ring Worm	2
Scarlet Fever	6
Smallpox	6
Tonsilitis	2
Typhoid Fever	6
Typhus	6
Whooping Cough	6

4. Premium : 15/- per scholar per term.

5. Compensation : £1 per week per scholar up to third of pupils. No more than fifty per cent could be claimed for in any one term.

6. Contract renewable each year.

69. See C. H. K. Marten : On the Teaching of History Oxford 1938 p. 119

70. Rubella is another name for German Measles. Clement Dukes read a paper to members of the Medical Officers of Schools Association (M.O.S.A.) February 1894, in which he distinguished between three types of disease.

viz.	Technical Term	Rubeola Marbilli	Roseola Röthelm	Scarletina Febris Rubra
	English	Eng. Measles	German Measles	Scarlet Fever
	Popular	Measles	Measles	Scarlet Fever

The object of the paper was to get medical men to distinguish between the three and to use term Rose rash to describe Roseola or Röthelm.

By a school confusing rose rash with measles, extreme pressures could be put on quarantine accommodation. Duke was not sure himself in his diagnosis of an outbreak in 1889, whether one or two diseases were present and which boys had which disease.

Such a statement leads one to wonder whether or not the national epidemic of scarlet fever in 1892-1893 was partly an epidemic of rose rash.

See Clement Dukes : On the features which distinguish Epidemic Roseola (Rose rash) from Measles and Scarlet Fever
(Copy in Bodleian Library) 1894.

71. See also The Schoolmaster January 1901 "Concerning the Preparatory School"
Practical Teacher February 1901 "England's Preparatory Schools"
School World March 1901 "English Preparatory School"
Secondary Education February 1901 "The Blue Book on Preparatory Schools"
 all of which reviewed the Report of 1900.
72. Board of Education Report 1900 C.C. Cotterill : The Masters of a
 Preparatory School
 pp. 14/15.
73. Baron : Op. Cit. p. 50-53
74. See P.S.R. Vol. 1 No. 2. December 1895
 "He applies to the necessary agency, and obtains his man;
 there is no difficulty about this, as we know the "market"
 is too full of University men whose only capital consists
 of testamurs and the magic letters B.A., and whose only
 chance of earning a living is in the private school.
- See also P.S.R. No. 7 July 1897
 Vigilemus recalled a headmaster who "once said to an
 experienced assistant, who had served him well for years
 and won many honours for the school, upon the occasion of
 some disagreement with an arrogant school sergeant, "I
 can replace you at any time, but a sergeant is another
 matter: I must ask you to give way."
75. (i) Lord Berners : First Childhood Constable 1934 p. 174
 (ii) See also Green Bank School, Liverpool. Liverpool U.P. 1939
 p. 26. William H. Colley was a regular player for Lancashire
 in Rugby Football.
 (iii) See David Cecil : Max a Biography Constable 1964.
 Mr. Wilkinson, Headmaster of Orme Square School which Max
 Beerbohm attended was interested only in what Surrey had
 achieved at the Oval the previous day.
76. Osbert Sitwell : Op. Cit. p. 128. However, another assistant master
 at this school was Cecil Sharp (1856-1924), the student of
 English folk song and dances.
77. E. Lyttelton : Op. Cit. p. 16
78. Liverpool Op. Cit. pp. 24-26
79. The Grange School, Folkestone where Rev. A. L. Hussey was Headmaster
 in 1889 was more fortunate in that during five years 1889-1894
 there were no changes in staff. See A. L. Irvine Sixty Years at
 School Wykeham Press 1958

Another school which enjoyed a relatively high degree of stability
 amongst its teaching staff was Bilton Grange School near Rugby.

Amongst the masters, the average length of service between 1887 and 1914 was 5.8 years, whilst amongst the assistant mistresses the average length of service was as much as 10.6 years.

80. cf. Manuscript register kept by Mrs. Erica Thompson, widow of former Headmaster of Aysgarth School.
81. Longmans Magazine "Preparatory Schoolmasters" February 1898
82. See also P.S.R. No. 9. March 1898. F. H. Roach : The Status of the Assistant Master in Preparatory Schools
also Longman's Magazine February 1898 Eric Parker
83. This could be interpreted as a means of helping the Heads by minimising competition. Lower salaries initially would mean lower savings and the less likelihood of buying school in late 30s, early 40s.
84. The scheme encouraged both the assistant master and the Headmaster to save. The assistant master could invest up to £30 per annum: three per cent interest on all savings with the Mutual Life Assurance where the Headmaster did not also subscribe: three per cent interest on savings plus ten per cent bonus after five years to assistant master who worked with a subscribing Head.
See also Longman's Magazine : February 1898 Eric Parker
"I do not say that it is impossible for a preparatory school assistant master to save money. I know only one man who has done so however ... by rigid economy and hard work a man might save £1,000 by forty ... The undoubted fact is this: that the vast majority of men thus situated do not save a penny."
85. See also W. F. Bushell : Op. Cit. p. 35
also Board of Education Report 1900 Vol. 6 p. 21
86. It is only in recent years that the Society of assistant masters teaching in preparatory schools (S.A.T.I.P.S.) has been formed.
87. A. H. Trollope /mentioned in H. G. Mullinger : Arthur Burroughs London 1936, Headmaster of Tyttenhanger School, St. Albans wrote to P.S.R. concerning the superannuation fund for assistant masters which suggest, the charitable nature of the scheme. He noted that there was a surplus of £237 on the balance sheet of the A.P.S. for 1900. Suggested that £150 to £200 of that be used to start the Fund.
88. See C. Norwood and A. H. Hope : The Higher Education of Boys in England Murray 1909 p. 20
89. E. F. Benson : Op. Cit. p. 80
90. See P.S.R. No. 7 July 1897 No. 8 December 1897; No. 16 July 1900.

91. E. P. Arnold was the great nephew of Dr. Thomas Arnold.
92. E. P. Arnold went into partnership with the Rev. Cowley Powles, one of the leading preparatory school headmasters of the decades before the A.P.S. See G. M. Trevelyan : Autobiography (1949) for an ex-pupil's view of E. P. Arnold.
93. P.S.R. No. 7 July 1897
94. See also Norwood & Hope : Op. Cit. p. 29

Bibliographical Note

This Chapter is based on the following varied sources:

Private papers and information from: Aysgarth; Oxford Preparatory School; Orwell Park School; Mostyn House; and Marton Hall School, Bridlington.

School Magazines: The Draconian; Eagle House Magazine; Temple Grove Magazine.

School histories: Summerfields; Windlesham House; Richmond School; (of varying quality) Hall School, Hampstead; Rossall Junior School; Salisbury Cathedral School; St. Michael's, Tenbury Wells; Stratford on Avon Grammar School; Harvey Grammar School; Nottingham High School.

Periodicals: Fortnightly Review; Longman's; Private Schoolmaster; Preparatory Schools Review.

School Register: Summerfield

Reports: S.I.C.; Bryce; Blue Book 1900

Contemporary nineteenth and early twentieth century educational writings and general biography have supplemented the above.

Notes to Chapter 12

1. See J. E. Simpson : Schoolmaster's Harvest Faber 1954 pp. 13-46
Chapter 1 "A Preparatory School in the Nineties"
2. Board of Education : Special Report 1900 Vol. 6 p. iii
See also Fabian Ware : Educational Reform Methuen 1900 p. 37
also P.S.R. No. 43 July 1909.
also Bryce Vol II pp. 459-460
also Report of H.M.C. 1907.
3. Ibid. p. 460
Later Headmaster of Eton and author of Memories and Hopes Murray 1925 p. 14
Mother and Sons Macmillan 1892
p. 81.
4. See Honey : Op. Cit. p. 135
Stewart and McCann : Op. Cit. give no inkling of this rebellion.
5. R. L. Archer : Op. Cit. p. 72. See also E. Lockwood : Early Days of Marlborough College for account of the revolt.

6. Cyril Norwood : The English Tradition of Education Murray 1929
Reprint p. 71.
7. e.g. The masters at Mulgrave Castle School (1892-1903) for instance were of good calibre. The Rev. Mr. Surtees later became a Bishop; Cuthbertson, another assistant master, was a first class mathematics teacher.
- Lt. General Sir Douglas Brownrigg : Unexpected (A Book of Memories)
Hutchinson 1942 p. 13
8. Board of Education : Special Report 1900
A. C. Benson : "The Preparatory School Product" p. 476
9. From answers to a questionnaire sent out c. 1900 the average size of 120 schools was 36.34 boys per school.
See Board of Education/^{Special}Report 1900 p. 29
The sizes of these schools are given below from 1900 Report.

<u>No. of Boys</u>	<u>No. of schools</u>
Under 20	22
20 - 29	29
30 - 39	26
40 - 49	16
50 - 59	13
60 - 69	8
Over 70*	6

* These top figures have been changed in view of inaccurate statement of original.

10. He overlooked, too, the nineteenth century phenomenon of the hybrid school such as that attended by Sir Henry Newbolt at Caistor in Lincolnshire. Such schools not only prepared boys for public schools but also educated the sons of local tradesmen and farmers for the University Local Examinations, and often as in the case of Caistor a special small 'preparatory class' received the especial care and attention of the Headmaster (in the case of Caistor, Rev. A. Bower) whilst the rest of the school was left to an assistant.
- See Sir Henry Newbolt : My world as in my time Faber 1932 p. 32
11. e.g. The whole school building of Abbey School, Beckenham was warmed by hot water. F. S. de Carteret-Bisson : Op. Cit. School prospectus.
12. St. George's Ascot was fitted with electric lighting in 1884, and must have been one of the early examples of this kind of illumination in schools.
- Aysgarth, too, was equipped with electricity in 1890 when the school was built. Equipped, too, with own electricity pumping station.
13. Board of Education : Special Report 1900 Benson : Op. Cit. p. 478

14. See Rev. William Pound : Op. Cit. p. 31
15. e.g. See Rupert Hart Davis : Hugh Walpole Macmillan 1952 p. 17
Canon Graves, Headmaster of School at Marlow left boys
unsupervised.
16. From Prospectus 1892. This preparatory school was founded in 1870 by
the Rev. W. G. Wilkinson B.A., grandfather of Mrs. Sylvia Bell
to whom I am grateful for the loan of the prospectus and other
documents.

Since 1937 the School has been called Orwell Park School but it has
always remained in the Wilkinson family.

The school was founded originally in 1867 at Lowestoft and moved to
Aldburgh in 1870. It occupied three different houses and was
called in turn Crespigmy House, Eaton House and Aldburgh Lodge.

W. G. Wilkinson, Headmaster	1867-1903
M. E. Wilkinson)	1903-1946
J. F. Spurgeon)	
H. E. Wilkinson	1946-1969
B. H. Belle	1969-

See typescript letters dated 2nd November and 20th November 1970, in
my possession.

17. Ibid.
18. See Mrs. Ennis Richmond : Boyhood - a plea for continuity in education
Longmans 1898
For discussion re pre-preparatory age.
A number of works on the subject of home and preparatory school have
been written.
See also R. J. Halcomb : The Vital Years Winchester 1935
Stanley Harris : The Master and his boys Winchester 1924
Harris was the second Headmaster of St.
Ronan's Hawkshurst, Kent.
also Board of Education Report 1900 E. D. Mansfield : "Preparation
for the Preparatory School!"
19. See p. 193 (1)
20. F. S. de Carteret-Bisson : Op. Cit. Abbey School Prospectus.
21. Eaton House School Prospectus : Op. Cit.
22. For discussion on muscular christianity and its effects on public
schools see D. Newsome : Godliness and Good Learning Murray 1961
pp. 207-211, 216-227
23. Board of Education : Special Report 1900 A. J. C. Dowding : "Games
in Preparatory Schools"

It was of course the subject of cricket that brought about the beginning of the A.P.S. See Chapter 13.

24. See Edit. Graham Greene : The Old School. Essay by William Plomer
 p. 132 "the ritual of the cricket field, more elaborate and just a trifle more sincerely performed than that of the chapel."
25. General Sir Charles Harrington : Tim Harrington looks back Murray 1940
26. Eaton House School Prospectus Op. Cit.
27. See Draconian December 1905. Dragons v. Wells House Result 90 - 0.
28. Maurice Baring : The Puppet Show of Memory London 1930 p. 100
29. Ibid. p. 97.
 At Wellington House School, the first XI Football team had gold braid round their caps; the second XI had silver braid.
 The first XI cricket had large deep red silk squares.
 From data in MS. memoir of Herbert Bull by prebendary C. W. Trevelyan. Bull and Lynam capitalised on their A.P.S. membership by arranging at least one match between the two schools.
 e.g. Draconian April 1903 : Hockey match Wellington House v Dragon School. The Dragon School players stayed overnight as guests of Mr. & Mrs. Bull.
30. H. C. Barnard : Were those the days? Pergamon 1970 p. 62
 Waugh : The Early Years of Alec Waugh Cassell 1962 p. 20
31. S.I.C. Vol. 1 pp. 88-92
32. Ibid. p. 89
33. Ibid. pp. 91-92
34. Preparatory schools of both the first and second grade were regarded as 'secondary'
35. See note 10 of this chapter re hybrid schools.
 also Mrs. F. Egerton : Admiral Sir Geoffrey Phipps Hornby Blackwood 1896 p. 4
36. Bryce Vol. I p. 285
37. Bryce Vol. III p. 127 Minute 7461
38. S.I.C. Vol. V p. 761. See pp. 85-88 (1)

39. Dame Schools which took boys up to ten or eleven were designated by Gabbitas and Thring as pre-preparatory schools according to letter in my possession dated 25th August 1970 from this scholastic agency.
40. Admiral Sir Reginald Bacon : The Life of John Rushworth Earl Jellicoe London 1936 p. 5
The sons of Dr. Joseph Kidd, Disraeli's doctor, went to this school.
41. Sir Harry Johnston : Op. Cit. pp. 10-11
The school grew into one of a large size. Miss Helen Selby died at age of about ninety in 1923.
42. Hugh Robert Mill : The Life of Ernest Shackleton Heineman 1923 p. 23
43. Ronald W. Clark : Tizard Methuen pp. 5-6
44. Robert Graves : Goodbye to all that London Revised edition 1957.
45. For example, he was made to do mental arithmetic with a metronome.
46. Latin taught by visiting master - a common feature of Dame/preparatory schools.
47. Admiral Lord Chatfield : The Navy and Defence Heineman 1942 p. 2.
48. See p. 28 (1)
49. Arthur Waugh : "A Victorian Dame School" Fortnightly Review Vol. 127 January to June 1930 p. 45.
- For accounts of other dame/preparatory schools see
- L. A. G. Strong : Green Memory Methuen 1961 p. 113
- Michael Sadler : Report on Secondary Education in Birkenhead 1904 re preparatory school kept by a Miss Cox.
50. V. H. Allom : Op. Cit. pp. 62-64
51. See Chapter 11 Note 87
52. Rev. W. R. Phillips was present at meeting in 1892 which initiated the A.P.S.
53. Information given by Mr. John Venour Gane who became Headmaster of Marton Hall School in 1937. Another example of family retaining interest in school over long period of time since his great aunts started the school.
54. See Chapter 14. The school began at Feckenham in 1869: moved to Henley in Arden in 1876.

55. The dates of the dual control are not known.
56. See pp. 85-86
57. Ed. W. Somerset Maugham : The truth at last from Charles Hawtreys
Thornton Butterworth S. J. 1924 p. 26
58. Baldwin was cousin to Rudyard Kipling and Sir Edward Burne-Jones.
A. W. Baldwin : My father: the true story Allen & Unwin 1956
59. Maugham thought Hawtreys' was possibly the first school to have compulsory games.
60. It distinguished itself also by having three Derby winners in the school between 1889-1883
viz. George A. Baird - on Merry Hampton in 1887
Sir James Miller - on Sain foin in 1890
Major Eustace Loder - on Spearmint in 1906
61. A. Sebright : A glance into the past London 1922 pp. 14-15
62. Douglas Ainslie : Adventures Social and Literary E. Fisher Unwin 1922
p. 42
63. Op. Cit.
64. Ainslie left Hawtreys and went to Woodcote School near Reading where he felt Mr. Ninde ran a better school.
65. R. S. Tabor and his wife also had food different from that served to the boys.
66. After being an assistant master at Cranleigh and Harrow, Quick bought a preparatory school in Orme Square, Bayswater which had belonged a few years previously to a Mr. Neill-John, later Professor of Education at St. Andrews University. He gave up this day preparatory school and opened a boarding school at Guildford before turning to writing on Education.
67. Hawtreys paid his master 2200 per annum plus board and lodging which was a good salary for assistants at this time. If they failed to produce scholarship winners they were liable to be dismissed at the end of the term without notice.
68. Cecil Headlam : Walter Headlam: His letters and Poems London 1910 p.16
69. Alfred Jarvis : Charles Baring Young of Daylesford 1850-1928 London 1950. Jarvis noted that Powles was still in Blackheath in 1859: he was there possibly till the early 1860s judging by the date of birth of Arnold Toynbee who was one of his pupils.
70. Went on to Cheltenham D.W.B.

71. Went to Merchant Taylors' D.N.B.
72. Lady Carmichael : Lord Thomas Carmichael of Skirling Hodder & Stoughton
1929
73. e.g. Orr Ewings, Menzies, Johnstones, Baillies. Ibid.
74. See Earl of Ronaldshay (2nd Marquis of Zetland) : The Life of Lord Curzon Vol. 1 London 1828 p. 18
75. e.g. Field Marshal Archie Montgomery; Robert Trevelyan, poet and brother of Charles Trevelyan the politician and George Trevelyan, the historian; Major General Lord Sackville (Charles Sackville West); Fritz Bramwell (later Clerk in the House of Commons); F. W. Pethick Lawrence M. P.; Sidney Clive (later General Sir S. Clive; and a German princelet, Prince Friedrich Von Wied - for a short time King of Albania before the reign of King Zog.
76. Maurice Headlam : Bishop and Friend, Nugent Hicks London 1944 p. 8
77. See p. 80 The main published work of reference on Summerfield and Mrs. Maclaren is Ed. R. Osborne : A century of Summerfields Methuen 1964
See also Guy Boas : A teacher's story Macmillan 1963
78. Summerfields Register 1864-1929 Oxford 1929 p. 7 Robert Hughes left as scholar of Wellington (1871) where he died. It is interesting to note that Thomas Hughes did not send his son to Twyford, his own preparatory school.
79. A grandson of Dr. E. C. Williams is an assistant master at Aysgarth School.
80. Called this by the boys because he was so fierce.
81. SummerFields Register pp. 123-126
e.g. J. F. Crofts 1883-1920 W. S. Case 1910-1922
G. W. Evans 1884-1924
F. P. Penny 1894-1927
C. E. Smyth 1897-1924 (an old boy)
82. There were only four school doctors from 1884-1964
83. John Connell : Archibald P. Wavell, scholar and soldier Collins 1964
p. 24
84. See Chapter 11 p. 51
85. It had been the custom at Summerfield to admit boys between the ages of eight and ten only. There was some difficulty over the entry of Dillwyn Knox who was over ten years old but Dr. Williams waived the custom when he learnt that Ronald Knox, Dillwyn's younger brother of six was already reading Virgil. He had a 'nose' for a future distinguished scholar. One of Knox's objections to Summerfields was "a loutish little boy called Hugh Dalton" -

Chancellor of Exchequer in 1945.

See Evelyn Waugh : Ronald Knox Chapman & Hall 1959 p. 42

86. L. A. G. Strong : Green Memory Methuen 1961 p. 193
87. See p. 57 In this respect Summerfields was reverting back to an early nineteenth century function of private schools.
88. There was also the Hon. Cyril Asquith at the school. Register p. 60
89. C. C. Lynam's father - Charles Lynam was the architect who designed the new school buildings at Bardwell Road.
His brother Robert C. Lynam was the school doctor for thirty-two years.
Two sons were masters at the school.
A son and a daughter were educated there as were three grandsons.
See The Skipper - A Memoir p. 1
90. On one occasion C. C. Lynam was explaining to a parent the unconventional character of an O.P.S. Sunday - a clergyman father - he concluded by saying "Now there's a very good school up the road called Summerfields, which is more orthodox, and will I think be just what you want." Ibid. pp. 106-107.
91. It would be an error to suppose that O.P.S. did not gain academic successes, for instance Charles D. Fisher the younger brother of H. A. L. Fisher went up to Westminster in 1891 having gained first place in the Westminster Challenge Scholarship examination.
Charles Tennyson : Life's all a fragment Cassell 1953 p. 4
92. E. B. Poulton : The Life of Ronald Poulton London 1919 p. 45
93. The Draconian August 1904
94. He purchased the school under the approval of Oxford dons who had set up the school e.g. Dr. Perceval et. al.
95. The Skipper : p. 12 - a memorial to C. C. Lynam.
96. Yet Charles Ffoulkes : Arms and the Tower Murray 1939 p. 8 records that he was not allowed to visit Oxford races in Port Meadow.
97. The Skipper : p. 12
98. The Draconian August 1900
99. The Draconian 1895 Quoted from The Skipper p. 32
100. The following preparatory schools are known to have had girls before 1914:
- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| The Knoll, Woburn Sands | - three in fifty years |
| The Bow School, Durham | - one girl |
| Rossall Junior School | - three girls after 1900 |
| Stoneygate | - six girls |

Other schools have educated headmasters' or assistant masters' daughters inter alia Mostyn House; Montpellier; Summerfields; Stoke House; Ardenhurst; Aysgarth and Old Buckenham School.

Other schools claim to have taught girls but no further details are available. St. Goar; Hall School, Crossfield, Hampstead; Temple Grove, Gyll Royd School and Red House School.

101. Lynam cultivated good relations with his pupils' parents. In December 1909 Lynam decided to adopt the Lorettonian custom of boys wearing blue flannel shorts and white flannel shirts and gained the support of his parents. Only two parents objected.

Draconian : December 1909

Lynam used these social occasions like school plays to make his wishes known to parents and to make closer acquaintance with them. See E. B. Poulton : *Cn. Cit.* p. 53.

102. Lynam tried to help boys to be creative by keeping holiday diaries. In 1899 seven of them were sent by him to the educational exhibition held at the Imperial Institute, South Kensington.

103. See Draconian : December 1892

An early convent was the Ascham School, Bournemouth which began a school magazine in 1892.

This was an enterprising school which

- a) supported an old clothes shop in Bristol;
- b) paid for an orphan child to be at Liddon House, Oxford;
- c) had a general Charity Fund.

This school is now defunct. Another early school magazine was the Griffin of Mostyn House School (1893)

The oldest preparatory school magazine, however, appears to be that of Stoke House, Stoke Poges, the School founded by Rev. Edward St. J. Parry. The school was founded in 1867, the school magazine in 1884, five years before C. C. Lynam at O.P.S.

104. The Whipper : p. 16

105. *Ibid.* p. 116. On the other hand Arnold had been capable of being carefree in presence of boys as at Laleham.

106. Eagle House Magazine : Summer Term 1906.

His father had advised Huntingford to use the cane in case of need. Huntingford faithfully carried out Apperly's father's advice. Another of his pupils, according to Paul Wootton, ex Headmaster of Eagle House referred to Huntingford's "high-toned and kindly influence." P. Wootton : Eagle House 1820-1970 p. 6

107. H. G. Wells : Joan and Peter London undated p. 138

Mr. Mainwearing had come to High Cross Preparatory School as an assistant; married the daughter of headmaster; became a partner; and then sole proprietor on death of father-in-law.

108. Cyril Alington : Lionel Ford S.P.C.K. 1934 p. 4
109. He was the father of the future Scottish Rugby International double blue in cricket and football, and future headmaster of Cargilfield (1930-1936) and Sedbergh.
See also Wootton : Op. Cit. pp. 9-11.
110. Having begun as a critic of Mrs. Malden's sex, Welldon became a most loyal ally to Windlesham and officiated at the dedication of the school chapel, persuading the Bishop of Chichester to acquiesce to its provision although he (the Bishop) regarded school chapels as socially divisive. Part of the fabric of Windlesham School Chapel is derived from the Church of St. Martins, Corfax, Oxford which was partially demolished in 1896 for road widening. Mrs. Malden arranged for the purchase of timbers and window traceries at a cost of £150.
111. On one occasion she went to the Admiralty and made their Lordships change their mind about the merit of a Windlesham boy who had been turned down by the Naval Selection Board.
Wilson : Op. Cit. pp. 50-60.
112. e.g. February 1901. Took school to Southsea - hired empty house for the day to allow school to watch Queen Victoria's funeral ceremonies.
113. See p.117
114. 1903 Church Lads inspected by General Lord Chelmsford and Lord Methuen, G.O.C. Eastern Command.
1905 They also took part in the first celebrations of Empire Day.
115. Wilson : Op. Cit. p. 101 First inspected in 1911.
116. A. A. I. Batchelor : Temple Grove Magazine 1963: "Temple Grove from 1880" p. 4.
Similar hardy conditions prevailed at Aysgarth in 1890s.
117. New College School, Eastbourne had been a fairly successful school under F. Schreiner but when he retired in 1897 it declined. The College had been non-conformist in character. Closed in 1903.
118. W. F. Bushell : School Memories Liverpool 1962 p. 28
119. See p.122
120. See p.42
121. Orley Farm boys given a holiday to watch annual match between Eton and Harrow at Lords. Bushell : Op. Cit. p. 32.

122. The school could possibly have been founded in 1852. Martin J. Hall, the C.M.S. Missionary in Uganda attended Mostyn House School in 1876 when the Rev. Algernon S. Grenfell was Headmaster and before the school was a preparatory school.
M. J. Hall : In full and glad surrender Hodder & Stoughton 1905 p.25
123. See W. T. Grenfell : A Labrador Doctor Hodder & Stoughton 1920
124. These included ten classrooms; dining hall; library; billiard room; changing room; bathrooms; covered playground; gymnasium; carpenter's shop; swimming bath; games pavilion. Detached sanatorium; photographic darkroom; haircutting shop. 1897 School Prospectus.
125. There were editions also in 1889, 1891 and 1894.
126. Ibid. 1897.
127. Ibid. These sessions consisted of lectures to boys not doing prep.
128. cf. 1912 Prospectus.
"Our first consideration, frankly, is the physical health of our boys, watching them closely, and teaching them to be reasonably careful in such things as avoiding chills; to be simple in matters of food; clean in body and keen about physical drill, exercise and fresh air."
129. Despite the rapid growth of the school's numbers the cases of sore throat were reduced by ninety per cent. The school doctor attributed this "entirely to improvements in lighting and ventilation."
130. Large indoor bath 72'. 40' x 20' x 5' 8". Supplied with constant fresh water at rate of 450 gallons per hour from artesian well sunk in 1893.
131. 1897 Prospectus.
132. See P.S.R. No. 15 March 1900
No. 18 March 1901
No. 22 July 1902 See also p. 89
133. The boys did drill twice a week whilst he was O.C. of the school unit.
134. See also G. Place's article in 1970 Summer Term's issue of News and Views - the magazine of Society of Assistants Teaching in Preparatory Schools (S.A.T.I.F.S.)
135. P.S.R. No. 31 July 1905
136. P.S.R. No. 51 March 1912
137. Oatlands School Harrogate founded in 1856. The School closed in 1961, on account of the illness of Mr. G. W. Boyers) the last headmaster
Mr. F. F. Boyers)

138. See Chapter 4
139. Leslie P. Wenham : The history of Richmond School, Yorkshire
Arbroath 1958 p. 109
140. In 1876 - before Hales left - 138 boys
1877 - 100
1878 - 70
1879 - 68
1880 - 44
1884 - 39

Although such migrations were not unusual in the nineteenth century (see Chapter 8 p.191(1)) they were sometimes ruinous to a school as in the case of Richmond.

See also Ed. P. G. Drury Lowe : The Hall School Hampstead 1889-1964
p. 9. In 1909 some thirty to forty boys left with Rev. D. Marshall for Brighton and left the Hall School a little weakened.

141. Matfield Grange School was also purpose designed.
See G. H. Harris : Vernon F. Storr S.P.C.K. 1943 p. 2.
142. Healthy spot near a railway station.
143. From a letter dated 13th August 1892 by R. F. Charles, an old boy to his mother. This letter is in the possession of Mrs. E. Thompson of Crakehall Hall, Bedale. Could the 227,000 have come from profits of thirteen years successful schoolmastering? Unlikely.
144. It retained its old name.
145. It was one of the first houses in Yorkshire to be lit by electric light.
146. See St. James's Budget September 21st 1894 Article on Aysgarth.
147. The rest of this m/s letter refers
- 1) to Hales' care in the selection and training of schoolmasters /which is not so apparent in view of the rapid turnover of staff./
 - 2) to the religious atmosphere of the school.
 - 3) to his giving a full share of teaching to the bright and dull alike.
 - 4) to his paternal almost maternal solicitude.

In the obituary of February 17th 1900 in the Darlington and Stockton Times it was noted that Hales was a great friend of farmers in the district. Each Christmas he entertained 100 of them in the school hall and did much to foster good relations between the school and the surrounding district.

148. Colonel R. Meinertzhagen : Diary of a Black Sheep Oliver & Boyd
1964 p. 137
149. P.S.R. No. 15 March 1900. From the obituary in the Times
February 12th 1900.
"The school was his life, and to it he devoted all his
thoughts and energies, scarcely stirring from its
precincts during term time, and only too often spending
part of his holidays in care for its interests.
150. Meinertzhagen : Op. Cit. p. 132
151. Ibid. p. 152. In this respect Hales School was like earlier
preparatory schools.
152. Brooksbank was somewhat of a recluse who had none of the savoir faire
of Hales and who did not get on well with either parents or locals.
He was a good mathematician and keen ornithologist. According to
Meinertzhagen he was a kindly man who educated three boys at his
own expense at Aysgarth because the parents could not afford the
fees.
153. The Rev. Chitty's additions included
1. Changing room at cost of £250 1908
 2. Reorganisation of joiners shop 1908
 3. Short rifle ranges of 25 feet and 50 feet 1908
 4. Library 1910
 5. Drains relaid and modernised 1909
 6. Pavilion 1909
 7. Stage in gymnasium 1910
 8. Conversion of locker rooms to music rooms 1910
154. He bought the school from Mary Hales for £14,000 in 1909 although
it had cost £27,000 to build in 1890.
155. Rev. Chitty had been Headmaster of Shalford Park School, Guildford
in Surrey.
156. See Meinertzhagen : Op. Cit. pp. 157-174 re his experiences at
Fonthill Preparatory School in Sussex kept by Walter and Ashton
Radcliffe. Meinertzhagen after ceaseless beating turned on his
tormentor and slashed his head open with his own cane. The
Radcliffe brothers were members of A.P.S., and Walter Radcliffe
was at one time a member of the Executive Council.
157. Randolph S. Churchill : Op. Cit. p. 49
158. Ibid. p. 54. Yet Sneyd-Kynnersley was fond of teaching boys.
Organised expeditions to Basingstoke Canal for
skating sessions when it was frozen.
159. It is claimed by the present Headmaster that Benjamin Disraeli
attended this school. Sited at Blackheath originally it moved
to Maidenhead in c. 1873 and was renamed St. Piran's in 1919.

It was refounded by Canon T. J. Nunns in 1873.

If the claim that Benjamin Disraeli was a schoolboy there is correct this would make Mr. Pothicary's School at Blackheath the original Cordwalles. This is not substantiated in Monypenny and Buckle : Life of Disraeli which refers to his being at the school of a Mr. Potticany (sic) and at the school of Mr. Eli Cogan of Epping Forest.

According to the obituary on Canon Nunns in P.S.R. No. 48 March 1911, Nunns moved into a large preparatory school at Blackheath (Elliott Place) which Rev. J. Cowley Powles was giving up before going to Mixenford c. 1859/1860.

In 1873 Nunns moved his school to purpose designed buildings at Cordwalles, Maidenhead.

160. See Longmans Magazine : Eric Parker : "Private Schools : Ancient and Modern" Vol. XXIX November 1896- April 1897 p. 451.
161. Maurice Collis : The Journey Outward Faber 1952 p. 28
162. As quoted by the Private Schoolmaster 1880 pp. 26-30.
163. Ibid. p. 27
164. Blackwood : March 1894 p. 394
165. Ibid. p. 387
166. Ibid. p. 387
167. Ibid. p. 388
168. Longmans : Vol. XXIX November 1896 - April 1897 "Private Schools: Ancient and Modern"
169. Ibid. p. 449
170. Ibid. p. 450.

A further example showing the differences to be found in modern preparatory schools was the lengths to which schools went to keep their boys amused. Instead of being left to their own devices on Saturday evenings it was possible for schools to hire the services of entertainers.

See P.S.R. No. 33 March 1906 for

Advertisement by Mr. Douglas Beaufort

Pure sleight of hand; humorous impersonations; musical sketches at the Piano; Ventriloquism; the cinematograph - of Mr. Beaufort the advertisement declared:

"Added to the fact that he has entertained their Majesties, the King and Queen on no less than eight occasions, he was specially engaged by the Foreign Office to accompany the

British mission to Fez, there to give a series of performances before the Sultan of Morocco."

The Rev. E. Leachman, Headmaster. (1906-1914) of Winchester House School (1875), Deal, thought nothing of taking his boys on a day's trip to Boulogne.

See Winchester House School 1875-1955.

171. See Appendix 26
172. From 1865 to 1910 this school was in urban locations which did not admit of boarding. viz.
 1865-1880 1, Claremont Villas, Surbiton
 1880-1893 11, The Crescent, Surbiton
 1893-1910 Sutherland House, Maple Road, Surbiton
173. See Rossall Junior School 1861-1961
174. J. C. Powys : Op. Cit. pp. 83-87
175. A. B. Gourlay : A history of Sherborne School Winchester 1951 pp. 114-115.
176. Board of Education Report 1900 : A. T. Martin "The Preparatory Department at Public Schools."
177. Compton Mackenzie : My Life and Times Octave 2 1891-1900 London 1963. pp. 11-43
178. James Bewsher et. al. : The Story of Colet Court Eastbourne 1963 p. 4
179. In the Public and Preparatory School Year Book 1966 the Foundation date is given incorrectly as 1880.
180. See Saturday Review article in Private Schoolmaster 1880. v. 28
181. Bryce Vol. II p. 458 Minute 4841.
182. See Public Schools Year Book 1924 p. 749
183. John Connell : Auckinleck Cassell 1959
184. Ed. B. Thomas : Repton 1557-1957 London 1957 p. 86
185. The Headmaster of Dulwich College had this right but rarely, if ever, exercised it.
 See T. H. Mason : "The Preparatory Department at a Public School."
Board of Education Report 1900 Vol. 6
186. Leslie Watkins : The Story of Shakespeare's School, Stratford on Avon 1953 p. 8

187. Rev. J. H. Brown : A history of Harvey Grammar School Folkstone 1962
188. Adam W. Thomas : A history of Nottingham High School Nottingham 1958
189. See Choir Schools Directory 1970
190. In 1888 the Rev. Ernest Owen, was appointed Headmaster of Llandaff School. In his obituary in the Times (1926), he was described as "one of the most remarkable of modern heads of Preparatory Schools in England." Having been an assistant master at Wells House, Malvern, Owen with the active co-operation of Dr. Vaughan "evolved one of the best schools of its type in England." He was a strict disciplinarian who laid great stress on honour which was the main criterion used in the choosing of his Headboy. According to the Times "he perfected, even if he did not invent, the idea that a Preparatory School should possess the continuity of a Public School." His boys never 'left' the school and were always welcomed back. Owen, in pursuance of his ideals, conducted a world wide correspondence with his old boys. He later founded the preparatory school of Stancliffe Hall, Matlock, Derbyshire.
191. See Appendix 30
192. S.I.C. Vol. I p. 191/192
193. London 1938. Second Edition 1969 pp. 331-350.
194. Rev. J. E. Fowler : The Durham Cathedral Choristers School
Leighton Buzzard 1951 Reprinted from the
Cathedral Quarterly.
- W. A. James : An account of Grammar and Song Schools of Southwell
Minster Lincoln 1927
- Sydney H. Nicholson : Quires and Places where they sing London 1932
- Ed. M. F. Alderson & H. C. Colles : History of St. Michael's
College Tenbury S.P.C.K. 1943
- Claude M. Blagden : Well Remembered Hodder & Stoughton 1953
195. Blagden : Op. Cit. pp. 30-32
196. See D. H. Robertson : Op. Cit. pp. 259-261, 265-266.
See also Ms. letter from Maria Hackett to the Dean of Durham,
dated December 16th 1870, attached to a copy of
A brief account of Cathedral and Collegiate Schools 1827
197. Owen Chadwick : Op. Cit. p. 374-375.
Seventeen Cathedral organists, headed by Stainer, met at the
Chapter House of St. Pauls.
Agreed: 1. No choir to be less than twenty boys and twelve
men.
2. Boys should be boarded in school.
3. Organist should have stipend of £400 plus house
and so be relieved of need to teach.
£400 in 1880 was a handsome salary.

Bibliographical Note

This chapter is based largely on the Preparatory Schools Review (P.S.R.) from 1895 to 1928. The P.S.R. is the official journal of the I.A.F.S. and changed its system of numbering different editions at an early date leading to the duplication in the use of the term 'Volume'. To avoid confusion, the term 'Volume' has not been included in the notes with P.S.R. references because Volume 1 contains editions Volume I Nos. 1 - 3 and Volume II 4 - 6. From No. 7 onwards the editions are straightforward viz.

Volume 2 contains Nos. 7 - 17; Volume 3 18 - 23; Volume 4 24 - 32; Volume 5 33 - 44; Volume 6 45 - 56; Volume 7 57 - 71.

Reference has also been made to the Reports of the H.M.C.; to the S.I.C. Report; Bryce Report; and Special Report of Board of Education 1900. This has been supported by general biography and by memorials to Headmasters including a memorial by an old pupil of Rev. H. Bull, Prebendary C. W. Trevelyan.

Notes on Chapter 13

1. Parkin : Op. Cit. p. 136
2. Although the second meeting was arranged ostensibly to discuss the results of the experiment.
3. e.g. 1870 Latin pronunciation
University entrance examinations
Natural Science, English, Geometry
Limitation of Greek to first grade schools
1871 Examination of Schools by Universities
Scholarships and Examinations at school
1872 Training of teachers
Registration of teachers
Award of leaving certificate
4. e.g. The need to arrive collectively at some agreement between preparatory and public schools concerning the age of transfer.
The need to defer Greek till possibly Public School stage.
The need to defer boys for confirmation till Public School stage.
The need for close liaison between preparatory schools and public schools on boys being transferred.

See Report of H.M.C. at Oxford 1890

5. See pp. 110-112 and views of T. Pellatt.

6. S.I.C. against this practice. See Volume I pp. 190-192
7. The first official Annual Conference at which fifty-four were present.
8. Bryce : Volume V p. 333
9. H. E. Sadler : Report on Secondary Education in Birkenhead 1904 p. 37

"Yet to say that a school which gives the first half of such a graded course is not a secondary school because the boy leaves it at thirteen or fourteen in order to go on to another and closely related school where he will receive the residue of his secondary education, would be like saying that a passenger who has taken a through ticket from Birkenhead to Crewe is not, in respect of the first part of his journey a through passenger at all, if the convenience of the railway company obliged him to change trains at Chester. The English Preparatory Schools provide a curriculum which, though it ends so far as they are concerned at thirteen and a half or fourteen years of age, is, if anything far too closely dove-tailed into, and assimilated with the curriculum of the great public schools in which their pupils usually complete their long course of secondary education. To call the preparatory schools anything but secondary schools would obviously be to fix upon them a misnomer, and to deny the existence of educational continuity where such continuity is the very essence of the relationship."

See also Board of Education Report 1900. Sadler : "The Place for the Preparatory School for Boys in Secondary Education in England"

10. i.e. the lowering of the standard of Greek
the total abolition of Latin verse
the lowering of the standard of mathematics
11. 106 - 14. 8 don't know and 18 did not reply.
12. Amongst the signatories were:

J. Bewsher (Colet Court)
H. C. Brodrick (Orley Farm)
F. D. Browne (Lambrook)
F. M. Buckland (Laleham)
P. S. Dealtry (The Leas, Hoylake)
E. S. Chittenden (Street Courte) (Partner of J. V. Milne)
E. H. Douglas (The Link School, Malvern)
S. S. Harris (St. Ronan's Worthing)
W. S. Maclaren (Summerfields)
D. H. Marshall (The Hall, Crossfield)
Oswald Nelson (Arden House)
C. D. Olive (Rokeby)
E. H. Parry (Stoke House)
T. Pellatt (Durnford House)
H. Frampton Stallard (Heddon Court, Cockfosters)
A. S. Tabor (Cheam)
Hervyn Voules (Middleton School, Bognor)

H. W. Waterfield (Temple Grove)
 C. E. Williams (Summerfields)
 A. J. de Winton (Gore Court)

13. Mr. Gidley Robinson, Editor of P.S.R., at a later stage was also attacked for showing partiality on the Greek question. See P.S.R. No. 42 March 1909.
14. P.S.R. No. 21. March 1902
15. P.S.R. No. 35 March 1906
16. Ibid.
17. He had been sometime Professor of History and Literature at the Royal College, Lahore, India and Assistant master at Marlborough School for four years.
18. It was not apparent to which 'leading preparatory schools he referred' since all the older preparatory schools like Twyford, Temple Grove, Cheam and Windlesham House were members.
19. Largely a set of essays by leading members of the Association on varying aspects of preparatory schools, together with other essays by outside contributors like Michael Sadler and J. H. Badley.
20. See D. F. Leinster-Mackay : Op. Cit. pp. 15 - 16
21. T. Pellatt : Boys in the Making Methuen 1936 p. 178
22. Ibid. pp. 121-123
23. Ibid. p. 180
24. Ibid. p. 180. He cited Dr. Cyril Norwood, Headmaster of Harrow as one of the country's leading educationalists.
25. See P.S.R. No. 28 July 1904 The three public school members of the board were:
 Rev. Canon Bell (ex Head of Marlborough)
 Rev. Dr. James (Rugby)
 Rev. H. A. Dalton (Felsted)
26. Pellatt : Boys in the making p. 179
27. P.S.R. No. 42 March 1909
28. Lionel Helbert : Memorials O.U.F. 1926 p. 77
 See also P.S.R. No. 44 December 1909 for full account.
29. See Public School and Preparatory School Year Book London 1970 p. 733
30. See P.S.R. No. 45 March 1910

The first election of twelve members from twelve districts was almost abortive. Eight elected - three elections void - no conveners therefore no election. Four members had to be co-opted to fill vacancies in Districts 1, 8, 9, 10. In the following year six had to be co-opted.

31. See Rev. Hon. E. Lyttelton : Schoolboys and Schoolwork Longmans 1909. This work is concerned with the declining position of the classics in the curriculum and is of importance in view of Lyttelton's leading part in discussions between Public and Preparatory School Heads. Before publication the book was read by W. D. Mansfield who gave advice concerning the preparatory schools' views.
- See C. C. Cotterill : Suggested reforms in Public Schools Blackwood 1885 for early attack on overcrowded curriculum and emphasis on Scholarship examinations.
- See Association of Public School Science Masters : Nature Study in Preparatory Schools 1905 for suggestions on teaching method in preparatory school science.
- See The Public Schools from Within: Essays by Schoolmasters London 1906
 Rev. C. E. Williams : "Entrance Scholarships and Cram", for a defence of the scholarship system.
- See Edit. Michael E. Sadler : Moral instruction and training in Schools Longmans 1908 Vol. 1
 Chapter XIV G. Gidley Robinson : "Moral Instruction and Training in Preparatory Schools for Boys"
 p. 160
- also Cyril Alington : A Plea for a Plan - the two types of education
 for a warning against too much 'pleasant' learning.
32. At the twenty-third H.M.C. at Eton in 1895 D. Fearon moved the motion:
 "With a view to relieve the crowded state of the curriculum for young boys, that it is desirable to define the range of subjects for entrance exams at public schools." A similar motion had been passed in 1893 by the A.P.S.
33. In seconding the motion at the 1895 H.M.C. meeting, Mr. G. C. Bell of Marlborough read an extract of letter sent by Rev. W. Bull as Hon. Secretary of the A.P.S.
34. Curriculum for young boys to be based on the following principles.
1. a) It should be wide rather than special, and should aim at developing all faculties in due proportion.
 - b) The course of education should be adapted to the average, rather than to the exceptional boy.
 2. a) The subjects to be included in all entrance examinations
 - i) Latin - Translation, Grammar, Prose (obligatory)
 - ii) French - Translation, Grammar, Sentences (obligatory)
 - iii) Greek - Translation, Grammar (Optional)

- iv) Mathematics - Arithmetic (obligatory)
algebra and Euclid (optional)
- v) English - Divinity, English, Geography, History
(obligatory)
- vi) Drawing - optional.

b) Entrance Scholarship examinations to be the same as above plus Latin Verses and Greek sentences.

c), That due credit be given to all subjects and all scholarships awarded on aggregate marks obtained.

See P.S.R. No. 13 July 1899.

35. P.S.R. No. 24. March 1903

See also 1.04 Schoolmasters Year Book and Directory A ballot poll was held on the two resolutions in February 1903 the results of which were:

No. 1	Yes	142	No	40
No. 2	Yes	155	No	24

36. viz. Bradfield, Charterhouse, Clifton, Cheltenham, Felsted, Haileybury, Marlborough, Radley, Weston, Rugby, Tonbridge.

37. P.S.R. No. 28 July 1904

38. Board of Education Report 1900 p. 11

39. See Report of H.M.C. at Malvern December 1906. The motion was put by Dr. Urcott of Christ's Hospital and passed by twenty-six votes to four.

40. Report of Thirty-fifth H.M.C. in 1907 at Oxford.

41. See p. 109

42. Photostat of MS Letter held by Warwickshire Record Office from Thomas Arnold to Lord Denbigh, dated 21st September 1829.

43. See P.S.R. No. 36 March 1907 - Reported Mansfield's motion which was passed unanimously at the Federal Council of Secondary School Associations calling for a national inquiry into Secondary Schools curricula.

also P.S.R. No. 37 July 1907

It was symptomatic of contemporary developments in Preparatory School curriculum that interest should be taken in the part for Schools Association. Ten guineas donated to A.S.A.

also P.S.R. No. 38 December 1907

Enthusiastic support given by Editor to Sloyd and Manual Training.

44. For Mansfield's general interest in the training of teachers
See P.S.R. No. 9 March 1898 Article on teacher training

- No. 15 July 1899. Letter in which Mansfield signed himself Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Training.
45. See P.S.R. No. 7 July 1897, letter to Editor.
46. P.S.R. No. 8 Twelve candidates for Oxford Diploma in Theory and History of Education.
47. P.S.R. No. 42 March 1909
48. P.S.R. No. 24 March 1903
49. See Ed. Spenser Wilkinson : The Nation's Needs London (1903) pp. 280-281.
Although Wilkinson supported view that boys should be at preparatory school before going into Navy he makes the same mistake as the Admiralty in believing that boys left preparatory school between twelve and thirteen.
50. See P.S.R. Vol. I No. 3 March 1896
Vol. II No. 2 December 1896
No. 9 March 1898
No. 12 March 1899
No. 24 March 1903
No. 25 July 1903
No. 26 December 1903
No. 27 March 1904
51. The point at issue was whether school buildings like chapel, gymnasium, classrooms, carpenters shop could be counted as 'inhabited' and therefore taxable. Grenfell and Browne aimed at cutting duty from ninepence to sixpence in the pound for preparatory schools.
52. e.g. Vol. I No. 1 July 1895
No. 8 December 1897
No. 9 March 1898
No. 10 July 1898
No. 16 July 1900
- The letter of March 1898 estimated that there were about 1,000 Lady Principals.
- The letter of July 1900 was from a Lady Principal "with a fairly large preparatory school in the south of England."
53. e.g. P.S.R. No. 12 March 1899
No. 21 March 1902
54. Cited by G. H. Wilson in Windlesham House School 1837-1937 London 1937 pp. 56-57. There is no sign of this in Report of H.M.C. 1890.

The H.M.C. confirms (letter dated 19th October 1971) that no record of this comment is to be found in the Report of either the 1890 or the 1896 Conference. It seems likely that it was made en passant in 1896, possibly outside committee.

55. It was suggested that women were unable to handle the problem of boys morals as well as men.
56. P.S.R. No. 21 March 1902
57. As suggested in letter of March 1901 P.S.R. No. 18
58. P.S.R. No. 10 July 1898
- 58a. See P.S.R. October 1971.
59. Inspections, in the nineteenth century, conducted by individuals, sometimes on behalf of the University, could be thorough as when H. B. Jupp M.A., Master of Blackheath School, examined Arden House in 1877 and when Lionel F. K. Hill M.A. of New College Oxford examined it in July 1882. However, it could be no more than a formality as when on one occasion the inspector turned up unexpectedly when the school was engrossed in cricket. Of this occasion Mr. J. P. Nelson relates:
- "Eventually he [the inspector] accepted a whisky and soda, departed with mutual regards on both sides, and later wrote an excellent report."
- From an unpublished history entitled 1869-1966 Feckenham, Arden House, Hurst House and Ardenhurst p. 13
60. As had been advocated by N.E. Sadler for some time.
61. Board of Education Report 1913-1914 p. 31 Paragraph 70
62. Board of Education Special Report 1900 p. 21
63. P.S.R. No. 24 March 1903. Obituary notice on Rev. Charles Darnell.
64. See Chapter 14 p. 138
65. Cargilfield, under Darnell, was a very famous preparatory school which achieved 'parity of esteem' with Scottish public schools. Darnell was not only a very successful teacher of Latin Prose but also a headmaster of considerable stature. He was a skilful manager of men and boys and created an elaborate organisation within the school. During his headship (1873-1898) Cargilfield gained a reputation for athletic prowess.
66. See p. 137
67. Herbert C. Spearing (Herbert Green in Foster's Alumni Oxonienses) was the founder of the school which opened in 1888 at "The Hollies", Greenbank Road, Wavertree. Spearing announced his retirement and closure of the school in 1890. Parents of boys

at the school refused to allow this and formed a company to allow the school to continue. The school therefore, of which C. C. Cotterill became Headmaster in 1890, was a proprietary school. Cotterill persuaded the businessmen of Liverpool to support it and in 1892 the school moved to new Greenbank buildings costing £30,000.

68. viz. 1907 Human justice for those at the bottom : an Appeal to those at the top
 1910 The Victory of Love
 1912 A Living Wage a National Necessity
69. See p. 107 He was Honorary Secretary of A.P.S.
 Editor of P.S.R.
 Secretary of the Board of Management of the
 Common Entrance examination.
70. See p. 137
71. Ritchie went into partnership with J. S. Norman, who was later
 Chairman of the Eighteenth Annual Conference.
 Neither Ritchie nor Norman had much capital. Their timetable at
 Sevenoaks was very simple
 viz. Monday, Wednesday and Friday morning : Latin from 9 - 11
 and 11.30 - 12.30
 Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday morning Greek from 9 - 11
 and 11.30 - 12.30
 On four afternoons a week English and French were taught.
72. Cp. Cit. p. 34
73. Sometimes Lynam's rash if generous nature got the better of him.
 In 1899 Herbert Millington wrote a letter to the Editor of the
Spectator in which he attacked Preparatory School Magazines to
 which Lynam, as Editor of P.S.R. took exception. He replied
 that Bromsgrove was a school that "no respectable Preparatory
 School Head" would send his boys to. Lynam had to apologize
 on behalf of the A.P.S. for this calumny. Although in the
 apology it was represented that the editor had mistakenly
 interpreted Millington's remarks as a slur on the P.S.R. it
 is tempting to see in his outburst as editor of that journal
 a defence of his own school magazine The Praedonian. Lynam's
 savage attack on Millington cost the Association £40 legal
 costs despite the public apology. On this occasion Lynam
 offered his resignation but it was not accepted. He resigned
 soon after, however, when he quarrelled with some executive
 committee colleagues on another matter.
74. Bull was lame and had a 'weepy eye'
75. Rev. R. A. Bull migrated and set up own school of St. Andrews,
 Southborough, Kent.

76. viz. Dormitories and bathrooms
 A temporary chapel of iron sheeting (which was replaced in
 1898/1899 by a new chapel dedicated to St. Hugh of Lincoln)
 A large assembly room
 A carpenter's shop
 A fives court
 Sanitation overhauled.
77. Prebendary C. W. Trevelyan of Bath who wrote a short memorial
 for Patrick Dudgeon, of Dover College.
78. Memoir by C. W. Trevelyan
79. P.S.R. No. 101 December 1928
80. P.S.R. No. 42 March 1909
81. He was Rural Dean of West Bere.
82. He left his school in the hands of the Canterbury Diocesan Board
 so that they would rent it only to a man of Christian principles.
83. P.S.R. No. 9 June 1925. The obituary on Mansfield in the P.S.R.
 wrongly claims he founded Lambrook. He
 was in fact second Headmaster from 1884
 to 1904.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid.
86. See p. 87
87. P.S.R. No. 9 June 1925.

Bibliographical Note

Local sources have been used to a very large extent in this chapter and include:

1. Local Trade and Commercial Directories

viz.	Pigot's	1830	Midlands; 1830 Worcestershire; 1835 Midlands
		1841	Worcestershire; 1841 Warwickshire
	Robson's	1839	London and Birmingham
	Bentley's	1841	Worcestershire
	Hunt's	1847	Worcestershire and adjoining Counties
	Slater's	1850	Midlands
	White's	1850	Warwickshire; 1874 Warwickshire
	Billings	1855	Worcestershire
	Cassey's	1860	Worcestershire
	Kelly's	1845	Worcestershire and Midlands;
		1854, 1860, 1864, 1872, 1876, 1880, 1884, 1888,	
		1892, 1896, 1900, 1904, 1908, 1912	
			Midland P.O. Directories.

2. Newspapers - The Leamington Courier The Malvern Gazette

3. School and Parish Magazines: Wells House School Magazine, Malvern 1903-1914; Malvern Parish Magazine 1874-1880; Leamington Collegiate Record The Arnoldian.

4. Local Archive material:

Papers of the Frank Glover Bequest - Leamington Spa, Reference Library.
Records of Arden House School - Kept by Mr. J. P. Nelson
W. G. Gibbons: MS. history of the building at present known as Gospel
Hall, Leamington.

5. Local Histories

R. B. Grindrod	:	Malvern: Past and Present
Southall	:	Guide to Malvern
Brian Smith	:	History of Malvern
H.G. Clarke	:	Royal Leamington Spa
George Morley	:	History of Royal Leamington Spa
T. B. Dudley	:	A complete history of Leamington Spa Leamington High School for Girls. 1884-1934
V.C.H.	:	Vol. 6 Warwickshire

6. Miscellaneous

Court guide and County Blue Book of Warwickshire, Worcestershire and
Staffordshire 1902.

These have been supported more by general material including

Mitchell & Dean : Abstract of British Historical Statistics
 Horace Mann : Educational Census
 : 1851 Census returns
 Reports of the S.I.C. and Bryce Commission
 The Private Schoolmaster and the Preparatory Schools Review
Education Year Book 1878
 General biography and general educational history.

Notes to Chapter 14

1. See p. iii (1)
2. Excepting Rugby as far as private preparatory schools are concerned.
3. Abstracted from B. R. Mitchell and Phyllis Deane : Abstract of British Historical Statistics C.U.P. 1962
4. Taken from Horace Mann : Educational Census 1854 Table O
5. In addition Mann noted extra schools per county as follow :

	<u>Public School</u>	<u>Private School</u>
Berkshire	3	13
Cambridgeshire	2	7
Durham	-	15
Norfolk	4	19
Northumberland	2	10
Oxford	3	9
Somerset	4	34
Southampton	-	7
Sussex	4	31
Warwickshire	2	41
Worcestershire	2	22

The grand totals of day schools in England and Wales were:

Public Schools 15,518 Private Day Schools 30,524 Total 46,042.

6. S.I.C. Vol. VIII Report on Warwickshire
7. Bryce Vol. VII Report on Warwickshire
 p. 75 Apart from Schools in Coventry, Warwick, Leamington and Stratford there were no private schools for boys within a ten mile radius of Birmingham.
8. According to Slater's Directory for Warwickshire 1850 there were in Birmingham 48 boarding or day and boarding schools together with 280 private day schools. The discrepancy of 108 day schools between the figure given by Mann and that given by

Slater's Directory is further evidence of the incomplete nature of the information in the directories.

9. This school charged a fee of £4 per annum. It was an immediate success with a hundred boys joining on its opening. A year later its numbers had increased by fifty per cent.
10. Abstracted from Table P of Horace Mann's 1851 Survey.
11. Bryce Vol. VII p. 50
12. See Chapter 3 pp. 83-95 (1)
13. They were the schools of: Miss Sarah C. Ward
Miss Lucretia Bancroft
Miss Martha Stearns
Mr. & Mrs. John Wright
Mr. Robert Phipps.
14. It was a not uncommon practice for man and wife to run either one or two schools. See Appendix 31 for list of other man and wife teams in Warwickshire and Worcestershire in the nineteenth century.
15. Birmingham Post July 25th 1930.
16. It was even more common practice than fourteen supra for sisters to run schools together. See letter from William Jaggard to Editor of Stratford upon Avon Herald, February 16th 1934 re Avonbank 1828-1850.
17. Kept by Mr. Robert Bearman, curator of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust. See also Phyllis D. Hicks : A quest of ladies Birmingham p. 87/88.
18. The curriculum consisted of deportment, needlework, Latin, French and Italian. The fees were very high - £140 per annum. Compare this with the £30 per annum charged by the Brontes at Haworth Parsonage.
19. Court Guide and County Blue Book of Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Staffordshire London 1902
20. Ibid. e.g. High School for Girls, Coventry
Girls High School, Stratford upon Avon
Osborne House, Redditch
Cambridge House, Malvern Wells.
21. Hicks : Op. Cit. p. 87
White : Warwickshire Directory 1874
Austen Warrilow (Junior) kept Commercial School in Chapel Place.
22. From the 1851 Census Returns, in Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, William Warrilow and his wife lived in Chapel Place with two sons (including Austin Warrilow Junior) and two daughters. They had two servants and an apprentice teacher, John Reeve. There

were also fifteen boarders in the house as well as day scholars.

1850 White : Warwickshire Directory refers to school in Chapel Lane not Place.

23. His name does not appear in Kelly's P.O. Directory for 1884.
24. Dr. Percy Young : Op. Cit. p. 34
25. It is not clear whether the Thomas Cooper in Pigot's 1841 Directory was Thomas Cooper Senior.
26. It was common practice for some school teachers to have dual employment. See p. 44(1) and Appendix 4 for further examples of this.
27. Appeared only in Kelly's P.O. Directory for 1884
28. See p.12
29. Pigot's National and Commercial Directory - Warwickshire 1835
30. See Appendix 32 for full list of clergymen in Warwickshire and Worcestershire keeping private schools in nineteenth century.
31. Attwood does not appear in Pigot 1835.
32. Francis Galton : Memories of My Life Methuen 1908 p. 18
33. John Beddoe : Op. Cit. p. 15 See p. 134 (1)
34. Edit. Stephen Paget : Henry Scott Holland Murray 1921 p. 8
See also John E. Harris : Samuel Butler, Author of Erewhon London 1916 for reference to preparatory school at Allesley in 1845.

H. F. Jones : Samuel Butler (1835-1902) Vol. 1 Macmillan 1919
Butler attended the Preparatory School owned by Rev. E. Gibson. See Kelly's Directory (Warwickshire) 1845.

Allesley Park College, kept by Thomas Wyles from c. 1868 was a different establishment from Rev. Charles Bedford's school. Wyles' College was designed for preparation of boys for manufactures and commerce. See Kelly's P.O. Directory for Midlands 1868 for evidence of both schools existing in Allesley at the same time.
35. Except Malvern and Leamington.
36. Not all 'gentlemen's boarding schools' were embryonic preparatory schools. For instance the Hills' school at Hazelwood is listed by Pigot's 1830 Directory in this way.
37. Kelly's P.O. Directory 1884

38. Kelly's P.O. Directory 1900. By 1904 Herbert Smith M.A. was Headmaster. He was succeeded by John H. Wyatt B.A. in 1908.
39. Marcus was the former organising master for the Worcester Union of Educational Institutes, district visitor for the Society of Arts, Clerk to the Worcester School Board and compiler of the Education Year Book. In earlier directories for 1868 and 1872 Marcus is listed as being the owner of a boys boarding school at 4 Castle Street, Worcester.
40. In view of the quasi-public school i.e. the endowed grammar school revived under the Headship of J. D. Collis for twenty-five years before he became Vicar of Stratford upon Avon. See p.185 (1)
41. See Bamford : Rise of Public Schools pp. 21-24
Bamford "Public School Town in the nineteenth century" B.J.E.S.
Vol. VI No. 1 November 1957 pp. 27-29.
also Eric Parker : Hesketh Prichard (Hunter, Explorer) Fisher & Unwin 1924. In September 1885 Mrs. Prichard moved from Jersey to Rugby to allow Hesketh to attend preparatory school as a day boy.
42. In Kelly's P.O. Directory 1896 Mrs. Holyoake had changed the name from Windsor Cottage to Windsor House which was more in keeping with the training of the sons of gentlemen.
43. Ladies' preparatory and dame/preparatory are being used almost as interchangeable terms. In such schools, if the Classics were taught at all, they were taught by visiting masters. See Kelly 1880 Worcestershire (p. 140 of advertisements) for reference to preparatory school for young gentlemen, conducted by Mrs. Philip Myatt, High Street, Evesham. For twenty-five guineas per annum boarders were taught "thorough English, Writing and Arithmetic."
44. Pigot : National and Commercial Directory 1835
Kelly : P.O. Directory Birmingham 1845. Rebecca Fearon, daughter had
Slater: National and Commercial Directory 1850 succeeded.
Rebecca Fearon and sisters now ran boarding school at Frederick Place, Edgbaston.
45. Robson : 1839.
46. Kelly's : P.O. Directory Warwickshire and Birmingham 1860 refers to school established in 1838, of which the Rev. Dr. Charles Badham was Headmaster as the Birmingham and Edgbaston Preparatory School. In other directories it is designated as a Proprietary School.
47. See pp. 39/40 (1)
48. William Vecqueray of Westgate Street is listed both in 1868 and 1872 Kelly's directories. No Vecqueray appears in the 1876 Directory. John W. Vecqueray, Hill brow, Barby Road is listed in the 1880, 1884 and 1888 Directories.
Vecqueray's school at Hill brow was taken over by Thomas B. Eden M.A. who moved from Orwell House, Clifton on Dunsmere to do so.

49. Darnell left Hillmorton to become Headmaster of Cargilfield.
See p. 119
50. In Rugby, for example, four classical preparatory schools are listed in the 1880 Directory but only one (Vecqueray's) appears in 1888. Both the Rev. Thomas Trott B.A. and Matthew J. F. Brackenbury M.A. who took over Northcote House from Rev. Charles Houghton B.A. sometime before 1880, were no longer practising in Rugby by 1888. In 1912 only two classical preparatory schools existed in Rugby viz. Hillbrow (James A. Lush)
Oakfield (Thomas Arnold Wise)
51. See Appendix 33
52. See p. 139
53. He was a member of the A.P.S. Executive Committee at early stage. He is not to be confused with Rev. William Earle of Harlow College, Essex.
54. Rev. Walter Earle (1873-1902
Rev. Ernest Earle 1902-1921
Rev. Granville Earle 1921-1930
55. Bilton had the facilities to match the large numbers including a gymnasium, carpenter's shop, swimming bath, shooting range, studio and very large grounds.
56. John Fawcus - Headmaster 1930-1936 - was an old Uppinghamian.
- 56a. A prospectus of A. H. Harrison's School the Lodge is to be found in the John Johnson Collection of the Bodleian Library.
See also prospectuses of other Warwickshire and Worcestershire schools viz.
of Rev. George Heaviside B.A. in 1878 (Coventry)
of A. H. Stable M.A. and M. W. Andrew M.A. (Malvern Wells)
57. I am grateful to Mr. Jack P. Nelson for information about his father Dr. W. E. Nelson.
58. 1869-1879 Rev. William Nelson
1879-1895 Mr. W. L. Bicknell
1895-1898 Mrs. Bicknell
1898-1927 Mr. Oswald Nelson and Dr. W. E. Nelson
1927-1957 Mr. J. P. Nelson
59. Mr. J. P. Nelson possesses the following deeds:
Indenture - 24th April 1876. 21 year lease at £200 per annum
Agreement - 12th October 1886. 20 acres of land sub-let at £60 per annum.
Agreement - 19th May 1890. Continuation of lease at £200 per annum
Indenture - 6th November 1894. 7 year lease at £200 per annum
Will of Mary Bicknell - 3rd June 1898 - School lease bequeathed to Oswald Nelson
Indenture - 11th June 1910. 21 year lease at £240 per annum.

60. According to tribute in the Wootton Wawen and Lapworth Parish Magazine no boy was taken away after his death.
61. Consisted of about thirty boys.
62. See pp. 85-86
63. Had been an assistant master at Elstree Preparatory School and Senior Classics Master at Cargilfield~~s~~, Edinburgh.
64. Malvern 6 - 1882, 1887, 1892, 1894(2), 1895
 Winchester 6 - 1883, 1884, 1885, 1887, 1893 (F.D.H. Joy) 1895
 Clifton 1 - 1887 (O.T.P. Nelson)
 Rugby 1 - 1890 (C.P. Evers)
 Uppingham 1 - 1891
 Haileybury 2 - 1892, 1897
 Eton 1 - 1893
 Rossall 1 - 1896
 Cheltenham 1 - 1897
65. He was also a keen footballer and cricketer.
66. He was a keen cricketer and golfer and just missed his cricketing blue through illness. He introduced golf to the school via three golf courses.
67. From 1911 onwards the school enjoyed its golden era in cricket under the guidance of Oswald Nelson. For eleven years the school was undefeated and for fifteen it was undefeated in Henley.
- Their chief rivals were Packwood Haugh at Knowle
 Beech Lawn at Leamington
 and Stratford Grammar Junior School
- Famous English cricketers like Lilley played on the school grounds.
68. Won Scholarship at Repton in 1922
69. Author of Rugby Blackie 1939
70. Wrote "The nightingale sang in Berkeley Square"
 See Eric Maschwitz : No chip on my shoulder London 1957 p. 20
71. Richardson found it difficult to compete with Arden House and moved to Minchampton in Gloucestershire.
- See J. P. Nelson : 1869-1966 Feckenham, Arden House, Hurst House and Ardenhurst Unpublished
- A Mr. H. R. Heatly, a member of the A.P.S., kept a preparatory school in Beaudesert Park in 1899. It is likely that Mr. Heatly is referred to by Mr. Massie who reported on Warwickshire to the Bryce Commission when he wrote: "Beaudesert Park, where a few private pupils are taken by an Oxford graduate."

72. Francis Morton, who had been an assistant master at Arden House did not make his school pay and had to return to Henley in Arden as an assistant master. The ignominy of this return was no doubt heightened by the fact that assistant masters at Arden House at the time shared a house opposite the 'Red Lion' in Henley in Arden as there was no room in the school.
73. Charles G. Mallam had occupied Beech Lawn from c. 1896 to 1900 before going to Dunchurch.
74. Warwick attempted to annexe Leamington in 1834.
75. A. W. Pugin was employed by Charles Barry to provide detailed drawings for the new Houses of Parliament. Over-worked and losing his reason spent some time in Bedlam before dying at early age at Ramsgate.
76. Brian S. Smith : A history of Malvern Leicester University Press 1964 p. 219.
77. H. G. Clarke : Royal Leamington Spa Leamington 1947
quotes differing figures illustrating population growth only some of which correspond to the Census figures.
- | | | | | |
|------|------|--------|------|--------|
| viz. | 1801 | 315 | 1861 | 17,402 |
| | 1811 | 543 | 1871 | 20,917 |
| | 1821 | 2,183 | 1881 | 22,976 |
| | 1831 | 6,269 | 1891 | 23,124 |
| | 1841 | 12,812 | 1901 | 26,888 |
| | 1851 | 15,723 | | |
78. Camden in 1586 mentioned a saline spring in Leamington. Benjamin Satchwell, a local shoemaker, discovered a second spring in 1784. Two years later, William Abbot, landlord of the "Black Dog Inn" opened saline baths.
See Victoria County History of Warwick Vol. 6 O.U.P. 1951 p. 155
79. George Morley in his "History of Royal Leamington Spa" written for the Leamington Spa Courier 1887-1889 claimed that in 1800 Leamington had only thirty houses. This is unlikely in view of the 545 inhabitants noted in the 1801 Census.
See also Appendix 34 showing growth of town in the nineteenth century.
80. In 1809 coaches brought 1,500 visitors exclusive of children and servants to Leamington.
T. B. Dudley : A complete history of Leamington Spa Leamington 1901
81. £10,000 was raised by local gentry to help pay for this 'social centre'. The ballroom was equipped with three large chandeliers, each of which cost a thousand guineas. H. G. Clarke : Royal Leamington Spa 1943
In 1856 Jenny Lind sang to the elite of the county.
82. H. G. Clarke : Op. Cit. p. 98

83. Among the visitors were the Duchess of Gordon (1810); George, Prince Regent (1819); the Prince and Princess of Denmark (1822) and Princess Augusta (Second daughter of George III)

In April 1827 the Marchioness of Wellesley and the Duke of Wellington were followed in the August by the Duke and Duchess of Grafton who hired a house for the season. The Duchess of Kent and Princess Victoria also visited Leamington. Victoria paid a second visit as Queen in 1858.

84. This hotel was built and first named the New Inn by William Abbots, the former licensee of the Black Dog Inn, who seems to have realised early the potential of the springs as an attraction to visitors. It was renamed the Bath Hotel at a later date. The Bath Hotel was therefore Leamington's oldest hotel. Clarke : Op. Cit. p. 31.

85. This hotel had a coach house attached from which six coaches left daily including the Nimrod to London and the Imperial to Cheltenham.

In 1857 the hotel was sold to Leamington Priors and Warwickshire Packing Company. Now the Midland Bank. Ibid. p. 11

86. Mrs. Siddons - the actress watched the stone laying ceremony. At first it was called Williams's Hotel after its first owner but was then renamed after the visit of the Prince Regent. Ibid. p. 29.

87. The present post office building was erected in 1870.

88. Contained some 20,000 books. Ibid. p. 71.

89. The Misses Mary, Charlotte and Alice Brown had kept a ladies seminary from about 1872 to c. 1880 at Portland House, Portland Place (see Kellys' P.O. Directories 1872, 1876, 1880) before they purchased Beech Lawn after Dr. Jephson's death. As Jephson died in 1878, it is likely that the Misses Browne were in possession of Beech Lawn before 1880. The Leamington Spa Reference Library possesses a single copy of a school magazine Beech Lawn Budget (1881), which contains a reference to a play enacted at the school in November 1880 as well as a reference to the school's Cambridge Local Examination results in 1880. Beech Lawn is described as a "ladies college and High School" by the magazine.

In 1884 Beech Lawn was the venue of private school Lady principals of the town who met to protest against the proposal for a public High School for Girls. This was created through the initiative of Miss Rose Kingsley, the eldest daughter of Charles Kingsley, who came to live in the neighbourhood after her father's death.

(See Leamington High School for Girls : 1884-1934 Leamington 1934)

The Leamington High School for Girls certainly prospered.

In The Private Schoolmaster Vol. 1 No. 2. December 1887, reference is made to a meeting of the proprietors at which it was stated

that if the profits continued to increase in the same proportions as in the past two years, the company would have either to

- i) expend capital on new buildings
- ii) pay a dividend of twenty per cent to shareholders.

Meanwhile Beech Lawn had to close sometime after 1888 (See Kelly's P.O. Directories 1888 and 1892)

- 90. Kelly : 1860
- 91. Kelly : 1864
- 92. It tried to raise £8,000 in £10 shares: only £4,300 collected and the Association was dissolved.
- 93. Tried to raise £8,000 by 1,600 shares of £5. Dr. Jephson was Chairman of Committee of forty-one influential towns people. Failed to raise the necessary capital.
- 94. Gas Company formed in Warwick which supplied Leamington's gas i.e. a limited supply in Union Row.
- 95. Taken over by Lloyds Bank in 1866 V.C.H. Warwick Vol. 6 p. 156.
- 96. Taken over by Midland Bank in 1889
- 97. This table does not include Leamington College.
- 98. See Appendix 35 for outline history of Leamington College.
- 99. Wood became Headmaster of Tonbridge School on leaving Leamington and then Headmaster of Harrow School.
- 100. See Leamington Courier 21st July 1916.
- 101. See G. Morley : Op. Cit.

also W. G. Gibbons : History of the building at present known as Gospel Hall, Priory Terrace, Leamington Spa
MS. kept by Leamington Spa Reference Library.

Craig was a man with boundless energy who made some considerable improvements to the parish church. In 1852 however, he claimed possession of the silver gilt plate of the church which caused him to fall headlong into conflict with the Church wardens who almost brought Craig to the Warwickshire Assize Court in 1853. No sooner had this quarrel been patched up than Craig was accused of diverting Church funds, from which libel actions ensued. Late in 1872 Craig scandalised his parishioners by appearing drunk in the pulpit and although this was brought to the notice of the Bishop of Worcester it is possible that Craig's eccentricities could be mistaken for insobriety. In 1877 Craig was found to be advocating a skating rink for the town, in the year he died! Craig had an eye for finance.

He married a Miss Johnstone, daughter of an E.I.C. Colonel who left them a fortune of £56,000. His three wives brought him nearly £63,000. His own father left him an estate of £20,000 and an estate of £1,300 per annum. In one twelve month period he received £100,000.

102. The architect of the school was almost certainly D. G. Squirhill who designed Leamington College.
- The curriculum was to be based on "scriptural principles"; the Headmaster was the Rev. John Montague.
- This school which was financed partly by the Freemasons of Leamington was opened with all due ceremony - a grand banquet at the Bath Hotel and a procession to the Parish Church led by the band of Prince Albert's Regiment of Hussars.
103. See Appendix 36 for analysis of Leamington College Register.
104. See p.137
105. Research into the question of sojourners in Leamington Spa is made difficult by the fact that many came to Leamington for health reasons and there would be a need therefore to distinguish between the two motives.
106. Frank Glover was an old boy of the school, a devotee of the Rev. Joseph Wood, and proprietor of the Leamington Spa Courier. As Secretary of the Old Boys Association he was closely involved with the school and the collection of his papers - the Frank Glover Bequest - is therefore valuable to the history of the College.
107. viz. 1848-1852 C. Earle, Newbold Terrace, Leamington - from Harrow
Mrs. Lynes, 6 Dormer Place - from
Carshalton
- 1849-1851 Mrs. Gray, Clarendon Square - from Charterhouse.
- 1851-1852 Charles W. Tollemarche, 45 Clarendon Square - from
Edinburgh.
108. The fees at Bedford School for day boys were £12. 10s. Od. per annum.
109. Bryce Vol. VII p. 70.
110. See Kelly : Warwickshire 1880 County Advertisements p. 121
also Leamington Collegiate Record 1892-1894 Vol. 1
111. See p. 138
112. No. 2. Lillington Place was built in 1859 and bought for £2,300 by an architect Mr. Worthington whose wife kept a dame school there for a short while.

Under Kirk the school prospered and in 1870 the premises were enlarged by the building of a new wing. By 1880 the Rev. H.C. Alfree had succeeded Kirk and with a school mainly of boarders

charging them twenty guineas a term, was taking on the character of a late nineteenth century preparatory school.

In 1914-1918 the school was taken over by Dover College Preparatory School.

See School Magazine The Arnoldian July 1964

113. Bryce : VII p. 71.
114. It was re-opened in c. 1908 when the partners Liddle and Laing revived Beech Lawn as a preparatory school.
115. He took over Mr. Alfred Hyde Harrison's School, the Hall.
See p. 139
116. See printed letter, dated 18th April 1894 to prospective parents from Rev. R. Arnold Edgell. Leamington Spa Reference Library.
117. See J. W. MacKail : James Leigh Strachan-Davidson O.U.P. 1925
118. See p. 99
119. In 1902 the College was in the red by more than £1,000. Desperate attempts were made to raise funds including an approach to Mr. Andrew Carnegie who replied that a town as prosperous as Leamington was in no need of his assistance.
120. See MS. letter from Wood at Tonbridge to Glover January 23rd 1893 - Frank Glover Bequest.
- A further factor weakening the position of the school was its rapid turnover of staff. The Rev. P. R. Cleeve, who had been at the school only five years was its senior assistant master. See Chapter 8 p. 191 (1)
- also Leamington Courier April 29th 1902.
121. R. B. Grindrod : Malvern : Past and Present Malvern 1865
122. Brian S. Smith : Op. Cit.
123. Samuel Deykes started a small library next to the Foley Arms Hotel. From 1819 to 1823 John Deykes, his son, was architect responsible for construction of new library building built on classical lines. Consisted of newspaper reading room, "a circulating library, music room, a bazaar and billiard room." Built at a cost of £4,217.
- See Appendix 37 for map showing growth of Malvern in nineteenth century.
124. Donkey carts were a familiar sight on Malverns for much of the century. In Southall's Guide to Malvern (1825), quoted by Grindrod, (p.100) it is asserted that "the donkeys are useful appendages in ascending the hills, being very sure-footed - indeed they are so perfectly safe that, in twelve years, we do not recollect one accident occasioned by a donkey!"

125. As early as 1802 theatre performances took place in Malvern as evidenced by two theatre bills contained in Malvern Public Library. The new Library of 1823, though less splendid than the Assembly rooms of Leamington was no less a social centre. Horse race and pugilist meetings were held at Malvern.
126. Stayed at Hollymount in Great Malvern which was used by Henry Wilson B.A. as a Classical Boys boarding school in 1872.
127. From 1822 a daily coach service plied between Worcester and Malvern. Later in 1855, as quoted by Brian Smith from Malvern Gazette 16th June 1955, Lord Macaulay commented:
 "on every road round Malvern coaches and flys pass you every ten minutes, to say nothing of irregular vehicles."
 By 1860 all principal roads around Malvern had been turnpiked. Smith : Op. Cit. p. 202.
128. Ibid. p. 196
129. Including R. B. Grindrod, author of 1865 History of Malvern.
130. At one time the Imperial was the only hotel in England lit with incandescent gas.
131. See pp.248/9 for full discussion on obscurity of the Link School History.
132. Lady Emily Foley was for many years Malvern's most influential patron. Her influence in the district was such that when Black Country trippers began to take excursions to Malvern three times a week, Lady Foley was able to write to the G.W.R. Chairman on 30th May 1877 and effectively stopped them. Ibid. p. 207.
133. 1843 Beauchamp Hotel
 1848-1849 Abbey Hotel
 1848 British Camp Hotel
 c. 1840 Montrose Hotel
 1858 Belvoir (now North Malvern) Hotel; Westminster Arms;
 St. James Boarding House: now part of
 St. James School.
134. Sixteen hotels and boarding houses in Link, a few in Wells, including Well House.
135. Mrs. Whitwell advertised her school, 'Bella Vista' at Malvern Link in 1858 in local paper as follows:
 "Mrs. Whitwell respectfully announces to those parties who have kindly given their patronage, and to parents in general, that the above establishment will re-open on the 16th July 1858. The Infant School department for the instruction of the youngest children of genteel families is not closed for the summer vacations."

Quoted from Brian Smith : Op. Cit. p. 242.

See also Billings 1855 Directory of Worcestershire

136. Land situated on north side of Church Street. Plots sold in one acre lots to allow for spacious houses. According to A. C. Deane in Time Remembered Lady Emily "decreed that no house of less than a fairly high rateable value should be built within a mile of Priory Church. It would be outrageous, she felt, if the select neighbourhood of Great Malvern were defiled by the residences of the lower orders." The lower classes settled down in out districts of North Malvern, Malvern Link, Cowleigh and Barnard's Green. p. 110.
137. Lansdowne Crescent was a road developed after the sale of Vicarage Croft in 1851.
138. See Malvern Parish Magazine February 1874 - January 1880
also Brian Smith : Op. Cit. p. 229
- In 1874 the Lyttelton School - a middle class grammar school - was started to fill a void in boys' secondary education in Malvern since no permanent school existed between the national schools and Malvern College.
- The school was put under the control of a small committee of Malvern residents with the Vicar and Church Wardens as ex-officio members.
- The curriculum consisted of English, Latin, History, Geography French, Mathematics, Greek, German, Music and Drawing. Fees were nine guineas per annum.
- The first Headmaster was the Rev. Thomas Minshall M.A. who had kept a private school at Castle Bromwich. Minshall left within a year to take up private schoolmastering again in Malvern.
- Amongst the governors of the school were Preparatory school Headmasters, Rev. W. W. Gedge M.A. (Wells House) and Rev. F. W. Young of Barnards Green.
139. The growth of Malvern as a town dates from 1851 when an Act for the Improvement of the town of Great Malvern ... and for supplying the same with water, was passed. In that year the town's boundaries were defined. In 1892 Poolbrook and Wyche were added but Malvern Link and Malvern Wells were still outside the 'town'.
- In 1894 Great Malvern took in parts of Hanley Castle.
In 1898 Parts of Malvern Link and Welland and then the whole of Malvern Link U.D.C.
In 1900 Little Malvern annexed.
140. Malvern was the healthiest place in England with a death rate of one in 1,000 according to the School Prospectus of Malvern Link School.
141. There were far higher proportions of elderly people over eighty and over ninety in Malvern in 1835 than in the rest of the country.

142. A Rosanna Goodman also had a ladies day school at Great Malvern in 1841. See Bentley's Directory of Worcestershire 1841
143. It was later owned by Miss Florence Firth c. 1904-1908.
144. Details of other less famous schools in Malvern are to be found inter alia in
The Educational Year Book for 1879
The Court Guide and County Blue Book of Warwickshire
Worcestershire and Staffordshire London 1902
- e.g. The Birches, Malvern Link kept by Mrs. and Miss Piper.
The Hollies, Great Malvern to which Mrs. and Miss Piper moved.
Hazel Bank School for ladies - kept by Misses Judson.
The Manse, Malvern Wells - kept by Miss J. E. Smith.
Cambridge House - kept by Miss Fletcher.
145. The Girls School Year Book 1956 p. 267
146. It is not clear from the Kelly's Directories for 1904 and 1908 whether or not there was a move of house or merely a change of name but as Ivydene Hall, Albert Road exists today as part of Malvern Girls' College it is likely to be the latter.
147. By which time Miss Florence Judson was Headmistress.
148. See Edit. Alice Baird : I was there: St. James's West Malvern Worcester 1956
This school was sited at first in Southborne, Hampshire 1896-1900 and in Crowborough, Sussex 1900-1902.
149. A. C. Deane : Time Remembered Faber 1945 p. 122
150. The earliest appears to have been that of Mrs. Emma Bibbs at Malvern Link but this school did not last long and appears only once in the county directories.
151. See G. L. Prestige : The Life of Charles Gore Heinemann 1935 pp. 4-5
152. Colonel Hugh Sinclair : Camp and Society Chapman & Hall 1926 p. 18
Essex was a short and thickset man. He had greyish hair, beard and hairlip, elegant white hands and a rich musical tenor voice.
153. Hollymount had been kept previously by a Miss Caroline Cooper as a ladies' boarding school, according to the 1868 P.O. Directory. She herself, in the 1864 Directory, was listed as principal of Elmsdale ladies' boarding school. It was this kind of jockeying for better premises amongst private and preparatory school principals which suggests that perhaps dame schools, discussed in Chapter 2, may have been subject to the same practice.

154. The population of Malvern itself was expanding.

In 1871 population was 7,606 in Great Malvern

In 1876 population was 8,540 in Great Malvern

The population in 1871 in other parts of Malvern were

Little Malvern	113
Malvern Wells	957
West Malvern	1,810

155. Who had been Headmaster of Stamford House School, Cheltenham since 1860. See O. H. Ball : Sidney Ball, Memories and Impressions of an ideal don Basil Blackwell 1923.

156. It is significant, however, that he designated his school an 'academy' until 1884, thus again suggesting the institutionalization process occurring in the 1880s rather than earlier.

157. Kelly : 1876

158. Ibid.

159. See Appendix 30.

There appears to be some doubt about the history of the Link School, as Douglas's School came to be called. Brian Smith, for instance, in his History of Malvern, refers to the school being founded, at 'Rockburn House', Great Malvern by Henry Wilson before he moved to 'Hollymount', (Great Malvern). He is credited with moving to the Railway Hotel (Malvern Link) after its closure in 1885, ten years after which William Douglas is alleged to have taken over the school and to have remained owner till after the second world war. This conflicts with evidence in the County P.O. directories which show Henry Wilson to have been at the Link School in 1876 (not necessarily in the Railway Hotel) and William Douglas to have been Headmaster of the Link School in 1884.

Again, Dr. F. C. Pritchard in his M.A. thesis on English Preparatory Schools (1938), whilst admitting that the origins of the school are obscure, suggests that Mr. W. H. G. Kingston - ex pupil of Eagle House and author of "The Three Midshipmen" - was Headmaster in the early 1860s, when Kingston retired from his father's business in Oporto to become Headmaster of Malvern Link School, then situated at 'Rockburn', Great Malvern. There is no evidence for this either in the county directories. Mr. Henry Wilson appears in these for the first time in 1868 as Headmaster of the school at 'Rockburn' from whence he moved, between 1868 and 1872, to Hollymount. Apart from other conflicting evidence, the claim by Pritchard that under Douglas the school had so increased in size that a new dining hall, dormitories and domestic quarters had to be built in 1889, clashes uncompromisingly with Brian Smith's claim that Henry Wilson moved his school into the Link Hotel in 1889. In actual fact, Brian Smith contradicts himself since on p. 206 he claims that Wilson took possession of Railway Hotel in 1889 and on p. 242 he refers to this happening in 1885.

Dr. Pritchard refers to an early prospectus of the school with Wilson as Headmaster which contains a picture of the school dated 7th August 1861. According to the prospectus the schoolroom was sixty-three feet long and twenty feet high. The school was equipped also with a reading room, bathroom and large gymnasium, but no further detail is given to indicate the degree of modernity or otherwise of these provisions.

After the school had moved to the Railway Hotel it became necessary to build a new dining room etc: it is not clear why this should have been so, in view of the probable size of the hotel. In other words it is not clear why such a hotel could not comfortably accommodate sixty boys. In contrast to Brian Smith, Dr. Pritchard gives Mr. Douglas credit with being Headmaster of Malvern Link School from 1883 to 1923, which dates are more consistent with dates of directories containing references to Douglas at the Link School. When Douglas took over the school in 1883 it had six boys only, which suggests that Wilson was not making much profit! The school became defunct in 1964 and it has not been possible to contact the last Headmaster.

160. viz. 1896-1900 Dr. William Austin, Beechfield, Malvern Link -
came from Kidderminster in 1888.
1900 Rev. Hugh Fowler M.A. South Lea, Great Malvern.
161. This school belonged to Miss Jefferson Davis in 1876. See p.158
162. This school was taken over by Charles Wright in 1904 who moved to
Rugby in 1910.
163. By 1912 Edward Capel Smith had changed locations from Fairfield to
Hillside which still exists.
164. A. H. Stable charged 100 guineas - 1896 Prospectus.
William Douglas charged similar fee.
165. Brian Smith : Op. Cit. p. 242
166. Wells House Magazine April 1914
167. Private Schoolmaster Vol. 1 No. 6 April 1888. Notanda
168. Wells House Magazine December 1912
169. Two Wells House boys gained Scholarships to Winchester in 1870.
See Charles Oman : Memories of Victorian Oxford Methuen 1941
170. Wells House Magazine December 1912
171. Oman : Op. Cit. p.22
172. Ibid. p. 23
173. This prospectus kept by the Malvern Reference Library is accompanied
by a manuscript letter to a Mr. Nicholson by Mr. Andrews, the
second master dated 26th October 1896 in which Mr. Andrews states

that the school is "anxious to increase numbers" which confirms hints in the Wells House Magazine after 1903 that Stable had difficulty in maintaining numbers.

174. See H. G. Clarke : Leamington p. 84

Lawn Tennis came to England in 1872 in the form of Pelota and was first played in Leamington. The world's first Lawn Tennis Club was founded in that year and is commemorated by a plaque on the Manor House Hotel which used to be a private house belonging to a Dr. W. F. Haymer.

175. He died at the age of forty-eight.

176. See p.201 (1)

177. Frederick was a strong supporter of Grenfell of Mostyn House who pioneered the Air Rifle Association. Fifty schools joined this Association on its formation. Lord Roberts was President - Grenfell the Honorary Secretary.

178. See P.S.R. No. 32 December 1905. Letter by E. P. Frederick complaining about lack of schools playing Rugby football.

179. See p. 201 (1)

180. Wells House Magazine December 1912