BRITISH EDUCATION, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE,

AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

1880 - 1930

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PH.D., UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH 1979
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

If I were to set down here the names of all who have, in various ways, helped in the preparation of this thesis, the list would be a long one. However, personal acknowledgements are due to the following people -

Professor George Shepperson for his encouragement, patience, helpfulness and supervision. Mr Donald Simpson, Librarian Royal Commonwealth Society, for all the material he drew my attention to; and to Mr Christopher Fyfe, Dr Ian Duffield, Dr Christopher Harvie and Professor Arthur Marwick for valuable suggestions.

My thanks also to Mrs Yvonne Balfour who typed the manuscript.

Edinburgh 30th August 1979
SUMMARY OF THEESIS

The British Empire, which developed from the late sixteenth to the early twentieth century, has to be viewed as the result of a wide variety of circumstances rather than because of any consistent imperial policy. Britain acquired her Empire in a piecemeal, absent-minded way. In the last thirty years of the nineteenth century when the Victorian Empire expanded, the strong upsurge of imperialist sentiment which resulted had implications for British education. Until this time there was little attempt to define the aims or indeed the machinery on which the imperial system rested.

After 1870, Britain entered into fierce economic competition with her continental neighbours with an artisan class the least trained and a middle class arguably the worst educated in Europe. Whilst the Education Act of 1870 did provide a stimulus to education in England and Wales, the first decade of state education was mostly given over to teaching the rudiments of reading and writing. Standards in the elementary schools were depressingly low and the provision of State secondary education virtually non-existent. In Scotland, by contrast, the provision was better.

From the 1880s, Britain's educational system came under severe scrutiny as her Empire expanded and the needs of maintaining the Empire were measured against the quality of British education. Britain's development as an imperial power also had its educational counterpart in the
need to provide clerical workers to staff the large insurance and banking concerns which were established in London and the Midlands in the years after 1880.

In the years from 1895 to 1914, British political thought and British politics were, to a large extent, given over to questions about national and imperial efficiency and education was an important issue in the debates which took place. The threat of Germany and concern about the rapid economic advance of Japan and the United States served to raise the level of anxiety over Britain's educational shortcomings.

The military defeats of the Boer War were deeply felt and this led to sustained criticism of the public schools and of the inadequacy of the State system. The failure of the educational system as a whole to respond to the needs of the Empire caused those imperialists who were fearful that Britain could lose her imperial territories to raise their voices. At the same time critics of imperialism focused their attention on what they regarded as the promotion of imperial enthusiasm and values among young people. Writers like Hobson argued that children were systematically taught to regard Britain and her Empire as morally superior to that of any other country.

After 1918 there was a slow but steady expansion of State secondary education but the public schools remained firmly outside this system. Enthusiasm for the Empire continued apace after 1918 and many educationists continued to foster an interest in the Empire in pupils of all ages and in different types of schools.
The importance of the public schools and their influence on British education has to be seen in the context of their imperial role. Many have argued that the public schools were established as the nurseries of British imperialism but this is a theory which has to be challenged. Many young men from the public schools saw service in the army both in India and in other parts of the world but the Empire was run by a relatively small number of administrators who, for the most part, did not come from the older public schools.

During the year 1880-1930 British educationists were aware of the demands which the Empire made on British education and they responded to these demands in a variety of ways. Accordingly there were sustained efforts to promote an understanding of the British Empire at all levels of the educational system in the years between 1880 and 1930.
INTRODUCTION

1. EDUCATION AND EMPIRE

Education is, by its very nature, a controversial subject. Similarly the British Empire has excited controversy and has attracted many commentators. To relate both these subjects is a complex task but first, in order to illustrate the connection, I wish to look at five statements on the relationship between education and the Empire.

That which is marvellous makes a wonderful appeal to children and there is not a greater marvel than the growth of the British Empire, which makes an irresistible appeal to children, with the added advantage that it is quite true.  

Strive to be ready when the call shall come, to whatever duty, to whatever sacrifice in whatever part of Her Majesty's Dominions. For you shall leave father and mother and wife and children for your Queen, your country and your faith. You shall conquer and rule others as you have learnt to conquer and rule yourselves.

You young worms! Do you call yourselves British boys? Shame on you! Your fathers are the rulers of England, and your forefathers have made England what she is now. Do you imagine that if they had minded a little snow that Canada would ever have been added to the Empire, or if they had minded heat we should ever possess India or tropical Africa? Never let me see you shrink from either heat or cold. You will have to maintain the Empire which they made.

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1. Miss E.R. Conway, (former President of the National Union of Teachers) Imperial Studies in Education (1924) p 63.

2. Geoffrey Drage, An Address delivered to the boys of Eton College, November 5th, 1890 (London 1890).

3. Eton Master in the late 1850s quoted in Lord Meath, Memories of the Nineteenth Century (1923) p 19.
Teachers, fed on Seeley's imperialistic work *The Expansion of England*, and often great readers of Kipling, spelled out patriotism among us with a fervour that with some edged on the religious. Empire Day had a special significance....

Fear of Germany's great technological advance in the later years of the nineteenth century had caused a demand for wider vocational training in Britain. Our own technical institute had opened its doors in 1896 and had been dubbed 'Royal' by Edward VII. The sons of undermanagers, foremen and top-class mechanics were soon flocking there....

The Indian Civil Service provided the richest outlets for the products of the public school system which was now flourishing in England. These so-called public schools - actually expensive private schools - grew up in order to provide the sons of the gentry and wealthy middle classes with what had previously been an aristocratic education. Those who passed through the public schools were known as 'gentlemen'. Unfortunately, having acquired a gentleman's culture and tastes, they also needed a gentleman's income. Where were they to acquire it? Certainly not by trade or industry, in which most English people made their livelihood.

The Indian Civil Service was the perfect answer. Its members, qualified mainly by their command of Latin and Greek, were safely immune from any taint of trade. They felt they were discharging a religious mission. At the same time they led the life of gentlemen....

It is thus easy to decide who benefited from the Indian Empire. Its administration helped to perpetuate the class system of the nineteenth century... as the nineteenth century advanced there was increasing speculation about what was wrong with Great Britain. Why was her economic growth slowing down? Why did she not predominate in the new industries of electricity and chemicals as she had done in coal and cotton?

The simplest answer, which remains true to the present day, was the public schools. They taught the classics when they should have been teaching the sciences.  

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These statements, I feel, do illustrate at least a tentative connection between British education and the Empire. It is my intention to show that the links between both of these were strongly forged and that British educators were aware of the obligations placed on them by its existence.

2. EDUCATION, THE STATE AND SOCIETY

A simple but extremely useful definition of education is to be found in the Robbins Report of 1963. Education, it states has four main objectives:

a) The instruction of skills suitable to play a part in the general division of labour.

b) The promotion of the general powers of the mind.

c) The advancement of learning.

d) The transmission of a common culture and common standards of citizenship.

Another is that provided by the nineteenth century French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1857-1917), whose influence on twentieth century educational thinking has been most significant. Durkheim was not the first thinker to stress the social implications of education but I would argue that his definition is useful because he takes a deterministic view of education.

He wrote:

'All education is a continuous effort to impose on the child ways of seeing, feeling and acting which he could not have arrived at spontaneously ... the aim of education is precisely the socialisation of the human being; the process of education, therefore gives us in a nutshell the historical fashion in which the social being is constituted. This unremitting pressure to which the child is subjected is the very pressure of the social milieu which tends to fashion him in his own image, and of which parents and teachers are merely the representatives and intermediaries.'

Durkheim, like many nineteenth century writers on education, was preoccupied with fitting the child into his environment. He recognised that education varied from one society to the next and even within each society. For Durkheim there were different milieux in any given society, therefore society as a whole and each particular milieu would determine the type of education necessary.

'Education is the influence exercised by adult generations on those who are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole and the special milieu for which he is specifically destined.'

Two thousands years before Durkheim, Plato discussed at length the role of the State in the process of education. Nearly every writer on education since then has subsequently recognised that the State requires certain ideas, facts and values to be mediated to the pupil.

The growing intervention by the State in educational matters from the mid-nineteenth century onwards in Britain, as in other European countries, was inevitable. Mid-nineteenth century Liberal thought tended to advocate a fairly circumscribed social role for the State but this had

radically changed by the end of the century. Although John Stuart Mill
in his classic essay *On Liberty* (1859) did not argue for a State system
of education as such, he did accept the need for the State to compel every
parent to perform the moral duty of educating his child and for the State
to defray the cost for poor parents.

By the end of the nineteenth century almost every western country
experienced varying degrees of State intervention. In France and in
Germany it took a fairly stringent form. However in all countries, the
State, in establishing various welfare systems put education at the top
of the list. The rapid accretion of both military and social powers to
the State meant that the line between State and civil society began to
blur. This was less true of Britain but even here it came to be recog-
nised that the State had some role to play in providing a certain amount
of education for its citizens. However both Conservative and Liberal
opinion in this country did not feel that this necessitated a State
monopoly in education. Indeed the educational battles of the nineteenth
century were concerned with the freedom of the individual and his right
to reject the more strident claims of the State. For this reason the
much vaunted educational systems of both France and Prussia were frequently
criticised because of their 'collectivist' and bureaucratic nature.¹

At the same time they were admired for their efficiency. Suffice to say,
that by 1910, State intervention in education was accepted and Balfour's
Education Act of 1902 had gone a long way to improve relations between

R.A. Butler, *The Art of the Possible* (1971)
Olive Banks, *Parity and Prestige in English Education* (1955)
S.J. Curtis, *History of Education in Great Britain* (1964)
Marjorie Cruickshanks, *Church and State in English Education* (1963)
H.C. Dent, *Education in Transition* (1944)
The nineteenth century saw the final working out of the idea that the State should be substituted for the Church as the official agent of education.

'A statement of the principles commonly recognised by modern communities as governing the action of the State in relation to education may facilitate at the outset a clearer understanding of the problems which the organisation of public education presents. The cardinal doctrine of State interference in the educational domain is universally accepted by all the great nations of the modern world; and in regard to its extent and limits a large measure of agreement has now been reached.

In the first place, it is recognised as the duty of the State to insist upon a certain minimum education for every future citizen... the recognition of this primary duty of the State plainly implies a State system of at least elementary education.

3. BRITISH EDUCATION AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Foreign observers of British education at the end of the nineteenth century and up until the First World War were intrigued by it. Some felt that it continued to be bedevilled by the religious question whereas others were impressed by the public schools and went so far as to attribute Britain's imperial greatness and the extent of her possessions to the rugged team spirit engendered by these establishments. This is something I shall examine in some detail in Chapter 3.


However, by the turn of the century much more attention was being paid by observers, here as well as abroad, to the deficiencies of state education in Britain. Few denied that the public schools had an important role to play in determining Britain's imperial lead but, increasingly, statesmen questioned whether Britain had in fact an adequate educational system to meet the needs of an expanding Empire.

In Britain, as both Semmel and Searle have shown, men of various political opinions, Conservatives, Liberal Unionists and Liberal Imperialists such as Rosebery, Haldane, Asquith and Gray readily accepted imperialism and were in turn followed by Labour leaders such as Blatchford and by the Fabians. The Webbs and Shaw were enthusiastic supporters of the Empire. In order to preserve and maintain it, it was necessary to implement a wide-ranging programme of educational reform. Education for both national and imperial efficiency was something which the Fabians held dear. This type of 'social imperialism' placed education, along with a greater reliance on science and the improvement of the nation's physique, high on its list of priorities.

1. Even as late as the 1930s the French historian Elie Halevy was fascinated by the debate over the 1902 Act. See The Rule of Democracy (1934).


These sentiments are expressed in the writings of Viscount Haldane. Haldane argued in a series of essays (published as Education and Empire (1902))\(^1\), that it was education which gave the necessary moral and intellectual power essential for leadership. Haldane's views are essentially those advanced by Plato in The Republic. The public schools are the pinnacle providing the gold, the universities the silver and the elementary schools the brass. As far as the Empire is concerned the public schools would provide those 'Heaven born leaders who come to the front by sheer force of genius.'\(^2\) Britain, according to Haldane, had a historic mission. In his address to Edinburgh students he reminded them that

"The end which the State and its members have to strive after is the development of the State."\(^3\)

Haldane is one of the few leading politicians of this period to concern himself with education and relate its development to the expansion of the Empire. More interesting perhaps is the extent to which the Fabians, particularly Shaw, went in order to argue that the Empire depended on more 'efficiency' particularly in education.\(^4\)

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1. See particularly Viscount Haldane University and National Life (1912) pp 60/68. His Rectorial address to the students of Edinburgh University in 1907 shows the need for people to surrender their wills to the State in order that authority is recognised.

2. Ibid, Education and Empire (1902) pp 69/70.


4. J.W. Martin, The State and Education at Home and Abroad (Fabian Tract No 55 1894).
G.B. Shaw, Fabianism and the Empire - A Manifesto (1900).
S. Webb, The Education Muddle (Fabian Tract No 106 1901).
H. Bland, After Bread, Education (Fabian Tract No 20 1905).
S. Webb, Twentieth Century Politics, A Policy of National Efficiency (Fabian Tract No 108 1901).
In his article Lord Roseberry's Escape from Houndsditch: (Nineteenth Century, September 1901) which is reported in Fabian Tract No 108, 1901 - 'A Policy of National Efficiency', Webb called on the Liberal Party to implement a radical educational programme. 'It is in the classroom.... that the future battles of the Empire for commercial prosperity are already being lost.'

Even Asquith had argued that every society was judged, and survived, according to the material and moral minimum which it prescribed to its members.

'What is the use of an Empire if it does not need and maintain in the truest and fullest sense of the word an imperialist race? What is the use of talking about Empire, if here, at its very centre, there is always to be found a mass of people, stunted in education, a prey to intemperance, huddled and congested beyond the possibility of realizing in any true sense either social or domestic life.'

Any programme of imperial reform had to appeal to progressive elements in the country. This was something in which the Fabians passionately believed. Webb wrote:

'the 50,000 indoor pauper children and the 100,000 pauper sick constitute no trivial part of the human material out of which our Empire has to be built ...'

1. See also Lord Roseberry Miscellaneous Vol. 11 p 245. Rectorial Address to Students of Glasgow University, 16th November 1900.
'So far I have been dealing with the prevention of disease and premature death and the building up of the nervous and muscular vitality of the race. This, it is clear, the twentieth century will regard as the primary duty of Government. As such, it must necessarily form the principal mark in any Imperial programme that will appeal to the progressive instinct of the country. But it is not enough that we rear a physically healthy race. The policy of National Efficiency involves a great development of public education ...

More importantly Webb was one of the first writers on education to note that most writers on the subject were guilty of forgetting the public schools and their exclusion from the mainstream of State education but even he recognised that the public schools were the apex of the British education system and had an important role to play in providing leadership for the country and the Empire. Beatrice Webb in her diary noted that:

'Haldane believed more than we did in the existing governing class: in the great personages of Court, Cabinet and City. We staked our hopes on the organised working class, served and guided it is true by an elite of unassuming experts who would make no claim to superior social status, but would content themselves with exercising the power inherent in superior knowledge and longer administrative experience.'


Many Liberals were unhappy about Roseberry, Haldane and Asquith's relationship with the Webbs. Campbell-Bannerman felt that Roseberry's philosophy has been 'permeated' by the Webbs' and saw Sidney as the 'chief instructor of the faction.' See Searle op cit pp 131-132.

2. 'We have hitherto been compelled to recruit our able men, our captains of industry, our leaders of science, mainly, though not entirely, from those who have had the advantage of good education and further culture than fellows in ordinary courses.' (S. Webb, London Technical Education Gazette, Vol III 1897). Webb's views are best summed up in his statement that 'the really democratic purpose of public education (is) to train up the most efficient and most civilised body of citizens in the interest of the community as a whole.' (Fabian News, January 1903).

I have stressed the importance of the role which the Fabians and the Liberal Imperialists ascribed to education. I now want to turn briefly to a subject which I will deal with at some length in Chapters 4 and 5.

4. **IMPERIAL ENTHUSIASM**

I use the term 'enthusiasm' rather than the word propaganda. One can point to the fact that there was propaganda of a most blatant kind but it was never on the scale which was experienced in the French and German schools of the time. For example there was considerable explicit propaganda in French state schools after the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, and as I indicate in Chapter 5, there were no better instruments of indoctrination and patriotic conditioning than French history and geography text books in the period leading up to the First World War. That patriotism and an awareness of the Empire was taught in all schools and at all levels in Britain cannot be denied but I will show that it was not done with the same degree of ruthless efficiency as it was in schools on the continent or even in the United States. Hobson's strictures on the moral and sentimental factors underlying imperialism must be taken into account but enthusiasm for the Empire and love of country, even at the height of the First World War, did not, I feel, reach the same level as it did in France and Germany. In the film version of Eric Maria Remarque's novel *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1933) the schoolmaster is depicted as the worst possible caricature of the Junker class, urging schoolboys to die for their country. Apart from understandable outbursts during the early days of 1914, jingoism had, to a large extent in Britain, burnt itself out in the years after the Boer War. There was still a considerable
enthusiasm for the Empire. Empire Day was still celebrated with varying
degrees of enthusiasm in most state schools and even the London County
Council did not finally dispense with it until 1934. 1

If, as I have said, there was imperial propaganda it was of a very
gentle kind and may be summed up in the words of J.E.C. Welldon, Head-
master of Harrow from 1885 to 1898 and Bishop of Calcutta from 1898 to
1902.

'I tried to excite in my pupils a living interest in the
British Empire, its history, its magnitude, its opportunities,
its responsibilities, the variety of the many races which
it comprises and the solemnity of the duties imposed upon
it. I wished them to know as much as possible about it.' 2

5. DISCUSSION

During the years 1880 - 1930 there was no real national system
of education in Britain. On the contrary I will show that there were two
distinct systems - one for the rulers, another for those who were ruled.
Preparatory and public schools being one, and the elementary and secondary
schools the other, with some of the older grammar schools hovering between.
These two systems of education served two different classes and neither
knew much about the other. Elementary schoolboys and leavers, if they
thought about the public schools at all, saw them in terms of the Hotspur

1. Bernard Donoughue and G.W. Jones, Herbert Morrison, Portrait of a
   I deal with the career of Welldon in Chapter 1 and his influence on
   education.
and other Boys' Papers - certainly as something as remote as the furthest point of the Empire itself. This 'dual system' upheld the political, social and economic life of the country. No apology is needed for it. Ridicule is inappropriate since it did what it was meant to do and that was to cater for the different classes in a stratified society.¹

The Empire fitted easily into this dual system. There was no imperial education policy and there was little formal education for Empire. However, British Education, in all its varieties, became aware of the needs imposed upon it by the Empire and responded accordingly.

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¹ R.A. Butler, The Art of the Possible (1971) p 120.

CHAPTER ONE

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS 1880 - 1900

It is not easy to estimate the degree in which the English people are indebted to these schools for the qualities on which they pique themselves most - for their capacity to govern others and control themselves, their aptitude for combining freedom with order, their public spirit, their vigour and manliness of character, their strong but not slavish respect of public opinions, their love of healthy sports and exercises. These schools have been the chief nurseries of our statesmen; and they have had perhaps the largest share in moulding the character of an English gentleman.


Tom Brown and his imitators, and those from whom Tom Brown drew his inspiration, had so glorified football and cricket, and have mixed up Mr Kingsley's theories and Dr Arnold's practices into a composition so attractive to a considerable part of the public, that the public schools had come to be invested in the eyes of the world at large with even more than usual of that halo which individuals are always prone to throw over places in which they have passed a pleasant and important part of their lives.

Elementary education for most of the nineteenth century in England and Wales was not education for all those of a particular age range, it was education for a particular class. By the end of the century very little had changed since 1846 when the Reverend Henry Moseley, one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools observed:

'We break off a fragment from the education we suppose necessary for our children - its mechanical and technical part - and give it to the poor man's child in charity. The inevitable prejudice that education in any higher sense is a privilege annexed to a definite social position and graduated by it, associates itself with all our educational efforts.'

In this chapter I shall look at the main developments in the public schools in the years between 1880 and 1900, that is, up until the outbreak of the Boer War. I will show how they remained firmly outside the state system but how they also exerted an influence on that system. Also, I want to examine the strong links between the public schools and imperial sentiment which came into prominence around the 1890s. Exactly why the public schools should have imperial connections is not all that difficult to determine. The expansion and the maintenance of the Empire created a need to staff it with soldiers and administrators - in fact an 'officer class', but as more than one observer has noted, the French managed to run a colonial empire as did the Dutch, German and Belgians without having to resort to the same lengths as the British in providing education.

However the British public school is a unique institution and it


2. Reference will be made to the 'British' and English public school. Strictly speaking there were no public schools in Scotland until 1841 when Glenalmond opened.
underwent a rapid series of changes in the nineteenth century. In fact public schools do belong essentially to the nineteenth century and Arnold's contribution to both institutional and educational reform although important, has been considerably overestimated as I will point out. Nevertheless he was a reformer and along with other headmasters of the period he made a start to control the worst forms of depravity which existed in the schools.

The term 'public school' has always posed difficulties of definition. As early as 1810 Sydney Smith saw a public school as 'an endowed place of education of old standing to which the sons of gentlemen resort in considerable numbers and where they continue to reside from eight or nine to eighteen years of age.' By the 1820s, seven schools were considered to be the chief public schools of England: Eton, Harrow, Charterhouse, Rugby, Westminster, Winchester and Shrewsbury.

In the early days of the nineteenth century the English public school has been likened more to a bear pit than to an academic institution. Edward Thring, who became one of the great educational innovators in the public schools later on the nineteenth century, constantly recalled the suffering and cruelty experienced by the boys of Eton in the late 1830s.

   E.C. Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion since 1860 (1941).
   G.R. Parkin (Ed).
In 1818 the militia had to be called into Winchester to put down a rebellion by the boys and there was a similar incident at Shrewsbury in the same year. To this extent there is a great deal of truth in the picture drawn by Hughes in *Tom Brown's Schooldays* where bullying was commonplace.¹

Lytton Strachey saw the pre-Arnoldian public schools as:

"Virgin forests untouched by the hand of reform - a system of anarchy tempered by despotism ... a life in which licensed barbarism was mingled with the daily and homely studies of the niceties of Ovidian verse. It was a life of freedom and terror, of prosody and rebellion, of interminable floggings and appalling practical jokes."²

From 1839 until the end of the century there were numerous commissions and enquiries and Acts, on education in general and public schools in particular.³ Various reforms took place before 1853 but the establishment of the Charity Commission in that year led to the rewriting of many school statutes.

The Clarendon Commission of 1861 looked into the seven established public schools together with St Paul's and Merchant Taylor's. This led to great reforms.⁴ As Bamford shows, every school in the early nineteenth century led a precarious existence whether it catered for rich or poor but they expanded considerably in the years after 1840.⁵ There are a

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² Lytton Strachey *Eminent Victorians* (1918) p 45.

³ Useful selections of all the major enquiries are to be found in J.S. MacLure *Educational Documents of England and Wales 1816-1968* (1965)

⁴ The Times, 28th March 1864, was highly critical of the public schools in light of the Clarendon Commission report 'In one word we may say that the Commissioners find public schools education a failure.'

⁵ See Bamford, *op cit*, p vi.
variety of reasons for this. One major reason may be discerned in the desire of a new middle class to pay for a gentleman's education. Another was the expansion of the railway system, making access to the boarding schools in various parts of the country much easier. Tom Brown went to Rugby by coach. His followers after 1848 could go by train. Another factor is the growth of the British Empire itself. As the schools grew popular, so those parents serving abroad, particularly in India, were prepared to send their children to schools which had established a reputation.

What has to be borne in mind is that the majority of schools which came to be regarded as public schools by the end of the century were essentially Victorian foundations. Liverpool College was founded in 1840 mainly by merchants for the 'middle classes of society' and was strongly Anglican in tone. Cheltenham which opened in 1841 had 92 local boys since it was an amalgamation of several schools in the area but pushed this up to 146 in the following year. The local boys were predominantly the sons of the gentry and professional classes but included in this were the sons of several retired colonial servants who had settled in the area. According to its constitution, it had been established in order to provide:

'An efficient course in education for the sons of gentlemen, comprising religious and moral instruction in strict conformity with the principles of the established Church; history, geography and mathematics, and with other branches of knowledge as it may be found practicable and advantageous to introduce.'

1. See Bamford, op cit.
It is not my intention to provide a detailed account of the origins of every school but Cheltenham serves as a good example because of its army and subsequent colonial connections. Cheltenham was a 'proprietary school' like many of those which followed it. There were 650 shares each of which allowed the holder to nominate one pupil. Shares were usually held by parents and passed on. If the parent failed to nominate a pupil then the school could do so.

By contrast, Marlborough College in 1843 was founded for the sons of the poorer professional classes and the clergy. Its headmaster, G.E.L. Cotton, headmaster from 1852-1858, was one of Arnold's pupils at Rugby and was largely responsible for the strong tradition of games which evolved at Marlborough. Cotton became Bishop of Calcutta and was responsible for setting up many schools for poorer Europeans on the subcontinent.

By the 1870s the English public school was well and truly established as the system of upper and upper middle class education. The schools often differed radically in curriculum and educational aims but gradually they began to acquire a distinct set of characteristics which set them apart from the grammar schools which, although not part of any state system, were essentially local day schools. The public schools by contrast had become boarding establishments and it is this which sets them apart.

1. Appendix 10 gives a list of schools with foundation dates. The most prominent Victorian schools together with the Clarendon '7' are listed on p 35 of this chapter.
I now wish to turn to an important aspect of the public schools before I discuss them at some length. In the popular imagination, mainly derived from films and boys' papers, there still exists a confused picture of the public school which bears little resemblance to reality. Much of this has been reinforced by false concepts of how these schools actually operated. Further, there exists the idea that Arnold changed conditions over-night. In fact events were considerably more complicated than this and in order to try and trace the connection between the public schools and the Empire it is important to first of all examine why athleticism and Christianity took such a hold on them.

"Arnoldism, Athletics and Muscular Christianity"

I have used the above phrase to describe a phenomenon which exists in the public school ethos. By the 1860s there existed a series of popular myths surrounding the notion that Arnold, and Arnold alone, was responsible for effecting a moral revolution in the public schools. Writing in 1938, E.C. Mack stated that 'Arnold influenced to some extent every public school' in England. Recent studies have cast doubt on this claim. Bamford, in particular, has shown 'by an analysis of every single boy under him at Rugby that he did not succeed at any time in bringing about a moral revolution.'


However, the cult of 'Arnoldism' gradually became in the mind of the public something which enshrined a system of middle class education. Based on strong moral and religious beliefs it was mediated through a school hierarchy of headmaster, masters, and prefects and hoped to inculcate through games, obedience to duty, courage and initiative. By the end of the century the overwhelmingly enthusiastic support for games of all sorts, but particularly team games, was encouraged in the public schools. One public school master summed it up as follows in 1900:

'A great many people think of the public schools, when they think of them at all, as being primarily places where boys play games...

I believe that anyone who has observed public school life from inside for several years without allowing his prejudices to be altogether enlisted on the side of tradition will concede that the popular impression is in this matter broadly true ...' ¹

In popular myth Arnold is seen as being responsible for changing over night the entire face of public school education in England. Perhaps the best and clearest illustration of the difference between the real Arnold and Arnoldism is to be seen in the fact that Dean Stanley's famous and lasting biography makes no mention of games. Stanley was actually astonished by portrayals of Rugby School and 'the Doctor' in Tom Brown's Schooldays.²

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   Edward Lyttleton, Athletics in Public Schools: Nineteenth Century (January 1880).

2. A.P. Stanley, The Life and Correspondence of Dr Arnold (1844) p 171.
Arnold, who spent much of his time away from the school, concentrated a great deal of his personal influence on the sixth form. He upheld and encouraged the prefects in the exercise of authority and, in accepting prefectorial government, often acted unjustly towards the boys.  

Two explanations exist for Arnold's fame. He wielded a deep and lasting influence on a small number of boys who were to occupy positions of influence, particularly in the public schools, after his death. In his sermons to the entire school he was a powerful preacher and was, according to Stanley, able to impart his personal magnetism to the boys. However it was Stanley's book which helped to foster the concept of Arnoldism. Stanley had been one of the most able pupils at Rugby and his biography became a best seller going into several editions throughout the nineteenth century. In Stanley's book there is a letter by Dr George Moberley, head-master at Winchester (1836-66), written at Stanley's request, which contains the following remarks:

'A most singular and striking change has come upon our public schools - a change too great for any person to appreciate adequately who has not known them in both these times. This change is undoubtedly part of a general improvement of our generation in respect of piety and reverence, but I am sure that to Dr Arnold's personal lament simplicity of purpose, strength of character, power of influence and piety ... the carrying of this improvement into our schools is mainly attributable

Stanley drew absolutely no connection between Arnold and the playing field and it was Thomas Hughes more than anyone else who popularised Arnold and the public Schools in his novel *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857). It was not the first novel on public school life but it was a seminal work which gave rise to the entire genre of books on the public school and the adventures of the boys.

In the novel the religious fervour of 'the Doctor' is played down and the main concentration is on a romanticised version of boy life and the glory of games. It is in essence a boy's book. Hughes enjoyed athletics immensely himself when at school and his feelings about rugby football are summed up thus:

'This is worth living for, the whole sum of schoolboy existence gathered up into one straining, struggling, half-hour, a half-hour worth a year in common life.'

In the book Arnold supports games and with its publication the two became connected in the popular imagination. The portrait of the young athletics master was drawn from G.L. Cotton who became headmaster of

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One very interesting, highly readable, and humorous addition to the genre are the adult books of George MacDonald Fraser. His hero is Flashman the sadistic bully of Hughes's book. Flashman is now an imperial adventurer although at heart a coward but by subterfuge he manages to become regarded as a Victorian hero. There are constant references to Rugby 'the Doctor' and to Brown and East. These books have appeared in the last few years and such is their degree of historical accuracy that one American academic was convinced that *The Flashman Papers* were genuine documents.

2. For details of Cotton see page 41 of this chapter.
Marlborough College and played a very important part in spreading the cult of athleticism. Other disciples of Arnold's who helped to spread his 'philosophy' of Christianity and the prefectorial system were Benson at Wellington, A.G. Butler at Haileybury, Percival at Clifton, Prince Lee at King Edward's School and Vaughan at Harrow.¹

"Muscular Christianity"

The phrase "muscular Christianity" came into vogue in the late 1840s and owed something to various cartoons in Punch but it seems to have been used in a variety of ways to describe different aspects of this strange phenomenon of manliness and godliness. According to David Newsome in Godliness and Good Learning² it was Charles Kingsley who saw the pursuit of manliness as a corrective to what he considered was gradually corroding the influence of the Church of England. Kingsley regarded manliness as using to the full all those attributes which God had given to the male.

Kingsley and Hughes were both drawn to F.D. Maurice, who along with them formed the Christian Socialist Movement.³ It was an amalgamation of their views which crystallised into "Muscular Christianity".

   J. d'E. Firth, Winchester College (1949) pp 144-145.
   Also A.F. Leach, A History of Winchester College (1899).
   J.G.C. Minchin, Our Public Schools (1901).
   Various authors, Great Public Schools (1893).

2. David Newsome, Godliness and Good Learning (1961). An interesting account of Tom Brown's Schooldays and the Development of Muscular Christianity is to be found in Church History Vol 29 (1960) pp 64-74, W.E. Winn. Significantly, it was Kingsley who was one of the first reviewers of Tom Brown's Schooldays (see British Quarterly Review Vol 26 (October 1857) p 513. Kingsley did not concentrate on athletics but rather on the fact that Tom, in time, comes to see 'the world above him!'

3. Ibid. p 204.
Newsome has summed up their views as follows:

'the duty of patriotism; the moral and physical beauty of athleticism, the salutary effects of spartan habits and discipline, the cultivation of all that is masculine and the expulsion of all that is effeminate, un-English and excessively intellectual.'

It was Hughes who gave emphasis to patriotism, and he who favoured Cadet Corps and to this extent there is a connection between the Muscular Christianity, organised games and militarism but it is an extremely complex one. I shall discuss various aspects of these strands in later chapters.

Hughes published in 1879 a little book entitled *The Manliness of Christ*. Another convert to the doctrine of Muscular Christianity was the highly influential Leslie Stephen who as a junior tutor at Trinity Hall, Cambridge (1854-58) impressed many of his students. According to F.W. Maitland he was:


Newsome makes an important point that the cult of manliness did not really get a hold until the 1870s and 1880s. He says:

'The doctrine of the stiff upper lip was no part of the public school code of the Arnoldian period. This gradually came in with the manliness cult of the 1870s and 1880s. For it would never have done for Empire builders and games players to exhibit their emotions.'

Asa Briggs, *Victorian People*
'the personification of a 'Muscular Christian' of that date ... he was a real friend to us, and sought to form and strengthen, purify and utilise the characters of many of us. He took the deepest interest in our manly sports ... He did this for the ulterior purpose of making men of us and not loafers.'\[1\]

The pulpit did play an important part in the life of the Victorian public schoolboy and many were later to admit to this but it can be argued that it also played a very important part in the lives of most Victorians. John Morley in 1878 made the following observation:

'Although the theology of a town like Blackburn is of a narrow, unhistoric and rancorous kind, yet one must give even this dull and cramped Evangelicalism its due, and admit that the Churches and Chapels have done a good service through their Sunday Schools and otherwise in impressing a kind of moral organisation on the mass of barbarism which surged chaotically into the factory towns. Lancashire theology does not make a man love his neighbour; but its external system promotes cleanliness, truth telling and chastity; and the zeal of the clergy of all sects, however much we may wish that it had been connected with a more hopeful doctrine has been a barrier, for which civilisation will always owe something to their name, against the most awful influx the world ever saw of furious provocation to unbridled sensuality and riotous animalism.'\[2\]

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1. F. W. Maitland, The Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen (1906) p 58
   Stephen was educated at Eton and his Christianity probably owed more to his contacts as a boy with Wilberforce and the Clapham Sect.
   It is not my intention to get bogged down in detailed explanations of the various themes which run through Muscular Christianity. Arnold's influence took many different forms but he was influential and the myths surrounding him are important. Many sixth formers read both Stanley's Life of Arnold and Tom Brown's Schooldays and many of them in turn became public school headmasters. The French writer Hippolyte Taine claimed that after Arnold the aim of public schools was to produce Christian gentlemen.
   H. Taine, Sa Vie et Sa Correspondance (1902-05).

Leslie Stephen echoed these words in his book English Thought in the Eighteenth Century written two years earlier. Looking at the Evangelical revival of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries he clearly found that this type of Christianity had some positive elements of social control to commend it.

'Throughout England sturdy sensible men of the narrowest possible intellectual horizon, but the more vivid conviction of the value of certain teachings, were stirring the masses by addresses suited to indolent imaginations. What, they seem to have tacitly enquired, is the argument which will induce an ignorant miner or a small tradesman in a country town to give up drinking and cock-fighting? The obvious answer was: Tell him he is going straight to hell-fire to be tortured for all eternity.'

Newsome in Godliness and Good Learning has made a detailed study of the Victorian ideal and suggests that both Kingsley and Hughes were the spokesmen for the majority of their countrymen who

'in the middle years of the century, were beginning to feel that England's glory lay in her potentiality to develop under-developed countries and to civilise less civilised peoples, and who were quick to grasp that successful Empire builders needed a touch of spartan discipline and spartan qualities to equip them for the task.'

It is difficult to find any hard evidence for this statement but I think one can discern certain features which lend some authority to it. Here then lies a problem because one simply cannot generalise about the public schools since they did not constitute a unity. There were Muscular Christians who preached the virtues of Empire in a muted sort of way.

and there were others who did not. As I have said earlier it is wrong to see the public schools training up young men to go out to the Empire. As the Empire expanded there was this expectation but it took different forms and one cannot generalise from one school to another. In fact the thread that runs through religion, games and the Empire is a very tangled one indeed.

Religion played an important part in the public schools for the simple reason that so many of the masters were ordained. Even by the late 1930s most public school headmasters, at least of the major schools, were still clergymen. In 1893 the headmasters at the seven major public schools; Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, Harrow, Rugby and Shrewsbury were all in holy orders as were those in Cheltenham, Marlborough, Wellington, Haileybury and Clifton. At Eton 10 of the 57 masters were clerics; and at most major schools, the ratio was about 1 in 6. In fact any master not in holy orders stood little chance of promotion but this varied from school to school. The following table is taken from a book produced in 1894. It is clear that the number of ordinary masters who were clerics fell even more shortly after 1900. To take one example, Rugby by 1903 had a staff of 38 of whom only the headmaster (H.A. James) and two others were clergymen. In 1860 Rugby, with a staff of 18, had 14 clergymen. Another important fact is that the sons of the clergy went to public schools. When J.E.C. Welldon entered Eton in 1868 nearly half of his schoolfellows came from clerical homes. The sides in the annual cricket or football match were 'Christians' and 'Heathens'.

1. C. Dukes, Health at School (1894).
TABLE I  Lay and Clerical Masters at the Public Schools 1894

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>NAME OF SCHOOL</th>
<th>MASTERS</th>
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<td>Dulwich College School</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>542</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compiled from C. Dukes, Health at School, 3rd Ed, (1894) pp 43/44.
In recent years historians of education have turned their attention to the headmasters of the Victorian schools. Starting with Bamford and Newsome there have been some excellent studies of the Victorian public schools in the last dozen years. However I have concentrated on two men who have been paid relatively little attention but who in their own ways were interesting examples of the public school ethos of the second half of the nineteenth century. They are J.E.C. Welldon and Hely Hutchison Almond and there are elements in both their careers which explains much of what has come to be regarded as the Public School Phenomenon.

Although no biography of James Edward Cowell Welldon exists, his life is well documented and his numerous books and articles depict a man who throughout his adult life was a somewhat disconcerting mixture of churchman, schoolmaster and imperialist. It is wrong to stereotype Victorian schoolmasters but Welldon, in many ways, epitomises the Victorian head.


DNB

The Times
Welldon was born in Tonbridge in 1854, the son of the Rev. Edward Welldon, a master at Tonbridge School. He won numerous prizes at Eton where he was also captain of the school before going on to Cambridge where he was subsequently appointed as a tutor at King's College. From 1883 until 1885 he was headmaster of Dulwich College before taking over the headship at Harrow where he remained for 13 years. He was Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India from 1898 until 1902 where he sorely tried the patience of his old school friend Curzon. On his return, he was successively Canon of Westminster until 1906, Dean of Manchester until 1918 and finally Dean of Durham from 1918 until his retiral in 1933. He died in 1937. Welldon remained until his death an unashamed champion of the British Empire, the Church of England and those values which he saw enshrined in the public school tradition.¹

Whilst at Eton, Welldon made the sort of associations which are typical of the public school boy, and which were to continue in later life. Apart from Curzon, his friends at Eton who went on to achieve considerable eminence were E.C. Selwyn, headmaster of Uppingham; A.H. Cooks, headmaster of Aldenham; H.E. Ryle, Bishop of Exeter and later Winchester; A.C. Cole, Governor of the Bank of England; Viscount Middleton and Edward Lyttelton, headmaster of Haileybury and later Eton.²

¹ Welldon, op cit. Welldon's ideas on Church, Empire, School and Society may be studied in the following books and articles: The Consecration of the State (1902). Sermons for Harrow Schoolboys (1908). The Training of the English Gentleman in the Public Schools, Nineteenth Century, September 1906. Conscience and the Conscientious Objector, Nineteenth Century, May 1916.

² Welldon, op cit. pp 45-46 Information from Librarian, Eton College (see also Eton Register 1871).
To depict Welldon as an eccentric English churchman with an interest in education and the Empire is both inaccurate and misleading. Welldon was the product of his age and his career reflects how imperialism and education were bound together. It is difficult, I think, to determine how influential Welldon was as a propagandist for imperial ideas but it seems unlikely that his prosletysing fell on deaf ears. During his years as headmaster of Harrow (1885-98) Welldon indulged his imperial views often preaching his own particular brand of Christianity and educational philosophy from the pulpit of the College Chapel. Under such titles as The Banner of Truth, A Soldier's Life, The Idler No Christian and The Iniquity of Sodom, Welldon made constant references to those Harrovians who were fighting for Queen and Country in the outposts of the Empire.

The occasion of Welldon's appointment to Calcutta as Bishop coincided with Curzon's departure to India and Lord Minto's appointment to Canada. It was Lord Rosebery who spoke for all the old Etonians gathered together on 28th October 1898 for a special banquet:

1. Sermons for Harrow Schoolboys (1908).
   In an article 'The Children of the Clergy' (see the Consecration of the State, 1902) he drew on the D.N.B. to discover those who had achieved 'eminence' since the Reformation. He found that 'clerical' children came out top - presumably he included himself. Out of the total there were 1,270 clerical children compared to 510 for the progeny of lawyers.

2. According to the Rev. J.R. Patterson, formerly a Canon at Durham Cathedral, during his days at Durham, Welldon was a prickly character to deal with. He found it difficult to forget he had been in charge of a distinguished public school and had been Metropolitan of India. (Oral evidence, 23rd September 1977.)
'We belong to the school that with an everlasting current of eternal flow turns out the Viceroy and the Bishops and the Ministers of the Empire that the Empire requires. What for example would Canada have done without Eton when out of the last six Viceroy all but one are Etonians. You are sending out three eminent men on three vitally important missions to different parts of the Empire. When the battle is won, they will have a tale of stewardship which is nobly undertaken and triumphantly achieved. One which has helped to weld the Empire, which we all have it at heart to maintain, one which will rebound to their own credit, and which will do, if even but a little, to add to the glory and credit of mother Eton.'

Although this is a fairly typical imperial address by Rosebery, it is interesting because it evokes the name of the school and he was far from ashamed to admit to the pre-eminence of Eton. Prior to Curzon's appointment there had been eight old Etonian Viceroy. However the point had been made that:

'Neither Gladstone nor Wellington was great because he was an Etonian but because he was Gladstone or Wellington. They, like Peel (of Harrow) and Salisbury (Eton) glorified their schools, not vice-versa.'

Nevertheless it is significant that Eton is seen as the school which provides the imperial leaders.

Welldon's appointment to the Bishopric of Calcutta was seen at the time as being a very good choice. He was a broad Churchman, a highly

1. The Times, 29th October 1898.
2. J. Minchin, Our Public Schools (1901) p 107-8.
   From the time of Wellesley until Curzon, Cornwallis, Ellenborough, Canning, Elgin (father) and Elgin (son); Dufferin and Lansdowne were Etonians.
4. The Times, 29th October 1898.
successful headmaster, a man with firm views on education and the Empire. However his promise did not match up to his performance. India proved to be his downfall and Churchill took the view that Welldon had failed very badly. Welldon's belief that the British Empire in general and Christianity in particular were instruments for the betterment of humanity were shared by many. However, Curzon from the start felt that Welldon lacked the tactfulness and the urbanity to make a successful Metropolitan of India. Welldon, looking back saw his dilemma clearly enough, he had to be as Metropolitan

'The servant of Government but also the servant of Christ.
In that two-fold service lay the difficulty of my position.'

For Welldon, Curzon

'Preferred an inferior man who followed him to a superior man who resisted him' 3

Curzon commented on Welldon

'I am surprised at the extent to which the well-meaning but rather incautious utterances of Welldon in his various speeches and addresses at home appear to have prejudiced his reception here. He is alleged to have offended the natives by avowing it was the mission of the Church and therefore his own to convert them; the army by saying their morals are in need of reform; the Roman Catholics by some phrase which I have not heard quoted verbatim and English society at large by the impression that he is coming out to teach them all how to be good.' 4

One of Welldon's distinguished predecessors at Calcutta had been G.E.L. Cotton, a pupil of Arnold's and later a master at Rugby. He featured as the 'young master' in Tom Brown's Schooldays. Cotton was largely responsible for introducing games on a large scale into the public schools and, as one of Arnold's 'disciples', was on the athletic front, much more influential than 'his master'. Cotton was headmaster of Marlborough from 1852-58. Until his death by drowning in The Ganges in 1866, he was largely responsible for setting up schools in India for poorer Europeans and Asians, as well as undertaking missionary work. Cotton claimed that the one thing which was highly dangerous to the Raj was the sight of a generation of natives highly educated and trained in missionary and government schools alongside an increasing population of ignorant and degraded Europeans.

This concern for education related to missionary work is a common feature of those public schoolmen who were firm in their belief that they had a civilising role.

Welldon's imperial views are interesting in relation to education. In a speech to the Royal Colonial Institute on 14th May 1895, Welldon dwelt on what he termed The Imperial Aspects of Education. Although, at one level, it may be seen as no more than a spirited defence of the public schools and athleticism, Welldon was anxious to point out the importance of education in fostering an imperial ideology and how this could be achieved.
'England owes her Empire far more to her sports than to her studies...

It has not been shown that an imperial people might be trained and disciplined in a sense of their imperial responsibilities. Yet it will hardly be denied that education as it relates to the whole conduct of human life whether public or private must in a sense relate to the administration of an Empire...

He who would give his pupils what I have called an imperial education, will profoundly believe in the imperial destiny of the British race. I believe and I want my pupils to believe that the British race is the best in all the world.'

Welldon's most famous pupil, if not his most diligent, was Winston Churchill and they were to remain close friends. Churchill's letters from Harrow to his mother reveal the extent to which he came under Welldon's care and influence. Churchill recalled in 1940, when he visited the school shortly after being made Prime Minister:

'Those tales of great deeds and of great men and wondering how I could ever do something glorious for my country.'

For Welldon

'The Christianisation of the Empire is recognised as a duty laid by God upon Great Britain... and that God has in some sense called the British to a primacy among nations and has bestowed a consecrated imperial energy on the British.'

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2. Churchill failed twice to get into Sandhurst and had to attend the cramming establishment of Captain W.H. James. For a selection of the letters between Welldon and the young Churchill see R.S. Churchill, Winston S. Churchill; Youth 1874-1900 (1966) Chapters 5 and 6.

3. Ibid. p 78. For some years after 1940 Churchill attended a recital of school songs at Harrow.

Until his death in 1937, Welldon published a flood of sermons, articles and pamphlets expounding the cause of Empire, Christianity and the public schools. In Tokyo in 1906 at the invitation of the Japanese Minister of Education, Welldon outlined the aim of the public schools - which he claimed was not so much to develop the intellect as to cultivate character. Through patriotic sermons, school songs and especially games, England's future rulers were inculcated with those values and disciplines which were the hallmark of the Christian gentleman. There was nothing particularly Newmanesque about Welldon's concept of the gentleman. His formula was Muscular Christianity allied with the team spirit, this he claimed was more important than scholarship.

'For learning, however excellent in itself, does not afford much necessary scope for such virtues as promptitude, resource honour, co-operation and unselfishness; but these are the soul of English games.'

According to Welldon, this was well received by the Japanese. Welldon kept in constant contact with his old school and with many of his former pupils. He was frequently to be seen at the Harrow and Eton cricket match. On the occasion of his eightieth birthday, 200 old Harrovians gave him a special dinner. Over the years Welldon's views did not radically alter. He sympathised with Churchill's views on the Indian Question, but realised that Indian independence was just a matter of time.

1. J.E.C. Welldon, 'The Training of the English Gentleman in the Public Schools; Nineteenth Century and After (September 1906) p 404.
2. Ibid. p 406
3. Ibid. p 407
Writing some three years before his death Welldon recounted his days at Harrow.

'I tried to excite in my pupils a living interest in the British Empire, its history, its magnitude, its opportunities, its responsibilities, the variety of the many races which it comprises and the solemnity of the duties imposed upon it.

It is clear that whatever fosters the spirit of a just patriotism is of national value. Patriotism is an unmixed good when it is not the first sentiment in the mind but the second; in other words, when it is subordinated to the fear of God. I think it is the duty of a teacher to bring before his pupils not once in a while only, but habitually, the magnitude and dignity of the British Empire.'

Hely Hutchison Almond, headmaster of Loretto at Musselburgh from 1863-97, delivered an annual 'imperial discourse' in the college Chapel and this sermon which in the words of the boys grew 'mightier yet and mighty' every year, came to be known as The Waterloo Sermon. It evoked the names of Latimer, Knox, Raleigh, Wellington, Shaftesbury and Queen Victoria. The latter was said to possess

'a sagacity and knowledge probably exceeding that in many respect of any statesman.'

This sermon was always followed by the singing of 'God save the Queen'. On one occasion before this event three masters who were declared

Liberals protested at this display of jingoism. In a letter to his friend Canon Tristam a few days later, Almond wrote of the resignation of the three dissenters.

'Some of the masters represented to me that they did not like 'God Save the Queen' sung in Church. They are going. It was sung.'

Almond was the complete spartan. His priorities in education were given in this order:

'character, physique, intelligence, manners and information.'

As a disciple of Herbert Spencer he put the latter's ideas about physical education into practice and corresponded with him. His reforms do not appear drastic by today's standards but he insisted on opening dormitory windows at night, daily baths (not cold showers) and no eating between meals. At Loretto the food was considered to be good. He had the boys dress in open neck shirts and games were played whatever the weather. Loretto was one of the first schools to allocate large sections of the time-table to games, and also the first school in which pupils changed into special clothing to play them. Almond however was fairly typical of his period and he considered that if boys erred then they should be firmly punished.

'I cannot make out why people should think that it a bad thing for their boys to bear a little pain.'

1. R.J. MacKenzie, Almond of Loretto (1905) p 128. See also ibid p 153. This refers to an incident in 1888. MacKenzie was head boy at Loretto then after Oxford he was a master at Clifton and in 1889 became head-master of Edinburgh Academy.


Punishment varied from school to school and was often inflicted by prefects but again one cannot make any rash generalisations about it.

Henry Salt, a member of the SDF, and an old Etonian who returned as a master but left in 1884 because he found the school uncongenial, saw the links between the schools and punishment as follows:

When British boys from shore to shore
Two priceless boon shall find
The flag that's ever waved before
The birch that's waved behind.¹

However one cannot read too much into this. Almond like other Victorian heads wielded the cane which he felt was necessary.

Almond differed from Welldon in several ways. He was profoundly influenced by Arnold or rather what he thought Arnold stood for.

'The premature death of Arnold was as great a loss to the English nation as that of Salisbury, or Temple or Herbert Spencer would be.'²

He indulged in games himself and was a keen walker and sportsman.³

In one of his sermons he asked

'Why, Oh Why, cannot there be a holy alliance between the athlete and the Christian; an alliance against the common enemies of both, against intemperance and indolence, and dissipation, and effeminacy and aesthetic voluptuousness and all the demoralising elements in our social life.'⁴

¹. H. Salt, Memories of Bygone Eton (1928) p 254. Salt was the first to admit that Eton had 'a lasting tie of affection with which its children are bound' and held his old school in high esteem.

². Journal of Education August 1900. Letter to the Editor. Almond seemed to have accepted the concept of Arnoldism. See Snipe Shooting The Lorettonian, 29th July 1886 and Gymnastics The Lorettonian, 30th January 1886. H.H. Almond 'Football as a Moral Agent' Nineteenth Century, December 1893.


It was a point of honour for the boys to take a morning bath in metal tubs which were kept under their beds. In winter they had to occasionally break the ice. According to one issue of the school magazine for December 1882, the sporting events of the previous December when there had been heavy falls of snow were recorded. Here is the extract for Saturday 9th December 1881.¹

'Heavy showers of snow, then rapid thaw. About thirty fellows did 'Three-Threes' and Falside run (snow often knee deep); about as many went by train to Longniddry and waded home; while the small boys went by train to Prestonpans and walked home by Tranent.'

Almond set a limit of six hours for school academic work which he considered to be of secondary importance in any case. What was important was character and exercise. Each morning there was a half-hour's gymnastics and each afternoon there was one and a half hours given over to games of one sort or another. All of this was compulsory.

In February 1881 in a response to an article attacking the public schools attachment to games, Almond wrote an article setting out his views.² He agreed with much of what Lyttelton said and showed the influence of A.A. McLaren³ in his views that games and athletics could be reconciled with education. They were not frivolous or time wasting pursuits and had a place in the curriculum he argued

¹ The Lorettonian, 9th December 1882. See also H.B. Tristam, Loretto School (1911) pp 88-9. The school magazine seems to contain more articles on sport and games than on any other subject.

² Edward Lyttelton, Athletics in Public Schools, Nineteenth Century January 1880.


'For many pupils ... hero worship proceeds partly from an unconscious but wholesome veneration for qualities that are not formally recognised by the authorities of the school, and partly from athleticism appearing to them as the strongest force arranged in opposition to the restraints of school rules and school work.'

Almond used the pulpit of the school chapel in a unique way. He does not appear to have been a committed imperialist or militarist in any sense but he did preach patriotism and a mild sort of xenophobia. He admitted freely that he had never stepped out of Britain and got more out of belonging to the College eight at Balliol than anything else. He claimed he would rather be W.G. Grace than Tennyson and the Russians he viewed 'as lying barbarians smeared over with poisonous French polish'.

Almond was a student at Oxford when 'Arnoldism' began to emerge in the public school. He came into contact with people like Edmund Warre who was later an important and powerful figure in the reform of physical education in the public schools and a strong exponent of the idea that there should be military training for all young men. Almond is no different from many Victorian schoolmasters who placed so much emphasis on games and team games in particular. Almond was a Muscular Christian but this term hides the fact that he had his own concept of what education was all about. Again, like other headmasters, he hoped to create in his school a microcosm of social reform by producing a band of evangelical

1. H.H. Almond, _op cit._
2. He did permit a school corps but I shall deal with this in Chapter 3
3. There is a lively correspondence in the pages of _The Scotsman_, (Edinburgh 1876) on the subject of team games and athletics. See issues of 11th, 13th, 14th, 15th and 19th April 1876.
schoolboys. An examination of the school magazines of Loretto, Marlborough, Cheltenham, Fettes and other public schools of this period (1880-1900) reveals an overwhelming interest in games and sports. Reports from the Empire are not as frequent as one might imagine but they are significant enough.

Harrow's school song, written by Edward Bowen, a non classical master on the modern side, may reflect the connection between militarism and athleticism. Bowen was a master there from 1860-1901.

God give us bases to guard or beleaguer
Games to play out whether earnest or firm
Fights for the fearless and goals for the eager
Twenty and thirty and forty years on
Follow up! Follow up! Follow up!

1. See W.E. Bowen, Edward Bowen (1903). His brother's book contains many of the songs which were 'borrowed' by numerous public schools.

Then they stuck him in a uniform and made him learn his drill
And double hard about the yard, and up and down the hill
'Now by my troth,' the Sergeant quoth, 'If little Brown could grow'
He'd make the smartest officer that ever you did know.

And grow he did, and on the Range so well he practised up
A bull he got, with every shot, and won the Spencer Cup
And when he tried for Sandhurst, he was sure as fate to pass
For wasn't he a member of the Harrow Army Class?

And now he's in a Regiment a-fighting for the Crown
And soon he'll be a K.C.B. and Major General Brown
So listen all, both great and small, and may there be some more
To rally round the bugle and join the Rifle Corps.

From E.W. Howson (1897) reprinted in W.E. Bowen, Life of Edward Bowen (1904).
James Bryce wrote of Bowen's songs:

"His school songs were immensely popular and their use at various celebrations have passed from Harrow to the other great schools of England."\(^1\)

However, what Bryce has to say, not just about Bowen, but about English public schools of the time makes interesting reading since he saw through the Arnold myth.

"Ever since the publication of Stanley's life of Dr Arnold, that eminent headmaster has been taken as the model of a great teacher and ruler of boys, the man who, while stimulating the intelligence of his pupils was even more concerned with their moral characters. Arnold has become what Carlyle might have called 'The Hero as Schoolmaster'. Though there have been able men at the head of large schools since his time, including three who afterwards rose to be Archbishops of Canterbury, as well as a good many who have become bishops, his fame remains unrivalled, and the type created by his career or rather perhaps by his biographer's account of it, still holds the field."\(^2\)

Bryce goes on to indicate that far too much had been written by 1903 about headmasters and insufficient about the vast number of ordinary teachers. He makes the claim that in the sixty years since Arnold's death the English universities had sent into the great schools some of their most capable graduates as assistant teachers. He singles out Bowen as being a man of outstanding ability. Bowen served at Harrow for over forty years. Bryce said:

1. James Bryce, Edward Ernest Bowen, Biographical Studies (1903) p
'Nothing could be less like the traditional Arnoldine methods of teaching and ruling boys than Bowen's method was. The note of those methods was what used to be called moral earnestness. Arnold was grave and serious, distant and awe inspiring, except perhaps to a few favoured pupils. Bowen was light, cheerful, vivacious, humorous, familiar, and above all things, ingenious and full of variety.'

Bryce’s portrait of Bowen is a revealing one. Bowen was an expert in modern history and an accomplished Alpine climber. At the General Election of 1880, he stood as Liberal candidate against A.J. Balfour in Hertford. He was totally opposed to Disraeli’s pro-Turkish policy of 1878. Bowen was a free trader, an individualist, a little Englisher and against the increase of military and naval expenditure. He was not however in favour of Home Rule, a fact which one feels Bryce regretted. He finishes up by quoting the words of Bowen himself who was a passionate believer that games trained character.

'Consider the habit of being in public, the forbearance, the subordination of one to the many, the exercise of judgement, the sense of personal dignity. Think again of the organising faculty that our games develops. Where can you get command and obedience, choice with responsibility, criticism with discipline, in any degree remotely approaching that in which our social games supply them? Think of the dignity and courtesy. When the match has really begun, there is education, there is enlargement of horizon, self sinks, the common good is the only good, the bodily faculties exhilarate in functional development and the make believe ambition is glorified into a sort of ideality. Here is boyhood at its best.'

1. James Bryce, op cit. p 346. As a master on the modern side Bowen taught history and languages – French and some German. He was also an accomplished Latin scholar. Not all public schoolmasters, even those who strongly supported games were the Philistines which they have been alleged to be.

Bryce found he could not agree with Bowen and pointed out that Bowen's success in endearing himself to the boys of Harrow was partly due to the use he made for their liking of games. Bowen felt that somehow games, especially team games, were capable of bringing about the highest social union' but Bryce took him to task for this and in doing so launched an attack on excessive playing of games.

'The playing of games may have, and indeed ought to have, the excellent results Bowen claimed for it, and yet it may be doubted whether the experience of life shows that boys so brought up do in fact turn out substantially more good humoured, unselfish and fit for the commerce of the world who have lacked this training. And the further question remains whether the games are worth their costly candle. That they occupy a good deal of time at school and at college is not necessarily an evil.

'The real drawback incident to the excessive devotion to games inspire in our days is that they leave little room in the boy's or the collegian's mind either for interest in his studies or for love of nature.'

School songs are in fact a useful source of information about attitudes in public schools generally. The lines from Carmen Marlbruniense bear this out.

'Be strong, Elevens, to bowl and shoot
Be strong, O Regiment of the foot
With ball of skin or lead or leather
Stand for Commonwealth together'.

And an examination of many of Bowen's songs reveal the intermingling of statements about games and imperial battle fields. Perhaps one should not read too much into this but one can see that imperialism, militarism and athleticism are linked together and this is borne out by even a

cursory examination of school magazines in the years between 1880 and 1900. Frequently there are references to be found to the satisfying nature of life overseas and the sheer physical hard work to be done in dealing with the problems of the Empire. 'Stamina, moral fibre and physical endurance' were essential if the public school boy was to survive. Again, this is a theme which I will deal with in Chapter 3.

It is sometimes claimed that one of the reasons why games were introduced and then encouraged in the public schools was in order to curtail or reduce homosexuality. The other vice which games was reputed to eradicate was masturbation. Undoubtedly these claims contain an element of truth but games had other important advantages besides acting as an antidote to effeminacy and self-abuse. It is inevitable in all male societies that incidents of homosexuality occur but there is no evidence to suggest that it was any more prevalent in the Victorian public school than, say, the Royal Navy, and I do not intend to deal with this subject in any detail since I do not consider it germane to the issues.

1. The schools whose magazines I have looked at in some detail are those of Harrow, Glenalmond, Clifton, Loretto and Marlborough. Athletics are given prime place followed by articles from old boys. In nearly every issue from the 1880s onwards, there are references in articles to those serving abroad.

2. Kipling in Something of Myself claims that Price always ensured that the boys went to bed every night 'dead tired'.

Writing in 1928 Henry S. Salt, one time master at Eton, drew attention to the spirit of militarism which he regarded as endemic to the public school.

'You must remember that to the aristocratic classes, and in their nurseries the public schools, war is a cherished tradition; they are still living a sort of Homeric Age when 'the one best omen is to fight for one's country' and when the rest of the world may be comprehensively regarded as the barbarians. War to them is a game; a terrible game, but one which has to be faced, when it comes, without any too curious enquiries as to its origins or justification. They live in an atmosphere expectant of war, peace being merely an interlude, and industriously devise the fallacies that we know so well, to drug men's conscience and create a moral sanction where none can now be found.'

Salt had resigned from Eton in 1884 because of his left wing views so to what extent did his socialism cloud his judgement? Moreover he was writing at a time when the Great War was still fresh in the memory of many and the Boer War was not too far distant in time. Did the public schools specifically encourage militarism together with enthusiasm for the Empire? I think on balance that the answer is yes they did but not in the way in which Salt imagines. The ancient public schools and those which rose to prominence after 1850 saw their role as one of providing leaders for the nation. It would be wrong to regard the public schools as military academies. They accepted their position as cradles for leaders of both civil and military life. Bamford argues that after 1870 there was a subtle but organised drive to sublimate the individual to the team and this idea linked well with a career in the army with its system of regulations and its strict hierarchy, a point which is well

2. T. Bamford, op cit. p 83.
made by Philip Mason in his account of the Indian Army.¹ The public school system did make a boy independent and at the same time aware of the team. He learned early on in life how to look after himself and the games in which he indulged produced physical fitness. He was taught how to take punishment and if he was a prefect how to inflict it. At thirteen, at preparatory school, he learnt how to exercise this authority. Then he went to public school and started all over again. In Chapters 2 and 3 I shall show how the School Corps developed and how militarism took an even greater hold in the public schools after 1900 and before the First World War.

In 1890 Geoffrey Drage spoke to the boys of Eton. In one sense his words have much of Kipling's 'Jelly-bellied Flag-flapper' about them but they do carry the imperial echo of their time. Their duty he told them was:

'To conquer and rule others as you have learnt to conquer and rule yourselves. You shall go out unhesitatingly into the uttermost parts of the earth and you shall return however insignificant your errand may seem, with your shield upon it.'²

The overtones of Imperial Rome are never far away in the public school literature of this period. The parallel drawn by Kipling between the British in India and the Romans in Britain is a frequent one. Soldiers and administrators in Kipling's stories, whatever their rank seem to symbolise the sacrifice of a race alienated from their mother country and

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2. Geoffrey Drage, Eton and the Empire (1890). See Appendix 1 for the full text and biographical details. Geoffrey Drage, Eton and the Labour Question (1894).
from a subject population. This imperial theme linking Rome with the
British Empire is to be found in Newbolt's famous poem *Clifton Chapel*.

"Qui procul hinc," the legend's writ -
The frontier grave is far away
"Qui ante diem perit
Sed miles, sed pro patria." ¹

These sentiments of Newbolt's are not far fetched, as two quotations from
J.G. Minchin's book of 1901 reveal.

'For the philosopher of any nation (not excluding our own)
the spectacle of the Englishman going through the world
with rifle in one hand and bible in the other is laughable
but to Englishmen who are neither logicians or idealists,
it is not. We wish to see his skill with one and his faith
with the other strengthened and increased. If asked what
our Muscular Christianity has done we point to the British
Empire. Our Empire would never have been built up by a
nation of idealists and logicians.'²

and (of the Eton-Harrow cricket match)

'Those who observed Crake's sangfroid at Lords will
watch his career in the army with interest ...

Thirty-six runs to make and thirty minutes to make them
in, it was pre-eminently an occasion for the nerve and
judgement which in other fields win the Victoria cross.'³

this collection include all Newbolt's best patriotic poetry. The
dedication is to Thomas Hardy. Many of the poems are directly
concerned with his school, Clifton.


3. Ibid. p *Op cit.* p 190. See also J.G.C. Minchin, *Old Harrow Days*
(1898) and C.H.P. Mayo, *Reminiscences of a Harrow Master* (1928) for
an interesting insight into the world of school and the Empire.
Francis Younghusband is the perfect example of the Clifton boy who set out to police and conquer new frontiers. A close friend of Newbolt's, he is celebrated in Newbolt's lines:

'The victories of our youth we count for gain
Only because they steeled our hearts to pain,
And hold no longer even Clifton great
Save as she schooled our wills to serve the State.'

Like many of his Clifton contemporaries, he went on to Sandhurst, where he gained both academic and athletic laurels. In 1882 he was gazetted to the King's Dragoon Guards and joined them in Meerut. Younghusband travelled extensively through Asia, giving lectures to the Royal Geographic Society on his return to England. In 1889 he explored the remote state of Hunza which then bordered on China and Afghanistan to discover the extent of Russian penetration of that province. After further adventures in Russia where he undoubtedly was involved in intelligence work, he became a political agent on the North West Frontier playing the 'Great Game'. He met Curzon in Chitral and returned there in 1895 from leave in Britain in order to take part in the relief of the capital. His involvement in the 1905 invasion of Tibet and his subsequent demotion because of political intrigue make Younghusband's life read like something out of boy's fiction of the period. Like many boys at Clifton from 1870s he came from a military family. Under the headmastership of Percival, Clifton was one of the most successful and the most educationally innovatory of all the Victorian public schools. It


D.N.B.
See also Francis Younghusband, But in Our Lives (1926), The Relief of Chitral (1895).
had a Jewish House and, whilst it had strong military connections, it
turned out a wide variety of talented men including Newbolt, Sir Arthur
Quiller Couch, I.A. Richards, Joyce Carey, Sir Michael Redgrave and
Trevor Howard. Newbolt however ensured that the school had a lasting
place in literature and the military links of the school remained
strong until the Second World War.¹

THE SCHOOL AT WAR

All night before the brink of death
In fitful sleep the army lay,
For through the dream that stilled their breath
Too gauntly glared the coming day.

But we, within whose blood there leaps
The fulness of a life as wide
As Avon's water where he sweeps
Seaward at last with Severn's tide,

We heard beyond the desert night
The murmur of the fields we knew,
And our swift souls with one delight
Like homing swallows Northward flew.

We played again the immortal games,
And grappled with the fierce old friends,
And cheered the dead undying names,
And sang the song that never ends;

Till, when the hard, familiar bell
Told that the summer night was late,
Where long ago we said farewell
We said farewell by the old gate.

"O Captains unforgot," they cried,
"Come you again or come no more,
Across the world you keep the pride,
Across the world we make the score." ²

¹. E.M. Oakley, Bishop Percival (1919). N.G.L. Hammond (Ed.) Centenary
Essays on Clifton College (1962). B.F. Christie, A History of
Clifton College 1860-1934 (1935).

². Sir Ralph Furse, Director of Recruitment at the Colonial Office (1918-
1945) said of Newbolt who was his father-in-law, 'he cherished the
tradition of chivalry and its spiritual child the English public
school'. A Perpetual Memory and other Poems (1935), memoirs by
Walter de la Mare and Sir Ralph Furse p 6.
Kipling's description of his days at Westward Ho are far from idyllic, although it is clear that he held the school and particularly its headmaster Cormell Price in high regard. Indeed the history of Westward Ho is a clear indication of how small schools advanced the general ethos of the larger public schools. Kipling is explicit about the school.

'Our food would now raise a mutiny in Dartmoor.

Games were compulsory unless written excuse were furnished by competent authority. The penalty for wilful shirking was three cuts from a ground ash from the prefect of games.'

Kipling's *Something of Myself* gives an insight into the minor public schools of the period and just how good intellectually they could be if they had a head of the calibre of Cormell Price. What is striking about Kipling's account of Westward Ho is how totally different it is from Curzon's account of Eton and Fisher's account of Winchester at the same period. The only thing that there seems to be in common is the emphasis on games.

2. Ibid, p 22.
3. Kipling, because he was not a product of Eton and Balliol, it has been claimed, was better served to portray the mass of people who came out of the minor public schools and served in India. This sense of isolation which runs through many of Kipling's stories of India is as much an isolation from the Government as from the native (see C. Harvie *The Theory of Imperialism and the European Partition of Africa - Proceedings of Seminar Centre of African Studies, Edinburgh University*, 3rd and 4th November 1967 p 23.
In Chapter 2 of *Something of Myself* Kipling reveals how he was fascinated reading Wellington's Indian Despatches and how he won a prize for a poem on the Battle of Assaye. However there is little to suggest in any of the reminiscences of life at Westward Ho that there was any attempt at serious imperial propaganda. When Kipling returned to the school in July 1894 to present the prizes he boasted of the school's reputation which had recently been praised by Lord Roberts for the quality of boy it turned out. He said that all that Price had tried to do was to turn out men 'able to make and keep Empires'.

Janet Adam Smith in her essay *Boy of Letters* is correct when she says that the ethos of *Stalky & Co* is 'raw' practical and unsentimental. Those who preferred the sentimentality of Newbolt were shocked by the unpatriotic utterances in *Stalky & Co*. In *The Flag of their Country* Kipling shows boys do not have to be reminded by a fat pompous old fool that they have duties and responsibilities. Most of them take this for granted. Since they are likely to follow in the footsteps of their fathers Martin insults their loyalty as well as their intelligence.


by reminding them of their imperial obligations. What makes the Stalky & Co stories so interesting is that they clearly reflect the life of the public schoolboy in the 1870s and life as seen from the boys' point of view. It seems unlikely that Kipling acquired his later imperialistic views at the school. Kipling in his dedication to Stalky & Co wrote

'Some beneath the further stars
Bear the greater burden
Sent to serve the lands they rule,
(Save he serve no man may rule),
Serve and love the lands they rule;
Seeking praise nor guerdon.'

There were those in the public schools who were anxious that the curriculum should be altered and less emphasis placed on games. Similarly there were those who viewed the growth of the School Corps after the 1880s with alarm but they were few and far between. Those schools which expanded were anxious to emulate the great public schools and totally agreed with the views of the Clarendon Commission quoted at the beginning of this chapter. It is not my intention to examine in this part of the thesis the relationship between the School Corps and games. Games were compulsory in almost every public school and in those which aspired to that status. The aim of the public school was, as one master of Fettes claimed fifteen years after the opening of that school, simple enough

'Our object should be to produce men that are kind, pure, thoughtful, robust and above all self sacrificing, ready to die rather than disgrace should come or injustice be done. Cleverness neither keeps man or nation.'

1. R. Kipling, Stalky & Co (1899) p 212.
2. Ibid. pp viii/ix
3. Suggested Reform in the Public Schools (1885) - A Fettes Master, p 177.
As I shall show in Chapter 7, these claims were still being made for the public school forty years later.

In 1891 the cadets entering Sandhurst were mainly from the following schools:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Cadets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eton</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifton</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marlborough</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haileybury</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charterhouse</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheltenham</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperial Service College</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedford</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Public Schools Yearbook 1892)

Wellington kept this lead until after the Second World War.

It is difficult to obtain data about the public schools because they were constantly changing. What can be said with a degree of certainty is that the 'Clarendon 7' and the more established schools varied in the numbers they sent to the army each year but since most schools had an 'army class' which coached boys for army entrance examination this is something which is difficult to appreciate. Not all pupils were successful in obtaining entrance to the army and many had to go to Crammers. Very often these establishments consisted of a retired army officer who eeked out his living by instructing boys. Churchill had to have three attempts before he got into Sandhurst. The fact that Crammers existed at all frequently gave rise to criticism of the public schools.
PUBLIC SCHOOL POPULATIONS IN 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eton</td>
<td>1030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westminster</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charterhouse</td>
<td>560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Paul's</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchant Taylor's</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrow</td>
<td>570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rugby</td>
<td>577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrewsbury</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheltenham</td>
<td>590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marlborough</td>
<td>589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifton</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malvern</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haileybury</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uppingham</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repton</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mill Hill</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oundle</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherbourne</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Public Schools Yearbook 1901)

Fees at Eton were about £200 per annum and few of the others charged less than £100.
General conclusions however must be tentative. The Victorian public schools were individualistic and there are considerable variations. Judging by the school magazines, and these are an important source, more boys were going overseas after 1880 although not always to serve in the army. Bamford has shown that by making an intensive study of the Cheltenham College Register for the seventy years from 1841 to 1910 the following pattern emerges. Of course not everyone who entered the army stayed in it and not everyone saw service abroad. However the number entering the Services (army or navy) stayed in them for at least three years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Armed Forces (Home)</td>
<td>2301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed Forces (India)</td>
<td>595</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clergy</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine (including Forces)</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Engineers</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Civil Service</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonial and Home Civil Service</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
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</tbody>
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(quoted in Bamford op cit. p 219)
So far I have tried to show the various strands which ran through the ethos of the public schools in the period after 1870. The insistence on the value of games took many forms. The notion that the playing field was some sort of early battlefield is to be found. Starting from the idea that games are physically and morally beneficial it was frequently argued that games fostered courage and patriotism. One writer in the Marlborough School Magazine took this view. Games, he said engendered

"That noblest and purest and highest of all earthly worship - hero-worship; that worship which had lain at the root of half the greatness that ever existed in the world's history, which overcame the frivolity and scepticism of Alcibiades which stirred the fiery emulation of Alexander, which led the high born gentlemen of England to pour out their blood like water on the field of Naseby and Marston Moor."

It is perhaps not surprising that in this period the public schools did not take kindly to the intellectual. This is not to say that the public schools rejected scholarship outright but Leonard Woolf pointed out that at St Paul's (1894-99) he was regarded as a 'swot'.

"England for considerably more than 100 years has been the most Philistine of all European countries. This, I suspect is largely due to the public schools...

Overtly the only standard of human value against which the boy was measured was athleticism. Use of the mind, intellectual curiosity, mental originality, interest in work, enjoyment of books or anything connected with the arts, all such things, if detected, were violently condemned and persecuted."


2. Leonard Woolf, Sowing: An Autobiography of the Years 1880-1904 R.U. edition 1960) p 71. However, Woolf singles out his history master A.M. Cook as being cultivated and from whom he claimed he learned to read widely. This was equally the case with E.M. Forster at Tonbridge. See P.N. Furbank E.M. Forster, A Life (1979) pp 41-48. Forster spent four wretched years there from 1893-97. However Woolf is exaggerated.
Rupert Wilkinson has drawn a comparison in *The Prefects* between the Imperial System of Confucian China and that of nineteenth century Britain. In a further article on this subject he has written:

'In public school England, the traits of the educational community, with its monastic barracks-room living, were also those of the military regiment. The same resemblance between education and military service did not exist in Confucian China. There, virtue was sought through scholarship rather than athleticism; and moral suasion was preferred to muscular evangelism. Not surprisingly the Chinese held professional soldiering in low regard, and Imperial defence suffered accordingly.'

It can be argued that the public schools were totally conscious of their imperial and military role but this was not part of any conscious policy which was handed down to them by the State. They were reminded of this by the fact that so many eminent statesmen frequently visited them. This is particularly true of Eton and Harrow where children were constantly reminded by visitors of the important role they had to play in the life of both the nation and the Empire. Headmasters preached a view of the world which encouraged their pupils to believe that they were inheriting something sacred when they stepped out of the school doors. The Victorian headmaster was an imposing figure. Cormell Price was, according to Kipling, a profound influence on him but he had been a staunch anti-imperialist as had Bowen. Welldon and Almond believed in the British Empire as did most public schoolmasters. However, as I have argued, imperial propaganda was of a subtle type and not every school was subject to the exhortations of Geoffrey Drage or the 'Jelly Bellied Flag Flapper'. Many public schoolboys saw through the more

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ludicrous aspects of imperial propaganda but this did not prevent them from being proud that there was a British Empire.

There were few headmasters who went as far as Cecil Reddie who wrote in his prospectus:

'The aim is to provide an ideal home and life for the sons of parents who can afford to have the best for their boys' physical, mental and moral welfare, and who realise that Education spells Empire.'

Reddie was a convinced Germanophile. Although his school was a small one it attracted considerable attention and it is worth while listening to Reddie's views. He too put a high priority on a spartan regime.

'The English have indeed shown how an Empire may be won, but they have not yet shown how it is to be retained. Possessing in an eminent degree the individualisation that can conquer, they have not yet produced the genius that can organise. History has now brought us to a point at which the qualities we excel in will have less scope, and the qualities we do possess will be indispensable... Our task, then, is to lay aside the ideals and systems which perhaps suited our national childhood and set to work to devise an educational engine suited to our imperial future.'


2. Lytton Strachey was one of Reddie's pupils. He did not send his old head a copy of Eminent Victorians lest the portrait of Dr Arnold offended him. Reddie who had studied in Germany and admired German education warmly complimented Strachey for praising the Prince Consort, a German, in Queen Victoria (1921).

3. Cecil Reddie, ibid.
Significantly it was to Abbotsholme that the French writer Edmond Desmolins went in order to write his account of English education and culture. Desmolins was impressed by the magnitude of the British Empire and put it down to one major cause - her public schools.

'C'est de l'école que s'accuse d'abord le contraste entre l'Angleterre et les autres nations de l'occident. Ce contraste est violent et il permet de saisir, à sa naissance, les causes profondes de la superiorité Anglo-Saxonne.' ¹

Churchill, somewhat typically, wrote in 1898:

'The year 1897, in the annals of the British people, was marked by a dedication to the whole world of their faith in the higher destinies of their race. If a strong man, when the wine sparkles at the feast and the lights are bright, boasts of his prowess, it is well he should have an opportunity of showing in the cold light of morning that he is not idle braggart.' ²

The public schools had helped to inculcate this faith. The public schoolboy who went out into the world of the 1880s and the 1890s did so confident of his future and, in the words of Welldon, profoundly believing in the destiny of the British Empire and the British race.

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1. E. Desmolins, op cit. p 6. Desmolins' book went into ten editions in France and was translated into English.

'nous ne pouvons faire un pas a travers le monde sans rencontrer l'anglais. Nous ne pouvons jeter les yeux sur nos anciennes possessions, sans y voir flotter le pavillon anglais.'

2. W.S. Churchill, The Malakand Field Force (1898)
What I have attempted to illustrate in this Chapter is the general developments in the public schools between 1880 and 1902. The public schools made the claim that they were educating the nation's leaders and felt this could be done through games and athletics as well as through academic studies. The public schools made a positive response to the Empire but there was no carefully worked out programme.

By 1900, if there was a public school ethos it was one of loyalty. Loyalty to one's school, one's comrades and the nation and the Empire.
CHAPTER TWO

THE STATE SYSTEM AND THE EMPIRE

1870 - 1905

The public provision for the education of the people in England is not the product of any theory or plan formulated beforehand by statesmen or philosophers; it has come into existence through a long course of experiments, compromises, traditions, successes, failures and religious controversies. What has been done in this department of public policy is the resultant of many diverse forces and of slow evolution and growth rather than of pure purpose and well defined national aims. It has been effected in different degrees by philanthropy, by private enterprise, by religious zeal, by ancient universities and endowed foundations, by municipal and local effort, and only to a small extent by legislation. The genius - or rather characteristic habit - of the English people is averse from the philosophical system and is disposed to regard education, not as a science but as a body of expedients to be discovered empirically and amended from time to time as occasion may require.

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I deal with the growth of the State system of education after 1870. Whilst Britain's failures in the Boer War were frequently attributed to the paucity of her educational provision, there were increasingly strident claims made from the 1850s onwards that it was German education which was responsible for that country's industrial supremacy. In particular her scientific and technical education was held up as a shining example. On the other hand, there were many who agreed with Lord Salisbury who urged those who thought otherwise 'to believe that which all past history teaches us that, left alone, British industry, British enterprise, British resource is competent, and more than competent, to beat down every rivalry, under any circumstances, in any part of the globe that might arise.'

After 1902 it was no longer possible to be quite so complacent. As H.G. Wells said;

'The South African War laid bare an amazing and terrifying amount of national incompetence.'

This concern about Britain's declining military and industrial efficiency led to demands for a national system of education which would compete with the growing power of Germany.

1. Lord Salisbury quoted in H. Birchenough, Contemporary Review XLI 1897 p 993. 'Does Trade follow the Flag.'

Therefore by 1902 there was a much more rigorous examination of Britain's intellectual vigour and a growing concern about her prestige in the world.

The public schools continued to remain firmly apart from the rest of the educational system, but as I shall show in Chapter 3, after the Boer War, there was a far more sustained volume of criticism directed against them.
1. THE STATE SYSTEM

The Royal Commission of 1858-61 under the chairmanship of the Duke of Newcastle made an intensive study of the state of English education. ¹ Though the Commission was able to report considerable progress in the establishment of schools it appeared that not only were many children in no school at all, but that an actual majority of those attending were in schools not assisted or effectively influenced by the State. 573,536 scholars were in private schools; 671,393 were in denominational, ragged or factory schools unassisted by any Government grant, while 917,255 were in grant-aided schools, 85% of which were denominational. Few children were educated at all after the age of eleven and, generally, pupils attended for only 100 days in the year. It is against this background which one must place the agitation surrounding W.E. Forster's Bill of 1870.²

The Elementary Education Act of 1870 ended the period of pure 'voluntarism'. It established the principle that in areas and parishes where the provision of education was inadequate or unsuitable, schools might be set up and maintained at public expense. School Boards were instituted with the power to levy a compulsory local rate not to exceed threepence in the pound for educational purposes - in the event a rate of five or six times this amount was frequently levied. Compulsory

¹ Report of the Commissioners appointed to Inquire into the State of Popular Education, Vol I pp 1861 XXI.
² This refers to England. I explain the situation in Scotland on p 79.
attendance at these schools could be reinforced if the School Board desired. Religious instruction, under a conscience clause, was allowed but denominational teaching of all kinds was forbidden.¹

There was no full measure of compulsion to attend at this stage. In 1876 under Lord Sandon's Act of that year, school attendance committees could be established where there was no School Board, and the employment of children under ten for wages could be prohibited. Between ten and thirteen, employment became conditional upon a certificate of proficiency in the elementary subjects, or of school attendance.

Mundella's Act of 1880 compelled all School Board and school attendance committees to enforce attendance up to the age of ten. In 1893 the age at which a child could claim partial exemption was raised to eleven, in 1899 it was raised to twelve and in 1900 the authorities were given power to raise the age of compulsory attendance to fourteen.²

A sequel to this growing measure of compulsion was the abolition of school fees. In 1891 the Education Department took powers to enforce the provision of free schools in every area and to provide for the payment of a grant in lieu. The few remaining fees were abolished by the Fisher Act of 1918.

¹. What has to be borne in mind is that for fifty years or more the curriculum of the elementary school was firmly controlled.

What must be understood is that while the system was being applied universally in this way, and while the proportion of certificated teachers was increasing, it certainly cannot be claimed that the methods of instruction conformed to the best ideal of education. In the popular mind, and this was the main force behind the Forster Act, the first function of the elementary school was to destroy illiteracy and to attain a mechanical efficiency in the teaching of reading, arithmetic and writing. The Newcastle Commission had recommended that the payment of grants should depend on the attainment of the individual scholar in these three subjects. This principle of "payment by results" was incorporated in Robert Lowe's revised Code of 1862. Subsequently, pupils in elementary schools were examined by Her Majesty's Inspectors every year, and the prospects and position of the teacher became dependent to a very large extent upon the results of this examination. Not only the curriculum, but the degree of attainment expected at every stage of school life became standardised. Subjects other than those which earned a grant were neglected, and there were many inducements for a teacher to simply drill the pupils with a machine-like precision. One can say without impunity that there were many 'Gradgrinds' in the educational system in the 1870s and 80s. To be fair, the teaching profession always objected most strongly to this diversion of its activities into narrow channels and after the Cross Commission of 1888 the system of 'Payment by Results' lapsed.

1. R.L. Archer, Education in the Nineteenth Century (1921).
The disappearance of the 'Payment by Results' system meant that teachers were more free to devise new methods of instruction but what must be borne in mind is that for the entire nineteenth century, elementary education was defined primarily as education for a class and not a specific age group. To this extent the public schools together with town grammar schools stood miles apart. What was expected of elementary school children may be witnessed in the statement made by the Rev James Fraser, later to become Bishop of Manchester, to the members of the Newcastle Commission which thoroughly met with their approval.

'Even if it were possible, I doubt whether it would be desirable, with a view to the real interests of the peasant boy, to keep him at school till he was fourteen or fifteen years of age. But it is not possible. We must make up our minds to see the last of him, as far as the day school is concerned, at ten or eleven. We must frame our system of education on this hypothesis; and I venture to maintain that it is quite possible to teach a child soundly and thoroughly, in a way he shall not forget it, all that is necessary for him to possess in the shape of intellectual attainments, by the time that he is ten years old. If he has been properly looked after in the lower classes, he shall be able to spell correctly the words that he will ordinarily have to use; he shall read with sufficient ease to be a pleasure to himself and to convey information to listeners, if gone to live at a distance from home, he shall write his mother a letter that shall be both legible and intelligible; he knows enough of ciphering to make out, or test the correctness of, a common shop bill; if he hears talk of foreign countries he has some notions as to the part of the habitable globe in which they lie; and underlying all, and not without its influence, I trust, upon his life and conversation, he has acquaintance enough with the Holy Scriptures to follow the allusions and the argument of a plain Saxon sermon.'

What I am indicating here is that the elementary school curriculum was extremely limited in the years before the First World War. Before 1890 it seems unlikely that there was any sustained imperial propaganda in the schools. Patriotism of a very mild sort was held up to the children as a good thing but there is little evidence, other than the few textbooks in use in elementary schools, that the British Empire was considered to be of great importance. According to Robert Roberts in The Classic Slum elementary teachers preached the gospel of Empire with what appeared to be a religious like fervour but he is referring to the years after the Boer War.¹

The fear of state intervention in education was understandable in the nineteenth century. State control might interfere with the school master's private property since many headmasters owned their schools. It could lead to the secularisation of religious institutions. More importantly it could lead to a levelling of social distinctions and this the Victorians feared. It was one thing to value education as a means of rising to a higher station in life, quite another to promote this on a wide scale. The middle classes cherished their independence and felt that state education was only appropriate for the poorer classes although they expected to pay for the education of their own children as the Rev J.P. Morris, H.M.I. wrote in 1869:

¹ Roberts in writing about Salford in 1906 The Classic Slum (1971) p 142, claims that his teachers were steeped in Seeley and Kipling.
'The more civilised the homes the less need the Government interfere with the education of the children. As we ascend through the several gradations of schools, the control of the State should become less and less.'

SCOTLAND

It is not my intention to dwell at length on the difference between the Scottish and English systems. As G.E. Davie has shown there were certain advantages in the Scottish system of education as well as certain disadvantages and it did not escape Scottish educationists that for the first few years at least Scottish candidates did not do well in the Indian Civil Service Examinations.

'The Indian Civil Service was thrown open to competition, and at the very first trial, those candidates who had been educated in Scotland failed egregiously. Of the many benefits, which, now admittedly, the Union of the Kingdoms had conferred on the Scotsmen, the connection which it opened to them with the East India Company has been the most unquestionable.'

If Scottish pride received a jolt at this it made no difference to the claims which were continually advanced for the superiority of Scottish education over its English counterpart. However, the Scottish universities were quick to fall into line and although Scottish education retained its separate identity it came much closer to the English pattern. Perhaps the chief feature of this was the establishment of English type public schools after 1870.

1. J.P. Norris, The Education of the People, Our Weak Points and Strengths, Occasional Essays (1869) p 16.
   See also Earl Fortescue, Public Schools for the Middle Classes (1864) pp 3-8.

   See also J.P. Norris, ibid., which applies the principles of 'laissez-faire' to education.
Today, educational policy is broadly similar throughout the United Kingdom. However the development of the educational system in Scotland has had a totally separate history and considerable variations in practice still remain.

The basis of a national system of education in Scotland can be traced back to the first of the two Books of Discipline (1560). The comprehensive system put forward by the Protestant reformer John Knox was highly complex. In essence it proposed a three-tier structure: elementary schools in the parishes for the ages five to eight, grammar schools for the teaching of Latin, Greek, rhetoric and logic in high schools. This was to be followed by a three years Arts course at university which could lead on to courses in medicine, law or divinity.

What distinguished the Scottish education system from its English equivalent was the early use of national legislation to provide financial support. The Act of 1696 for the 'Settling of Schools' made it obligatory on local landowners to provide schools, schoolmasters and salary.

It has always been argued that Scottish education has always been truly 'democratic.' Evidence for this was given in a speech made to the House of Lords by the Duke of Argyll in 1869:

   See also G.S. Osborne, *Scottish and English Schools* (1966).
   A. Morgan, *Rise and Progress of Scottish Education* (1927).
   J. Kerr, *Scottish Education; School and University* (1910).
   H.M. Knox, *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Scottish Education* (1953).
'It is the universal custom all over Scotland that men in very different classes of society should be educated together in parochial schools. You will have the children of the poorest labourer sitting beside the children of the farmer who employs him, the children of the clergyman of the parish and even in some cases of the landed gentry, sitting on the same bench and learning from the same master the same branches of instruction.'

There was much truth in the Duke of Argyll's statement but this was not a situation which was to endure for long in nineteenth century Scotland as an increasingly 'anglicisation' took place.2

The educational landmark of nineteenth century Scotland was the Act of 1872 which transferred the work of organising and administering education from the Church to the State. This Act, like its English counterpart of 1870, helped establish a national system of public elementary schools and made education compulsory between the ages of five and thirteen. Parochial and burgh schools formed the nucleus of the system, and denominational schools could be transformed to the national system. Many of the voluntary schools were transferred in the years between 1872 and 1918 when Roman Catholic and Episcopal schools were able to become part of the State system. In 1872 the Scotch (now Scottish) Education


Department was set up but local management of schools, as in England, was vested in School Boards which consisted of five to fifteen elected members. The 1872 Act was the most important measure affecting education in Scotland in the nineteenth century. Although it failed to establish secondary education there was a rapid development in post-primary education in the following years. In 1892 the allocation of a grant for the development of secondary education led to the setting up of Secondary Education Committees.

The 1918 Act differed in some ways from Fisher's Act of the same year. The most important difference was that the Act enabled managers of denominational schools, the great majority of which were Roman Catholic or Episcopalian, to transfer their schools to the management of education authorities on terms which secured to the church authorities the right to approve teachers appointed to the schools as regards religious belief and character, and to continue to supervise religious instruction in the schools. To this extent the Education (Scotland) Act of 1918 ushered in some reforms which took another 26 years to implement in England.¹

¹ However for the purpose of this thesis it is not my intention to treat Scotland separately. I refer to the 'British system' but some educationists would argue that there is more than one system operating in the United Kingdom. See R. Bell and N. Grant, Patterns of Education in the British Isles (1977) pp 13-53.

The (English) Board of Education was established by an Act of Parliament in 1899 and came into existence on 18th April 1900. It was the lineal descendant of the Education Department, a Committee of the Privy Council and of the Science and Art Department. The Board lasted until 1944 when it became a Ministry under the 1944 Act. In 1907 a Welsh Department of the Board of Education was established to deal with Welsh educational matters. The Scotch Education Department (Scottish after 1918) was set up in 1885 when it became separate from the English Department. Responsibility to Parliament rested with the Secretary of State for Scotland and the overall control and development of education, apart from the universities, is administered by the Department.

The ratio of university students per head of population in Scotland during the years 1875-1900 was 1:1,000 compared with 1:2,600 in Germany and 1:5,800 in England. Of the 882 students in the first year of the Arts course at the four Scottish universities in session 1866-67, 20% were sons of artisans and labourers, and over 20% came from parochial schools. As one historian of adult education has said, Scotland by the mid-nineteenth century was in a far stronger position educationally and technical education was more established than in England.

1. N.A. Wade, Post-Primary Education and the Primary Schools of Scotland, (1939) pp 25-34.
'In Scotland the position was different. Here thanks to the development of the parish school system, a high proportion of the working men had a sound basic education and generations of theological discourse had produced an intellectual toughness and discipline which were lacking south of the Border.'

Thus Scottish education does not present the same anomalies as the English system. There is a closer approach to a really unified system of schools. If we compare the figures for English and Scottish schools in the years between 1920-30 we find that Scottish schools had a significantly higher proportion of children attending secondary schools. However no matter what distinct emphasis is put on a Scottish educational tradition, to all intents and purposes there are no large scale differences in the two systems as they evolved after 1870.

Total Government Expenditure on Education, Science and Art in the United Kingdom

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The purchasing power of the pound was roughly as follows (based on 1974 Central Statistical Office figures).

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<tr>
<td>1900</td>
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The administration of education in England and Wales in 1890 was a complex affair. The Education Department had responsibility for elementary education, except for certain schools of an elementary character with endowments over £100. The higher grade schools were strictly speaking secondary schools but they were not termed as such. They also came under the authority of the Education Department. The great public schools and those who had achieved status since 1860 were totally independent. In addition to this there were the endowed grammar schools which were subject to Charity Commission but obtained some grants from the Science and Art Department. The Science and Art Department also gave grants to certain schools undertaking technical or design work and to technical and art colleges. The Board of Agriculture made certain grants as well.

In all this confusion there was considerable over-lapping and little co-ordination. There were 2,568 different School Boards and 14,238 other authorities (school attendance committees and boards of managers). As the confusion grew it was felt that some sort of government intervention was necessary in order to bring some order to the situation. An attempt in 1892 to introduce legislation enabling counties to organise secondary education came to nothing but the pressure to get something done continued.

Something of the leisurely attitude which the Civil Service had towards education at the time may be gleaned from the following letter from Michael Sadler to his wife in January 1895. Sadler was subsequently put in charge of the Department which made special enquiries into the educational systems of other countries. In an interview with Sir George Kekewich (Secretary of the Education Department 1890-1900 and
Secretary of the Board of Education (1900-03) Kekewich told Sadler:

'Hardly any of the older men in the Department care for education in its widest sense - We are all here - we want someone to help us out of grooves. Then we talked of subjects. He wants a visit paid to some French colleges before September - but rose to the idea of the visit to Jena and a report on the training of teachers. He is very keen that we should not go too quick but gradually approach a wider conception of the Department's work in relation to education.'

Sir Robert Morant writing in 1902 against the background of the preparation of the 1902 Act described the Department.

'The Duke of Devonshire, the nominal Education Minister, failing through inertia and stupidity to grasp any complicated detail half an hour after he had listened to the clearest exposition of it, pre-occupied with Newmarket and in bed till twelve o'clock. Kekewich trying to outstay this government and quite superannuated in authority; government cynical and careless, having given up even the semblance of interest in the office; the Cabinet absorbed in other affairs and impatient and bored with the whole question of education.'

The need to improve the overall quality of elementary education was not lost on politicians of both parties. What was difficult to decide was exactly how this should be effected and whether the State had a right to impose its will on local authorities and church organisation. Similarly,

1. Michael Sadleir, Michael Ernest Sadler, A Memoir by his son (p 136), letter from Sadler to his wife, 21st January 1895.

as I will indicate, many perceptive critics felt that Britain had to develop a system of secondary and technical education if she hoped to keep up with Germany. However the climate of opinion was still that only children of 'exceptional ability' should be promoted from elementary to secondary schools. Sadler argued

'Scholarships should be provided to draft to secondary schools - not later than twelve years of age, those pupils with the kind of ability which a secondary school is best fitted to develop; but for the great majority of the pupils the higher elementary pupils will be the crown of their day school course.'

This was the same view taken by Sir John Gorst, Vice President of the Education Department at the time.

'While primary instruction should be provided for, and even enforced upon all, advanced instruction is for the few.'

What constituted 'advanced instruction' in 1902 is now regarded as secondary education, that is education beyond the age of fourteen. What gave the broad movement for improved educational facilities an increased impetus was an awareness that if Britain hoped to maintain her Empire then she had to invest in secondary education and this meant state intervention on a large scale.

Describing the situation of the 1890s some twenty years later Beatrice Webb drew attention to the fact that the National Union of Teachers had a different view of how state education should be administered.

1. Quoted in Olive Banks, Parity and Prestige in English Education (1955) p 51.

2. Ibid. p 52.
'The leaders of the N.U.T. and the energetic administrators of the progressive School Boards had a vision of an all-embracing system of public education from the infant school to the modernised university, administered by one ad hoc elected local authority, regulated by one central department and served by a homogeneous body of men and women, disciplined by one type of training and belonging to one professional organisation - According to the programme of the N.U.T., the school life of the ordinary child was to be considerably extended and whenever a boy or girl showed sufficient strength and sufficient capacity for superior technical education - 1

It should be pointed out that there was no necessary antagonism between the ideals of the N.U.T. and the religious demands made by the churches but the teachers feared what they saw as the link up between the Church, the Conservative Party and the public schools. At the same time secondary school teachers who did not belong to the N.U.T. wanted nothing to do with the elementary school teacher and looked on them as a race apart. What one has to realise in any examination of British education (although I would make certain reservations about Scotland) is that in one form or another educational debate and argument over the last 100 years has centred round whether there should be "Education for an elite" or "Secondary education for all". This conflict is to be seen in discussions on the place of the public schools and their role in society and whether schools should or should not be comprehensive. According to Beatrice Webb who was restating the case in 1915 for more public education, the situation in that year was no different from the 1890s.

1. The New Statesman, Special Supplement 25th September 1915, pp 19-20. Beatrice Webb was arguing that the next Education Bill should make up for the deficiencies of the 1902 Act.
'Now the best educational atmosphere it was thought, could be maintained only by keeping up a high standard of culture. It could not as a rule be given by teachers, however industrious and sharp-witted, who came from middle class homes, who had never enjoyed the advantages of outdoor sports and games or a cultivated leisure, and who had concentrated their energies from an early age upon the acquisition of the technique of instructing large classes of undisciplined children in multifarious subjects. The accent, the manners, the expression, even the physical characteristics and the clothes of the elementary school teacher were compared adversely with the more attractive personal characteristics resulting from a well-to-do home and the ordinary public school and university education.'

Indeed this is not surprising since the public schools did see themselves as an elite. By 1903 there were 102 schools in membership of the Headmasters' Conference (founded in 1869 by Thring of Uppingham) with a population of over 30,000 boys. The function of the Headmasters' Conference was to look after the interests of the public schools. As such it was an exclusive club and to be a member of it was a sign that one's school had achieved the necessary status. One aspect of this is to be found in the way in which schools, as they aimed for public school status, quickly dropped any obligation they had to look after poorer children. To take one example, Repton in 1854 had only 50 boys of whom the vast majority were day boys. By 1874 this number stood at over 260 the majority of whom were boarders. Social pressures had ensured that local boys were excluded. As Brian Simon has shown in Education and the Labour Movement there was a marked tendency for many schools to become alienated from the neighbourhood as they became exclusively board establishments. What tended to happen was that grammar schools were

2. A. MacDonald, A Short History of Repton (1929) p 166.
created to cater for the demands of local tradesmen.\(^1\) Again, to take the example of Sherborne School, there were fundamental changes in the character of many of the schools after 1871. Sherborne was a grammar school founded by Edward VI. Even before 1865 when the Schools Inquiry Commission visited it the school had changed and was not catering exclusively for local boys. New statutes of 1871 ensured that the school was firmly established as a boarding institution and because of pressure by townspeople a grammar school was set up. The reorganisation of Sherborne in 1871 abolished free places for local foundationers and instituted entry by examination.\(^2\)

2. THE SYSTEMS COMPARED

To illustrate the difference in education in the nineteenth century I have chosen two different men who were born in 1865 and 1866 respectively and who in their own distinctive and varied ways went on to influence the educational system of twentieth century Britain. One is H.A.L. Fisher and the other H.G. Wells. Fisher became a distinguished historian and an outstanding President of the Board of Education ushering in the 1918 Act. Wells, on the other hand, was a scientist, novelist and a social reformer. Both had strong views on education, both had much to say about the Empire.

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Fisher's father was private secretary to the Prince of Wales and had been an outstanding Classics scholar. Fisher said of him however

"He was not learned. He had no German." 1

The young Fisher grew up in cultivated and prosperous surroundings. He came into contact with bishops, soldiers and distinguished academics and statesmen. His mother spoke excellent French and taught her eleven children to play the piano. Fisher went to a preparatory school in Maidenhead and at the age of thirteen he went to Winchester where he gained first prize in the scholarship examination for New College, Oxford. In addition to this he won numerous other distinctions. Of Winchester he wrote:

'I enjoyed every moment of my life at Winchester; the work, the games, the society of my fellows and my masters and the compelling beauty of the College meads, and of the sweet water meadows, along which the College is set, were all delightful." 2

Even allowing for the fact that he was looking back over a time span of sixty years, Fisher's picture is not over-idyllic. Many boys were extremely happy at the Victorian public school and to represent it as a bear pit with roastings and beatings is a totally erroneous one. Fisher however makes an important point about the curriculum.

'Looking back I recognise that our intellectual training was too one-sided. We hardly touched the skirt of the sciences. The vast field of modern knowledge was a closed book to us; but we learned to enjoy the beauties of literature, and those of us who had any turn for history or for exact classical scholarship found every opportunity for exercising and improving these gifts." 3

1. An Unfinished Autobiography (1940) pp 4-5. Fisher's love for Germany and his admiration for things German was frequently commented on.


It can be argued that Winchester was (and possibly still is) the most academically distinguished of the public schools. Kipling who was at school at the same time as Fisher wrote in less glowing terms about Westward Ho but he did enjoy his time there and he paid tribute to the teaching of Cormell Price for the intellectual stimulus he bestowed on him.

When Fisher went to Oxford in 1884 the university had recently been reformed. New College had, prior to 1854, been for Wykehamists only and its fellows were not permitted to marry. Fisher gained a first in Greats and was elected a fellow of the College in 1888. After this he travelled extensively in France and Germany studying with a fervour he had hitherto not experienced at Oxford. He was singularly impressed by German universities and spent the longest part of 1890 and 1891 in Gottingen, Dresden and Weimar. He produced the History of Europe, became Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University and a member of Lloyd George's Cabinet as President of the Board of Education.


By contrast H.G. Wells was born in a house over a shop in Bromley High Street, Kent. Wells's father was a tradesman and his circumstances were penurious although not altogether dismal. His mother struggled to keep up appearances. From an early age Wells was an avid reader largely because of the fact that his father had collected a good library of books. Wells was to write later that it was about this time (1874) that the British ruling classes had woken up to the fact

'that a nation with a lower stratum of illiterates would compete at a disadvantage against the foreigner. A condition of things in which everyone would read and write and do sums, dawned on the startled imagination of mankind.'

Instead of going to the local elementary school Wells was sent to the small private school run by Mr Morley. Styled an 'academy' it was the worst type of private school but Wells felt that even Morley's old style of forced teaching was superior to that of the teachers at the elementary school who were forced by the 'payments by results' system to stifle all imagination. Largely thanks to Morley, Wells was able to move on to Midhurst Grammar School, an old endowed school which had been revived under the Endowed Schools Commission of 1868.

By the time he was fifteen Wells was bitterly disappointed. Two spells in a draper's shop were to make him restless. He railed against

'A scheme of things which carried me off before I was fifteen to what was plainly a dreary and hopeless life, while other boys no better in quality than myself were enjoying all the advantages - I thought they were stupendous advantages in those days - of the public school and university.'

Wells' desperation is easy to understand and his subsequent career as a student master at Midhurst, then as a teacher in training at South Kensington, then at the University of London under Huxley before taking his B.Sc. in 1890 makes compelling and instructive reading. His education had been extremely haphazard but he never regretted this and he never subsequently regretted that he had not gone to public school, although he did send his son to Oundle which was regarded as being one of the most progressive for its time.  

It can be argued that both Fisher and Wells were extraordinary and exceptionally gifted people whose social and educational milieu did not in the least matter. However, the reader of the autobiographies of the two men; autobiographies which are at once speculative, informative and above all entertaining will gain considerable insight into the contrast in the 'two systems' of education which pertained in the years between 1880 and 1900. Wells only narrowly avoided being a failure. He was never an outstanding scientist and he knew this. He was aware that he had never really had a basic grounding and he took pride that he was, to all intents and purposes, a self-taught man. Later when he found himself in the company of public schoolmen he thought of them as arrested


2. H.G. Wells, op cit. pp 209-240. Wells is an exceedingly interesting commentator on the educational system of Britain because unlike so many others he did not attend public school. See Love and Mr Lewisham (1900) and An Englishman Looks at the World (1914) and The World of William Clissold (1926).
adolescents who were responsible for the intellectual and economic
decline of Britain and the Empire.¹

H.A.L. Fisher recalled the imperial influence at work at Winchester
but it was not a systematic one.

'Though we noted and deplored the wretched cottages
on a neighbour's estate, the social problems did not
tortment us. Of European history - we knew nothing
and only the appearance of Seeley's The Making of
England brought home to me at the end of my Winchester
career the true character of our Empire.'²

Of the elementary schools which he managed to avoid, Wells said:

'In spirit form and intention they were inferior
schools, and to send one's children to them in
those days, as my mother understood, was a definite
and final acceptance of social inferiority. The
Education Act was not an Act for a common universal
education, it was an Act to educate the lower
classes for employment on lower class lines, and
with specially trained inferior teachers who had
no university quality.'³

One aspect of the 'class division' in education in the late nine¬
teenth century is to be found in the attitude which elementary teachers
had towards the Inspectorate. Inspectors recruited from the univer¬
sities, were frequently public schoolmen and had never seen the inside
of an elementary school before starting their job. Teachers complained
of their lack of knowledge, their insensitivity and their class arrogance.

¹ H.G. Wells, op cit. p 764.
³ H.G. Wells, op cit. p 85.
Inspectors learned their job at the expense of teachers and there was no way a teacher could appeal against an unjust decision. His livelihood depended on his certificate and the Inspector held considerable power.

'The unpopularity of the H.M.I. was the outcome of his social superiority, or of a class arrogance not always concealed....But it would be unjust not to acknowledge that many of the old type of H.M.I. behaved, within the limits imposed by the system, like the gentlemen they mostly were.'

3. GERMANY

'Look at Germany' became a catchword from the 1860s onwards. It was such a ritual incantation that Dr Phelps, the Master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, was heard to burst out

'A Prussian is a Prussian and an Englishman an Englishman and God forbid it should be otherwise.'


See also Report of the Cross Commission.
Also Parliamentary Papers 1888 Vol XXXVII pp 73-86.

Phelps was opposed to the idea that colleges should cooperate in order to provide a laboratory for the entire university. However the admiration for German scientific and technical education grew. All the major education Commissions from 1868 onwards visited France and Germany to study how these countries coped with education. As part of his duties as Assistant Commissioner to the Taunton Commission, Matthew Arnold carried out enquiries in France, Italy and Switzerland. However it was Germany which was singled out for praise as *Punch* so brilliantly reported in 1885.

I haf brought you German culture for the poddy and the mind
Die Erhabene Kultur of efery sort and efery kind;
All the pessimistic dogtrines of the Schopenhauer school
And the blessings of a bureaucratisch-military rule
I shall teach you shplendid knowledge, vot you
hitherto haf lacked
That religion is a fantasy, whilst sausage is a fact;
Ja, the mysteries of sauerkraut to you shall be made clear
And your souls shhall learn to float on foaming waves of Lager-Bier.

Educationists continued to pontificate on the lessons which Germany offered. Two distinguished British educationists, Joseph Payne and R.H. Quick drew attention to the superiority of German education. The intellectual press took up the same cry.

3. R.H. Quick, *German Education* (1880).
'Educate, educate, educate is the burthen of the lesson from Germany - technical education for workmen and manufacturers, modern languages and science for commercial men and workers alike.'

and

'There is little doubt that the salient fact of the industrial world...is the commercial uprising of the German people; and to this is due perhaps as much as to any more general or recorded cause the continued depression of British industry.'

A Royal Commission on Technical Instruction (The Samuelson Report) was set up in 1881. Its terms of reference reflected the widespread concern about the state of British industry and its ability to stand up to European competition. Under the chairmanship of Sir Bernhard Samuelson FRS, its remit was

'To inquire into the instruction of the industrial classes of certain foreign countries in technical and other subjects for the purpose of comparison with that of corresponding classes in this country; and into the influence of such instruction on manufacturing and other industries at home and abroad.'

1. Spectator, 26th June 1886.
2. Spectator, 14th August 1886.
3. Royal Commission on Technical Instruction 1881.
4. Bernhard Samuelson (1820-1905), engineer and ironmaster. Liberal MP for Banbury 1859-60, then from 1865-95. In 1867 he had made a private study of European technical education. He was also a member of the Devonshire Commission on Scientific Instruction (1872).
The Commission was impressed by what it saw on the continent but felt that Britain still retained a lead in the industrial world.

'Great as has been the progress of foreign countries, and keen as is their rivalry with us in many important branches, we have no hesitation in stating our conviction, which we believe to be shared by Continental manufacturers themselves, that, taking the state of the arts of construction and the staple manufactures as a whole, our people still maintain their position at the head of the industrial world ..... In two very important respects, however, the education of a certain proportion of persons employed in industry abroad, is superior to that of English workmen; first as regards the systematic instruction in drawing given to adult artisans, more especially in France, Belgium and Italy; and secondly, as to the general diffusion of elementary education in Switzerland and Germany.'

However, disquiet continued to be expressed and Sir Philip Magnus, one of the Commissioners was later to reveal that the Commission as a whole did not foresee the progress which Germany was to make.

'From 1884 onwards, during many years, the members of the Commission, more especially Sir Henry Roscoe, Sir Swire Smith, the late Mr Woodall and myself addressed large meetings in nearly every manufacturing centre throughout the country, describing what we had seen abroad, supplementing the facts in the Blue Book by personal anecdotes, illustrating the determined efforts, particularly of our German and Swiss neighbours to compensate, by well considered methods of education, any recognised deficiency of natural resources. At times it may have seemed that our descriptions were over-coloured, but we had to stimulate our countrymen to realise that what we were wont to call our commercial supremacy was being seriously threatened, and that our crying need was a national system of education, adapted to the

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existing requirements of modern trade and commerce. We did not then foresee that a quarter of a century later our naval supremacy would be likewise threatened by the dogged earnestness and the scientific methods of the same enterprising nation. But looking back through the vista of time, one cannot fail to recognise that the foundations of German greatness, of her industrial success and her naval strength, were laid in her well-ordered schools, and that by the financial sacrifices which she made to be in advance of every civilised country in the excellence of her universities, of her technical institutions and secondary schools, she has at last attained to that position to which all her efforts were directed."

The question of providing higher technical education in Britain became a pressing one. In 1888, at the opening of the Dundee Technical Institute, Swire Smith, a woollen manufacturer who had been instrumental in developing education in Keighley and who had served on the Samuelson Committee, pointed to the continuing failure of industrialists and educationalists alike to grasp the importance of technical education. Technical education, he claimed, was essential if Britain was to maintain her position as an Imperial power.

'But the fact remains that the wealthy manufacturer reverses the example of the conquering Romans and sends his own son to a classical school to learn Latin and Greek as a preparation for cloth manufacturing, calico printing, engineering or coal mining. Is it fair to the young chemical or jute manufacturer that he should have been taught nothing of chemistry, or of practical mechanics, steam electricity, the methods of commerce or even of modern languages?'

1. Sir Philip Magnus, Educational Aims and Efforts (1910) p 94.

2. Inaugural address at Dundee Technical Institute, Swire Smith MP, 10th October 1888 p 31 Prospectus of Dundee Technical Institute 1889.

For an interesting account of the battle for technical education in this period see Sir Philip Magnus ibid.
This concern about Britain's position applied not only to Germany but to other countries. Many saw in America a real threat to Britain's industrial might. For the journalist W.T. Stead, English education was a poor reflection of its American counterpart. Unlike the United States, access to higher education by the poorer classes was virtually unheard of in Britain.

'Until our working people who have a vote determine to use it to compel Parliament to give every child as good an education and as fair a chance of making his way to a university career (if he is bright enough) as he would have if he emigrated to the United States, nothing will be done.'

However there were many in both the ranks of the Conservative Party and the Liberal Party who were convinced that Britain had to do something urgent about its educational system, even if this did mean massive State intervention.

The Bryce Commission on Secondary Education of 1895 drew the conclusions that there should be a central authority for secondary education and this was reflected in the Act of 1899 which set up the Board of Education. The Report drew attention to the fact that whilst the State was beginning to take a greater interest in education, the growth had not been either continuous or coherent. What was required was a National System of Secondary Education which would ensure that technical instruction would also be increased.

'Elementary education is among the first needs of a people and especially of a free people, as appears by the fact that all or nearly all, modern constitutional states have undertaken to provide it. But it is those who have received a further and superior kind of instruction that the intellectual progress of a nation is maintained. It is they who provide its literature, who advance its science, who direct its government. In England, those classes which have been wont to resort to the universities have, during the last sixty or seventy years fared well. Those who could afford to pay the very high charges made at some of the great endowed schools have had an education which, if somewhat one-sided, has been highly stimulative to certain types of mind. But the great body of the commercial and professional classes were long forced to content themselves with a teaching which was usually limited in range and often poor quality, and whose defects had become so familiar that they had ceased to be felt as defects. Things have improved within the last thirty years, as may be seen by whoever compares the picture drawn by our Assistant Commissioner with that contained in the Reports of the Assistant Commissioners of 1865. (This is a reference to the Taunton Commission, Bryce had been Assistant Commissioner then.) But the educational opportunities offered in most of our towns, and in nearly all our country districts, to boys or girls who do not proceed to the universities but leave school at sixteen are still far behind the requirements of our time, and far less ample than the incomes of the parents and the public funds available might well provide.

Not a few censors have dilated upon the disadvantages from which young Englishmen suffer in industry and commerce owing to the superior preparation of their competitors in several countries of continental Europe. These disadvantages are real. But we attach importance to the faults of dullness and bareness to which so many lives are condemned by the absence of those capacities for intellectual enjoyment which ought to be awakened in youth. Thus, it is not merely in the interests of the material prosperity and intellectual activity of the nation, but not less, in that of its happiness and its moral strength, that the extension and reorganisation of secondary education seem entitled to a place among the first subjects with which social legislation ought to deal."

1. Royal Commission on Secondary Education 1894-95 Reports H.M.S.O. (1895) - The Bryce Commission.
But whilst there was much admiration for Germany there was also a real fear. According to the Daily Telegraph, in 1886 over half the firms of the Stock Exchange and 3.5% of the leading city business firms were staffed by German clerks. The situation had hardly changed twenty years later and The Times was of the firm opinion that Britain's poor educational provision meant she was trying in vain to compete with a country which was 'on a far higher level of industrial efficiency.'

In an article entitled The Genesis of the German Clerk, J.J. Finlay the professor of education at Manchester University claimed

'The German clerk, as we have learnt to know him since 1880 has taken about sixty years to produce; and it will take us just about as long to create a homemade article of the same quality...

The ordinary middle class peasant in Germany knows more about the real nature of education and conditions which will make schooling successful, than our English Cabinet Ministers.'

America was also cited as an example of a country where technical education was more established:

1. Daily Telegraph, 25th November 1887.
2. The Times, 4th October 1906.
'One of the principal reasons why the American workman is better than the British is that he has received a senior and better education, whereby he has been more thoroughly fitted for the struggles of after life.

We are satisfied that, in the years to come, in competing with American commerce we shall be called upon to face trained men, gifted with both enterprise and knowledge. We desire to impress on the British public the absolute need of immediate preparation on our part to meet such competition.'

However one observer of the period noted:

'It is all very well to eulogise the American school system, but what would the United States do if they did not draw rough labour from abroad? How many Americans would work in the mines or on railroads or go into domestic service.'

Goldwin Smith had an important point. The American system of education was geared specifically to deal with the large influx of immigrants and Britain was increasingly having to compete with countries whose economic power was beginning to outstrip that of Britain. At times the admiration for German education verged on the ludicrous as the following extract from Lord Meath's Duty and Discipline series reveals.


2. A. Haultain, A Selection of Letters of Goldwin Smith (1913).
'The German works longer hours, takes fewer holidays, and often spends his leisure in perfecting himself in his business, with the result that he is cutting out our men in many spheres of life. Whilst the young Englishman's head is filled with thoughts of sport, and that far too often from the point of view of the spectator rather than the participant, the German is gaining knowledge which will avail to advance him in his profession. The waste places of the earth used formerly to be colonised by the Briton; now he finds the labour of subduing nature too severe for his enfeebled energies, and settles in the towns, leaving the health-giving tillage of the virgin soil of new countries to hardier races, whose minds and muscles have been strengthened by discipline, and who recognise the nobility attached to a strenuous labour.'

In a series of four articles in the Scottish Review, A.P. Laurie, Principal of Heriot Watt College and son of S.S. Laurie, Professor of Education at the University of Edinburgh, argued that technical and scientific education in Germany was much more advanced than in Britain. Citing the town of Darmstadt in Hesse (population 80,000) he claimed that it had three times as many day students as the Edinburgh and Glasgow technical colleges combined. Laurie was equally critical of the low standing in which technical and scientific education was held, even in a country like Scotland which took considerable pride in its educational system.

'The Scotch Education Department has laid down a scheme of bursaries to technical colleges in its Continuation Class Code, the Department meeting half the expenditure. If this was more taken advantage of, bursaries might be established both for evening students and boys from elementary and higher grade schools. We have always boasted in Scotland of the facilities existing to enable the poorest boy to obtain the best education. Yes, if he wants to be a minister, or teacher, or doctor; but if he wishes to enter our technical colleges as a day student and fit himself to promote those great industries by which Scotland lives, the door is closed.'

It was precisely this sort of complaint which gave ammunition to those who argued for greater national efficiency in education but as Spencer Wilkinson argued this was no bad thing. A country which was aware of its educational shortcomings was in a strong position to improve on them.

'There is perhaps no healthier sign of our condition as a nation than the general prevalence for the belief that our system of education is defective and needs to be improved. He must be a superficial observer who attributes the prevailing discontent to any lack of efforts in the educational field. The reign of Queen Victoria was filled up with a continuous series of improvements in education, and with a steady growth of schools of all classes, of colleges, and of universities. Yet in spite of the labour of three generations there is today a louder cry for improvement, the sincere expression of a determination, than has been heard before in the country....

Business men have for years been telling us that when they want correspondence clerks to write their foreign letters they find the product of the German school more useful than that of the English school. The heads of great industries proclaim that they are handicapped in competition with German

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industries of the same class by the better scientific equipment of the specialists whom the German employ. Our universities, old and new alike, depend for the bulk of their textbooks in all subjects of study on the German universities. Whether the student deals with Greek or Latin, with modern languages, or even with English, with chemistry or with geography, he must have recourse to the works of German professors. The demands made on the schools by reformers are of every variety. The public schools are criticised by one set of observers for the narrowness of their curriculum; by another for the inefficiency of their instruction; by a third for their devotion to outdoor games. The Board schools are condemned by some for giving instruction without forming character, and by others, for lack of thoroughness in their instruction."

But Wilkinson recognised that State control of education was now a reality, whatever the arguments

"The State has to organise education. That conception having been reached there can be no going back from it. On no subject within the memory of living man have our people ever so clearly made up their minds as on this. Whatever may be the action of parties or the attitudes of churches, England is henceforth to take her part in the bringing up of her children."

Another picture of Germany which emerged in the later part of the nineteenth century and one which many approved was of a nation bound to England not just by the ties of monarchy but by race. The Germans were held up by public school headmasters and others as a nation of the highest moral and physical standards. At the time of the Franco-Prussian War, Charles Kingsley applauded their Muscular Christianity.


2. Ibid. p 71.
'Were I a German I should feel it my duty to my country to send my last son, my last shilling, and after all, my own self to the war to get that done which must be done, done so that it will never need doing again.'

F.W. Farrar, the headmaster and author of Eric or Little by Little, told how the French read books which were tainted with the 'leprosy of uncleanness' whilst Dr. J.E.C. Welldon frequently held up the elder Von Moltke as a fitting example of a patriot and statesman whose courage was to be admired.

4. THE BOER WAR

Historians of education have drawn attention to the fact that war has stimulated a strong interest in education. After Jena, the Prussian system of education was overhauled. After 1870 France revitalised her education system. There are other examples in the history of the nineteenth century. However, the failures of the Boer War had highlighted Britain's education deficiencies.

The Boer War ended on 31st May 1902 two months after Balfour had introduced his Education Bill in the House of Commons. Much of the

1. Mary Kingsley, Charles Kingsley, His Letters and Memories of His Life Vol II (1877) p 334.
2. F.W. Farrar, Keep Innocency, Church Family Newspaper 15th December 1899.
3. J.E.C. Welldon, Church Congress Report (1913) p 95. Welldon refers to this in Recollections and Reflections (1915).
discussion surrounding the Bill was concerned with the administrative arrangements of education in Britain but this and the religious agitation behind the Bill did not obscure the fact that many held that Britain's educational system was far from adequate, as Balfour remarked:

'To the educationist I think I need make no apologies and offer no excuses. From him I believe I shall obtain the heartiest support. He has long seen a vast expenditure of public money, which has left this country behind all its continental and American rivals in the matter of education.'

Sidney Webb noted the importance of the Bill

'The Bill includes as a public function education as education, not primary education only, or technical education only, but everything that is education from the kindergarten to the university. This renders the Bill of 1902 epoch making in the history of education.'

The Bill did not receive the Royal Assent until 1st December 1902 but it was a momentous Act. It did not solve all Britain's educational problems but it was a forward step. The religious issue did not go away entirely and as Butler is at some pains to point out - in England (rather than in Scotland which sorted out its problems in 1918) the religious question was not settled until his Act of 1944.


2. Daily Mail, 17th October 1902. Webb's pamphlet The Educational Muddle and the Way Out (Fabian Pamphlet 106 1901) had been read by the Cabinet. See Mary Hamilton, Sidney and Beatrice Webb (1933) pp 127-128.

In his novel Joan and Peter, H.G. Wells, said of the Boer War:

'The South African War laid bare an amazing and terrifying amount of national incompetence. The Empire was not only hustled into a war for which there was no occasion but that was planned with a lack of foresight and conducted with a lack of soundness that dismayed every thoughtful Englishman. After a monstrous wasteful struggle the national resources brought it at last to a not very decisive victory. The outstanding fact became evident that the British army tradition was far gone in decay, that the army was feebly organised and equipped and that a large proportion of its officers were under-educated men, narrow and conventional, inferior in imagination and initiative to the farmers, layers, cattle drovers and such like leaders against whom their wits were pitted. Behind the rejoicings that hailed the belated peace was a real and unprecedented national humiliation. For the first time the educated British were enquiring whether all was well with the national system if so small a conquest seemed so great a task.'

The fact that Britain could not defeat the Boers quickly brought forth a spate of articles attacking the public schools in particular but laying the greatest part of the blame on Britain's inadequate system of State education.

One writer referred to the 'innate rottenness of the British army' and deplored the 'general deficiency in the mental training of the English youth at large,' holding up Germany as an example.

The enormous advance of science has practically shifted the centre of civilised life and has changed its very conception. Literature, art, manners, the various refinements of social intercourse are no longer the only or indeed the chief characteristics which distinguish the civilised from the uncivilised man; no, is it in these, even when combined with national gallantry and valour in the field, that the actual power of a modern nation can be said chiefly to reside. A want of science and method in a nation is practically a state of savagery which must necessarily succumb in the long run to the new civilisation of scientific and technical attainment.'

Like Kipling's Tommy Atkins the entire British army was shunned until it was needed.

'No inconsistency in the English national character strikes the foreigner more than our bestowal of lavish praises in times of emergency upon a force which in times of peace we regard almost beyond the pale of intellectual and social sympathy.'

Perry went on to criticise the failure to understand exactly how German military power had attained its present strength.

'Universal schooling on the one hand, and universal conscription on the other, are the two pillars on which the most powerful state of Europe is raised. The most military state in the world is at the same time the most intellectual one.' 'It is the Prussian schoolmaster who defeated us' remarked a distinguished Austrian general in the war of 1866 to one of the victors. It was from an intellectual point of view, as a masterpiece of scientific calculation and precision, that the Franco-German campaign of 1870 is chiefly entitled to the admiration of the world, and this campaign was practically the work of one man who united within himself all the best attributes of the student and the soldier.'

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
The movement for great efficiency in British life at the turn of the century has been well documented but, surprisingly enough, education has not always been given the attention it merits. 1 Wells who was actively involved with the movement commented in 1934.

'The undeniable contraction of the British outlook in the opening decade of the new century is one that has exercised my mind very greatly - gradually the belief in the possible world leadership of England had been deflated, by the economic development of America and the militant boldness of Germany. The long reign of Queen Victoria, so prosperous, progressive and effortless, had produced habits of political indolence and cheap assurance. As a people we had got out of training, and when the challenge of these new rivals became open, it took our breath away at once. We did not know how to meet it. We had educated our general population reluctantly; our universities had not kept pace with the needs of the new time, our ruling class, protected in its advantages by a universal snobbery, was broadminded, easy going and profoundly lazy. The Edwardian monarch, Court and society were amiable and slack "Efficiency" - the word of Earl Rosebery and the Webbs was felt to be rather priggish and vulgar.'2

The Coefficients formed in 1902 included, H.G. Wells, Bertrand Russell, Sir Edward Grey, Haldane, Leo Maxse, Sidney Webb, L.S. Amery, Halford Mackinder, Michael Sadler, Henry Newbolt, Lord Milner, F.S. Oliver, and C.F.G. Masterman. The object of the Coefficients was to bring


See also Haldane's address to the Manchester Reform Club 10th January 1913, Manchester Guardian 11th January 1913, and H.C. Debates 51 5th series, 10th April 1913. Cols 1458-1508 for views on 'efficiency' and 'Germany'.
together men of different views to discuss the social, economic and political developments within the Empire. The Club existed until 1909 by which time Bernard Shaw and J.L. Garvin had joined, both of whom claimed that Wells was largely responsible for talking the Club into the ground. Hewins, Amery and Mackinder were 'fanatical devotees of Empire' who took the view 'My Empire right or wrong'. Wells was impressed by Milner. Whilst deploring much of 'the Imperialist nonsense' which was spoken at the Club; Wells chose to remain a member. In The New Machiavelli, Wells describes the Coefficients as the Pentagram.¹

He painted a rather disconcerting picture of them:

'These young Imperialists, as they were then, found it impossible to distinguish between national energy and patriotic narrowness. Narrowing the outlook is a cheap immediate way of enhancing the effect of energy without really increasing it. They were all for training and armament and defensive alliances, and they were all contemptuous of that breadth and vigour of education in which the true greatness of a people lies. I tried to be more fundamental, to trace the secret springs of our inertness. I talked - it was considered a barely pardonable eccentricity - of the crippling effect of the monarchy, of the cultivated suspicion of real capacity in high quarters, and of the monopolisation of educational direction by Oxford and Cambridge. I was of opinion that if Great Britain had become a Republic early in the nineteenth century and set up a modern university organisation centring on London and extended through the Empire, in the place of those privileged mediaeval foundations and the intensely domestic personal loyalties it has cherished, it would have drawn the United States back into a closer accord and faced the world with an altogether greater spirit than it was now displaying.'²

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This was a cry which Webb had taken up but without the republican sentiments.

'Unfortunately we have never yet had a Prime Minister or a Chancellor of the Exchequer who had any conception of the duty of Government to insist on National Efficiency in education.

Unfortunately, too, both Conservative and Liberals have, in dealing with primary education, been hampered by the particularism in schools which stands in the way of any national policy of education. One party has backed denominational schools, and has only grudgingly admitted the need for School Boards. The other party, with at least equal intolerance has backed Board Schools and only grudgingly allowed denominational schools to exist. The result of this sectarian and unsectarian narrowness and the incapacity of the Education Department itself, is that, after a whole generation of nominal compulsion we are still only at the beginning of our task.'

Webb also drew attention to the lack of any real higher-level commercial education. He claimed what was necessary was:

1) The day school for the future business man, primary or secondary in grade.

2) The continuation or supplementary classes, day or evening, for the youth who has left school.

3) The commercial department or faculty of university rank.


In particular he insisted that there was nothing in London to compare with the Ecole des Haute Etudes Commercielles in Paris which was exclusively devoted to the training of young men who would enter the business world. ¹

The Webbs believed that the priorities in education lay in the promotion of social efficiency through the training of the expert.

As I have indicated there was considerable agitation and pressure brought on the Government in order to extend technical and scientific education. Industrialists, or at least, a sizeable minority of them, saw the need to adopt those new techniques which their continental rivals had already put into practice. However many manufacturers continued in the same old groove and did not encounter too many difficulties in finding an outlet for their products. At the same time, because of the economic slump of the 70s and 80s, there was a strong flow of capital abroad, particularly to colonial countries. Consequently there was a fair degree of technological stagnation ² since, in spite of foreign competitors, Britain appeared to be holding her own. It was only the more far-sighted who at first saw the danger which Germany and America presented. It was relatively simple for British industry when it got into difficulties to use the underdeveloped world as a market to expand into in order to maintain rates of growth. Britain continued to import far more than she


2. A useful account of Britain's failure to adapt her technology to a changing world market is to be found in H.J. Habbakuk: American and British Technology in the Nineteenth Century (1962).
exported but the income from her massive foreign investments in the colonies and in the rest of the world acted as a buffer.

6. EDUCATION AND THE EMPIRE

On the occasion of the reconstitution of the University of London, Sir Philip Magnus drew attention to the fact that the new university had an imperial role to play.

'The reconstituted University of London is no new creation, but the evolved product of the conditioned thoughts and efforts of the last decade of the nineteenth century. The epoch is in many ways an interesting one. It is marked in this country by the birth of an enlarged sentiment of patriotism, embracing all our colonies and dependencies, which we call Imperialism. A nation's educational institutions should be vivified by the spirit of the times; and in many ways the new university may be expected to respond to the Imperial idea.'

Magnus appealed to those 'men of wealth who have attained to fortune through the enlargement of the Empire, to help in providing that higher education by means of which alone the well-being of the Empire may be maintained.'

The University, claimed Magnus, would expand in order to educate young men and women for the discharge of the duties which the British Empire demanded.

1. London University in Relation to the Empire, Imperial Review (March 1901 by Sir Philip Magnus, reprinted in Educational Aims and Efforts 1880-1910 (1913) pp 233-245.
2. Ibid. p 244.
'Among the four hundred million inhabitants of the countries governed by the Queen, there must be thousands to whom the phrase 'Citizens of the Empire' is no more than a vain boast, men who are capable of appreciating the services of a university, situated in London, but open to students from every English speaking country, which may render aid to the imperial cause.'

In arguing for more State aid to higher education, R.B. Haldane stated

'He would be a pedant who thought that education alone could determine the commercial position of a nation. Yet more than ever, as science tends increasingly to reduce nature to subjection, education becomes more important. In the United States a highly practical people are taking this view, and it is noticeable that the rapid increase there of universities and technical schools is largely due to the faith in their efficacy shown by practical men of business. The millionaire in America seeks to save his soul by building, not churches but colleges, and if he insists on embodying in their constitution, ideas of his own which are not always the highest ideas, this shows his zeal. The British people are not yet a decaying race. The Anglo-Saxon, here as in America, is probably in energy, in courage, and in doggedness of purpose superior to all his European rivals in commerce.'

Magnus was equally concerned with State education

'How then is this personal duty to the State to be discharged. It may be discharged in many ways; but first of all, by service that shall render the State safe and secure from outside attack. Whilst the moral instruction provided in the school should explain fully and in detail the child’s personal obligation to the State, the physical exercises should prepare the child for active service, if required in its defence. To be trained to act skilfully, should

1. Sir Philip Magnus, op cit. p 244.
2. R.B. Haldane, Great Britain and Germany - a Study in Education. Address delivered in Liverpool, October 1901 printed in Education and Empire (1902) pp 1-38.
occasion arise, as a citizen soldier, is surely the essential element of that personal duty, which everyone should willingly discharge, in return for the services which the State is ready to bestow upon him in early childhood, in sickness, in want, and if necessary in extreme old age.

Such training need not make for militarism, nor tend in any way to encourage a military spirit; but it will have an educative and moral value altogether apart from, and independent of, its more immediate object. The discipline it involves will help in enforcing self-control, self-denial, and willing obedience to the authority of others, and will implant in the mind of the youth a deep seated consciousness of his relative position to the community as a whole. Unless our young people are to grow up hopelessly inert, to care only for a soft and easy berth, to lose all desire for self-dependence, and to fail in the power of initiative and resourcefulness, systematic physical exercises of a distinctly military character, to be followed later on by field service, should form part of the school curriculum.'

It is significant that in arguing for more State education Magnus should come round to the idea of military service. Again it was the German model which he and others had in mind, whilst still trying to eschew militarism.

However Michael Sadler felt that Britain continued to lack a truly national system of education.

'Our most urgent need, at the stage at which we have now arrived, is to emphasise the national aspect of educational organisation; to make our schools less sectional in temper; and to encourage them to bear their part in unifying the national life. It is

unlikely however, that this purpose will be attained in England by an attempt to secure national unity through the enforced pressure of a homogeneous school system directed by a strong central authority. National unity is the outcome of a complex variety of causes, economic and psychological, and not the mechanical outcome of a school system. An educational system, to be effective, must be in harmony with national sentiment, and English national sentiment has for centuries shown a strong preference for allowing great freedom in the utterance of personal conviction (and, therefore, for permitting great freedom in imparting such convictions through education), combined with an equally strong preference for a sufficient measure of social order, in order that the business of the nation may be effectively carried on. Logical principle is defied, so long as these two advantages are sufficiently secured. England, therefore, prefers an educational system which, upon a working basis on national unity, i.e., like the process of education itself, a combination of opposites. Its common sense tells it that an education fostering arrogant individualism would be a public evil, but that as great a public evil would be an education which inculcated on all citizens passive obedience to some social or intellectual theory, imposed dogmatically by rulers, who, however scientific, denied the right of criticism, of protest, and of practical dissent."

The fact that the last twenty years of the nineteenth century were taken up by two educational questions, namely achieving universal free education and raising the standard of education in the elementary schools, sometimes masks the more important fact that the schools issue was only a part of a much larger social struggle. Also one tends to forget that there were large migrations of unskilled labour both within Britain and to it. The arrival of about 125,000 Jews into London in the 1890s must be seen alongside the estimated 80,000 German clerks and waiters who

were to be found in Britain. If one group benefited British commerce and made up for some of the deficiencies in British education then the other group placed strains on an educational system which was far from adequate. However it can be argued that the American schools were able to cope extremely well with the large inflow of immigrants.

Nevertheless there was a marked tendency to assume that education was the panacea for Britain's problems. In the years after the passing of the 1902 Education Act there were constant warnings about the growth of America and Japan as imperial nations. The few educational debates which took place annually in the House of Commons and the House of Lords frequently gave way to statements about the threat of rivals and the need for Britain to introduce military service of one form or another. On the one hand there were those who favoured some form of national service and those who were against militarism at any price. As Wells said, the Boer War had revealed massive deficiencies and it was only too easy to blame the educational system for all Britain's ills. Similarly there were many who felt that Britain's salvation lay in reviving the nation. The Eugenics Movement and other bodies concerned with improving the nation's health competed with each other in arguing about the best methods of producing an imperial race.

2. J.C. Browne, H.M.I., *Report to Education Department upon Alleged Over-Pressure of Work in Public Elementary Schools* P.P. 1884 LXI p 293.
In his rectorial address to the students of Glasgow University, Lord Roseberry turned to the subject of physical fitness.

'An Empire such as ours requires as its first condition an imperial race - a race vigorous and industrious and intrepid. Health of mind and body exalt a nation in the competition of the universe... In the rookeries and slums which still survive, an imperial race cannot be reared. Remember that when you promote health and arrest disease, when you convert an unhealthy citizen into a healthy one, where you exercise your authority to promote sanitary conditions and suppress those which are the reverse. You are doing your duty and are also working for the Empire.'

In January 1902 an article in the Contemporary Review provided strong support for the view that national physique was rapidly deteriorating. Entitled Where to Get Men it was written by 'Miles' which was a pseudonym for Major General Sir Frederick Maurice. Maurice drew attention to some of the factors relating to the rejection of recruits. He claimed that recruiting sergeants turned down at least 10% of all applicants to the army before they reached army doctors for physical inspection. Many who were accepted were never really fit for active service, and according to Maurice quite useless. Maurice concluded,

'Out of every five men who are willing to enlist, only two are fit to become effective soldiers.'

1. Lord Roseberry, Miscellanies Vol II, Glasgow University Rectorial Address, 16th November 1900 p 245.


See also John M. Robertson, Patriotism and Empire (1900), J.C. Browne, Physical Efficiency in Children (1902). Earlier surveys had drawn attention to the considerable malnutrition which existed in Britain's slums. See Francer Warner, The Physical and Mental Condition of 50,000 Children in Journal of the Royal Statistical Society' LVI 1893, and Edith Hogg, Children as Wage Earners, Nine-Teenth Century, August 1897.
There were those like C.F. Masterman whose experience of poverty in the East End of London was first hand, described the typical town-dweller as 'stunted, narrow chested, easily wearied.' In a later book Masterman pointed out that the main impediment to social progress and justice was imperialism which he described as

'the lust of domination, the stir of battle, the pride of magnitude of Empire.'

There were those like J.A. Hobson who argued forcefully that imperialism had captured the youth of the nation and that schools were making a conscious effort to instil imperial values in young people.

'Where this spirit of naked dominance needs more dressing for the educated classes of a nation, the requisite moral and intellectual decorations are woven for its use; the church, the press, the schools and colleges, the political machine, the four chief instruments of popular education, are accommodated to its service. From the muscular Christianity of the last generation to the imperial Christianity of the present day is but a single step; the temper of growing sacerdotalism and the doctrine of authority in the established churches well accord with militarism and political autocracy.....

Most serious of all is the persistent attempt to seize the school system for Imperialism masquerading as patriotism. To capture the childhood of the country, to mechanise its free play into the routine of military drill, to cultivate the savage survivals of combativeness, to poison its early understanding of history by false ideals and pseudo-heroes, and by a consequent disparagement and neglect of the really vital and elevating lessons of the past, to establish a "geocentric" view of the moral universe in which the interests of humanity are subordinated to that of the "country" (and so, by easy, early, natural

interference, that of the "country" to that of the "self"), to feed the always overweening pride of race at an age when self-confidence most commonly prevails, and by necessary implication to disparage other nations, so starting children in the world with false measures of value and an unwillingness to learn from foreign sources - to fasten this base insularity of mind and morals upon the little children of a nation and to call it patriotism is as foul an abuse of education as it is possible to conceive. Yet the power of Church and State over primary education is being bent consistently to this purpose, while the blend of clericalism and autocratic academicism which dominates the secondary education of this country pours its enthusiasm into the same evil channel. Finally, our centres of highest culture, the universities, are in peril of a new perversion from the path of free inquiry and expression, which is the true path of intellectual life. A new sort of "pious founder" threatens intellectual liberty. Our colleges are, indeed, no longer to be the subservient defenders of religious orthodoxy, repressing science, distorting history, and moulding philosophy to conserve the interests of Church and King. The academic studies and their teachers are to employ the same methods but directed to a different end: philosophy, the natural sciences, history, economics, sociology, are to be employed in setting up new earthworks against the attack of the dis-inherited masses upon the vested interests of the plutocracy. I do not of course represent this perversion as destructive of the educational work of the colleges: the services rendered in defence of "conservatism" may even be regarded in most cases as incidental: only perhaps in philosophy and economics is the bias a powerful and pervasive one, and even there the individuality of strong independent natures may correct it.'

7. PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND MILITARISM

One important feature of elementary education in the late 1880s and 1890s was the increasing attention given to the physical development of the child through games and physical exercises. There was a severe limit on the amount of games which could be carried out in the school play-

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ground. The Code of 1871 had recognised military drill and this was frequently taught by the sergeant of the local volunteers. Football and cricket caught on in the early 1890s but it was never played to the same extent as in the public schools. Military drill meant that boys and girls could be marched about in military formations and many school boards arranged for marching competitions between schools. The following table gives some idea of the type of 'physical training' which existed in the elementary schools and which held sway until the outbreak of the First World War before finally being replaced by physical education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marching</th>
<th>General Drill</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) March at a uniform rate at even distance, and with good carriage.</td>
<td>a) The turns. Right turn, left turn; half right turn, half left turn; right about turn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Change steps, and do the right about turn on the march.</td>
<td>b) Dressing of lines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Counter-marching.</td>
<td>c) Wheeling in fours forwards and backwards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) March in line backwards and forwards.</td>
<td>d) Opening and closing of ranks for exercise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) First simple figure march.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Marching in fours.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Running.</td>
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</table>

It was this drill which came in for criticism later because it was so overtly military in tone. Likewise there were many who criticised it because it failed to provide proper and adequate physical exercises.

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However the Board of Education recognised in 1905 that

'The primary object of any course of physical exercises in schools is to maintain, and, if possible, improve the health and physique of the children - But the exercises which conduce to this result may, if rightly conducted, have an effect scarcely less important in developing in the scholars qualities of alertness, decision, concentration and perfect control of mind over the body.'

The growth of school Cadet Corps in the years between 1870 and 1900 I have mentioned in Chapter 1. Interestingly enough there was some initial resistance to the establishment of Cadet Corps in Scotland. Glenalmond, which was Anglican, did so in 1875, Merchiston in 1886 and Blairlodge in 1887. But these were modelled on English public school lines. As late as 1887, the Edinburgh School Board refused to allow the formation of a Corps at the Royal High School and there is some evidence that the Scottish response to militarism was much more muted than in England. Possibly the influence of the Church was an important ingredient in preventing the growth of militarism in Scottish schools. But the advent of the Boer War changed this when greater attention to physical exercise and military drill was urged in order to

1. Syllabus of Physical Exercises for use in Schools, H.M.S.O. (1905) (Board of Education pamphlet.)
2. Edinburgh School Board, Minutes, 16th March 1887.
4. Another reason may be that the Boys Brigade became firmly established in Scotland. Although this would not apply to the middle and upper classes. Nevertheless the large private schools in Scotland sent less pupils to the Army.
'bring the individual into contact with the principles which lie at the foundation of national defence, and (they) bring home to him his duties and responsibilities as a citizen of the Empire, while at the same time giving him an opportunity of strengthening his physical powers, and rendering him more fit for his ordinary employment.'

However once the war was over it is interesting to note that in its evidence to the Royal Commission on Physical Training the Glasgow School Board was of the opinion that sound health was more important than military drill.

'This Board fully recognise the necessity for due attention being paid to the physical training of scholars in the schools, so that they may grow up with sound minds in sound bodies. The Board have during recent years largely developed the facilities and opportunities for such training and are anxious to adopt the most improved methods and appliances. At the same time the Board have a most decided objection to any system which introduces all the details and methods of military drill and tends to encourage a spirit of militarism among the scholars, which, in their opinion is opposed to the true interests of education.'

1. Circular 279, February 1900, Scotch Education Department. It was argued that this circular helped to improve conditions in the schools according to John Struthers, Assistant Secretary to Scotch Education Department in his evidence to the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland) Vol I Report and Appendix CHND 1507 (1903) p 3, 'hooliganism was less rife in continental countries where universal military service existed.' But he was not advocating compulsory military service.

2. Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland 1903) Vol 2 p 112 (paragraph 2826-2829).
It is important to point out that the differences between those who favoured medical arguments for exercise and those who were in favour of introducing military training in the schools was not a simple two sided argument since there were many who were totally opposed to military training solely on educational grounds. The Earl of Meath suggested in the House of Lords in February 1905 that a joint War Office and Education Department Committee should be set up to seriously consider the introduction of military training in schools. During this debate Lord Balfour of Burleigh the Secretary of State for Scotland urged that an important distinction had to be made between the use of physical exercises for education and physical exercises for military needs. Indeed it is very difficult to disentangle the national efficiency argument from military training and Empire. Sir John Gorst in a debate in the House of Commons three days earlier said

'How can we carry on this great Empire if we allow causes of this kind which affect the physical condition of the people to continue to operate, and then prevent our having sailors and soldiers fit to serve for the protection of the Empire'.

The case for military training in schools had been essentially rejected by 1905 but it was still urged in many quarters. The Lancet reported in 1906.

1. House of Lords 141 4th Series, 14th February 1905 Col 558.
2. Ibid. Col 558.
4. H.C. Debates Vol 141 14th Series, 14th February 1905.
5. For an interesting account on the attempt to introduce military education in schools see The Scotsman 7th May 1907. The public schools were allowed to have Cadet Corps.
'Lord Roberts is indefatigable in his efforts to get his scheme of elementary training and the use of the rifle for schoolboys generally adopted and we are glad to say with no little success. He addressed a crowded meeting on secondary schools at St Paul's West Kensington the other day on the subject of military training in schools. His address elicited the announcement from Canon Lyttelton, that rifle training will be compulsory at Eton.'

Mr Robert Duncan, M.P. for Govan in a debate on education in 1908 stated:

"What was it that had given the Japanese their power? It was the military training and the determination to face death if necessary for their nation. Our nation could only hold its place by adopting a system under which a child must be trained up as a citizen of the State, ready to give his life, if necessary, for the State. The Secretary of State for War said that that spirit was not developed by training the youth of the country in the use of arms. He thought the right honourable gentleman was quite mistaken. What was the experience with other nations? Did they find that when the youths were trained to the use of arms, to face even the possibility of death, their fibre was weakened? No; speaking as an employer he asserted that the nations they had to fear as employers - and it was not a wholesome fear - the nations that did better than ourselves were the nations whose men were ready to give their lives for their country, and who were willing to undergo discipline and drilling. Those were the competitors they had to fear.'

However Germany was increasingly seen as the real threat from 1908 onwards. Imperial sentiment was no substitute for efficiency and increasingly the imperialists came to see the need to actually do something.

1. The Lancet, No 1 1906 p 117.
Meath stands at one end of the spectrum and Sidney Webb at the other but both argued that Britain had to improve her educational system if she hoped to maintain the Empire.

Recalling his schooldays almost fifty-five years after, a distinguished educationist made the following observation:

'Those of us whose schooldays go back to the last days of the last century were taught that ours was a great country - by any count the greatest country in the world. This comforting conclusion was supported by maps in which red was the dominant colour, by figures showing the strength of our navy and merchant service and the extent of our international trade, and by somewhat mystical arguments tending to show that London was the financial centre of the world. I do not for one moment suppose that this is a full and accurate account of the way in which our patriots regarded this country, but it was the way in which the matter presented itself to the English schoolboy in the 'nineties and no doubt, to the great majority of the common people of this land.'

In the next chapter I look at how the public schools developed after 1900 and how they responded to the claims made on them by the Empire.

1889 had witnessed the publication of the first Public School Year Book compiled by three anonymous 'Public School Men.' It listed the following public schools on the criteria: Does the school possess the Public School spirit? Are its pupils entitled to be called Public School men?

These guidelines produced the following list which, except for one or two additions, went unchanged until 1899 when the Year Book was content to list those schools which had been admitted to the Head Masters' Conference.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
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<tr>
<td>Bedford</td>
<td>Glenalmond</td>
<td>Rossall</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boston G.S. (Lines)</td>
<td>Haileybury</td>
<td>Rugby</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bradfield</td>
<td>Harrow</td>
<td>St Paul's</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brighton</td>
<td>Hereford Catholic School</td>
<td>Sherborne</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charterhouse</td>
<td>Ipswich</td>
<td>Stoneyhurst</td>
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<td>Cheltenham</td>
<td>Lancing</td>
<td>Tonbridge</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clifton</td>
<td>Loretto</td>
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<td>Derby</td>
<td>Malvern</td>
<td>Uppingham</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>Marlborough</td>
<td>Wellington</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dulwich</td>
<td>Merchant Taylor's</td>
<td>Westminster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eton</td>
<td>Portsmouth G.S.</td>
<td>Winchester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fettes</td>
<td>Radley</td>
<td>Wyggerston</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 36

In an editorial on 1st June 1901, The Times drew attention to the state of Britain's education.
'Our educational system is a chaos of misdirected efforts, a patchwork of notions, some modern, some medieval, some exotic.'

As I showed in Chapter 2 there was a wide range of factors underlying the concern over Britain's educational system. Coupled with this was the growing fear that Britain could not sustain an 'imperial race.' As the Boer War developed the public schools came in for increasing criticism. However even before 1870 there was a growing volume of criticism against the public schools because they failed to take the teaching of science seriously.

1. W.R. Lawson, John Bull and his Schools (1907).
2. National Health, A Soldier's Duty, Sir John Frederick Maurice, Contemporary Review LXXXIII January 1902. See also Annual Reports of the Director of Recruiting 1900, 1901, 1902 and 1903. PP vol IX CD 519 1901; PP Vol XXII CD 2175 1902; PP Vol XXXVIII CD 1496 1903; and PP Vol VIII CD 1778 1904. See also evidence to Inter Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration Vol 2 1904.
3. Stanley de Brath The Foundation of Success (1896).
4. G.G. Coulton, Public Schools and the Public Needs (1901). Coulton was highly critical of the public school curriculum but he was a staunch defender of the public school system. It was because the Empire was under threat that he was anxious to change the public schools. Coulton's is by far the most interesting book on the public schools written at this time because he was able to take a radical conservative view of them. Between 1900 and 1902 the columns of The Times were frequently given over to arguments about the public schools and their curricula.
After 1870 this volume reached a crescendo. What had caused Britain's economic growth to slow down? Why did she lag behind in the new industries of chemicals and electricity where she had once predominated?

The fault, many claimed, lay with the public schools. After the Boer War it became clear to those who cherished the ideal of Empire that a blind belief in the ability of the public schools to cope with any situation was not enough. The public schools had to undergo some drastic reforms in the curriculum; it was argued, if Britain were to maintain her imperial role in the world. One writer in the Nineteenth Century had stated at the height of the war:

1. Lyon Playfair on Primary and Technical Education (1870) was strongly influenced by the German scientific education he had received. Weymans Reid, Lyon Playfair: Memoirs and Correspondence (1900). The Taunton Report of 1860 was critical of the state of science teaching in the public schools but it was the Report of the Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction and the Advancement of Science (1975) (The Devonshire Report) which drew attention to the lack of emphasis placed on it in the public schools. Huxley argued that science should be taught in the elementary schools. The Illustrated London News (Jubilee Edition) 26th June 1897 was most complacent about the state of Victorian science, pp 33-34. H.G. Wells claimed the drive towards scientific education was resisted by 'the established religions, the ruling autocracies and whatever remained of the scholarly mediaeval universities.' Experiment in Autobiography (1934) p 208. See also E.C. Mack Public Schools and British Opinion Since 1860 (1941) Chapter 2 pp 50-89. See also G.G. Coulton, Public Schools and the Public Needs (1901).
'It is however not with our universities, or with popular conceptions of education, that we are most immediately concerned, but with those great institutions known as public schools, to whom the education of our ruling classes is committed. It is these which must be held responsible for the initial stages of our military as well as our general education. How far can the average instruction given at these schools - and it is the average, not the abnormal result, the rule not the exception, that we are dealing with - conduce to the awakening of practical intelligence, and herein more specially to the development of logical thought and logical expression? No English observer who has opportunities of studying the youth of foreign lands as well as that of his own country can fail to observe that one of the most striking characteristics of the English as compared with the foreign boy is his peculiar distaste for consecutive thought or speech, his positive aversion on the one hand to any mental process, and on the other, to the articulate expression of any such process.'

Sir Henry Roscoe made the claim that the narrow outlook of the public schools was affecting British trade and that England's 'supineness and blindness' in dealing with education was likely to lead to the loss of Empire.

'We are spending a hundred millions to save our Empire in South Africa; and the lives of thousands of brave men on both sides have been sacrificed in the cause. Our educational war is also waged to save the Empire - surely we are not asking too great a boon of a Government which has proved itself so alive to its responsibilities as to pay dearly for the honour and welfare of the Empire, when we say help us to combat the enemy not by shooting him down, but by proving to him in peaceful contest that the Englishman is the better man.'

Just prior to this Edmund Warre the headmaster of Eton, defended the role of the public schools, and Eton in particular, by claiming that they were both the creators and saviours of the Empire. Warre's lecture to the Royal United Services Institution entitled *On the Relation of Public Secondary Schools to the National Defence* was delivered on 27th June 1900 almost one month after the Relief of Mafeking. It enlarged on a proposal which he had been successful in getting a Committee of the Headmasters' Conference to adopt on 15th February, namely that:

'All persons in *statu pupillari* at the universities or the public schools above fifteen years of age and willing to bear arms should be enrolled for the purposes of drill and manoeuvre and the use of arms.'

The word *willing* was inserted at a later date. Of the 102 members of the Headmasters' Conference approached to agree to the above terms, 85 were in favour.

Warre's views sparked off an extremely long correspondence in *The Times*. The newspaper itself was intrigued by Warre's unorthodox opinions and mildly approved of them. Warre was contemptuous of 'the bogey cry of militarism' but whereas, claimed *The Times*, there was 'no Act of Parliament to make boys play cricket', there was a need for the public schools to take military training very seriously and if that required an Act of Parliament, then so be it.

1. Quoted in C.R.L. Fletcher, *Edmund Warre* (1922) p 267. Warre argued that the forces enrolled should not be part of the territorial system but should be constituted as an Instructional Corps and placed under the direct control of the War Office.
'What Dr Warre wants, is to create a body of instructed public opinion among the class which chiefly supplies not only officers but the civil servants of the State.

The true function of the patriotic headmaster is to implant in the minds of his boys ideas upon military matters which will make them superior to the highly crammed futility of the ordinary product of war office training. To do this he must teach them principles and give their minds to scientific training - which is not cramming with details of the sciences - required for the intelligent application of principles to novel conditions as for instance, in South Africa.'

In an attack on public schools and public schoolboys, Professor Henry Armstrong took great exception to Warre's remarks and seriously questioned whether Warre and his colleagues were doing their jobs properly.

'The lessons of the campaign go far beyond the mere question of technical military training, and Dr. Warre should be one of the first to see that national defence in the sense in which he deals with it is of altogether minor importance; that what our schools are required to do is to prepare the nation generally to understand its responsibilities and duties as well as to undertake all the operations, pacific, defensive and offensive which its continued existence under modern conditions will involve.'

Warre claimed in reply that Eton was now paying special attention to scientific teaching and indeed the subject was in a healthy state in his school since the late Professor Huxley had served on its governing body. Warre declared that 'we need educated officers and more of them for the army and auxilliary forces.' Another correspondent felt that

1. The Times, 29th June 1900. See also The Times, 5th, 9th and 21st July 1900.
2. The Times, 5th July 1900.
3. The Times, 9th July 1900.
it would be wrong to restrict athletics in schools until 'a really scientific education is supplied.'

The South African War made a deep impression on the public schools in general. At Cheltenham Ladies College for example where the girls had fathers and brothers serving as officers, the School Magazine published a regular casualty list. The girls sewed and knitted for the troops and for the children of British refugees forced out by the Boers. Miss Beale interrupted her lesson to announce the relief of Ladysmith. In 1902 her address to the school centred round the theme of 'these two sad years of war' and she made reference to a renewed faith in the Empire.

'Everywhere there is a call for women. In China a great door has been opened but above all in Africa there is a call for any number of brave reliable sober-minded women.'

The public schools took the South African War seriously and an examination of the various school magazines of the period reveals a deep concern about the Empire. There were renewed attempts to set up school O.T.C.s and great enthusiasm for the war developed. However, J.G.C. Minchin was sceptical about schools taking up rifle training. He deplored the fact that military training was a rather dismal affair in the public schools.

1. The Times, 9th July 1900.
2. Quoted in A.K. Clarke, A History of Cheltenham Ladies College (1953) p 117. This is true of all the school magazines of the period.
3. Ibid.
'It is an undoubted but regrettable fact that, speaking broadly, the school Rifle Corps is regarded as a refuge for the destitute at our public schools. The boy who is no good in the cricket field or on the river too often enters the Rifle Corps, and the honours lavished on the distinguished cricketer, football and racket player are not conferred on the member of the shooting Eight. The result of this is that public school shooting is not of the high order of excellence of public school cricket and rackets.'

However there were many who felt that the public school together with the grammar school had a duty to develop some basic form of military training. After all, it was argued, if the French, Germans, Austrians and Russians had various forms of military training for the youth of these countries, why should not Britain?

An interesting contrast is to be found between Stalky & Co written in 1899 and in The Islanders written in 1902. In Stalky & Co, Dick Four says that there is nobody quite like Stalky to which comes the reply that India is full of Stalkies.

'Haileybury and Marlborough chaps - that we don't know anything about, and the surprises will begin when there is really a big row on!'

Those who will be surprised are

'The other side. The gentlemen who go to the front in first class carriages. Just imagine Stalky let loose on the south side of Europe with a sufficiency of Sikhs and a reasonable prospect of loot.'

1. J.G.C. Minchin, Our Public Schools (1901) p 42. This was, of course the point. The Corps needed to be put on a sounder footing if it were to be a serious military body.

2. R. Kipling, Stalky & Co (1899) p 271.

3. R. Kipling, ibid.
However, when the 'big row' did come it was not with the Germans but with the Boer farmers and Kipling castigated the British in his poem _The Islanders_ which led to a long correspondence in _The Times_. As Carrington says it was a strong appeal to the British to take national service far more seriously than they took organised sport. Kipling's assertion that soldiers were held in contempt in Britain had been made before. It was his attack on sport and in particular the cult of athletics which infuriated his critics. However Kipling could claim his supporters. Sir Lauder Brunton, Consulting Physician to St Batholomew's Hospital and Chief Medical Officer to the First City of London Cadet Brigade, Imperial Cadet Division claimed:

'There can be little doubt that the British public takes much more interest in the result of a match of football or cricket than of an important engagement in South Africa.'

Brunton's solution to the problem was that all children at school should be taught to handle guns. Only then, he claimed, would the country 'be free from the rebuke which Mr Rudyard Kipling has justly brought against it.'


2. Charles Carrington, _Rudyard Kipling_ (1975 Ed) p 381.

3. _The Times_, 7th January 1902.

4. _The Times_, ibid. The history of cadet forces is complicated but as John Springhall has shown the public school Cadet Corps originally were part of the local volunteer force and became part of the Junior Division of the Officers' Training Corps in 1908. Another stream of cadets emerges from the various Church Lads' and Drill Lads' Brigades and became part of the County Territorial Forces Association in 1911. They were essentially voluntary associations but pressure was put on boys in the public schools to join the Corps.
However Kipling and others recognised that the public schools were much more important as regards military training since they already possessed a large number of likely candidates for the army. If, he claimed, pupils could be made to play games then military service could be just as easily applied. In fact the public schools had readily available talent to be tapped. What mattered most was that pupils were already being coerced in the schools to play games and that this activity could be fruitfully given over to a more sustained form of military training.\(^1\) It was Kipling's contention that even if only ten per cent of the time devoted to football and cricket in the schools were to be given over to military training, then definite benefits would accrue.\(^2\) This was a point which Kipling and many others who advocated systematic military training in the public schools constantly reiterated in the years before the outbreak of the war in 1914.

Between the years 1900 and 1914 the public schools were willing to undergo changes in their curriculum partly because they had been subjected to such heavy criticism but also because many masters within the schools recognised that reform was long overdue. However the schools were to become increasingly aware of their national and their imperial role. By 1902 the aggressive style of imperialism had died down in the public schools. What emerged was the feeling that maintaining the existing Empire was much more important than any further aggrandisement.


2. Articles in *The Morning Post*, 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th June 1904. Kipling's views on the war are best summed up in his lines, 'We have had an imperial lesson; it may make us an Empire yet.'
The Boer War was to teach 'no end of a lesson' and whilst nationalism and militarism continued to play a part in the schools there was an increasing awareness that the schools had an important role to play.

There were many examples of the way in which public schools were subjected to criticism. However as I have indicated the schools were able to justify their position and it is interesting to note that some schools resisted militarism. It was one thing to accept that there should be a school corps, quite another to foster an active attitude to the spirit of military training. Almond of Loretto in his evidence to the Royal Commission on Physical Training in Scotland took the view that military drill and training should form part of the curriculum but that it should not interfere in anyway with studies or games. ¹ He had pointed this out previously.

'If I could have a school cadet corps equipped and accoutred without any interference from the War Office, and trained to exercise initiative and common sense, my present views might be modified, but I believe in development after the model of a rifle club rather than after the model of a cadet corps.'²

Obviously what frightened many headmasters was War Office interference.

Although there were many critics of Britain's educational system there was a tendency to assume that the poor provision for state secondary

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1. Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland) 1903 para 9727.
2. The Spectator, 23rd August 1902.
schools together with the unreformed curriculum of the public schools, was entirely responsible for Britain's dismal performance against the Boers. Not everyone agreed with this view. It was wrong they claimed to accept education as the panacea.

'Whilst educational enthusiasts in and out of politics are strenuously advocating the 'training' of leaders of men in every field of human activity, it is useful to consider occasionally the limitations of education and to remember how few of the leaders of men have been trained to their 'leadership' by third parties either in schools or otherwise.

The doubts as to the advantages of education have been considerably strengthened by our experiences in the South African War. Many observers have been struck by the curious phenomenon that our most highly educated officers had on the whole so little success against the Boer officers, who were not only quite unlearned in the science of war, but mostly uneducated and sometimes grossly ignorant in elementary knowledge.'

This was exactly the point made by A.H.H. MacLean in his pamphlet Public School and the War in South Africa. MacLean demonstrated that in responding to the call to arms, the public schools had acquitted themselves well. He further pointed out that there were conflicting views about the best way to train officers. MacLean made a staunch defence of the public schools. He refuted the idea that the public school boy

1. O. Elzbacher, The Disadvantages of Education, Nineteenth Century and After February 1903 pp 316-318. Elzbacher made the telling point that the successful commanders of the Boer War, Roberts, Kitchener, French, White, Ian Hamilton and Hector MacDonald were not Staff College trained whereas Colley who lost Majuba Hill, Gatacre who was defeated at Stormberg and others were.

2. A.H.H. MacLean, The Public Schools and the War in South Africa (1903). MacLean's pamphlet is an interesting exposition of the controversy surrounding the public schools at this time. There was no doubt in his mind that the public schools had put up a good show in South Africa. His is a spirited defence of why the schools are so important to the maintenance of the Empire.
officer was uneducated and stupid. The fact that he was brought up on games, dragged mahogany tables, pianos and luxuries after him on his campaign, did better against savage colonial races than white men was irrelevant. What mattered most was that the public schools could adapt to the lessons of the war. The War Office was to blame not the British officer.

Writing to The Times in 1903 'a college tutor' attacked the continuing failure of the public schools to quell what he claimed to be 'artificially cultivated athletics.' More importantly, he claimed, it was the anti-intellectual stance of the public schools which was the most deplorable. This theme was taken up again four days later by an R.W. Cole who made a forthright attack on the Head Masters' Conference. It was high time, he claimed, that the Government took a really close look at the public schools. The case for retaining the classics to such an extent was a ludicrous one.

"When will the Government and the public come to understand as do those behind the scenes, the folly of making a clique of headmasters the sole authorities as to what is a proper education for the upper classes? At present they are consulted by the War Office, Admiralty and other Government departments and their word is law to the poor deluded parent. One well known headmaster poses as an authority on military education. Why should headmasters wield such a large and at the present time, pernicious influence?"

1. The Times, 3rd January 1903.
2. The Times, 7th January 1903.
What I think is significant about the public schools at this time is the fact that they were made increasingly aware of their national responsibilities. In the past the tendency had been to assume that they were the cradles of the ruling class. Now, however, they were being reminded that they had other duties and obligations with regard to the country and the Empire. The Boer War had shown how unprepared Britain was. The fact that the Boers could inflict such heavy damage caused many people to ponder what would happen if Germany and Britain went to war. The fact that there was no conscription in Britain worried many people who felt that the public schools had to play their part in filling the gap.

An example may be provided in the visit of General Sir Ian Hamilton to Glenalmond in 1905. Hamilton, who had been a military observer with the Japanese Army in the Russo-Japanese War, visited Glenalmond in 1905 to unveil the Boer War memorial tablet. He told the boys to pay heed to the achievements of the Japanese and then went on to pay homage to those pupils of Glenalmond who had fallen.

'If these glorious dead, in whose memory we are assembled, can see and hear us now, let them feel that their example is going to inspire you, not only to determine to fight courageously if fate should lead you into some great battle, but also to work quietly during your lives, for yourselves, by all means, but for Glenalmond, Scotland and the Empire.'

1. On 2nd August 1905, see The Glenalmond Chronicle November 1905 p 46. 105 boys took part in the war, 6 were killed in action and 5 died of disease.
Hamilton described in graphic detail the death of his close friend Harry Dick Cunyngham and the bravery of the British troops in action against the Boers. This was a feature of the years between the end of the Boer War and the outbreak of War in 1914. The number of military men going round the public schools increased enormously and Lord Roberts, judging by the number of references to him in the school magazines of the period, was a very frequent visitor. However the 'old boy' network of the public schools ensured that there was always a stream of military visitors to the schools.

By far the most important criticism of the public schools and their need to accept their imperial role to be found in Public Schools from Within published in 1906, lies in the fact that unlike Minchin's book it is not simply a panegyric to the public school system. It illustrated contemporary opinion in the public schools in the period following the Boer War and showed that the masters were more than aware of the shortcomings of this system and how the schools were vitally important to the preservation of the Empire. Warre had predicted this:

'It is clear that ere long the public schools of England will once again have to justify, not only their curricula, but, it might be their very existence.'

2. The Public Schools from Within (1906). A collection of essays on public school education, written chiefly by school masters.
Warre felt that the public schools were, by 1906, under sustained attack and that the spirit of the age was inclined towards the worst forms of utilitarianism. The public schools were not likely, said Warre, to be judged purely on educational grounds.

There is no doubt among the authors of The Public Schools from Within of the superiority of the public schools.¹ Their duty is to provide national leadership.

"But it may be said, the public schools ought to lead. They have charge of the more intellectual element of the nation's youth, or at least of that element which has the best chance of being intellectual, and they should aim higher than the rest, they should not merely reflect the mass." ²

According to Mr A. Hassall, a tutor at Christ Church, Oxford, history had a positive appeal to the Edwardian public school boy. However Hassall felt that in order to increase his understanding of the Empire the pupil had to be given more lessons in the subject. The existing curriculum was far too heavy but there was a case for more history teaching.³

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1. The Public Schools from Within (1906). Articles on every subject taught in the schools appeared. The schools represented by the authors are in the 'top league', Charterhouse, Bedales, Merchant Taylor's, Harrow, Eton, Felsted, Rossall, Rugby, Uppingham, Haileybury, Winchester, Manchester Grammar and Mill Hill.

2. Ibid. p 60.

3. Ibid. p 22.
The Rev T. Nicklin, assistant master of Rossall took a 'bio-socio-logical' view of the public school system. The public schools, claimed Nicklin were unique because:

'They produce in boys a patriotism wider than either the individual's interests or the family's. Old fashioned thinkers cannot entirely understand this newer patriotism; the freedom of the individual has been a rallying cry that has accomplished many noble ends in the past, and the family has with many great thinkers, especially in economics, been the unit in society. Yet analogy justifies the expectation that those aggregates of men will survive in the future that are able so to establish a community of sentiment within them as units in the struggle for existence. The public schools notoriously breed a spirit which make its unit of patriotism at any rate larger than the family.'

Social Darwinist theories like this were reinforced by arguments that there was no evidence of physical deterioration in public school pupils.

Nicklin quotes H.G. Wells and maintains that survival of the race is determined by virtue of intellect and character - the public schools are vital in order to maintain the 'English Stock'. The extent to which Nicklin's views were shared by other public school masters of the time is not easy to determine. Certainly, there is in this, and in other works relating to the public schools of the period, a rock-like faith in the need to maintain the English public school in order to strengthen Britain's imperial role.


2. See Horace Vachell's novel Brothers (1904) and John Verney (1905), Thomas Pellatt, Public Schools and Public Opinion (1904), Henry Newbolt's novel Than Twyman (1911) is close in spirit to his poetry and portrayed the public school in the same vein.
Kipling and Fletcher in A History of England, written for schools in 1911 stated:

'The other nations have realised that this Empire was founded on trade, that it has to be maintained by a navy, and that it has resulted in good government of the races subject to us. So, though they have envied us and given us ugly names, they have on the whole paid us the compliment by trying to copy us, to build up their navies, to increase their manufactures, to plant colonies and govern subject races well. Some people think that they have not succeeded in this tart object so well as ourselves. But all European nations are now keenly interested in trade rivalry; whether this will end peaceably or not remains to be seen.

All civilised nations, except ourselves and the Americans, have also set themselves to arm and drill all their citizens, so as to fit themselves for war on a gigantic scale at any moment. If ever a great war breaks out in Europe, the nation that is most ready with its fleet and army will win; in the greatest war of the nineteenth century (that of 1870 between France and Germany) it needed only a telegram of two words to put the German army in motion in a few hours. On the other hand all the great mechanical inventions of recent years, railways, telegraphs, enormous guns, iron ships, airships, have made war, not only much more terrible, but infinitely more expensive; and, so, each nation will nationally shrink from being the first to start a war, for defeat will spell absolute and irretrievable ruin. But I don't think there can be any doubt that the only safe thing for all of us who love our country is to learn soldiering at once, and to be prepared to fight at any moment.'

As I shall show later, Kipling and Fletcher's book was a very influential book and one can catch much of the public school flavour in these words.

In his essay on Boys’ Weeklies Orwell made the claim that the stories printed in The Gem and The Magnet were 'fantastically unlike life at a real public school' and that the politics of both these journals were Conservative in 'a completely pre-1914 style.' What Frank Richards, the author of these stories, drew, claimed Orwell, was an unrealistic picture of schools like Eton and Harrow and that this picture remained in the minds of working class boys 'Sodden in the worst illusions of 1910.'

'The year is 1910 - or 1940 but it is all the same. You are at Greyfriars, a rosy-cheeked boy of fourteen in posh, tailor-made clothes, sitting down to tea in your study on the Remove passage after an exciting game of football which was won by an odd goal in the last minute. There is a cosy fire in the study, and outside the wind is whistling. The ivy clusters thickly round the old grey stones. The King is on his throne and the pound is worth a pound. Over in Europe the comic foreigners are jabbering and gesticulating, but the grim grey battleships of the British fleet are steaming up the Channel and at the outposts of the Empire the monocled Englishmen are holding the niggers at bay. Lord Mauleverer has just got another fiver and we are all settling down to a tremendous tea of sausages, sardines, crumpets, potted meat, jam and doughnuts. After tea we shall sit round the study fire having a good laugh at Billy Bunter and discussing the team for next week's match against Rookwood. Everything is safe, solid and unquestionable. Everything will be the same for ever and ever. That approximately is the atmosphere.'

2. Orwell was writing in 1940 but he does have an important point. Robert Roberts in The Classic Slum (1971) claims that working class children were great readers of The Gem and The Magnet pp 160-1.
3. Ibid. pp 518-519.
Orwell was the first writer to point out that the working class were given a totally false picture of the public schools and that there were strong political overtones in the writings of Frank Richards, a fact which Richards denied in his reply to Orwell, 'Boys will be boys' was his attitude. However Orwell's point is a most important one.  

The tone of the public schools was very political in the broad sense of the word and the idea of Anglo-Saxon supremacy is more than hinted at in numerous publications of the period. Again an examination of school magazines of this period indicates that the politics of the schools, whether Liberal or Conservative, and there is much more of the latter brand, take on strong imperialist overtones. There are frequent references to 'our great Empire' and 'the British imperial type.' To take another example, the article by Lady Lugard in the 1911 edition of Encyclopaedia Britannica on the British Empire deals at length with the 'Anglo-Saxon type' and there are references to the effects which the climate might have on modifying this in various parts of the globe. The Empire, claimed Lady Lugard, bore no resemblance to 'the older despotic empires of history.' Books such as Kipling's and Fletcher's helped to reinforce the idea that Britain's imperial mission was a very great thing indeed and boys were encouraged to think 'imperially' as the following shows.

1. Richards' reply was a forceful one, ibid. pp 531-540.
Speaking at a dinner at the Royal Colonial Institute on 8th March 1910, the Rev H.B. Gray, Warden of Bradfield College dealt with the subject 'The Demand for Change which Imperialism requires from Modern Education.' Gray was critical of much of what passed for education in the public schools.

'The events of 1899 - 1902 set alight a flame of loyalty and enthusiasm on the part of the extremities of the Empire to the motherland, which, in its own turn awakened, though all too slowly in the mind of us islanders a responsive feeling of belief in our imperial destiny and obligations, a feeling which has manifested itself in various directions but certainly not least in the field of education.

The ignorance of the insular schoolboy and (for that matter) the insular Englishman of the geographical conditions, of the vastness of extent and of the varied sources of wealth in our Empire, is phenomenal. And this ignorance is not the schoolboy's fault but the defect of the system under which fifty generations of schoolboys have been trained.'

Halford Mackinder shared Gray's views but he was much more critical of the role of the public schools with regard to the Empire.

'The very perfection with which we have done part, at least, of our work in India is due to the fact that as a ruling race we can depend on one another. To a certain extent one public schoolman is interchangeable with another, therein is the immense strength of what may be called the old ruling class produced by our public schools and universities. It is the existence of that code that makes our boys so intensely conservative, and which, as regards those who have left the public school, often gives the impression to others who have never been there that we are stand-offish, cold, conceited, and on the whole, more wooden and unadaptable.'

1/2. H.B. Gray was Warden of Bradfield College and most of the ideas expressed were incorporated in his book The Public Schools and the Empire (1913). His address to the Royal Colonial Institute is in United Empire Vol I 10th April 1910 pp 255-272, 'The Influence of Imperial Responsibilities on Imperial Reform.'
In reply to Dr Gray, Mackinder and Lieutenant General Sir Edward Hutton argued that the public schools operated a too rigid system. Hutton was in favour of a modicum of military training but did not wish to see it on the scale which existed in German, French, Italian and Austrian schools. However he maintained that the public schools were doing an excellent job.

'It is the young officer and civilian who at the present time are creating four vast Empires in the four cardinal points of Africa. It is upon young Englishmen from our public schools that these vast responsibilities fall. There must therefore be something at any rate of good, some element of value, in the education which these young men have derived that enables them to meet the responsibilities of life in the way we know they do.

I do trust that headmasters will bear in mind that it is the boys and young men of England who are being trained in our public schools who are responsible largely for the extension as well as the maintenance of the Empire such as we know it today.'

Those who defended the public school system often did so by pointing to the Empire. The mere fact that it existed at all was proof indeed of the efficacy of the public schools.

'Long before the British public at large had been fired with a faith in the British Empire, one and indivisible, that was the faith in which every English public-school boy was reared.'

1. Op cit p 270.
2. J.G.C. Minchin, Our Public Schools (1901) p 44.
However Gray was not prepared to be as sanguine as Minchin had been. The Empire was dependent on the public school boy and if the type was unable to cope with the demands of the newer colonies then he was useless. The Empire had to be staffed, maintained and defended therefore it was vitally important that the public schools produced the right type.

Gray, in his book published in 1913, took Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire as an example, and castigated those who failed to understand the importance of Britain's imperial role. The need to consolidate the Empire by improving Britain's education system was paramount. ¹ In particular he attacked athleticism and British complacency regarding her imperial mission.

Patriotism as a factor in the national life, is bound up with the integrity of the Empire. But unlike some other virtues, it does not appear to be a plant of indefinite or infinite growth. What it gains in intensity it loses in extent. The parochial enthusiasm, which is expended on some internecine conflict between Puddletown-in-the-Vale and Hecklebury-on-the-Hill, drains away the loftiest sentiments which might otherwise animate citizens with devotion to their country's weal, and keeps them in permanent indifference to the vast estate and interests of the Empire.' ²

Gray was anxious to promote the idea of imperial unity. It was essential therefore that the public schools understood what was expected of them vis-a-vis the Empire.

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The national welfare calls for immediate educational reform. It is the day for the adolescent. It is the duty of the patriot to set to his hand, and that instantly, so that a great band of adolescents should be reared, not on the outworn survivals of mediaeval tradition, not on prescriptions taken from the 'dead hand' of some pious ecclesiastic of a bygone age, but on a system of physical, moral and mental training which should free them from all suspicion of insular prejudices, and should make them true and profitable citizens of the State and partners in the vast task which lies before them of achieving the unification and consolidation of Empire.

If the men of our ruling class are so trained in the immediate future, and only if they are so trained can the Englishman of today look forward confidently to maintaining the pre-eminence, or even prominence, of British industry, or to commanding, through the extension of a broadminded sympathy founded on the breadth, depth and height of his educational training, the continued loyalty and political union of all the widely sundered but competent parts of that heterogeneous and world wide Empire which has been committed to his trust.

Gray argued that the public schools were failing to make English citizens (sic) more worthy of their imperial responsibilities. He admitted that they did cultivate a strong esprit de corps but that the intensity of school patriotism was confined to far too narrow a field. It should be extended to include pride in the achievements of the Empire.

To this end there was a need to foster imperial sentiment and make pupils aware of the duties of the Empire. Not enough was taught about the Empire. If young people were 'to think imperially' then their minds had to be furnished with materials for thought. What was required was a much fuller knowledge of the Empire itself. A start had been made, said

Gray, in the elementary schools but what was required was a much more sustained approach in the public schools to the problem of coping with those responsibilities which the Empire imposed on its future citizens.¹

However Gray's main attack fell on the public schoolboy who was ill-equipped to deal with affairs abroad.

'The English boy, as he emerges from the crucible of the public school laboratory, is generally a more conspicuous failure - especially at first - in those new and partially discovered continents (Australia and Canada) than he has proved himself to be a conspicuous success in dealing with the lower or more submissive races in the wilds of Africa or in the plains of India.'²

Reflecting on his days at Malborough during the First World War, some 50 years after, R.A. Butler felt that in spite of the reforms introduced by Cyril Norwood there was something essentially lacking about the public school system. Butler saw definite advantages in the Scottish system.

'The advantage of day school education, such as my mother's family had enjoyed in Scotland, is that the children are half the time in the world: the great need of a public school is to look outward and not into its monastic self.'³

and he went on to quote from the letters of his cousin, the poet Charles Sorley, who was killed at the Battle of Loos in 1915.

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'The penalty of belonging to a public school is that one plays before a looking glass all the time and has to think about the impression one is making. And as public schools are run on the worn out fal¬lacy that there can't be progress without competition, games as well as everything degenerate into a means of giving free play to the lower instincts of men.'

Vachell's novel **The Hill** was written about Harrow in the 1880s but it reflected the long awaited call to duty which the 1914-18 War brought. The response of the public schools was immediate. The boys were prepared, as Vachell had insisted:

'To die young, clean, ardent; to die swiftly, in perfect health; to die saving others from death, or worse disgrace; to die scaling heights, to die and carry with you into the fuller ampler life beyond, untainted hopes and aspirations, unembittered memories, all the freshness and gladness of May - is not that cause for joy rather than sorrow.'

And they were only too willing to take up the challenge which was presented by the war.

'Take your risk of life and death
Underneath the open sky
Live clean or go out quick
Lads you're wanted come and die.'

In late 1914 in **The War of the Mind**, H.G. Wells wrote 'we fight not to destroy a nation but to kill a nest of ideas.' Wells argued that the ultimate purpose of the war was the destruction of certain beliefs.

and the creation of others but there was no doubt in the minds of many thinking people that the war could threaten the continued existence of the British Empire. This was recognised by Paul Jones whose *War Letters of a Public Schoolboy* give an extremely interesting insight into the attitude of the schools of the time. Writing in 1914, three years before his death, Jones said.

"When one nation has a world wide Empire embracing a fifth of the globe, founded on principles of absolute liberty for all whom it contains, and when another built up by the force of circumstances on a basis of military despotism, also aspires to a different sort of world power and challenges the first nation whose principles it abhors as much as its own are abhorred, in these circumstances it is hopeless to talk of reconciliation until one or the other is down. Having won the toss on a hard wicket we are not going to put Germany in. We must fight to the death. The law is eat or be eaten...

In these circumstances we call on Dulwich College to realise its duties to the State. Nothing, not work nor games must be allowed to stand before the Corps till the war is over. Special drills and parades, extra route marches, all these must be and ought to be looked forward to cheerfully and willingly. The splendid number of recruits shows that the school is not going to fail in its duty here. We are not going to indulge in theories or jingo-patriotism but call on you with deadly seriousness - the British Empire, the British principles of liberty are all at stake. If we go down now we go down for ever.

Germany is said to have called up every male between the ages of fifteen and sixty. If they can do that surely we ought to be able to reply. Let the voluntary system which is the glory of our armies and navies carry us through now. We call on everyone in the school to join the Corps now."  

In *Goodbye to All That*, which was not published until ten years after the war in 1929, Robert Graves was exceedingly frank about his days at Charterhouse immediately prior to 1914. He recalled too the war-fever which was mounting in the public schools.

'One of my last recollections at Charterhouse is a school debate on the motion 'that this House is in favour of Compulsory Military Service.' The Empire Service League, with Earl Roberts of Kandahar, V.C., as its president, sent down a propagandist in support. Only six votes out of one hundred and nineteen were noes. I was the principal opposition speaker, having recently resigned from the Officers' Training Corps in revolt against the theory of implicit obedience to orders. And during a fortnight spent the previous summer at the O.T.C. camp near Tidworth on Salisbury Plain. I had been frightened by a special display of the latest military fortifications: barbed wire entanglements, machine guns, and field artillery in action. General, now Field Marshall Sir William Robertson, who had a son at the school, visited the camp and impressed upon us that the war with Germany must inevitably break out within two or three years, and that we must be prepared to take our part in it as the leaders of the new forces which would assuredly be called into being. Of the six noes, Nevill Barbour and I are, I believe, the only ones who survived the war.'

Graves, like other public schoolboys who survived the war, constantly reminded themselves of their good luck. Graves claimed that at least one in three of his generation at Charterhouse died because they all took Commissions as soon as they could, most of them in the infantry and the Royal Flying Corps.²

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By the end of August 1914 more than a thousand Oxford graduates had been nominated for Commissions - many of these were public school men. Judging by the casualty figures in the first year of the war it is evident that it was not just graduates who flocked to the Colours. The war attracted many public schoolboys immediately as Graves indicates but it proved a different type of war from what they had expected.

Field Marshall Wavell stated in his anthology Other Men's Flowers that war poems are seldom written by those who have experienced battle. This was certainly not the case during the First World War. Sassoon, Sorley, Graves, Blunden and Rosenberg put paid to Wavell's statement by the testament of their poetry. I think it can be demonstrated that the public school spirit, with its strong emphasis on patriotism and imperialism is evident in much of the poetry written just before and in the early years of the war. The turning point is the Battle of the Somme in 1916 and after this date there is a marked decline in the rousing call to arms of Rupert Brooke's ironically titled poem Peace or Julian Grenfell's Into Battle.

Of the 72 English poets included in one anthology of the War Poets of 1914-18 who saw active service, 38 were at public school. Two who were not were Owen and Rosenberg.

2. A.P. Wavell, Other Men's Flowers (Penguin 1960 Ed) p 54.
One minor poet, R.E. Vernede is an interesting example. Vernede was born in 1875 and educated at St Paul's where he became a friend of G.K. Chesterton. His later poems written after he was wounded at the Somme in 1916 are concerned purely with the war but his early poems were strong in their patriotic and imperial ardour for a man of 39.

The following gives something of the flavour of the public school at war in the early years of 1914. The influence of Newbolt is obvious.

'Lad, with the merry smile and the eyes
Quick as a hawk's and clear as the day,
You who have counted the game the prize,
Here is the game of games to play.
Never a goal - the captains say -
Matches the one that's needed now:
Put the old blazer and cap away -
England's colours await your brow.

Man with the square set jaws and chin
Always, it seems, you have moved to your end,
Sure of yourself, intent to win
Fame and wealth and the power to bend
All that you've made you're called to spend
All that you've sought you are asked to miss
What's ambition compared with this
That a man lay down his life for his friend.'

Short List of Poets 1914-18 War who saw Active Service

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poet</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Poet</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Poet</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Poet</th>
<th>School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Richard Aldington</td>
<td>Dover College</td>
<td>D.S. MacColl</td>
<td>Glasgow Academy</td>
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<td>Martin Armstrong</td>
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<td>E.A. Mackintosh</td>
<td>St Paul's</td>
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<tr>
<td>Herbert Asquith</td>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>A.A. Milne</td>
<td>Westminster</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Raymond Asquith</td>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>Harold Monro</td>
<td>Radley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maurice Baring</td>
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<td>Robert Nichols</td>
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<td>Leonard Barnes</td>
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<td>*Robert Palmer</td>
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<td>Paul Bewsher</td>
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<td>Christ's Hospital</td>
<td>Edward Shanks</td>
<td>Merchant Taylor</td>
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<td>*Rupert Brooke</td>
<td>Rugby</td>
<td>*Patrick Stewart</td>
<td>Eton</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Jeffrey Day</td>
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<td>Geoffrey Dreamer</td>
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<td>*Charles Sorley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lord Dunsorry</td>
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<td>Edward de Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>J. Griffyth Fairfax</td>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>*E.W. Tennant</td>
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<td>*Edward Thomas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert Graves</td>
<td>Charterhouse</td>
<td>R.E. Vernede</td>
<td>St Paul's</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>*Julian Grenfell</td>
<td>Eton</td>
<td>Alec Waugh</td>
<td>Sherborne</td>
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<td>I.A. Williams</td>
<td>Rugby</td>
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<tr>
<td>*W.N. Hodgson</td>
<td>Durham School</td>
<td>E. Hilton Young</td>
<td>Eton</td>
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<tr>
<td>F.H.B. Lyon</td>
<td>Rugby</td>
<td>Francis Brett Young</td>
<td>Epsom College</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* Indicates died in action.

Source: Brian Gardner
The Call is the title of several poems which appeared in the first year of the war. The *Daily Mail* of 26th November 1914 contained the following by a Miss Jessie Pope.

'Who'll earn the Empire's thanks
Will you, my laddie?
Who'll swell the victors ranks -
Will you, my laddie?
When that procession comes
Banners and rolling drums -
Who'll stand and bite his thumbs
Will you, my laddie?'

It was this poem specifically which enraged Owen when he came to read it later but the popular press helped to stir up patriotism in a manner never witnessed in Britain before. Verses of this type were a commonplace of the first year of the war and the public school spirit is evident in the actions of those who fought in the early battles as Professor Paul Fussell has shown in *The Great War and Modern Memory*.

Public school fiction reflected some of the criticism which was directed against the public schools by their own pupils. Richard Aldington's *Death of a Hero* is one of the best examples.

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'The type of boy we aim at turning out, the Head used to say to impressed parents, is a thoroughly manly fellow. We prepare for the universities, of course, but our pride is in our excellent Sports Record. There is an O.T.C., organised by Sergeant Major Brown (who served throughout the South African War), and officered by the masters who have been trained in the militia. Every boy must undergo six months training, and is then competent to take up arms for his country in an emergency.'

Aldington however is less than kind to the officer who had turned up 'to do his bit.' The fact that he had been conditioned to do so does not necessarily detract from his valour.

'Sam Browne, of course, was almost too good to be true. If I hadn't seen him myself I should have never believed in him. He was an animated - and not so very animated - stereotype. His knowledge of life was rudimentary to the point of being quadrupled, and intelligence had been bestowed upon him with rigid parsimony. An adult Boy Scout, a public school fag in shining armour - the armour of obtuseness. He met every situation in life with a formula, and no situation in life ever reached him except in the shape imposed upon it by appropriate and predetermined formula. So, though he wasn't very successful at anything, he got along all right, sliding almost decorously down grooves which had nothing ringing about them. Unless urged, he never mentioned his wound, his decoration, or the fact that he had 'rolled-up' on 4th August. The modest well-bred et cetera, English gentleman.'

1. Richard Aldington, Death of a Hero p 76.
The dialogue in R.C. Sherriff's play Journey's End, written some ten years after the war, conveys the public school spirit extremely well. The play illustrates that hero worship, the cult of athleticism and allegiance to the school are out of place in the battle front. Raleigh, straight from his public school and soon to be killed, is the naive young subaltern who finds it difficult to comprehend the reality of trench life. It takes him some time to realise the horror which Stanhope, his old school captain and now his commanding officer, has undergone. He is slow to realise that the erstwhile athlete is suffering from shell shock and doped to the eyes with whisky. For Raleigh, Dennis Stanhope is the Newboltian captain of Vitai Lampada. Writing home he says:

'Then I went on duty in the front line, and a sergeant told me all about Dennis. He said that Dennis is the finest officer in the battalion, and the men simply love him. He hardly ever sleeps in the dug out; he's always up in the front line with the men, cheering them on with jokes, and making them keen about things, like he did the kids at school. I'm awfully proud to think he's my friend.'

Like all the best writing of the First World War it is the realism of the picture of battle which makes Journey's End such a fine play.

John Betjeman has recalled his days at preparatory school during the war and how the boys were required to knit 'shapeless gloves from string for men in minesweepers' and stick Allied flags along the map of

1. R.C. Sherriff, Journey's End (1929) p 70. 25,000 copies of the play were issued in 1929 alone. Lawrence Olivier played the part of Stanhope. In the last few years the play has been revived on several occasions.
the Somme. They also visited wounded soldiers in hospital and the war was brought home to the children by their teachers.

'Before the hymn the Skipper would announce
The latest names of those who'd lost their lives
For King and Country and the Dragon School
Sometimes his gruff old voice was full of tears
When a particular favourite had been killed
Then we would hear the nickname of the boy
'Pongo' or 'Podge' and how he played 3Q
For Oxford, and, if only he had lived
He might have played for England - which he did
But in a grimmer game against the Hun.'

It is not surprising that the public schools mourned for their dead as the slaughter of the Great War continued. Those boys who had spent four or five years at school then went almost immediately to France were held up by the school as heroes and when they met their deaths it was only natural that the community in which they had grown up should grieve for them, but frequently this was turned into an excuse for patriotic flag waving. The cause of the Empire was frequently held up, for if Britain lost the war in Europe then there was little doubt that she would lose her colonies as well.

1. John Betjeman, Summoned by Bells (1960) pp 44-45. Although in blank verse this is a fascinating and, I think, important insight into preparatory and public schools before and during the First World War. His account of Oxford in the early 1920s is also full of interest.

See also Evelyn Waugh, A Little Learning (1964) pp 150-160.

3. V.S. Bryant, The Public School System in Relation to the Coming Conflict for National Supremacy (1917). Also T. Pellat, Public School Education and the War (1917). Both these books, although critical of certain aspects of the schools, were strong in their support for the imperial role which the schools could play.
During the war the public schools were regarded as unique institutions and Eton more so. According to Christopher Hollis it was the sheer insolence of Eton which made it unique.

'Nobody bothered about how many scholarships or how many football matches Eton won. If Eton did not win scholarships or football matches, that merely proved we felt, that scholarships and football matches were not worth winning. Eton's very presumption allowed it to tolerate a degree of liberalism of which many schools would have been afraid. At the height of the war the schools two socialists founded a political society and invited George Lansbury, one of the nation's leading pacifists to address its inaugural meeting. How many schools would have permitted that?

One takes the point but Hollis omits to mention that in 1916 Edward Lyttelton who had been headmaster resigned because of public pressure regarding his views on the war. He had been accused, whilst headmaster of Haileybury, of being pro-Boer and was responsible for 'personally administering a beating to seventy two members of the upper school one of whom was Clement Attlee' when the boys took an unofficial holiday after the relief of Ladysmith. Lyttelton was eased out of Eton after suggesting that it was wrong to depict the Germans as beasts. He left in 1916 from a school which he had 'come to believe in less and less.'

1. Christopher Hollis, John Bull's Schooldays (1961) p 86. There have been so many books written about Eton that it would be useless to list them here. The best (in my opinion) are H.C. Maxwell Lyte, Eton College: A History - 1875. Lionel Curt, A History of Eton College (1899), Henry Salt, Memories of Bygone Eton (1928), B.J.W. Hill, Eton Medley (1946) and Christopher Hollis, Eton (1960).


However Hollis in his history of Eton reveals that Etonians did not take patriotism lightly.

'Patriotism and the readiness to sacrifice one's life for one's country had been the quality to which Eton paid especial and to what its critics might appear exaggerated - honour.'

Whereas the late Victorian code of patriotism prescribed that every boy at Eton should be prepared to die for his country if necessary, it was not expected that many would have to do so. After all everyone at Eton did not go automatically into the services on leaving college. However the advent of the Great War radically changed the situation. Hollis records:

'Eton proved her boasts of patriotism were not insincere. Five thousand six hundred and eighty seven Etonians served in the war. Of these 1160 were killed and 1467 were wounded, 13 won the Victoria Cross, 548 the Distinguished Service Order and 744 won the Military Cross.'

The public schools were held up frequently as the war went on as fine examples of the British spirit but for Wilfred Owen the final obscenity was the gassing of his comrades and, with an untypical vehemence, he turned on the armchair patriots and school masters who had never witnessed such horrors.

2. Ibid. pp 297-299
3. Ibid. p 299.
"My friend, you would not tell with such high zest
To children ardent for some desperate glory
The old lie Dulce et Decorum Est
Pro patria mori."

However, the public schools, even at the height of the war, did not indulge in the worst forms of war hysteria to which I draw attention in Chapter 4. Throughout the years 1914-18 there is a calm acceptance of the fact that the pupils have to go and do their bit. There was no conscious awareness of the need to consider oneself a 'citizen of the Empire! To be British, was, in one sense, to take this entirely for granted.

According to A.H.H. MacLean the public schools' response to the Great War was every bit as patriotic as that of the South African War.

'Of all officers who served in the armies of the British Isles an average of about 13% lost their lives (as compared with a loss of about one in ten among the ranks). But among the greater boarding schools the figure was in almost every case no less than 20% (one in five).'

MacLean's statistics are at times confusing and because of an incomplete response to his questionnaires some of his figures must be suspect. However they do throw considerable light on the contribution of the public schools and their social composition. I have included below some of the tables produced in MacLean's work.

## Table 1

**Comparison of Schools of**

a) **Specially Distinguished Officers in the South African War** and b) **Officers Who Received Orders of Knighthood or Higher Distinctions in the Great War**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
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<th>Great War</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>35</td>
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<td>Wellington</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<td>Marlborough</td>
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<td>Cheltenham</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrow</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charterhouse</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rugby</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2 each</td>
<td>6 each</td>
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TABLE 2

PUBLIC SCHOOLS WHICH GAINED TWO OR MORE VICTORIA CROSSES IN THE GREAT WAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Count</th>
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<td>Merchant Taylor's</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harrow</td>
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<td>Bedford</td>
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<td>Victoria College Jersey</td>
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<td>George Watson's College</td>
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<td>Westminster</td>
<td>2</td>
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The fact that MacLean wrote such a book is an interesting comment on the attitude to the public schools.
From his deanery in Manchester on 18th April 1916, Dr J.E.C. Welldon, former headmaster of Harrow and Bishop of Calcutta, wrote to The Times suggesting that there might have to be reform within the public schools but that was not the real issue. The schools, he claimed, had come to the aid of the Empire, therefore they had justified their existence.

"Whether a great reform, and if so, what reform is needed today in the curriculum of the public schools, it would hardly become me to decide... If there are any institutions which have justified themselves in the present crises of the national history by the general devotion of their members in sacrificing the pleasures of privilege and life itself for the country and the Empire they are the public schools and the universities. It is with mingled pride and sorrow that an old headmaster reads in the newspapers from day to day the deaths of his pupils, who are teaching him a lesson, higher and better, it may well be, than he ever taught them."

On 1st June 1915, The Times had drawn attention to the fact that the war had placed Britain's educational system 'on trial' but the paper in this leading article made no direct reference to the public schools, however the criticism was implicit because four days later a Marlborough master replied:

"If as you say our educational system is on trial, surely our public schools great and small have gloriously stood the test."

Admittedly there were those who kept up the barrage of complaints about the public schools but the overwhelming attitude was that the schools had proved themselves.

1. The Times, 20th April 1916. Earlier in the war Welldon had shown his patriotism by arguing that German and Austrian waiters should be deported, Manchester Guardian, 21st, 26th and 27th September 1914.

2. The Times 1st June 1915.

3. The Times, 5th June 1915.
A leader in *The Times* on 5th June 1916 drew attention to the plight of the public schools. Reform was urgently required, the paper argued, particularly at Eton. Important people like Admiral Jellicoe, Sir Charles Walpole and Lord Claud Hamilton had expressed their concern in a letter in the same issue regarding the need to radically alter the curriculum of the public school.

"In a sense all public schools stand at the parting of the ways. Eton stands there in a particular sense, and a grave responsibility rests upon the Fellows who are now called upon to appoint a new headmaster. Under his control many of the next generation of our rulers will learn lessons of this Great War and on the troubles not only of the parents but of England itself he will be called upon to 'drill the raw world for the march of the mind.'"

H.B. Gray returned to the question of the Empire again in 1916. He highlighted some of the criticisms which were levelled at the public schools during the early days of the war. The authors admitted that Britain's industrial supremacy had vanished and that this was largely due to her failure to adapt to German competition. If the war was lost then Britain's loss of colonies might prove detrimental to the continued prosperity of Britain. What was required, claimed Gray and Turner was a realisation that imperial unity was essential.

1. *The Times*, 5th June 1916. The reference to the new headmaster concerns the departure of Lyttelton who did not care for the pro-war attitude of many of the pupils and the staff. *The Times Educational Supplement*, June 6th 1916 carried a considerable number of articles suggesting that the public schools were basically sound but in urgent need of reform. What was needed most of these articles suggested was to place much more emphasis on science and the modern languages. The fact that the schools were socially exclusive did not concern the writers at all.

Gray and Turner argued vigorously that the policy of instilling a militant patriotism similar to the German model should be avoided at all costs. What was needed, they felt, was an entirely new approach to the theme of imperial federation. The Empire had to be thought of as an entity.

'If then it be proved that England will never be the same England again, in a far greater sense must it be true that the Empire cannot, and must not ever be, the same Empire as before. No longer must it remain an amorphous, illogical unwieldy product of compromise, but if it is to survive as an Empire, and not as a mere loose collocation of States cemented by the sentiment of common blood and common language, it must become one complete organic whole, welded together in all its parts, economically, as well as politically. Thus and only thus can Great Britain Limited develop into Great Britain Unlimited, in the most practical and imperial acceptation of the word.'

They also pleaded for a reduction in the number of subjects in the curriculum, and in order to make up for the continued deficiencies in English technical education, they stressed the need for a graduated system of manual training for all boys in public and secondary schools.

'The connection between mind, eye and hand has never been sufficiently emphasised by the average English schoolmaster. Possibly the aristocratic prejudice against manual labour has had something to do with this serious defect in English education. But prejudice of such a kind has, it is to be hoped, now died. Manual training should, as at the preparatory school, take up at least one-third of the

2. Ibid. p 125
hours now devoted to non productive games. The latter, admirable as they are for the inculcation of esprit de corps, have suffered from the abuse of their using. 'All day and every day' games-madness has led not to efficiency but to inefficiency in sterner fields. Another one-third of the leisure hours should be devoted to military drill, the importance of which scientific warfare has brought vividly home to every citizen as 'the necessary condition of his future liberty.'

In a moving article in The Times an anonymous officer wounded on the Somme spoke of the need to improve English education. He argued that the indifference to education in war time resulted in the 'shutting up of museums, not the shutting up of expensive restaurants' and he warned that imperial greed was totally soul destroying.

'It ought to be easier now than it was three years ago for English people to be persuaded that education is worth any sacrifice. It ought to be easier; because the war has been itself an education. Education is the most formal and public recognition of the claims of the spirit that the modern world has permitted, and the war has thrown certain spiritual tendencies into high relief. It has made moral alternatives intelligible by clothing them with personality. It has caused thousands of people, who are quite without hatred towards Germany, to ask themselves, 'What is in the German attitude towards life which makes it intolerable to us? Why is it that we feel that the cause of France and England is the cause of humanity?' They ask this, and they answer, if they are French or English, that what is intolerable in Germany, what outweighs the many excellences of its learning and public spirit, is there is something in it which stamps what it touches with death, something which is the antithesis of individuality, of spontaneous personal aspirations and endeavour and sacrifice; a spirit which organizes men, but does not inspire them,

but does not love them which makes a mighty State, but neither a democracy nor a Church; and that, while the characteristic sins of France and England are those of men, weakness and passion and thoughtlessness, the characteristic sins of Prussia, as she now is, are those of devils, intellectual arrogance, and a cold heart, and a contempt for what is lovable and pitiable and ridiculous in human nature...

The spirit of German Imperialism is too often the spirit of English and American industrialism, with all its cult of power as an end in itself, its coarse material standards, its subordination of personality to mechanism, its worship of an elaborate and soul-destroying organization; and the materialism, which in Prussia reveals itself in adoration of the power of the State, in England reveals itself in adoration of the power of money. The latter is not more noble, it is more ignoble, because less disinterested, than the former. If it is not so violent, it is more slyly corrupt, and, as far as the mass of mankind are concerned, almost as tyrannical. But whether it takes the form of military violence, or of commercial greed, the spirit of materialism is one, and the spirit which resists it is one. And if we feel that the absolute claim of personality, the preservation and development of spiritual freedom, are worth any sacrifice in time of war, we ought equally to feel that they are worthy any sacrifice in time of peace. Now the sphere where the claims of personality are most clearly involved, and where what threatens them is most obviously the operation of materialistic motives, is the sphere of education.

H.B. Gray, Warden of Bradfield College claimed in 1913 that the public school had Ten Commandments.

There is only one God; and the captain of school is his prophet.

My school is the best in the world

Without big muscles, strong will and proper collars, there is no salvation.

I must wash much and in accordance with tradition.

I must speak the truth even to a master, if he believes everything I tell him.

I must play games with all my heart, with all my soul and with all my strength.

To work outside class hours is indecent.

Enthusiasm, except for games, is in bad taste.

I must look up to the older fellows and pour contempt on newcomers.

I must show no emotion and not kiss my mother in public.¹

To many, these values had paid off in the Great War.

The defenders of the public school system argued that it was precisely those ten commandments which had helped to win the war and preserve the Empire.

What I have attempted to illustrate in this chapter is the general development in the public schools after 1900 up until the end of the Great War. Throughout this period the public schools clung to the firm conviction that they existed to train the leaders of the nation and the

¹ H.B. Gray, Public Schools and the Empire (1913) pp 172-173.
Empire. The ethos of the public school did not change greatly between 1900 and 1918. Indeed the Boer War and the Great War served to reinforce the view of the public schools that they had served the Empire with courage, loyalty and distinction. As Geoffrey Best has argued the essential ingredient of the Victorian public school was loyalty and therefore the prospect of death in service was something which the Victorian public schoolboy had to face. However in the intervening years between the death of Queen Victoria and the end of the Great War the youths of these institutions also had to live with that same prospect and many of them certainly proved their loyalty as the numerous war memorials in school chapels proudly testify.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SCHOOLS AND IMPERIAL IDEOLOGY

1900 - 1930

The imperialist feels a profound pride in the magnificent heritage of Empire won by the courage and energy of his ancestry... He is convinced that the discharge of the duties of his great inheritance has an educational influence and a morally bracing effect on the character of the British people, and that the spread of British rule extends to every race brought within its sphere the incalculable benefits of just law, tolerant trade and considerate Government.


In former years the burdens of Empire or of the State fell on the shoulders of a few; now the humblest child to be found on the benches of a primary school will in a few years time be called on to influence the destinies of not only fifty four millions of white, but three hundred and fifty millions of coloured men and women, his fellow subjects scattered throughout five continents of the world. Such overwhelming responsibilities have never before in the history of this world fallen upon any people. If the white men and women of the British Empire are idle, soft, selfish, hysterical and undisciplined, are they likely to rule well?

The Earl of Meath in Essays on Duty and Discipline (1910) p 59.
A pamphlet circulated to certain elementary schools in 1908 by the Empire Day Movement and written by Lord Roberts confirms what G.B. Jeffrey said of his schooldays at the turn of the century.

'I should like to think that every boy and girl in this country realises that the Union Jack is the flag of the British Empire - whose children they are - the emblem of its greatness, and as such should be revered by all true Britons. And I should like also to think that every boy and girl has learnt that the red patches on the maps of the world in their schools mark those islands and countries far away from England which go to form that Empire. For without such knowledge it is not possible for boys and girls to understand what the flag ought to be to them - an incentive to so conduct themselves that, at all times and under all circumstances, they may prove themselves worthy of being members of the great Empire which the Union Jack represents.'

As I have shown in previous Chapters, school children, whether in state or public schools, were made aware of the fact that Britain had an Empire. I now want to look at the various ways in which British imperialists tried to get their ideas across to school children. When I started on my research, Dr John Springhall had not published his book Youth, Empire and Society which deals with Youth Movements. In this Chapter I will examine the way in which the schools were touched by such organisations as the Empire Day Movement (see Appendix 6) but I do not intend to examine the various youth movements which came into being at the end of the nineteenth century in any depth. As Springhall has shown many of the Edwardian youth movements stressed their ability to provide for working boys those very qualities which the public schools claimed to instil in their charges. However all youth movements of this period laid stress on patriotism and the Empire.

1. Lord Roberts, What Does it Mean to be a Member of the British Empire (1908).


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Of the Scout movement Baden-Powell said:

'We in the Scout movement are credited with supplying for the boy who has not had the same chance as one brought up in a public school an equivalent character training, especially in the directions of responsibility and discipline.'

When the Daily Mail made its first appearance in 1896 it declared, somewhat piously, that it intended to be the embodiment and the voice of the imperial idea. No doubt this was a statement made from deep conviction but the proprietors of the Daily Mail and other papers were not unaware of the popularity of imperial events and how these might be exploited. The papers of this period encouraged the idea of Empire and the Daily Mail claimed that it would dedicate its task to furthering

'the supremacy and the greatness of the British Empire.'

The Daily Mail claimed also that it represented the

'articulate voice of British progress and domination - we believe in England.'

Such assertions may also be compared with the number of advertisements which appear in the popular press and in the more serious newspapers of this period which use the imperial theme as a motif. Advertisements which depict rugged, out-door types, soldiers, adventurers and frontiers-men were in constant use and these, together with textbooks, must have made a visual impact on children. I shall deal with the subject of textbooks in Chapter 5.

It was not until 1892 that the Board of Education laid down a Code of Regulations which expressly provided for instruction relating to the Empire. Prior to this in 1883, the Royal Colonial Institute had established an essay competition which had a poor response and was abandoned in 1885. However, in the intervening years from 1885 to 1892 the Institute put pressure on the public schools and the grammar schools to stimulate interest in the Empire. By 1893 the Cambridge University local lecturers syndicate was offering six courses of lectures on imperial subjects. According to T. Reese

'The efforts of the Royal Colonial Institute were an important factor behind the increasing attention given to the Empire by educational bodies at the turn of the century.'

This is borne out by the number of articles which begin to appear in the late 1890s on the subject of 'Education and Empire'. However, purely at the pedagogic level, it was felt that a greater knowledge should be acquired of the history and geography of the Empire.  

Following the 1902 Act, Morant drew up a series of regulations which set the pattern for both the elementary and the secondary schools. In particular, his Code for Public Elementary Schools set the tone for the slow improvements which were to take place in English education over the

2. Ibid. p 87.
next few years. On the subject of conduct, Morant drew attention to the influence which teachers can wield on their young charges.

'They can endeavour by example and influence, aided by the sense of discipline which should pervade the school, to implant in children habits of industry, self-control and courageous perseverance in the face of difficulties; they can teach them to reverence what is noble, to be ready for self-sacrifice, and to strive their utmost after purity and truth; they can foster a strong respect for duty, and that consideration and respect for others which must be the foundation of all unselfishness and the true basis of all good manners; while the corporate life of the school, especially in the playground, should develop that instinct for fair-play and loyalty to one another which is the germ of a wider sense of honour in later life.'

The Code also claimed that the elementary school should endeavour to gain the co-operation of the parents and the home in a united effort to enable the children 'Not merely to reach their full development as individuals, but also to become upright and useful members of the community in which they live, and worthy sons and daughters of the country to which they belong.'

As far as the actual syllabus was concerned, Morant also drew up what he regarded as the best possible practices and outlined the nature of the work to be undertaken. The education given in every public elementary school was to be based on a graduated course of instruction suitable to the age and capacity of the pupils. History and geography were regarded as the most important subjects after English.

2. Ibid. p 3. The voice of the public school man can be heard in these statements.
3. Ibid. p 3.
'Geography - advancing from first notions to an outline knowledge of the chief physical factors of the earth, and specially of the British Isles, and the British Dominions beyond the seas.'

'History - comprising of a general knowledge of the great persons and events in English history and the growth of the British Empire.'

In 1904 Morant also issued the Regulations for Secondary Schools. These regulations reflected his views that the educational service fell into two distinct sections, 'primary' and 'secondary'. Morant felt that the secondary schools should, as far as possible, emulate the curriculum of the public schools and provide a strong academic education. The curriculum of the secondary school was to be as follows:

'Instruction in the English language and literature. At least one language other than English, geography, history, mathematics, science and drawing, with due provision for manual work and physical exercises. Not less than four and a half hours per week must be allotted to English, geography and history.'

In both geography and history, the growth and development of the Empire was given some degree of prominence but although the Board of Education inspected the schools, the methods by which the pupils were taught was at the discretion of the teacher in the classroom. Empire Day, to which I refer later, was only one day in the school year, but as I shall also show in Chapter 5 the textbooks used by many history and geography teachers were strong in imperial sentiment and many elementary teachers were steeped in Kipling and Newbolt. Labour and Liberal MPs and Councillors may have been able to prevent militarism and see that

2. It needs to be pointed out that the word 'secondary' had different meanings for different people at this time. Morant is really thinking about grammar schools and not the type of school envisaged by Tawney and other Labour thinkers later on.
3. 'Courses of Instruction' Regulations for Secondary Schools (1904) CD 2128 p 17.
military drill was not brought into the schools but they were powerless to prevent the preaching of the 'Gospel of Empire' which infiltrated down through the popular press.

From the late 1890s there was a flow of literature in the form of articles, pamphlets and books which preached this 'Gospel of Empire'. Frequently these were allied to the idea that war may not only be necessary to defend the Empire but would, in itself, be a good thing.

Milner saw that imperialism and social reform had to go together but the Empire could only be maintained if people really cared about it.

"How are you going to sustain this vast fabric of the Empire? No single class can sustain it. It needs the strength of the whole people. You must have soundness at the core - health, intelligence and industry and these cannot be general without a fair average standard of material well-being. Poverty, degradation, physical degeneracy, these will always be. But can any patriot, above all, can any Imperialist, rest content with our present record in these respects? If he cares for the Empire, he must care that the heart of the Empire should beat with a sounder and less feverish pulse." ¹

The British were always quick to point out that Britain's sphere of influence was where they chose to place it, a fact which impressed itself on the young Curzon at Eton.


². Alfred Milner, The Nation and The Empire (1913) p 139.
'Sir James Stephen came down to Eton and told the boys that listened to him, of whom I was one, that there was in the Asian continent an Empire more populous, more amazing and more beneficient than that of Rome. Ever since that day, the fascination and, if I may say so, the sacredness of India have grown upon me.'

What must be borne in mind is that on the issue of Empire, the mood of the country at large fluctuated wildly from one year to the next. This is what Sandison has aptly termed the 'paradox of Empire'. On the one hand there has always existed in this country a strong articulate body of anti-imperialist thought together with a large number of people who had an innate belief in the moral and spiritual superiority of the Empire. As Moneypenny observed in 1905 the national ideal soon gave way to the Imperial, and even after the Boer War, there was a renewed faith in the Empire. The shallow jingoism of the late 1890s gave way to Seeley's view that the Empire was a force for good and that Britain had a civilising mission to perform. What one cannot afford to forget in looking at this period is that many people actually came to believe in the idea of 'The White Man's Burden.

If any one person embodied the Victorian ideal of the Christian going out to do his duty in the vast wastes of the Empire then it was Charles George Gordon (1833-85), whom Gladstone called a 'hero of heroes'.

1. The Times, 29th October 1898.
Gordon did not attend public school because Taunton at that time was still a grammar school and, like Cheltenham, did not achieve that status until the 1840s. However in all other respects he is the archetypal Muscular Christian. What I want to draw attention to is not so much Gordon himself but the fact that his career was subsequently held up as an example to schoolboys whether they were in private or state schools. After his death in 1885 there was a spate of books which dealt with many aspects of his military career. Lord Cromer in Modern Egypt \(^1\) was critical of Gordon and so was Morley in his Life of Gladstone \(^2\), but he was constantly seen as an example for all young people. The following words are on his monument in St Paul's Cathedral.

'To Major Charles George Gordon, C.B., who at all times and everywhere gave his strength to the weak, his substance to the poor, his sympathy to the suffering, his heart to God. He saved an Empire by his war-like genius, he ruled vast provinces with justice, wisdom and power, and lastly, obedience to his Sovereign's command, he died in the heroic attempt to save men, women and children, from imminent deadly peril.'

Typical of the adulation which was accorded to Gordon at the time of his death was the extent to which the Gladstone Government came in for very harsh criticism. It is difficult to gauge exactly how enthusiastic the public were in the 1880s about Empire and Colonies but Gordon's death

\(^1\) Lord Cromer, Modern Egypt Vol I (1908) pp 565-71.
\(^2\) Lord Morley, Life of Gladstone Vol III (1903) pp 150-56.

D.N.B.

See also F.R. Wingate, Mahdism and the Egyptian Sudan (1891).
W.F. Butler, Charles George Gordon (1889).
gave vent to popular hysteria and whilst this did not last very long, Gordon was remembered.

Several books on Gordon's life and work were especially written for children but other popular biographies of this famous soldier were given as prizes. One of the more popular was by Lt. Col. Seton-Churchill, first issued in 1904 and selling, by 1908, over 44,000 copies. General Gordon: A Christian Hero is dedicated to:

'The young men of England with the earnest desire that some of the noble Godlike characteristics of this Christian Hero and Soldier may be reproduced in future generations.'

1. R. James, Roseberry (1963 p 419. The Times, 5th February 1885, 12th February 1885. Illustrated London News: 14th February 1885, 21st and 28th February 1885. Queen Victoria wrote to Gordon's sister on 17th February 1885 about 'the stain left upon England for your dear Brother's cruel, but heroic fate.'

2. I have come across several copies of Lt. Col. Churchill's book and have one in my possession awarded by the Hope Trust for Leith in 1910 to a James Davis for 'regular attendance and good conduct' at Leith Senior Abstinence Meeting (Gordon would have found this amusing, I am sure, because he did have a sense of humour as well as the next person). The Hope Trust was a bequest set up by Lord John Hope of Leith. In 1860 Hope founded the British League Cadets in Edinburgh as part of the Volunteer Movement. The cadets were working class boys who drilled in schoolrooms and halls throughout the city. The incentive to attend was the award of a stout pair of boots. In 22 years Hope distributed over 2,000 pairs.

According to Churchill, his reason for writing yet another book on Gordon was to meet a popular demand for a 'popular book for young men and others'. Churchill drew heavily on the books on Gordon already published and acknowledges this debt but he gained additional information from Gordon's sister who had already published the General's letters to her. What makes this book interesting is that it is both a religious tract and a panegyric to the Empire.

Winston Churchill was twenty-five years of age when he wrote The River War, but he saw Gordon's faults only too clearly. Gordon, Churchill claimed, was capricious, uncertain, given to violent passions and totally inconsistent. However Churchill, like many of his generation saw the dramatic significance of Gordon's life and there is a great deal of admiration for Gordon in the following. The young Churchill wrote:

'It is impossible to study any part of Charles Gordon's career without being drawn to all the rest. As his wild and varied fortunes lead him from Sebastopol to Pekin, from Gravesend to South Africa, from Mauritius to the Soudan, the reader follows fascinated. Every scene is strange, terrible or dramatic.'

Churchill himself was no different from Gordon in many respects and like Gordon had dedicated himself to

'Seeking the bubble reputation
Even in the canon's mouth.'

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1. W.S. Churchill, op cit. p 2
But unlike Gordon, Churchill never had any intention of becoming a professional soldier.

Gordon continued to be held up to younger generations as someone who had died for the Empire because of the refusal of the Gladstone Government to mount a relief expedition in time.

One soldier who had served with him in the Sudan summed him up thus:

'His character was remarkable, and the influence he had over those with whom he came into contact was very striking. His power to command men of non-European races was probably unique. He had no fear of death and cared but little for the opinion of others, adhering tenaciously to the course he believed to be right in the face of all opposition. Though not holding to outward forms of religion, he was a truly religious man in the highest sense of the word and was a constant student of the Bible. To serve God and do his duty were the great objects of his life and he died as he had lived, carrying out the work that lay before him to the best of his ability.'

These were the qualities which were mediated to the pupils of all schools. Gordon, and lesser figures, were seen as examples of the Christian Hero who served both his country, his God and the Empire.

In his book, Patriotism and Empire, John M. Robertson made a comparison between the Roman and British Empire. Various references to Rome are frequently found in literature about the Empire but Robertson drew

2. John M. Robertson, Patriotism and Empire (1899).
attention to the economic basis of both Empires. Robertson claimed that the British Empire was no more than a system of plunder on a massive scale. He argued that because it was essentially parasitical then it would ultimately fail. Once British industry declined decadence would set in. Robertson was referring to economic decadence but there were fears constantly expressed, especially after the Boer War, that the Empire could become spiritually and morally decadent if attention was not paid to the youth of the nation. This theme was taken up by several people but one of the most important was the founder of Empire Day, Lord Meath.

The founder of the Empire Day Movement, Lord Meath, is in many ways the archetypal Victorian imperialist. Born in 1841, he was educated at Eton and served as a diplomat until 1873. In the 1880s and in the 1890s he devoted himself to mainly charitable work of one sort or another and by the beginning of the new century he became actively involved in various imperialist bodies.

According to Springhall, it was Meath's concern about Germany's imperial ambitions which led him to take an active part in imperialist organisations and help to organise an educational programme for young people in order that their understanding and knowledge of the Empire could be broadened. It would be wrong to regard Meath as some early form of Colonel Blimp. For a start, he was not an army man. A Conservative he

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1. Lord Meath, Memories of the Nineteenth Century (1923).
   D.N.B.
certainly was and prior to taking his father's seat in the House of Lords in 1887, he was a member of that body under the title of Lord Brabazon. Before his death in 1928, Meath served as a Senator of the Irish Free State, an Irish Privy Councillor and a Lord Lieutenant of Dublin.

As John Springhall has written Meath had a quasi-religious attachment to the Empire. This meant that he was involved in one way or another with the various imperialist organisations which were a strong feature of the period immediately after the Boer War. Meath was Vice-President of the Navy League (1909), on the Executive of the Council of the National Service League (1910-14) and the General Council of the Legion of Frontiersmen (1911), The League of Empire (1916), Baden-Powell made him a Commissioner for the Boy Scouts Association (1910) and he subsequently became Scout Commissioner for Ireland. These various leagues acted as pressure groups on the Liberal Government but they also had access to the schools. In particular, as I have shown in Chapter 3 the National Service League was extremely active in the public schools and whilst it is true to say that this and other imperialist bodies did not participate directly in the schools, they had some influence. Although these organisations were mainly aimed at the middle class youth of Britain they recruited many working class boys and helped to stir up imperial sentiment.

In the Psychology of Jingoism, J.A. Hobson gives a graphic description of a Lord Lieutenant of a country addressing a political meeting at the height of the Boer War.

'Neither you nor I believe in these perpetual appeals to Providence in the wrong place and at the wrong time. Neither do we believe in these continual quotations from Scripture. We do not believe in the man who holds the Bible in one hand and the mauser rifle in the other.'

The Lord Lieutenant then went on to denounce Kruger in the vilest most racist way. As I shall show later on in this Chapter, jingoism of the worst sort emerges during a war and has a tendency to die down. As I mentioned in Chapter 3 when I drew attention to the Boer War and Richard Price's thesis that patriotism, jingoism and imperialism takes many subtle forms and it is not always the least educated or poorer members of the community who become infected with it. As the Labour Movement became more organised it began to see the dangers of militarism and Hobson's book was widely read together with his second work on imperialism.

The amount of verse which the Boer War produced was considerable, Kipling's Absent Minded Beggar earned almost £400,000 mainly from music-hall recitals. Kipling and Newbolt had numerous imitators and poets like Swinburne, Henley and Austin the Poet Laureate, rushed into patriotic verse with indiscreet fervour. Austin wrote 'Who dies for England

Sleeps with God'. The war produced very little poetry of real quality. Kipling's *Chant Pagan* is undoubtedly one of the best to emerge from the war. For the soldier, England had gone stale.

Me that 'ave been what I've been,
Me that 'ave gone where I've gone,
Me that 'ave seen what I've seen -
'Ow can I ever take on.

With awful old England again,
An' 'ouses both sides of the street,
And 'edges two sides of the lane,
And the parson an' 'gentry' between,
An' touchin' my 'at when we meet -
Me that 'ave been what I've been.

Me that 'ave watched 'arf a world
'Eave up all shiny with dew,
Kopje on kop to the sun,
An' as soon as the mist let 'em through
Our 'elios winkin' like fun -
Three sides of a ninety-mile square,
Over valleys as big as a shire -
Are ye there? Are ye there? Are ye there?
An' then the blind drum of our fire ...
An' I'm rollin' 'is lawns for the Squire,
Me!

As M. Van Wyk Smith\(^2\) has shown much of the poetry in English was of very poor quality and strongly racist in tone. Often this racism was directed not against Boers or Africans but against Jews. Reynolds News printed the following doggerel:


*Chant Pagan* illustrates more than anything else that England in spite of the national consciousness engendered by the Boer War was still two nations divided by wealth and education.
'Oh, Tommy Tommy Atkins
My heart beats sore for you,
To be made the blooming catspaw
Of the all-pervading Jew.'

As well as being performed in public the poetry was often recited on other public occasions such as school speech days. It seems more than likely that much of the verse found its way into school anthologies of the time along with that of Newbolt, Austin and Kipling. I shall deal with school textbooks in Chapter 5 but the amount of propaganda put out in the schools at the time of the Boer War was considerable, particularly after Mafeking was relieved.

In his book on slum life in Salford at the turn of the century, Robert Roberts is critical of what passed for education at the turn of the century. Since he speaks from personal experience, his account of his own school days are worth recording:

'Teachers, fed on Seeley's imperialistic work, The Expansion of England, and often great readers of Kipling, spelled out patriotism among us with a fervour that with some edged on the religious.' 1

Roberts describes Empire Day vividly but questions in retrospect what the undermass got materially from the Empire. However, he recognises the force of imperialistic propaganda.

'Once instructed, however, the indigent remained staunchly patriotic. They did not know whether trade was good for the Empire or the Empire was good for trade but they knew the Empire was theirs and they were going to support it.

In this we in our school would have fully concurred. With a deep consciousness of global possession, a grasp of the decalogue and a modicum of knowledge, we left in droves at the very first hour the law would allow and sought any job at all in factory, mill and shop.'

'Empire Day of course had special significance. We drew Union Jacks, hung classrooms with flags of the Dominions and gazed with pride as they pointed out those massed areas of red on the world map.

When next King George with his queen came on a state visit we were ready, together with 30,000 other children, to ask in song, and then (in case he didn't know) tell him precisely the 'meaning of Empire Day.'

The children were first presented with a bun ... and a piece of chocolate. Each boy wore a rosette of red, white and blue ribbon and each girl wore a blue sash over a white dress. (Those without white dresses were allowed to stand at the rear.) In happy unison we sang 'Here's a health unto His Majesty', 'Three cheers for the red, white and blue,' and

**What is the meaning of Empire Day?**
- Why do the cannons roar?
- Why does the cry 'God save the King'
- Echo from shore to shore?
- Why does the flag of Britannia float
- Proudly o'er fort and bay?
- Why do our kinsmen gladly hail,
- Our glorious Empire Day?

**Response**

On our nation's scroll of glory,
With its deeds of daring told
There is written a story,
Of the heroes bold,
In the days of old
So to keep the deeds before us,
Every year we homage pay
To our banner proud
That has never bowed,
And that's the meaning of Empire Day.

The log-books of elementary schools illustrate the celebration of Empire Day. In rural areas active support was often given to it by the local squirearchy.

'Empire Day (30th May 1909) was celebrated in school today. Her Ladyship kindly lent us 20 flags and the children were taught to salute the Union Jack. Lessons were given on the Union Jack and the 'growth and extent of the British Empire.' Several patriotic songs were sung, and the afternoon was spent in organised games. Three selected compositions on 'Empire Day' were despatched to one of the colonies.'

On the other hand, many children must have looked on Empire Day as a holiday from school and the opportunity of a free orange was something to be welcomed as one person recalling similar conditions wrote

'I was born in the slum areas of Walsall in 1903. I never had a new suit until I put on an army uniform. When school photographs were taken all the poor kids were at the back because we were so ragged. To keep our homes in fuel, we boys would go to the canal near the ironworks, where the water was warm, and dive in to collect coal that had fallen off the boats.'

Meath was largely responsible for the publication of the Essays on Duty and Discipline (see appendix Lj-4) which were aimed at all classes of boys and girls. These were imperialist tracts and school teachers were urged to buy them in order to stop the moral rot that many felt was creeping into the soul of the nation. They make interesting reading

1. Quoted in Ronald Blythe, Akenfield (1969) p 169. By 1930 Empire Day was still being celebrated at 'Akenfield' (Southwold in real life) and the school log-book records that patriotic songs, lessons on citizenship and the saluting of the flag continued to be the order of the day.


since they reflect the wide concern that existed about the Empire and Britain's position in the world.

Something of the high moral tone of the *Essays on Duty and Discipline* can be seen from the following extracts. The full list is contained in Appendix 4.

'The only sure foundation of Empire is character. In England, however often we may have departed from them, we had lofty ideals, and it was these, and not size or wealth, that made the Commonwealth. As Hellenism was the subtle poison that corrupted the Romans, so I fancy will 'materialism' and its cult remain the enemy of the British race.'

'In my own way I always try to bring out the moral side of imperialism, and to emphasise the fact that national greatness rests ultimately on soundness at the core, on a high ideal of citizenship and duty, and I feel really grateful for the great work ... in keeping these fundamental truths before our people here and overseas.'

'So be a good brick in this great nation of ours, be strong and stick to your duty, obey orders cheerily and at once, and don't be a waster; play the game without thinking of your own comfort or safety, but in order that your side may win - that the great Empire to which you belong may be strong and flourish for ever.'

There was a real fear that the British Empire might decline and go the way of the Roman Empire. The fact that the Roman Empire had fallen to dust was something which the most ardent imperialists were only too well aware of and frequent references were made comparing the Pax Romana with the Pax Britannica but not everyone saw Rome's decline as the following writer.

'Who can stem the torrent of degradation now flooding the cities of our Empire? The parents of our nation. Let them fulfil their duties, let them sacrifice themselves to train their children well, and a mighty wave of regeneration will sweep over our homes, purifying them from the miasma of effeminacy and fructifying the virtues inherent in our race - virtues which only need more favourable soil and more congenial atmosphere in order to spring up anew. You mothers who rock the cradle of the future rulers of our Empire, of the men who will defend her shores far and wide, of the mothers of the next generation, will you refuse to accomplish your noble task."

Meath's Lords Drill Association was affiliated to the National Service League and Meath's organisation was formed according to its founder:

'To arouse the British nation to the serious nature of the problem of Imperial Defence.'

Meath regularly pestered the Board of Education and in his book Our Empire Past and Present, which he hoped would be available in all schools, he wrote that the State should encourage a greater understanding of the Empire and that

'the traditions of the Flag and the example set in the pages of its history may well nourish patriotism.'

Meath also put considerable pressure on the Board of Education to introduce more military drill in the schools.

As Springhall has shown, Empire Day was actually more popular in the middle class suburban areas of London and in the south-east of England generally.¹ Those Councils with strong Labour groups rejected all attempts to establish Empire Day which they saw as the thin edge of militarism and it was something which the Labour Party was always on the watch for. As early as 1900, when a Conservative Member of Parliament tried to introduce compulsory physical and military training into the schools, John Burns claimed that the proposal had nothing to do with gymnastics but militarism.

"If the army wants recruits, you have two great recruiting sergeants — one is poverty, which procures you 95 per cent and the other is patriotism which gets you five per cent. What is now being proposed, it seems to me, is to increase by fictitious and adventitious aids, by military drill in the playground, that 95 per cent. The working classes do not want these, and, what is more they won't have it."

Keir Hardie’s pacifist attitudes along with the strong anti-war attitudes of members of the Labour Party both inside and outside the House of Commons were sensitive to anything which might be seen as helping to encourage militarism. School children, they argued, should not be subjected to any form of marching or drilling which could help to

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¹ J.C. Springhall, *op cit.*

foster militaristic attitudes and the recommendations of the Empire Day Movement (see Appendix 6) did not appeal to Labour MPs or local Labour Councillors. Echoing the words of J.A. Hobson, Keir Hardie complained in the House of Commons that

'The Churches and schools are being used as recruiting agencies for populating the army and familiarising the youth of the country with military ideas and drill.' \(^1\)

In 1906 the annual conference of the Independent Labour Party made a resolution to the effect that the Conference:

'Strongly repudiates every attempt to inculcate military training in schools.' \(^2\)

and the following year the Labour Party Conference took a hard line and condemned:

'The manifold efforts now being made to popularise (militarism) by the proposals for citizen armies, and to poison the minds of youth by means of School Rifle Clubs, Boys' Church Brigades and the like.' \(^3\)

However the efforts of the imperialists to extend military training in the schools beyond mere military drill is in the circumstances not in the least surprising given the fact that other nations allowed it.

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1. H.C. Debates 152 4th Series C 190 19th February 1906.
It was during the First World War that recognition was accorded to Empire Day in Britain and the first government approved Empire Day took place on 24th May 1916.¹

Prior to this, Canada had celebrated Empire Day and Meath was able to organise a celebration in London in 1904. The House of Commons turned down the idea in 1908 because it seemed to smack of militarism.²

Undoubtedly, what gave Empire Day its impetus and allowed it to become widely recognised was the war. Milner carried the idea in the Lords and it became an official holiday in some areas but it was the war which brought it recognition. Indeed the war stimulated patriotism and this patriotism extended to include the Empire.

According to The Times³, Empire Day in 1916 was celebrated more enthusiastically than ever before. The Union Jack was flown from all public buildings and in more than 71,000 schools the children were assembled to hear addresses on the meaning of the Empire. In London, 1,000 children attending elementary schools were assembled in the Guildhall

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1. The Times, 25th May 1916.

2. The Earl of Ronaldshay had attempted to amend the Education (Scotland) Bill of 1908 in order to institute military drill in the schools together with the observation of Empire Day. Labour, Liberal and Irish Nationalists rejected this and the amendment was defeated. H.C. Debates 196 4th Series CC 194-206 10th November 1908. For various other debates on militarism and the need to introduce it into the schools along with the teaching of patriotism see H.C. Debates 152 4th Series C 194 19th February 1906; H.C. Debates 163 4th Series CC 425-7 25th October 1906; H.C. Debates 173 CC 702-703 30th April 1907.

3. The Times, 25th May 1916. The heading was 'Union Jack flies over Dublin ruins.'
and a ceremony took place with songs, recitations and speeches. The formal proceedings were prefaced by the unfurling of a large Union Jack. When the flag was hoisted the children cheered for the King and waved the red, white and blue handkerchiefs with which they were provided. Using Newbolt’s phrase, the Lord Mayor in his welcome, recalled the work of the Empire building which had been undertaken by such people as Livingstone, Botha, Strathcona and Warren Hastings - 'they have played the game' he said and that was the secret of the success of the British Empire throughout the world. Walter Kay, the Chairman of the London County Council Education Committee spoke of the large part played by the elementary schools during the war and referred to the 2,000 masters of London schools who were serving in the army. Kay also referred to the 100,000 'old boys' of these schools who were also serving in France and elsewhere. He said that in one school alone where he had seen a 'roll of honour', 30 held the King's Commission and five had gained VCs. At the Stock Exchange the National Anthem was sung before the opening of business and the South African Memorial was decorated with flags. It was estimated, according to several papers¹ that over five million British children had donated one penny each to British troops. Meath's message to the children of Britain was

'Let us see today that we are worthy of our imperial heritage.'²

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2. The Times 25th May 1916.
Lord Rosebery sent the following telegram to the Empire Day Movement:

'Empire Day finds Empire United and sublime.'

Given the impetus of the war, it is perhaps not at all surprising that there were such carefully arranged demonstrations of patriotism but Empire Day was essentially a celebration of 'Empire' of 'what we have and hold' and the Guildhall ceremony was only one of many which took place throughout the country. Exactly how effective this propaganda was is difficult to say but at the height of the war it did attract considerable publicity. Empire was something which one could be proud of since it became associated with the mother country and bur kith and kin abroad.' At this stage there is little reference to the African Colonies or India in perorations on the brotherhood of Empire.

In the same issue of The Times which reported the Empire Day celebrations of 1916, Sir Edward Grey is on record as having lectured the House of Commons on Russia's 'dream of Empire' but at the same time the military correspondent of The Times deplored the fact that not enough troops were being made available from the Indian and African continents.

'If Rome, for her great wars could place in line the legions from Britain Illyria and Africa and count these three among the choicest of her army, so we surely from our much greater territory must create fresh masses of troops to throw into war. We are leaving great treasures unused.'

1. The Times 25th May 1916.
2. Ibid.
I have already drawn attention to the views expressed by J.A. Hobson on the 'moral and sentimental' factors underlying imperialism in Chapter 2 and how he made the claim that both State and Church were contending for the hearts and minds of British youth in order to foster imperial values. Even if we make some allowances for Hobson's socialist convictions there is a degree of truth in his assertions. The literature produced by the clergy at the time of the Boer War exalting Britain's imperial mission was indeed prolific. To take one example Herbert Hensley Henson, Dean of Durham, delivered sermons which were classical examples of the imperialist propaganda which Hobson denounced. In the years following the Boer War, books such as A.C. Headlam's *Universities and the Empire* (1907)\(^1\) and Ellison and Walpole's *Church and Empire* (1907)\(^3\), to take just two examples, confirm many of Hobson's claims that the Church and the State were actively concerned about the future of the Empire.

In the war of 1914-18 the propaganda which eventually turned to a hatred of all things German was of a far greater intensity than that experienced during the Boer War and one cannot help finding Hobson's thesis a compelling one.

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2. A.C. Headlam, *Universities and The Empire* (1907)

3. J. Ellison and G.H. Walpole, *Church and Empire* (1907).

R.B. Haldane, *Education and Empire* (1902) is less strident in tone.
The war fostered the most virulent forms of patriotism and the Church of England was well to the fore in encouraging national and imperial sentiment. Perhaps this is not really surprising since it was fulfilling its role as the national church in urging men and women to fight the good fight.

'Fight for the colours of Christ the King
Fight as he fought for you
Fight for the Right with all your might
Fight for the Red White and Blue.'¹

The Church Lord's Brigade and the Boys' Brigade produced various battalions to go and fight in France. In the first month of the war it is estimated that 120,000 former members of these and the smaller brigades joined the colours.² Winnington-Ingram as Bishop of London, was especially proud of his own branch of the London brigade which recruited over 1,000 men and received the personal thanks of Lord Kitchener.³

However, it was not long before war-fever reached ludicrous heights. Winnington-Ingram, the Bishop of London, exhorted his country-men to kill Germans, nothing less would do.

1. Quoted in G. Bedborough Arms and the Clergy (1934) p 21. These were precisely the sentiments which Sassoon and others who actually did the fighting railed against. The fact that clergymen at home clamoured for conscription but felt it should not apply to themselves was a source of disgust to many officers and men in the trenches.

2. The Times, 24th September 1914.

'To save the freedom of the world, to save liberty, to save the honour of women and children, everyone who loves freedom and honour, everyone who puts principle before ease and life before mere living, is bonded in a great crusade - we cannot deny it - to kill Germans, to kill them not for the sake of killing, but to save the world. To kill the good as well as the bad, to kill the young as well as the old, to kill those who have shown kindness to our wounded as well as those fiends who crucified the Canadian soldier, who superintended the Armenian massacres, who sank the Lusitania, and who turned the machine guns on the civilians of Aerschot and Louvain; and to kill lest the civilisation of the world itself be killed.'

There were several factors which ensured that the patriotic feeling directed against the Germans became more intensive. James Bryce's Report on Alleged German Atrocities and the sinking of the Lusitania in May 1915 whipped up public feeling against the Germans. The bombing by Zeppelins of British towns in June and July and the execution of Edith Cavell meant that many now saw the war as a struggle to the death to save Britain and Britain's honour from Teutonic savagery. British officers were essentially decent, clean living and honourable whereas the Germans were not:

'The last few weeks have shown us afresh the nature of the fight we have to wage against the unbridled forces of cruelty and wrong. The unscrupulous defiance of international promise by the studied use of poison gas, inflicting the acutest suffering upon soldiers in the field, or by the ruthless sinking of a huge passenger ship with its living freight of non combatants, gives us new evidence of the spirit which in the early stages of the war inspired the shameless horrors perpetuated upon helpless civilians under the authority, as we now know, of officers of the German army.'

3. Letter from Archbishop of Canterbury to Asquith quoted in Church Times, 30th July 1915.
Another feature of the war years is the way in which the established Church sought to promote the idea that the British Empire had been created to serve some sort of Divine purpose. Further, it was argued, the British Empire was not only morally and spiritually better than the German Empire it was better run. The Germans could only rule by brute force whereas the British treated their subjects well.¹

What must be borne in mind is that the Church of England's influence was very strong in the schools in all areas and these ultra-patriotic statements were frequently voiced during the years 1914–18 when Church ministers visited the schools telling the children about the war effort and how the Empire was a vital instrument in obtaining victory and frustrating Germany's own imperial war aims.

The Wembley Exhibition of 1924 may be seen as a further celebration of the Empire and imperial progress. There had been previous exhibitions which celebrated the Empire but the exhibition of 1924 was by far the largest and it is frequently forgotten how well attended the event was. It ranks alongside the Festival of Britain as one of the biggest seen in Britain this century.

¹ There were numerous articles appearing in the press throughout the war about Germany's oppression of her black subjects. See for example G.H. Frodsham, Canon of Gloucester Cathedral, Manchester Guardian, 10th June 1915 and an article entitled 'The British Empire after the War, Manchester Guardian, 23rd May 1918. Also Frank Weston, The Black Slaves of Prussia (1918). The Germans also made similar charges against the British and had done so before and after the Boer War. During the war, German propaganda was mainly aimed at the treatment of the Boers. There is a brilliant cinematic treatment of the British missionary attitudes to Africans in the Nazi film 'OHM KRUGER'.
The Crystal Palace Exhibition - The Great Exhibition of 1851 - had attracted over six million visitors in the 140 days it was opened. Five hundred and twenty out of a total of 14,000 exhibition items related to India and the colonies. Queen Victoria was a frequent visitor and expressed admiration for the Indian items, particularly the Indian Court. The International Exhibition of 1862 attracted over five million visitors and at this event there were over 8,000 exhibits from India and the colonies.1

The influence of the Great Exhibition of 1851, and to a lesser extent that of the International Exhibition of 1862, was felt overseas and colonial items were included in two international exhibitions held in Paris in 1855 and 1867 respectively. In both these exhibitions Canada and South Africa were well represented and a Sketch of Canada by J.C. Tache was published in English and French. Further exhibitions were held in Paris in 1878, 1889 and 1900.2

The Paris Exhibition of 1878 had a strong section on England and her colonies which impressed French visitors. The Indian contribution was considerable and Canada, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia and Queensland were very well represented and to a lesser extent South Africa and the West Indies.


2. Information from Mr D. Simpson, Royal Commonwealth Society. See also R.C.S. notes, New Series No 201, May 1974.
The Royal Colonial Institute took a keen interest in this event and Sir Frederick Young as the Honorary Secretary of the Institute gave a long report on the Exhibition to a well attended meeting in November 1878. The Prince of Wales who had become President of the Institute had been involved in the undertaking and was present at the meeting.¹

In 1886 the Colonial and Indian Exhibition was held in London and all colonies (except Newfoundland, Tasmania and Gibraltar) were represented. The opening ceremony in the Albert Hall on 4th May 1886 was performed by Queen Victoria. The second verse of the National Anthem was sung in Sanskrit; Tennyson contributed a poem which was set to music by Sir Arthur Sullivan. The Queen expressed the view:

'That his undertaking may be the means of imparting stimulus to the commercial interests and intercourse of all parts of my Dominions, by encouraging the arts of peace and industry, and by strengthening the bonds of union which now exist in every portion of my Empire.'²

The result of these and subsequent smaller exhibitions was to stimulate an interest in things imperial. There was a British and Colonial Industrial Exhibition in London in 1894 and a Greater Britain Exhibition there in 1899. The Royal Exchange held a Colonial Exhibition in 1902 and a further one in 1908. In the latter year there was a Franco British Exhibition in London which had numerous exhibits from the colonies.³

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2. The Times, 5th May 1886.
3. See also F. Cundell, Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition 1886 (1906).
   Official Catalogue of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition 1886.
I shall make reference to the Wembley Empire Exhibition again in Chapter 5 when I deal with textbooks on the Empire but at this stage I will confine myself to aspects of the 1924 spectacle and the vast interest it attracted, as The Times said it was

'The symbol of a new Commonwealth of Nations with a strength of purpose and a new faith in the future. Its structure perhaps, has changed and indeed is changing from day to day but the old foundations of mutual trust and mutual affection remain.'

The opening ceremony performed by King George V was broadcast by wireless and in the six months from April to September 1924 and from May to October 1925 over 27 million people visited the Exhibition.

The entire exhibition took up 219 acres. Pavilions were erected for every country represented in the Empire. Kipling was responsible for choosing the names of the streets and gave them names such as Dominion Way, Union Approach and Atlantic Slope. A wide and varied range of exhibits was included representing the broad span of the Empire together with the arts, industries and economic resources of the member countries. There was included a life size model of the Prince of Wales dressed as an American Indian, made out of butter and a similar effigy of Jack Hobbs the cricketer. The White Dominions and India took pride of place but all countries were well represented.

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1. The Times, 24th April 1924. Significantly it was opened on St George's Day.

2. Ibid.

3. Martin Hardie (Ed) The Pageant of Empire (1924). (Illustrations by Frank Brangwyn.)

4. See also R.C.S. Notes 201. Also information supplied by Mr D. Simpson.

5. The Times Educational Supplement for May, June, July (1924) carried several articles on the Exhibition.
According to D.H. Simpson nobody has yet assessed the effect of Wembley but the fact that over 27 million people visited it including a vast number of school children from all over the country must have made a considerable impact. Wembley was a piece of imperial propaganda on a massive scale and I would like to argue that it must have led to a greater awareness of the British Empire. Hugh Gunn's 12 volume series *The British Empire* was only one of the permanent memorials to the exhibition. There were also thousands of catalogues, handbooks, souvenir postcards, posters etc. The G.P.O. issued a special series of stamps whose design included the lion which symbolised the Exhibition. I have spoken to several people now in their late sixties who visited the Exhibition from Scotland - some of them both in 1924 and again in 1925.

There were specially arranged school trips and the railway and coach companies ran special trains and buses.

Viewed in retrospect it is difficult to say exactly how effective this propaganda, if as such it is to be judged, really was. Those I have spoken to have vivid memories of the event for its spectacle and its colour. In addition to the more serious exhibits there were numerous amusement facilities and these seem to have made a lasting impression.

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2. The Times, 25th May 1925.
3. For details of this see Chapter 5.
However, I do not think it is in the least speculative to say that the Exhibition made a strong impression on those who visited it and gave them greater insight into the magnitude of the Empire. For many children, especially those from poorer schools, who had to rely on the teacher's word, a globe, and a few tattered textbooks, the Wembley Exhibition with its range of items must have been an experience and an insight into what the Empire meant. In Chapter 7 I shall deal with the Educational Conference which was set up at the time of the Empire Exhibition.¹

In one of the four special issues devoted to the Wembley Exhibition, The Times² gives a comprehensive guide to the work of the Exhibition dealing with all the countries of the Empire. One interesting advertisement is the record put out by the H.M.V. Company 'Messages to Boys and Girls of the Empire' with the voices of the King and Queen telling children about why the Empire is important. As well as patriotic music, along with the National Anthem and 'Land of Hope and Glory,' the record contains an address by Lord Meath. According to the advertisement the recording was 'actually made in Buckingham Palace' - 'The King and Queen recorded in Their Majesties own voices' (sic). The record is recommended to all schools, and readers are informed of 'the thorough British character of this Royal Record.'²

1. The Times, 25th May 1924. (A supplement of 32 pages devoted to the Wembley Exhibition.) See also various pamphlets relating to the exhibition in the library of the Royal Commonwealth Society.

2. I have been able to hear a fragment of this record and the King's message is very similar to the Christmas broadcast.
On Empire Day 1924, J.H. Thomas spoke to the students of Regent Street Polytechnic where he took the salute at a march past of cadets. Prior to this there had been the singing of Kipling's Recessional and hymns. After the march past which included a parade of the Colours of the Mother Country, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India, Thomas delivered his address. Never a person to miss the chance to remind people of his social origins, he claimed he was a standing example of how democratic the Empire was.

'The greatest blessing that can come to mankind is peace throughout the world. You can all play your part in bringing it about and I would beg of you first not to play for yourself but to play for the side. However brilliant you may be as an individual, it is teamwork that wins in the end. My one aim and hope is to make the Empire a land of hope and glory. Hope for those who believe that we can have a world peace. Hope for those who feel that social injustices must be removed, hope that those however downtrodden may feel that they will be given a chance. In short, hope and belief in the fact that this Empire of ours is not the preserve or the monopoly of a class or a creed but is something that belongs to us, something that must be maintained by us, something that must be defended by us and something that must be made worthy of all. You are honouring a constitution that enables the humblest citizen of the land, however humble his origin or parentage to obtain and occupy the highest position in the State. You are celebrating Empire Day - an Empire that constitutes one-fourth of the globe and one-fifth of the inhabitants of the world. In spite of all difficulties, in spite of all political differences, there can be no shadow of doubt that there is no nation in the world whose record in history, for all that is good and noble in life, stands higher than the record of the British Empire.'

1. The Times, 25th May 1924. See also Times Educational Supplement, 31st May 1924.
This was a theme to which Thomas was to return on the same evening at a dinner held in the Royal Colonial Institute. Thomas drew attention to the fact that as the First Labour Secretary of State for the Colonies he came from a humble background. This he claimed demonstrated the unity of the Empire and the unity of the British people.

In his speech proposing the toast to 'the United Empire' and to the Labour Government, he said:

'If you gambled on disloyalty you are deceived. If you gambled that we were less patriotic than other people it only shows how foolish you were. Our answer is that just as in every crises of our Empire's history it has been fortified and protected not by class or creed or section, but by all sections uniting. So in this great trial of government which is an experiment to the world, we are all working with a single-minded desire to champion our cause and fight for our principles and do what we believe to be right.

Let us get rid of this miserable class prejudice, class warfare and class talk and say that all classes and all creeds will combine in making an Empire worthy of the sacrifices which all classes made in the war.'

A special Empire Day service was held at Wembley in 1925 on the second opening of the Exhibition. The B.B.C. had certain difficulties with the outside broadcasting at Wembley on 24th May but the nation was able to hear most of the Archbishop of York's address. The Archbishop


J.H. Thomas (1874-1949). Thomas was the son of a domestic servant and was brought up by his grandmother who was a washerwoman. He attended Newport Elementary School which he left at twelve. Thomas became MP for Derby in 1910 and at the end of the First Labour Government, The Times said of him that he 'had done more than any man to show that Labour was fit to govern.'
had four watchwords 'honour all men, Love the Brotherhood of Christ, Fear God and Honour the King!' He spoke of the enduring bonds of the Empire which should be spiritual rather than material. He praised 'the valiant service of our fathers who built' and offered a prayer in order that 'we children may have the wisdom to know and the strength to fulfil God's purpose for it.'

'The four watchwords I have quoted already correspond in a striking way with the four watchwords of the movement which has led to the observance of Empire Day - Duty, Sympathy, Responsibility and Self-Sacrifice. Our duty is to render to every man his due. What is due to every man is that he should be regarded and treated never as a means for the advantage of others but always as an end in himself. Nowhere in all the far-flung Empire must any human being be exploited for profit. Everywhere - in the cities of England, the villages of India, the kraals of Africa - must each single human being be helped and trained to fulfil the best of his own life and freedom. The call to honour all men comes specially to an Empire wherein for every white man there are six of another colour.'

Such statements did not go unnoticed by critics on the Left who felt that there was far too much attention paid to the Empire and that Empire Day continued to foster a militaristic outlook. The journal of the National Council of Labour Colleges, The Plebs, frequently attacked Empire Day. Mark Starr, writing in the June 1925 issue of The Plebs attacked Empire Day. He entitled his article 'Daisy, Daisy' - a reference to the daisy which children were encouraged to carry to school on

1. The Times, 25th May 1925.
Empire Day. The daisy was regarded as the emblem of the Empire and the petals represented the constituent parts of the mother country.

'By the time this is read Empire Day oratory will have exhausted itself. No doubt the same stock phrases about "a Commonwealth of Nations, a great fraternity of peoples and a world-wide peace-loving partnership" will have been used to cloak up the reality. During the year the Egyptians in particular have appreciated "the spirit of free and tolerant co-operation" mentioned in the King's first Wembley speech, and realised afresh how, in the words of Mr S.M. Bruce, the Australian politician, "the British race nurtured in Liberty governs by consent." Indians no doubt still pay "the glad allegiance" preached about by the Archbishop of Canterbury on May 24th, and enforced by memories of Amritsar. The colossal contrast between the Empire in theory and in practice still remains.

Meantime, British Imperialists are undertaking propaganda on a wider scale than hitherto. One branch of their activities is the Empire Day Movement. Its motto is One King, One Flag, One Fleet, One Empire; and its flower, the daisy. Its advice is "See that every British child over whom you have influence, learns the 'Empire Catechism' the National Anthem, the 'Flag of Britain' (Leaflet No 1) and the Empire songs by heart, as part of the History and Geography lessons. Agitate until every school possesses a full sized Flagstaff and 'Union Jack' a Portrait of the King, observes 'Empire Day' annually ... See that in schools the 'Union Jack' be ceremoniously hoisted and saluted by both boys and girls, the 'Empire Catechism' recited, and the National Anthem and 'Empire Songs' sung on the King's Birthday, on 'Empire Day' and on such other notable dates as may be considered desirable.

As this happy little body according to its balance sheet has well over £2,000 to spare (despite the fact that the Earl of Meath the vice-chairman has not paid his sub. for 1924), Labour members on Education Committees are warned in advance against the goose step educationists. 125,000 copies of the Weekly Bulletin of Empire Study were used in the schools last year and over one and a half millions of children between eleven and sixteen years are estimated to have received "these lessons of Empire."
Among the "blatant evils" which detract from the honour and glory of Empire are listed: "Ignorance of the history and condition of the people of the Empire ... class hatred ..." We find examples of the former combined with a lack of humour in the official statement - "the British Empire is the true League of Nations and is the greatest power for civilisation and moral good in the world next to the Christian Church. It is the most beneficent Empire the world has ever seen."

These are the dangerous lies whose harvest will be the shattered flesh and blood of British workers. We may as yet only be Davids, but let our stones be sharp and our aim sure'.

Charges of political bias in the curriculum was a frequent almost ritualistic event at Labour Party Conferences in the 1920s. Behind this lay a fear that workers were somehow being 'got at.' Perhaps this is understandable since the Labour Party at this time could not, with any degree of absolute certainty, rely on workers to vote Labour. It is frequently forgotten that the Labour Party was, paradoxically, in a much more vulnerable position before 1931 than it was afterwards. Concern about 'imperial propaganda' was not new among Labour intellectuals. Hobson had sounded off about this in 1902 (see Chapter 2) and judging by the level of concern, these same people found it hard to agree with H.G. Wells who said that in 1916:

Many children still carried daisies to school after the 1939-45 war when Empire Day was renamed Commonwealth Day (oral evidence).
'Nineteen people out of twenty of the lower class and most of the middle class knew no more of the Empire than they did of the Argentine Republic or the Italian Renaissance.'

It was precisely because of this the Plebs Magazine sought to inform working class opinion about the Empire and about education.

H. Stanley Redgove, President of the Teachers Labour League renewed the attack against what he regarded as 'blatant imperialist propaganda.'

The most important question that confronts the Labour Movement is, in my opinion, the question of education. If it be true - as it undoubtedly is - that the majority of the evils which afflict society today are the product of the capitalist system of society, and would cease to exist with the passing of that system, it is equally true that Capitalism persists only because of the ignorance of the masses of the workers, who hold in their hands the means to destroy it, or, as I would prefer to phrase it, to resolve the antinomy of the class struggle into the higher unity of the Socialist Commonwealth...

We have, when we come to examine the facts, the classic instance of imperialist Russia, which kept its people in the darkest ignorance; an enquiry undertaken in 1920 revealing the terrible fact that six out of every ten Russians over the age of eight were illiterate. In this country free elementary education was most grudgingly granted to the workers; and the present Government's attitude towards education in this country, as that of its predecessors (with the single exception of the short-lived Labour Government), can be summed up in the one word "Economy."

It is not, however, merely the question of the quantity of education provided by the State schools with which we are concerned. We have also to consider the question of its quality. Here, also, the cloven hoof of capitalism is only too clearly manifest. The free education to be given in the elementary schools was originally defined as that "suited to the conditions of workmen and servants," i.e., its object was to produce docile wage slaves, and the influence of the old prescription has by no means passed away. The Teachers'

1. H.G. Wells, Mr Britling Sees It Through (1916) p 207.
Labour League has been criticised for advocating political propaganda in the schools. This it has never done. What it has done is to call attention to the political propaganda already existent in the schools. For this it has, very naturally, incurred the high displeasure of Lord Eustace Percy. I say "only naturally" for Lord Percy is sagacious enough to know that, were it not for the continual poisoning of the minds of the workers' children in the State schools, the capitalist system would inevitably come to an end. The propaganda is particularly carried on by means of history books which deal only with the doings of kings and their governments, and ignore the life of common people, dismissing the aspirations of the workers with contempt, by the utilisation of Empire Day and similar occasions to inoculate the minds of the workers' children with the poisonous germs of Tory imperialism, as well as in other ways.

Against this gross misuse of the State schools, which is an inevitable phenomenon of capitalism, the Labour Party at the instance of the Teachers' Labour League unanimously passed, at its last Annual Conference, a strong resolution of protest, and called upon Labour members of educational authorities and Labour school managers to take steps to prevent its continuance.

The question of the education of the worker's child is a question of vital importance to the whole Labour movement. On the right solution of the many problems involved, the future welfare of the world may well depend. The League is engaged in the task of studying these problems. In particular, its last Annual Conference instructed it to investigate the whole problem of "class bias" in education. The bitter attacks which have been made on the League in the capitalist Press undoubtedly spring from fear as to what the report of this investigation may reveal as to the anti-working-class bias of the education meted out to the children of the workers in so many schools today.

We are confronted by the tragedy of ignorance. Our task is the creation of an educated democracy. It is the task of the whole Labour movement, a task in the achievement of which the Teachers' Labour League, on the one hand, and the National Council of Labour Colleges, on the other hand, have special parts to play. Forward, comrades!

H. Stanley Redgrove, B.Sc.
(President of the Teachers' Labour League).

1. Lord Eustace Percy was President of the Board of Education at this period.

During the First World War the majority of the Labour Party had not been opposed to various forms of military training which were taking place in schools. After the war the issue of military training and militarism generally was to be raised at various Labour Party Conferences. In 1922 J.W. Bowen of the Post Office Workers in a speech to the annual conference of the T.U.C. argued passionately that children should not be taught 'the glories of war but the blessing of peace.' In 1929 the Bradford I.L.P. in a special report on Secondary education claimed:

'The social implications of an Officers' Training Corps are twofold. It is playing at soldiers, that most fascinating of games ... and it is direct propaganda for war. The cant of national defence deceives no one.'

It was to this Commission that J.P. Millar, General Secretary of the National Council of Labour Colleges had made the following submission in July 1927. Millar claimed that 'only through a strict socialist education policy' could the State educational system be arrested from putting out 'capitalist and imperialist' propaganda.

So far as the State schools are concerned, a Socialist policy, in addition to being in favour of such reforms as smaller classes, raising of the school leaving age, etc., which have no specific Socialist character, ought, I suggest, to include:-

(1) Arranging for the careful scrutiny of school textbooks for bias, omissions and historical and sociological inaccuracies. This would involve the rewriting of most school histories from an evolutionary as distinct from the present static point of view.

(2) Opposing Empire Day and any other attempts to glorify capitalism and war. In the place of such days a Labour Day should be introduced to impress upon the children that civilisation depends upon work and that work is the first duty of every member of society.

(3) Ensuring that the pictures and other furnishings of the school are not utilised to glorify Royalty, Capitalism and War. (It is not an uncommon thing to find six-inch shells among the decorations of school class rooms).

(4) Excluding the teaching of religion in State schools, leaving that work to the religious denominations.

(5) Providing for the teaching of the theory of evolution without which it is impossible to understand the world in which we live. (At present it is possible for students to go through primary school to University without being taught that subject - most unpopular in reactionary circles, because it stresses the idea of constant change and does much to undermine the superstitions which are inherited from the past).

(6) Providing a fair amount of handicraft work to stimulate use of hands and because a large proportion of children have no great bent for mental work but have in the direction of handicraft.

(7) Providing for the guidance of pupils as to the kind of occupations they should follow after they leave school. This would reduce the number of square pegs in round holes.

(8) Providing for the teaching of elementary sociology so that the children would have some idea of the history of the race from its earliest beginnings and thus would have the development of a social conscience stimulated.
(9) Providing in the day schools for one common meal, again with a view to developing the social conscience and social behaviour.

(10) Improving the qualifications of the teachers by (a) raising the standard of the teaching certificate and (b) encouraging taking refresher courses.

(11) Arranging for the representation of teachers on Education Authorities.

As the schools, while Capitalism exists, will in the main be biased against Socialism, it should be the duty of the Labour movement to provide an elementary education in the social sciences from the working-class point of view. For this purpose Labour children's clubs could be formed which, in addition to providing recreation pure and simple, could also make use of plays, the lantern and the cinema, for educational purposes."

By the late 1920s The Plebs was more than a socialist mouthpiece. It viewed the W.E.A. with suspicion and argued that only a 'class education' was of relevance to the workers. However, it was never narrowly doctrinaire. Some of the titles from one issue in 1929 will confirm this. Increasingly the journal concerned itself with problems of Empire and such articles as Rebuilding a Continent, West Africa, British Capital in 1927, Hate and History (an examination of school textbooks), The Colour Line, Should Women Wash Up and Municipal Banks.²

On the subject of the Empire regular contributors included Fenner Brockway, Emile Burns, and J.F. Horrabin who were concerned about the growing movements towards colonial freedom. At the same time The Plebs widely advertised the various books issued by the Labour Research Department on East Africa, Malaya, China, West Africa and Egypt.

The Empire Day Movement was organised in such a way that it was constantly revising and expanding its propaganda. Letters were sent to the press, posters were distributed and the Movement supplied speakers and Union Jacks to the schools. It concentrated mainly on secondary schools since it was assumed that there was a 'better' audience among the pupils. Certainly it was considered more appropriate for children to learn about the Empire once they had some concept of it.

After 1926 the King was presented with a Christmas pudding which contained ingredients from every part of the Empire. Meath's propaganda and publicity are not so far fetched since he was an ardent supporter of imperial preference. In accepting the pudding the King's act revealed and symbolised imperial trade as well as unity. Housewives were asked to follow the King's example.

'If the whole Empire confined itself on Christmas day, to the use in its puddings of Australian currants, that fact alone would go a long way to setting the new Australian dried fruit industry on its feet.'

Many more thoughtful imperialists did not care too much for the pomp and pageantry of Empire Day. For many it presented a rather vulgar picture of the Empire. In time the public schools came to view Empire Day with distaste although it is clear that the Empire was still regarded as important. For instance, Milner and Kipling formed the habit over the years of spending Empire Day in each other's company. This stemmed from the fact that both Kipling and Milner preferred to avoid being asked to appear on political platforms on Empire Day by claiming prior engagements.

As leader of London County Council, Herbert Morrison took an active part in suppressing the Cadet Corps from schools. He argued that it was wrong to inculcate militaristic views in the young because the 'cult of violence' had to be curbed and the love of liberty and humanity rekindled. In any case, he stated the Corps was an intrusion into the liberty of the young. He went further and stopped school visits to military displays including the Hendon Pageant and the Aldershot Tattoo. Empire Day was renamed Commonwealth Day so that it no longer presented an opportunity to inculcate children 'with feelings of racialism and jingoism.' Later Armistice Day was renamed 'Armistice and Peace Day' with a view to encouraging favourable attitudes to the settlement of international disputes. Morrison was attacked from both sides. There were those who

1. There was the inevitable correspondence about this matter every May in the columns of The Times Educational Supplement.
attacked him for lack of patriotism and others on the Left who wanted him to close the schools on May Day. This he refused to do.¹

Meath died at the age of 88 in 1929. Perhaps it is significant that his obituary in The Times was so curtailed.² By that year the strident form of imperialism which Meath had advocated was no longer in fashion.³ In 1932 a memorial window was exhibited for the first time in St Paul's Cathedral with the slogans 'Duty and Discipline', 'Self-Sacrifice', 'One King', 'One Empire', and two years later a statue to him was unveiled by the Duke of Connaught at Lancaster Gate after a ceremony performed by the Bishop of London. In his speech the Duke said that Meath believed in the British Empire under one flag and one king but that the Empire Movement could no longer be considered an imperialist movement. Lord Meath had worked to make people more aware of 'the inestimable value of the British Empire.'

'Jingoism, truculence (he said) to foreign countries and the aim of superiority have no place in our programme.'

In 1907 E.M. Forster wrote that it seemed that

'Only a short ladder lay between the preparation room and the Anglo-Saxon hegemony of the globe.'⁴

2. The Times, 12th October 1929. The obituary runs to six lines.
By 1930 this was, to a large extent, no longer the case.

In his Empire Day message of 1930 Ramsay MacDonald spoke from the State Room at the Palace of Holyrood House in Edinburgh. The speech was broadcast throughout the Empire by means of the new experimental short wave system. He spoke of the duties which the Empire imposed on Britain but if the Empire was to survive then it would have to adapt to change.

'We have not only planted colonies and founded nations but we have undertaken the care of people who could not take care of themselves. They were doomed to civil war and systems of government which cut them off from the benefit of civilisation. We have duties regarding them. There must be no deflection from the goal of self government. Great are our imperial responsibilities and skilful indeed must be of the hands and minds of those charged with solving them for the good of the world.'

MacDonald used the term 'Commonwealth' as often as the term 'Empire' in his address. There were still many who balked at the idea of a Commonwealth but increasingly the term came to be used.

In a remarkable book published in 1935, Harold Stovin attacked the cult of youth movements which had sprung up in Europe. He saw a perennial conflict between the State and the duties which it demanded of youth. Youth, he claimed, was continually being exploited, not just in Nazi Germany but in Britain as well. He attacked nationalism and imperialism as the twin evils.

1. The Times, 26th May 1930.
'Patriotism is selfish, corrupt, noisy and ugly, the most disreputable and the most insincere of the totems. The evidence of this is all about us. In Jubilee Week we celebrated the transcendent success of a reign which includes the most bloody war and the most feverish industrial depression in history.'

Stovin's arguments reflect his general distrust of the public school system which he claimed, produced the very worst forms of imperialism and patriotism.

However there were those who accepted the reality of the Empire and the inevitability, if not the effectiveness, of imperial propaganda. One educationist writing in the special Empire number of the 1938 Political Quarterly viewed the efforts of the Empire Day Movement and other bodies with disdain.

'For over thirty years we have experienced a flood of well intentioned imperial propaganda. I have watched it as a schoolboy and as a schoolmaster. My deliberate opinion is, that it is not only merely useless but positively mischievous. The reaction of the healthy schoolboy is exactly that described by Kipling in Stalky & Co to the 'Jelly-Bellied Flag-Flapper.'

There is a great deal of truth in this statement but before the Second World War people were on the whole mildly enthusiastic about the Empire. The fact that Empire Day was criticised and that the British did not pay the same attention to the celebration of that day as Armistice Day, does not detract in any way from the idea that the Empire was something to be proud of.

2. The Political Quarterly Special Empire Number Vol IX No 4 October - December 1938 p 572.
When war came again in 1939, the idea that the youth of Britain had a role to play in national defence came to the fore again. After the fall of France in May 1940, concern was expressed in the press (and particularly in the educational press) regarding the need to implement some sort of National Youth Movement which would provide pre-military and military training for school pupils over a certain age. Whilst these proposals never mounted to anything, the following extract indicates the extent to which some people felt the need for increased 'national defence' through the use of Youth Corps.²

'To refer to foreign models is to invite too often the rebuke that we do not want our boys and girls to grow into Hitler youths and girls. True enough. But there are sufficient examples to be studied in democratic free countries from which inspiration and warning might be taken. More than one military observer has attributed the successful resistance of the Finns to the Russians to the pre-military training which Finland gave its boys and girls. Those who oppose regimentation and national uniformity in this country used to be loud in their praises for the Czech Sokol. In the United States a scheme of universal training is taking shape, to succeed the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps which was described recently in these columns. It is for the critics of the proposal for a National Youth Movement to explain why Britain can afford to ignore the precedents and examples. Quite obviously the existing Voluntary Youth Organisations cannot attempt anything on the same scale!'³

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1. See the columns of The Times Educational Supplement from January 1940 - January 1941 for detailed correspondence on this subject.

2. The best account of various non-military youth schemes during the Second World War in Britain is to be found in H.C. Dent, Education in Transition (1944). See particularly Chapter III pp 79-162. Dent was editor of The Times Educational Supplement for most of the war period.

3. The Times Educational Supplement, 6th July 1940. After Anthony Eden Secretary of State for War, had asked for volunteers on 14th May 1940 for the L.D.V. there was a spate of letters in the press urging some form of military training in the schools.
INTRODUCTION

In recent years several studies of the geography and history textbooks of the Victorian period have emerged. On the whole they do not deal specifically with the British Empire or with imperialism. In this chapter I propose to look at several textbooks and suggest that they may have had an influence in stimulating interest and enthusiasm for the Empire. By way of contrast I shall refer to French educational textbooks of the same period and show that there was a more sustained form of national and, later, imperialist propaganda in France compared to Britain. I have already referred to the work of Lord Meath and the Empire Movement (see appendix 6 page 446). Meath promoted the idea of textbooks on the Empire and I shall refer to these later in the chapter.

Miss Chancellor in her study of history textbooks takes the view that British textbooks became more jingoistic towards the end of the nineteenth century. However I would argue that textbooks throughout the century were nearly always jingoistic. What happens after 1870 is that more textbooks appear on the market and these books reflect many of the commonly held beliefs about the role of the British Empire and its importance to Britain. I shall also look at official attempts by the Board of Education and the Colonial Office to stimulate an interest in the

1. The best account is to be found in Valerie E Chancellor, History for their Masters (1970) see Chapter V 'Opinions about England and her place in the World' pp 112-138.

2. Ibid. p 137.
British Empire through pamphlets and other methods. One difficulty which emerges in discussing school textbooks is to decide exactly how they were used. Many elementary schools did not use textbooks until well before the First World War and relied heavily on rote learning. However we do witness a spread in popular history textbooks at the time of the Jubilee of 1887 and again in 1897. Similarly, the Boer War stimulated a further rise in textbook publishing judging by the number of works being advertised in the educational press at this time. Another factor to be borne in mind is that the teaching of history in most schools was a lot less sophisticated and objective than it is today and that then, as now, textbooks derived their prejudices from academic historians and statesmen. Indeed one cannot fail to ignore the strong influence in Britain of historians such as Seeley, Cramb and Benjamin Kidd. In Germany the work of Treitschke and in France the writings of Lavisse helped to encourage less objective historians to indulge further in the propagation of national myths, social Darwinism and imperialistic fervour.

Trying to unravel the various strands of these themes is not an easy task. Suffice to say that in Britain by the beginning of the twentieth century school textbooks reveal a considerable enthusiasm for the Empire coupled with an innate belief in Britain's civilising role. Left wing critics attacked these books and criticism of them and other teaching aids continued until the late 1930s.

2. See for example J.A. Hobson, Free Thought in the Social Sciences (1926) and Mark Starr, Lies and Hate in Education (1929).
It is clear that by the mid-nineteenth century, a racism derived from contemporary science was well established in European thought. It gave rise to a concern about race and racial interpretations of history and social change. There were many educated people who agreed with the words of Robert Knox who wrote *The Races of Man* in 1850.

>'Race is everything: literature, science, art - in a word, civilisation, depends on it.... Look all over the globe it is always the same; the dark races stand still.... the fair progress.... There must be a physical and, consequently, a psychological inferiority in the dark races generally.'

In France Paul Broca and the Count de Gobineau published their works. The gradual development of these racist theories were given 'scientific' blessing and found their way into popular literature and, as I will show, into school textbooks. As Christine Bolt has shown, the significance of this backcloth of racist attitudes was not so much that it helped shape imperialist policies but that it later served to justify the concept of the African and Asian as an inferior being incapable of ruling himself.² It also provided a perfectly respectable rationale for imperialist adventures.

One major fact emerges at this time and that is such theories gave rise to the popular idea that the indigenous people of Africa, India and Asia possessed little or no culture of their own which was worth taking seriously. All these attitudes are reflected in various ways in the school

textbooks which appear after the middle of the century. The fact that so many of these stereotypes persist today is an indication of their powerful dissemination in the Victorian and Edwardian periods.

Patriotism

The teaching of patriotism in schools takes many forms and, arguably, is carried on today in every country of the world with varying degrees of intensity. In the Victorian period, early school textbooks reveal that children were taught about the heritage of England (sic), her role in the world, her prestige and her place among the nations. There is nothing particularly strident or at least anything particularly new in these claims. Britain's importance as a world power is underlined but it is not until much later that textbooks begin to draw attention to Britain's imperial role. I would argue that textbooks do give an insight into society. Indeed they reflect the commonly held views which society hopes to mediate to the child.

In the nineteenth century one may discern several themes in the school textbooks. One aim is to form character, to form Christian


2. See in particular G.R. Gleig, A School History of England (1860 Ed) p 625. 'The spurt of improvement which is abroad is pervading.... our commerce, our manufacturers, our means of communication, our agriculture, our literature, our science and art, but also our plans for the spiritual welfare of the rising generation and that of the world at large.'
gentlemen. Another is to implant the idea of honour to one's country and the need to respond to those duties which it imposes. These aims are pushed to the fore as the century progresses. In all countries except Britain conscription became a feature of national life. In fact, conscription, compulsory education and the right to vote constituted the three main pillars of the democratic state. Consequently love of one's country and the obligations which it imposed on the individual were passed on to the school child in formal lessons and through books.

As far as Britain is concerned textbooks before 1880 do not reveal a very strong interest in imperialism although British nineteenth century colonial wars are mentioned. There is a mixture of patriotism and of racial superiority but no conscious drive towards the idea that Britain should extend her Empire. One interesting work of the earlier period is R. Magnall's Historical and Miscellaneous Questions for the use of Young People published in 1870. Here one can witness the emergence of an imperial idea when the colonial wars of the early nineteenth century are discussed and enumerated. The causes of these wars are made ludicrously simplistic and there is no question of Britain being in any way to blame.

2. There were in fact several earlier editions of this work which were in use from 1830 onwards. After 1870 Magnall's book seems to have been reissued and updated every year until 1891.
3. Ibid, p 134. The last edition of this book was in 1891 and by that time it is claimed that 250,000 copies had been sold.
Later books fail to mention the defeat of the British at Isandhlwana but play up 'Rorke's Drift' and there is little mention of such African leaders as Dingane, Cetewayo, Lobengula or Prempe. Other books tend to gloss over many of the issues of colonial history but one begins to detect racial overtones and there is created a stereotype of the African which exists among many people today. The Zulu is 'a constant menace', 'a fierce savage' and other tribes are referred to as 'barbarians', 'warlike' 'savage' and 'brutal'.

Undoubtedly some of the textbooks of the 1870s and the 1880s owed a lot to the work of Sir Charles Dilke since one can discern many of his phrases such as 'the grandeur of our race, already girdling the earth, which it is destined eventually to overspread' recurring in one form or another in various textbooks. Dilke's views still prevailed at the turn of the century.

'The dominant force in bringing the Empire together and in maintaining it as one body has been the eminence among the races of the world of our own well mixed people.'

2. Ibid. p 342.
Dilke laid great strength on the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race and this is reflected in many textbooks. This theme of Anglo-Saxon imperial unity is to be found particularly in the classic history textbook of the early twentieth century.¹

Another way the public also had a graphic description of imperial deed was through the newspapers. The printed word and photographs were influential but an even greater impact was made by those artists who illustrated the various imperial expeditions of the late nineteenth century.² The illustrated papers, particularly The Graphic, The Sphere, and The Illustrated London News vied with each other to publish the best drawings as soon as possible after the event. Whilst it would be wrong to assume that these drawings influenced the illustrators of school textbooks one can see a marked similarity in style, particularly after the 1890s. Up until the outbreak of the 1914-18 War editors were still keen on sketches rather than photographs especially for papers such as The Sphere, The Graphic and The Illustrated London News and few history or geography textbooks carrying photographs appeared until the 1920s. Some of the drawings used in these Journals were modified and used in school books of the period.

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1. Anon, The Patriotic Historical Reader (1898) Book 2 p 112.

   See also R. Wilkinson-Latham, Victorian War Correspondents and their Campaigns (1979).
   Frederick Villiers and Melton Prior were two outstanding artists.
Queen Victoria's Jubilee of 1887 produced a grand celebration for London school children in Hyde Park which was attended by 30,000 children. Significantly the children were chosen by ballot and the ballot was heavily weighted in favour of those with the best attendance. The Queen drove around in a carriage but did not speak to the children. The Rev. J.R. Diggle, chairman of the London School Board, handed out presents to the pupils. There were 72,000 toys, 42,000 mugs, 32,000 medals and 1,000 Jubilee skipping ropes. Every pupil in the London School Board area was to receive a present. It is reckoned that 30,000 meat pies, 30,000 slices of cake, 60,000 buns and 30,000 oranges were distributed at the Hyde Park ceremony. Whether these occasions made any lasting impression on children is difficult to gauge but something of the meaning of Empire was got across as several writers who remember the enthusiasm for Empire before the First World War have testified.

On the occasion of the Jubilee of 1897, Sir Walter Bessant wrote an allegory, which among other aspects of Victoria's reign, depicted slum children passing before the monarch and giving thanks for the improvements of her sixty years on the throne.

1. The Times, 25th June 1887.
   See also London School Reports quoted in J. Stuart Maclure, 100 Years of London Education (1970) p 56.

   H.C. Barnard, Were those the Days? - A Victorian Education (1970) Chap 15. How much these are written with hindsight is difficult to say but they provide vivid pictures of the time.
'We go to school - we have forgotten our old thievish habits - we are growing up orderly and civilised: we have learned our duty towards God, our duty towards our country. We have learned what is meant by Empire, what is meant by the Union Jack, by the army, by the navy, the liberties and the laws of the people, and the colonies. We are no longer young savages growing up to be a constant menace and terror to the country, but a support and source of strength and therefore, O, Queen, we lay at thy feet the Education Act of 1870.'

This, no doubt, is how the Victorians wished to view the progress of the reign. By 1897 the acquisition of an Empire meant that these same children had to know something about it and as I have shown in Chapter 4 various imperialist organisations tried to interest the Government in preparing official schemes to further stimulate understanding of the Empire.²

But there were many teachers of the time who were prepared to take it on themselves to impart the message of Empire as Robert Roberts has confirmed.³ Indeed Welldon was convinced it was their duty.

'An English Headmaster, as he looks to the future of his pupils, will not forget they are destined to be the citizens of the greatest Empire under heaven, he will teach them patriotism, not by words but by his example....

He will inspire them with faith in the divinely ordered mission of their country and their race.'⁴

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1. Illustrated London News, 26th June 1897 p 873.
2. Parliamentary Papers Vol XXXVI 1908, Memorandum on Study of History in Scottish Schools CMND 3843 p 747. See also Report of Imperial Education Conference CMND 566 1911, for an account of how various imperialist bodies such as the League of Empire helped to foster an interest in the educational aspects of the Empire. I shall refer to the Imperial Education Conferences in Chapter 6 and 7.
4. J.E.C. Welldon, Unwritten Laws and Ideals of Active Careers (1899) p 284.
There seems little doubt that teachers did indulge in propaganda but how lasting this actually was is difficult to gauge. Indeed one could argue that there was probably more time devoted to the scriptures than was given over to discussion about the British Empire.

I have already referred to the work of two Victorian war artists - Frederick Villiers and Melton Prior. The South African War gave a stimulus to the production of slides although magic lantern slides had been in existence for several years prior to this. Livingstone in his Missionary Travels of 1857 reveals how he made use of biblical slides and H.M. Stanley frequently used slides on his lecture tours.¹

In 1902, the Colonial Office in conjunction with the Board of Education, set up a Visual Instruction Committee at the suggestion of Michael Sadler then Director of Special Enquiries at the Board of Education (see appendix 2 page 384). Sadler was responsible for initiating the various reports on the educational system of the Empire.² The Committee at this time consisted of the Earl of Meath, Halford Mackinder - the geographer and geopolitician and at the time Director of the L.S.E. and President of the Victoria League, Sadler, Sir Charles Lucas of the Colonial Office, Sir John Struthers of the Scotch Education Department. Others who served on the Committee were Sir Philip Hutchins, founder of the League of Empire. The Visual Instruction Committee was more than an

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1. R.C.S. Library Notes 191 May 1973. I am grateful to Mr D. Simpson for much of the following information.

2. Sadler was Director of the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports at the Board of Education until his resignation in May 1903. See John Graves, Policy and Progress in Secondary Education 1902-24 (1943) Chapter IV deals with Sadler and Morant. Sadler was responsible for instigating many subsequent reports on countries in the Empire.
amateur attempt to provide a series of lantern slides. It had full approval of the Colonial Office and received royal patronage. Subsequently thousands of slides were made depicting the Empire. Mr Simpson of the Royal Commonwealth Society discovered many of the photographs in 1969 which had been made from the slides and these are preserved today.

The photographer appointed was A.H. Fisher (1867-1945) who made over 6,000 photographs of the pre-1914 Empire. The Visual Instruction Committee lasted until 1919 when its activities were handed over to a sub-committee of the Imperial Studies Committee of the Royal Colonial Institute. In the years between 1902 and the outbreak of the war, Fisher travelled the Empire recording its many varied sights.

To take some examples - some were used in The Empire Day Book of Patriotism (see Chapter 4). Scenes in Lahore in 1908 show the gun Zam Zammah, which features in Kipling's work *Kim*. There is a photograph taken at the Baillie gate of the Lucknow residency and shows one of the survivors of the defence made at the time of the mutiny fifty years earlier. What is significant about these photographs is the extent to which they portray the magnitude of the Empire. For its time it was an extremely ambitious programme and I think illustrates the extent to which those interested in promoting understanding of the Empire were prepared

1. R.C.S. Library Notes 149 May 1969. See appendix 2 page 384. 26,000 slides had been issued by 1911. There are 29 albums of photographs in the R.C.S. Library containing 3,920 prints out of an estimated 41,915.

2. Also appendix 6 page 240. There were other photographers besides Fisher.
to go in order to fulfil their aims. Certainly people such as Meath, Mackinder and Lucas shared different views but the Visual Instruction Committee does represent an official attempt at stimulating imperial enthusiasm.

As well as furthering the aims of the Empire Day Movement, Lord Meath was active in promoting school textbooks. In 1901 he wrote the introduction to *Our Empire Past and Present* which was to be the first in a series whose main interest was to inculcate patriotism - in fact only one more volume was added. Meath also was involved in the publication of Cassell's *Illustrated History of England* which appeared in ten volumes in 1906.

In his book *A History of Historical Writing*, H.E. Barnes has drawn attention to the fact that by the end of the nineteenth century nearly every nation in Europe as well as the United States possessed academic historians who wrote in a narrow, xenophobic and jingoistic fashion. As I have indicated it takes time for these ideas to percolate through to school textbooks but given the general climate of the late 1890s in Europe it is perhaps not surprising that Gilbert Murray observed at the turn of the century that:

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2. Various authors, *Illustrated History of England Vols 1-10* (1906). The last volume deals at length with the British Empire.

'In every nation of Europe from England and France to Russian and Turkey, in almost every nation in the world from the Americans to the Chinese and the Finns the same whisper from below the threshold sounds incessantly in men's ears. 'We are the pick and flower of nations; the only nation that is really generous and brave and just. We are above all things qualified for governing others; we know how to keep them exactly in their place without weakness and without cruelty.'"

A feature of the Educational Press of this time was the large number of advertisements for books with patriotic themes and the sale of royal portraits. The Empire Day Movement was instrumental in drawing attention to the large number of books with imperial themes and stirring deeds.

**POEMS FOR YOUNG PATRIOTS**

A Remarkable Poetry Book containing the finest patriotic poetry in the English Language for Class Use.

Sir John McClure, Head Master of Mill Hill School, writes: "I have been greatly moved by its perusal, and I trust the book will have a large circulation. It certainly deserves to be widely known."

Photographs of the Poets. Literary Notes. Special section devoted to Composition Exercises. With Artistic two-colour Cover. Paper, 4d. net, 6d. post free; Cloth, 6d. net, 8d. post free.

**ROYAL PORTRAITS**

No school is complete without portraits of the Royal Family to adorn its walls. They must, of course, be large enough to be seen and appreciated by every child in the room wherever he or she may be seated. They must also be artistic portraits, life-like, and produced with all the skill of which the best artists and printers are capable.

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Henty was by far the most popular children's writer of the period and advertisements for his books appear in nearly every issue of the educational press between 1900 and 1914.¹

Writing in 1896 the Conservative politician I.H. Wescott noted:

'From 1886 newspaper criticism of men and measures has practically ceased. With a few exceptions, signal by that of the Daily Chronicle, the paramount task of the press has been to support a combination of groups rallied not under a party flag but an imperial banner.'²

However, according to Robert Roberts it was not the newspapers but the comic papers such as The Gem, Magnet and Boys' Friend which were much more influential among the young in stimulating an interest in Empire.

'The public school ethos, distorted into myth and sold among us weekly in penny numbers for good or ill, set ideals and standards. This our own tutors, religious and secular, had signal by failed to do. In the final estimate it may well be found that Frank Richards during the first quarter of the twentieth century had more influence on the mind and outlook of young working class England than any other single person, not excluding Baden-Powell.'³

However school textbooks were used extensively in grammar and in the public schools and there is a spate of them advertised in the educational press after the passing of the 1902 Act. No doubt this was due to


2. T.H. Escott, Social Transformations of the Victorian Age (1897) p 384.

3. Robert Roberts, The Classic Slum (1971) p 161. Roberts also makes the telling point that few working class youngsters could afford to join the Boy Scouts.
the gradual increase in the number of higher elementary schools and secondary schools.

It is difficult to generalise about school history and geography textbooks of the late Victorian and Edwardian period since they vary so greatly in style, quality and intellectual level. Indeed the dilemma of anyone trying to write a textbook for children is at what level to pitch it. However whilst some books are not overtly imperialist others are and the emphasis on such themes as 'patriotism', 'duty', 'discipline', 'citizenship' and 'religion' are to be found closely bound up with the civilising mission of Britain's Empire.¹

In the selection of events, textbook writers of the late Victorian period tend to look down on natives. In the Patriotic Historical Reader (1898) we are told that in the West Indies it is


Many books written after the Boer War lay stress on the need to defend the Empire from attack and the fact that Britain had not introduced some form of conscription.

Another book which should be mentioned is Sydney Nicholson's Collection of British Songs which went into sixteen editions between 1903 and 1938. Most are of a patriotic nature and include Irish, Welsh, Scottish and American Songs.
' - very hot. It is so hot that white men cannot work there, as they do in this country. So the work had to be done by negroes stolen from their homes in Africa and carried across the Atlantic Ocean. This was called the Slave Trade.'

Kipling and Fletcher's book of 1911, A School History of England (see appendix 5 page 412) takes a somewhat similar view of the West Indies.

'The population is mainly black, descended from slaves imported in previous centuries, or of mixed black and white race; lazy, vicious and incapable of any serious improvement, or of work except under compulsion. In such a climate a few bananas will sustain the life of a negro quite sufficiently; why should he work to get more than this? He is quite happy and quite useless and spends any extra wages he may earn upon finery.'

Kipling and Fletcher's book is unique since it was still in use in the early 1950s. It went into at least eighteen editions and was translated into French. Fletcher was a master at Eton and wrote other historical works. Kipling's contribution was confined to the poetry, which is not his best, but it bears the stamp of many of his imperial views. Kipling and Fletcher's book is open to criticism on many grounds but it must be borne in mind that it was written at a time when Britain seemed to be badly prepared for the coming war. In the final analysis what is important about this book is the fact that it retained its popularity for so long. No doubt this owed something to the fact that Kipling's name appears on it but I would argue that the main reason why it endured was

1. The Patriotic Historical Reader (1898) Book 2 p 112.
3. According to several teachers it was certainly in use after the Second World War - oral evidence.
because of the high quality of its production. There are lavish colour illustrations. It reads well and it obviously had the same sort of appeal as the quality adventure annuals of the period.¹

The following quotation will show that the events and the interpretations placed on them are indeed highly selective.

'When an insurrection of natives broke out in 1882, the task of suppressing it fell to us alone, and, when it was over, the sole Protectorate of Egypt became ours also. These were comparatively easy tasks, for the native Egyptian was not a good fighting man; but, as in India there is always a 'tiger from the north' to be feared, so in Egypt there was always a 'lion from the south.' By this lion I mean the fierce tribes of the desert which is called the 'Soudan' and of the upper Nile valley; they are Mohammedans by faith and of mixed Arab and negro race. These wild men were always ready to spring upon the fertile valley of the Lower Nile. Our ministers at home too often turn a blind eye to these dangers, and their blindness cost us the life of the gallant General Charles Gordon. It was not until 1898 that these Soudanese were finally subdued; and the Soudan is now governed by us a dependency of Egypt. The justice and mercy, which these countries had not known since the fall of the Roman Empire, is now in full measure given to them by the British.'²

In what is decidedly not one of his better poems Kipling enunciated the importance of free trade.

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1. I have included some of the text in appendix
2. C.R.L. Fletcher and Rudyard Kipling, *op cit.* pp 243-244.
'For the bread that you eat and the biscuits you nibble
The sweets that you suck and the joints that you carve
They are brought to you daily by all us Big Steamer.
And if anyone hinders our coming you'll starve.'

And Fletcher, who presumably wrote the historical text, added

'When this policy was first adopted it was expected
that all other nations would soon adopt 'free trade'
also, but they have not done so; and we have even
allowed our own colonies to put on customs duties
against the importation of British goods to their
ports. Proposals are now on foot and are maintained
by a large party in Britain to go back upon this
principle of 'free trade' and to impose a moderate
tariff on the importation of goods from all nations
which will not admit British goods to their ports
without a duty. It is not my business to express
an opinion as to whether this would be wise or not.
No doubt 'free trade all round' would be the most
splendid thing in the world for all nations if all
would agree to carry it out.'

However Fletcher and Kipling's book is full of opinions and on the
last page but three there is a magnificent colour drawing of a British
dreadnought surrounded by submarines, as airplanes and airships fly over¬
head. The book comes to an end with Kipling's allegorical poem The Glory
of the Garden.

1. C.R.L. Fletcher and Rudyard Kipling, op cit. p 236. Significantly
those who ignored the real importance of Kipling's contribution to
imperialism dismissed him out of hand as a poet. See
George Lichtheim, Imperialism (1977 Ed) p 86.
Our England is a garden that is full of stately views,
Of borders, beds and shrubberies and lawns and avenues,
With statues on the terraces and peacocks strutting by;
But the Glory of the Garden lies in more than meets the eye.

For where the old thick laurels grow, along the thin red wall,
You'll find the tool- and potting-sheds which are the heart of all,
The cold-frames and the hot-houses, the dungpits and the tanks,
The rollers, carts and drain-pipes, with the barrows and the planks.

And there you'll see the gardeners, the men and 'prentice boys
Told off to do as they are bid and do it without noise;
For, except when seeds are planted and we shout to scare the birds,
The Glory of the Garden it abideth not in words.

And some can pot begonias and some can bud a rose,
And some are hardly fit to trust with anything that grows;
But they can roll and trim the lawns and sift the sand and loam,
For the Glory of the Garden occupieth all who come.

Our England is a garden, and such gardens are not made
By singing: 'Oh, how beautiful,' and sitting in the shade,
While better men than we go out and start their working lives
At grubbing weeds from gravel-paths with broken dinner-knives.

There's not a pair of legs so thin, there's not a head so thick,
There's not a hand so weak and white, nor yet a heart so sick,
But it can find some needful job that's crying to be done,
For the Glory of the Garden glorifieth every one.

Then seek your job with thankfulness and work till further orders,
If it's only netting strawberries or killing slugs on borders;
And when your back stops aching and your hands begin to harden,
You will find yourself a partner in the Glory of the Garden.

Oh, Adam was a gardener, and God who made him sees
That half a proper gardener's work is done upon his knees,
So when your work is finished, you can wash your hands and pray
For the Glory of the Garden that it may not pass away!
And the Glory of the Garden it shall never pass away!

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1. C.R.L. Fletcher and Rudyard Kipling, op cit. pp 236-237. The analogy of England as a garden was not an original one. See Richard II Act III Scene IV.
On the theme of the colonies and those areas which did not form part of the White Dominions, the authors are somewhat dismissive.

'There are other countries, like Ceylon, the West Indies, the several stations on the north west African coast, Singapore on the Straits of Malacca, Guiana on the north coast of South America, and islands too numerous to mention, both in the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans which belong to Great Britain - most of these are called 'Crown Colonies' and do not enjoy any form of parliamentary government nor need it.'

Perhaps these sentiments are not surprising. The idea that parliamentary democracy should be bestowed on such peoples would have entered very few heads in 1911. The White Dominions, and, to a lesser extent, India, were regarded as totally different from the colonies. Indeed, Wells argued that people could not point to them on a map. It would be fair to say however that teachers saw it as their duty to draw attention to the Empire simply because it existed. One headmistress writing in 1911 felt that every single secondary school in the land should possess:

'A good geographical library, containing atlases, books of reference, geographical magazines such as that of the Geographical Association and the Royal Scottish Magazine. The library should also contain works of travel and exploration, such as Miss Kingsley's Travels in West Africa, Miss Edwards' Thousand Miles up the Nile, Cromer's Egypt....'

1. C.R.L. Fletcher and Rudyard Kipling, op cit. p 240. An interesting anthology of Kipling's poems entitled Kipling's English History was brought out by the B.B.C. in 1975 following upon a highly successful series of broadcasts of his poetry in August 1973 and repeated in June 1974. In her introduction Margharita Laski said she thought 'there would be pleasure in an old fashioned approach to history; that is, straightforward story-telling made vivid by poems, verses and jingles that were lit by pride in our heritage and, sometimes by concern for its frailty.'
She felt that school pupils at the age of fifteen should study the British Empire in order to gain 'a realisation of the extent and responsibility of the Empire, and to awaken an interest in the colonies.' These sentiments were fairly typical of the time. An awareness of the responsibilities which the Empire bestowed on the nation's youth was seen as something which had to be brought home to school children.

FRANCE

It is not my intention here to examine French textbooks in the period from 1870 to 1920 in any detail. However they do offer an interesting comparison. In France throughout these years there was a distinctive governmental intervention in education in a manner unknown in Britain. The Manuels Scolaires aimed to instal in young children the concept of France's imperial responsibilities. This persisted even after the war of 1914-18 and indeed, because of the war, there is even more national and imperial sentiment to be found in French textbooks after this period. Lesson 64 of J. Guiot and F. Mane's Histoire de la France (1919) states:

'Un deuxieme bienfait de la Republique est la formation des empire coloniaux francais en Asie et en Afrique.'

1. Public Schools for Girls, A Series of Papers on their History, Aims and Schemes of Study (Member of the Association of Head Mistresses) (1911) p 83.

What I wish to show is that in France the ideology of imperialism glorified military values and that this was not the case in Britain. After 1880 France owed much of her Empire to the political as well as the military initiatives of her soldiers in Africa and Indo-China. In time the colonial army came to see itself as an elite and in French newspapers of the period the colonial figure always appears in uniform.¹

One important feature in the creation of an ideology of French imperialism was the need to persuade French citizens that colonial expansion could be reconciled with the loss of Alsace-Lorraine. For example after 1887 a primary school textbook Les Enfants de Marcel² had a wide circulation in French schools. In story book form it provided a series of lessons in moral, social and civic education. The virtues of thrift, hard work, loyalty to the family and above all patriotism are held up. The story concerns a Sergeant Marcel from Alsace. The fact that he is a military man further reinforces the military aspect of French colonialism to which I shall refer later on in the chapter. After 1870, in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War he and his family emigrate to Algeria rather than become citizens of the German Empire. After much hardship the family find wealth and prosperity in their new home. The old grandmother welcomes Algeria as her new country and at the end of the book claims that it is as sacred to her as her former motherland.³ This book

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². G. Bruno, Les Enfants de Marcel (1887).
³. G. Bruno, ibid. p 132. The last edition I can find is its 137th in 1924.
and others like it introduced into French schools in the 1880s were all part of a sustained programme of indoctrination which when compared to efforts in Britain are of a much more systematic nature.¹

In France, the deliberate attempt to instal republican, secular and imperial values through the schools is as I have suggested radically different from the rather mild 'propaganda' put out by the public schools and by the Empire Day Movement. In what follows in the next few pages I may seem to digress, but France offers a sharp contrast to Britain simply because the French educational system was under greater central control than that of Britain and it was possible for ideas to be got across much more easily.²

In France, universal military service together with universal secular education were important planks in the Republican programme after 1871. It was hoped that traditional Catholic ethics could be replaced by a civic morality. Through an army based on universal service and with its


According to Weber (p 67) official estimates in 1863 showed that one quarter of France's population spoke no French whatsoever. A considerable 'Frenchifying' of France had to be carried out after 1870. Various references are quoted in Weber comparing Savoy with Ireland and Brittany and the Arrege with Algeria. Chapter 18 pp 303-338 of Weber deals at length with this process.
conditions and discipline allegedly tempered by respect for the rights of the individual, it was hoped to continue the education process. The army would embody a secular and democratic nationalism. At the same time 'republicanised' schools would help to impart a similar form of secular nationalism in order to unite the nation.

The Ideological connection between the two may be seen in the school textbooks and teaching manuals which were used extensively to promote 'civic' education. In 1879, Paul Bert, a distinguished scientist who served as Minister for Education between 1881-82 published L'Instruction Civique a l'Ecole, a manual for primary school teachers. The first chapter is entitled Le Service Militaire - La Patrie. The teacher is asked to deprecate the exemption of his own profession from military service and the first lesson is given to describing why everybody owes military service to the motherland.

Bert and subsequent Ministers of Education attempted to introduce a spartan system of education which would make the transformation from school to barracks an easy one. Uniformed 'bataillons scolaires' were formed in many schools throughout France and weekly drill was practiced on a scale unknown in British public schools. At the same time rifle and gym clubs were also established. The unofficial Ligue de l'Enseignement which had been mainly humanitarian under the Second Empire became

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1. Paul Bert, L'Instruction Civique a l'Ecole (1879).
   Many French textbooks were officially prescribed for use in French schools and for this reason it is much easier to make the claim that there was a much more systematic socialising process at work compared to Britain.
militaristic in outlook. Popular prose (especially children's literature, poetry and paintings) took military life as their subject and cultivated its mystique. The verses of Paul Deroulede, the President of the Ligue des Patriotes were put to music and became extremely popular.

'L'Armée est la grande patronne
Qui nous baptise tous Français.'

Popular music hall songs of the 1880s celebrated Bastille Day and 14th July parades. Up to the late 1890s, when one can witness a shift at the time of the Dreyfus affair, support for militarism was given by both the nationalist left and the nationalist right.

According to Eugene Weber Peasants into Frenchmen (1977), military service continued to have on balance an integrating effect on French society until the First World War. Arguably, it also had until 1940. Certainly by the 1890s military service was regarded as less of a burden imposed by an alien and distant government on the peasantry and urban poor. It became to be regarded as a civic duty which all had to perform. Many peasants first learnt to speak French and to read and write in army regimental schools. To some extent this was true in Britain but France made a much more concentrated effort. Indeed because of regional variations it had no option. Recruits from Brittany had to be taught to speak

1. The army never played the same part in British social history and Kipling's poem Tommy Atkins is an indication of how little love there was between the British civilian and the British soldier until the latter was needed. See also V.C. Kiernan, Conscription and Society in Europe before the War of 1914-18, (War and Society 1973).

French since so many Bretons stayed on in the regular army. Weber argues that the entire school programme in France after 1876 turned on expanding the theme that the child's first duty was to defend his country as a soldier. Gymnastics were meant to develop in the child the idea of discipline and to prepare him to be a good soldier and Frenchman. The school was an instrument of unity and the keystone to national defence. Children sang stirring patriotic songs such as 'The Flag of France', Le Chant du Depart and La Marseillaise. Compositions on the theme 'Letter to a young soldier to his parents' were frequently given out.

History and geography lessons were frequently used to exalt the theme of patriotism. According to Weber, in 1897, 80% of the candidates for the baccaulaureate moderne when asked to discuss the uses and purpose of history in education replied that its chief function was to exalt patriotism.

One important textbook of this period was Madame Alfred Fouille's book Le Tour de France first published in 1877. Over the next thirty years it is estimated it sold over eight million copies. It is the story of two small boys who travel round France after the death of their father.

1. Treitschke argued that 'a really national army unites all the citizens of a country' quoted in V.G. Kiernan, Conscription and Society in Europe before the War of 1914-18 in War and Society (1973) pp 141-157. What was true for France was certainly true for Germany.


3. Also known as G. Bruno under which nom de plume later books were published. The most popular was Les Enfants de Marcel.
He wishes them to live like Frenchmen and the theme of the book as they travel round the provinces of France is of love and duty to the motherland.

The foundation of the French Educational League (Ligue de l'Enseignement) helped to influence Chamberlain's Birmingham National Education League. In France education was not made free until 1881 and priests and members of religious orders were forbidden to teach or keep schools without a state certificate. Compulsory attendance at schools independent of church and sect was called for and Jesuit schools were closed.¹

These events did not go unnoticed in Britain especially by English Catholics. Cardinal Manning believed that the siege of Paris in 1871 was 'traceable in chief to Godless education.'² Matthew Arnold in turn deplored the 'atheism' of French schools and saw the French schoolboy as 'Voltairean and emancipated... making it his past-time to play tricks on his chaplain, to mock and flout him and his teaching.'³

Indeed Arnold's views on French education took on a very anti-secular view for one who had previously championed secularism. Above all it was what he came to regard as that country's vulgar republicanism which he abhorred most of all and led him to compare its condition to the fall of Greece, Rome and Italy.⁴

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2. V.A. McClelland, Cardinal Manning His Public Life and Influence (1962) p 75.
However, given the defeat of 1870 and the renewed faith in the principles of republicanism it is not surprising that teachers in French State schools taught the love of France and the concept of a secular God. The army and the flag became living symbols. Biblical history gave way to the history of France and her achievements. The defeat of 1870 and the subsequent humiliation over the loss of Alsace-Lorraine meant that history was taught from an extremely narrow angle. One American journalist viewed France one hundred years after the storming of the Bastille and claimed that:

'The educational legislation of France since 1882 has been aimed steadily and directly at the abolition, not of Christianity alone, but of all religion.' ¹

No doubt there was some truth in this exaggeration and one can see why the fears expressed by Arnold caused concern in this country. However what was often mistaken for militant atheism was often no more than the assertion of the nation and Catholics supported the Republic with equal fervour.

As Ronald Robinson has stated in his introduction to the English version of Brunschwig's book, the French painted the map blue for the prestige reasons alone. Not because they needed an Empire, and he points out that until 1894 the French Colonial Office was a part of the Ministry of Marine. It was the military man far more than the geographer and the intellectual who felt the need to restore national honour after the loss of Alsace-Lorraine. He claims:

1. W.H. Hurlbut, France and the Republic (1890) p 35.
'French imperialism by the end of the nineteenth century was driven by nothing more complicated than a passion for national honour and cultural extraversion.'

This passion for national honour is reflected in many of the school textbooks of the period but it is not until after 1914 that the existence of the French Empire is celebrated on a large scale in French textbooks. Why this should be is perhaps not so surprising. Prior to 1918 the French were still conscious of the need to build up the nation and consolidate the Republic. The loss of Alsace-Lorraine still rankled and many textbooks of the period between 1875 and 1914 preach a revanchiste philosophy. After 1918 with Alsace-Lorraine recovered and the French Empire enlarged, school texts are much more boastful of Empire. The fact was of course that France had relied very heavily on colonial troops during the war and the Empire had been an asset to this extent at least.

What emerges from both French and English textbooks of the period is an assertion that both countries have a civilising mission and had no option but to take up the burden of Empire. There is no real explanation of how the wars of colonisation originated. Few references are made when the colonial power suffers a defeat and there is little attention paid to the length of time taken in subduing the indigenous population. If anything the French were less ready to hide their faults. Of Algeria Blanquet wrote:


   D. Blanchet, Histoire de France de 1789 a nos Jours (1895).
   P. Despiques, Histoire de France (1908).
Les fautes commises par les vainqueurs furent nombreuses et graves. Ils ne connaissaient ni les races, ni le sol de cette Afrique dont ils tenaient la clef. Ils ne distinguaient pas entre les maures, les Kabyles, les Juifs, les tribus de la plaine et celle de la montagne.

However such references are rare. Algeria for the French was soon to become part of the motherland across the Mediterranean. After the First World War there is an increased awareness of the French colonial Empire in textbooks.

In one book two entire chapters are devoted to the acquisition of colonies between 1870 and 1900 and it claims that children should understand that colonies are of a direct benefit to France. Another book devotes fourteen pages to the war of 1870-71, eleven pages to domestic events from 1870 to 1914, twenty-five to the Great War and eleven pages to colonial expansion. E. Sieurin and G. Chabert in Histoire de France 1852-1920 deal extensively with the acquisition and retention of French colonies. However it is the Great War which dominates the majority of textbooks written in the 1920s and there are ample references to the sacrifices of the Marne and Verdun. What is significant about French textbooks is that nearly every chapter is divided into systematic lessons so that the class teacher can expound on any given theme. Almost every book makes mention of the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine and attacks the

Germans for instigating the war. There are numerous references to France's desire for peace and the need to maintain her colonial Empire. Little mention is made of the fact that France made extensive use of colonial troops during the war but there are references to the colonies taking part in the struggle against the Germans. ¹ Rene Bazin's *La Douce France* singles out French colonial pioneers, and has an entire chapter on *La France d'Outre-Mer* and another chapter devoted to *Nos Frères Canadiens*.²

A ministerial edict of 20th June 1923 reminded teachers that

'La France est une puissance mondiale, qu'elle possède des colonies dans toutes les parties de la terre, que l'étude de ses colonies est inscrite au programme du cours moyen.'³

This meant that every child between eleven and fifteen was given formal lessons about the French colonial Empire but even before this age he was subjected to lessons in the primary school on the same subject. A textbook of 1925 informed children that

'C'est donc en partie grâce à son Empire colonial que la France a pu sortir victorieuse de la grande guerre, de même que l'Angleterre doit également à ses colonies d'avoir pu mener la lutte jusqu'au bout.'⁴

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What is significant about many French textbooks in the 1920s and 1930s is that they stress the fact that France is a great power because she has colonies. British textbooks by comparison tend to take this for granted. French historians do not, in the main, place as much importance in Europe but lay much greater stress on French territorial acquisitions as a result of the war. This is also a recurring theme in French geography books.

'Si la France veut encore faire entendre sa voix dans les grands conflits elle doit s'ouvrir des horizons sur toutes les mers et tous les continents,'

Thus in the eyes of French schoolboys France becomes an even greater power because of her victories and acquisitions during the war. In Britain by contrast there is not the same conscious attempt to foster imperial sentiment.


2. Bertrand et Turlot, La France et son Empire Coloniale (1938) p245. See also La France et la France d'Outre-Mer (1939).

I am grateful to Dr Guy Neave of the Institute of Education, University of Paris (Universite Dauphine) for suggesting these books as a source of information.
SOME FURTHER ASPECTS IN BRITAIN

By the 1930s the Empire Day Movement was still flourishing and issued a wide range of pamphlets dealing with all aspects of the Empire. Visual and recorded teaching aids were available. Hand-outs included booklets on English kings and queens, books on pioneers of Empire and updated material on events in the Empire. Therefore, after 1914 it is wrong to see textbooks as the only aids to teaching. As I have shown earlier the Visual Instruction Committee of the Colonial Office undertook to provide slides for schools. In Chapter 4 I drew attention to the wide range of teaching material available at the time of the Wembley Exhibition. The establishment of the Empire Marketing Board in 1926 which lasted until 1933 witnessed a further outflow of literature to the schools and it should be borne in mind that school teachers in the 30s starved of educational aids were always willing to take free material even if they did not always approve of the sentiments behind it.

Springhall has argued that the flow of propaganda into schools at this time was considerable and that Empire Day could be used to propagate ideas through the free literature which schools received from the Empire Day Movement or from other bodies.

1. Annual reports of the Empire Day Movement 1930-38.
2. Oral evidence.
'Schools receiving such material could certainly make Empire Day into an elaborate ceremony, although this would to some extent depend upon the patriotic ardour of the headmaster and his staff and the school management committee.'

Undoubtedly this is true but it seems unlikely that Empire Day together with history textbooks and free literature would render children into militant young imperialists. Arguably it could have made them aware of the Empire at an early and impressionable age - a theme which Hobson and others returned to again and again in the late 1930s. In fact there were many who regarded the Empire Day Movement as a precursor of fascism and felt that it was an evil influence in British schools. I shall discuss this later in the chapter.

It would be wrong to see the concern shown about the Empire and the need felt to educate children about its potential as one of mindless propaganda. Bodies such as the Imperial Institute and the Royal Empire Society genuinely sought to stimulate interest in the Empire through a wide variety of educational texts.

One of the lasting testimonials to the Wembley Exhibition of 1924 was the publication of a twelve volume series on the British Empire.

This series was not sponsored by the Royal Colonial Institute or the Exhibition. It was edited by Sir Hugh Gunn, a member of the Institute's 1.


Imperial Studies Committee and it drew heavily on the secondary sources of the R.C.I. Library for its compilation. What is significant about the twelve volumes is the fact that they represent the best account of the Empire to emerge after the First World War and the first volume by Sir Charles Lucas became a source for many subsequent writers of school textbooks. The series was composed as follows.

**General Editor**

Hugh Gunn, formerly Director of Education and Member of the Legislative Council of the Orange River Colony; Organiser of Grey University College, South Africa, and of the University of Western Australia.

**Advisory Committee**

Sir Charles Lucas, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., The Right Honourable Lord Morris, K.C.M.G., late Prime Minister of Newfoundland, Member of the Imperial War Cabinet.

Sir Harry Wilson, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., formerly acting Lieutenant General of Orange River Colony and Secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute.

A.P. Newton, Rhodes Professor of Imperial History in the University of London.

Sir George R. Parkin, K.C.M.G., Secretary of the Rhodes Trust.

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1. Oral evidence from D. Simpson, R.C.S.

2. E.C. Martin, *Imperial Studies in Education* (1924). I shall refer to this Conference held at Wembley on 26th, 28th and 29th May 1924 in Chapter 7.
1. The Dominions and Dependencies of Empire. Various contributors including the Right Honourable Lord Morris, Lord Olivier, Sir Everard I.M. Thurn, Sir Frederick Lugard.

2. The Story of the Empire - Sir Charles Lucas.

3. The Constitution Administration and Laws of the Empire - Professor Arthur Percival Newton.

4. The Resources of the Empire and their Development - Evans Lewin.

5. Health Problems of the Empire - Past, Present and Future - Dr. Andrew Balfour and Dr. H.H. Scott.


7. The Trade Commerce and Shipping of the Empire - Sir Charles McLeod and Professor A.W. Kirkcaldy.

8. Makers of the Empire - Hugh Gunn.

9. The Native Races of the Empire - Sir Godfrey Lagden.

10. The Universities and Educational Systems of the Empire - Professor Arthur Percival Newton.

11. The Literature and Art of the Empire - Edward Salmon and Major A.A. Longden.

12. Migration within the Empire - Major E.A. Belcher.
This series helped to stimulate a much greater critical appreciation of the Empire and its possible development. However there were many on the Left and not a few in the Parliamentary Labour Party who were highly critical of what they considered was overt political propaganda in the schools. This can be explained by the fact that those who ardently supported imperialist views and felt that these ideas should be passed on the young people tended to be on the Right of the Conservative Party. Citizenship, Empire and Patriotism could be imparted in a variety of ways. Even The Times was critical of the Empire Day Movement and felt that it was redolent of some of the worst features of Victorian ideology, and from the early 1920s onwards there are frequent references to the 'militarism' displayed on Empire Day in the columns of The Times Educational Supplement. Indeed the revulsion against militarism was partly due to the experience of the Great War but also because many of the sentiments expressed by the more blatant imperialists such as Meath seemed curiously archaic.

The May/June 1928 issue of The Plebs carried a slashing attack on Empire Day and on the quality of textbooks generally.

1. The Times, 12th October 1929.

2. The Spectator, 5th January 1928 attacked Meath for his militarism and being out of tune with the times.
'It is our job to emphasize the facts which are left out or slurred over in school history books; essential facts about the way in which the Empire was 'built' and the way in which it works today. We ought to have Empire Day celebrations of our own and they should be in the spirit, if not the form, of the one for which the Vicar of Thaxted was responsible last year, when, while elsewhere in the village they were busy Saluting the Flag, he tolled the church bell and held a Service of Intercession for the victims of the Empire.'

Prior to this, in 1927 Eustace Percy, President of the Board of Education, had told a deputation from the Royal Society of St. George that:

'It ought to be perfectly clearly laid down by the Board of Education, by local authorities, by the teaching profession, by everybody who is connected with education, that patriotism is the very foundation of our teaching in school.'

At the 1926 Labour Party Conference a motion was passed which agreed to set up a committee charged with the task of determining

'The part education must play in abolishing the present and creating a new Order of Society - and to prepare a report as to how far the present books, pictures and other materials used in schools and the predominant methods of teaching and disciplining children, foster a bourgeois psychology, militarism and imperialism.'

It tended to be the left wing of the Labour Party and the I.L.F. who were most concerned about the celebration of Empire Day and the bias in textbooks. In particular The Plebs journal was outspoken in

2. Daily Telegraph, 28th January 1927.
its attack on textbooks and militarism. One cartoon in the May/June 1928 issue shows a Colonel Blimp figure giving a lesson to nursery school children on *The Militarist's Alphabet*.

A for Air Force  
B for Bomb  
C for Cruiser  
D for Dynamite  
E for Enemy  
F for Frightfulness  
G for Gas

In the same issue a cartoon entitled *The Progress of Empire* shows the debonair Sir Walter Raleigh alongside a fat, cigar-smoking, top-hatted capitalist from the Imperial Tobacco Company.²

The official Labour Party line was to deplore militarism in schools or any overt form of propaganda and to adhere to impartiality in education. At this time however there were many on the extreme left who felt that the school had a vital role to play in creating a new order and that eventually a distinctly socialist educational policy should emerge which would impose on young children the elements of a socialist creed.³ The cartoon drawn by Horrabin was an outcome of a debate in the House of Commons in April 1928 when Lord Eustace Percy dealt with questions on Empire Day. Maxton for the I.L.P. declared that as an ex-teacher he deplored the sentiments expressed on Empire Day and in the hundreds of textbooks to be found in the schools. If he were given the opportunity


he claimed he could give an Empire Day lesson on the progress that had taken place from Sir Walter Raleigh to the Imperial Tobacco Company coupled with the names of W.D. and H.O. Wills. He also felt that he would experience no difficulty in contrasting conditions in Calcutta and Bombay with the work of Warren Hastings. In his reply Percy said it was 'regrettable' that Maxton should talk in this manner. He disagreed with Maxton that 'the right conception of the teaching of history is a controversial matter.' Further he claimed 'the teaching of loyalty of obligation to a government is not propaganda.'

Clearly there were those who felt that teaching patriotism and loyalty was in itself no bad thing. Percy was far from being a dyed-in-the-wool reactionary. He was a strong supporter of the W.E.A. and he resisted many attempts to place Empire Day on a much stronger footing in the schools. At the same time he was prepared to attack, what he claimed, was 'the spread of communism in schools.' There was, he said:

'A constant and conscious effort among a large section of our fellow-countrymen to conduct political propaganda, directly or indirectly among children.'

Announcing the publication of 'Our New Textbook' in 1929, J.F. Horrabin's A Short History of the British Empire, the National Council of Labour Colleges clearly hoped to redress the balance which it felt had been long established by school history textbooks.

1. H.C. Debates 215 5th Series cc 1778 3rd April 1928, also H.C. Debates 216 5th Series cc 1054-5 26th April 1928.
2. The Plebs, op cit. p 98.
'Just exactly how has it come about that Great Britain, a relatively small island in north-west Europe, is today the 'mistress' of millions of square miles of territory, and scores of millions of peoples - black, brown and yellow - in other continents?

Most of us have some more or less muddled ideas, half remembered from our school days of intrepid pioneers, gallant sailors, far-seeing statesmen, and the rest of the 'Empire-builders' who did their bit towards carrying the blessings of English rule to all the ends of the earth. And most of us have a pretty shrewd idea that a good deal of what we were taught at school, in this as in other connections, need to be unlearnt if we want to get history into anything like accurate perspective.'

Horrabin's book is a fairly straightforward account of the growth of the British Empire and in its examination of the 'New Imperialism' undoubtedly owes a lot to the influence of Hobson and Lenin. However it is humorous and informative and as one of its subsequent reviewers claimed:

'It's aim is serious enough - its author is of the opinion that he is more likely to drive his lesson home by treating his readers as men and brothers rather than by preaching to them in the Big Bow-Wow style.'

The reviewer went on to attack the Empire Marketing Board and its propaganda.

2. The Plebs, February 1929 p 43.
3. The Plebs, ibid. review by T.A. Jackson.
In a subsequent article in *The Plebs*, J.F. Horrabin claimed that Labour had a duty to ensure that if it were going to give more education to children then the Party had a duty to ensure that children were given the right kind of education.

'To leave children at school for an extra year is not a step towards the Co-operative Commonwealth if during the year they are still to be stuffed with drum and trumpet history, taught that the Empire is God's trust to his chosen (British) people, and that the present order of society (with small modifications) has broadened down from precedent to precedent through the centuries until at last it is in actual fact broad-based upon the people's will. A larger dose of education is only good in itself if any and every kind of education be good.

Since H.G. Wells a few years ago met a real popular demand for some knowledge of world development with *The Outline of History* thousands of adults have realised the futility of much of the so-called 'history' teaching in schools; teaching which is concerned solely with the sequence of certain events in this particular island.

What the Education Department of a Labour Government must do, between now and the date when the school age is actually raised, is to revise drastically the curriculum of both elementary and secondary schools; particularly as regards such fundamentally important subjects as history and historical geography.'

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1. The Plebs kept up a sustained interest in the Empire. As early as 1920 it drew attention to the 'racial propaganda' of textbooks. For an interesting article on imperialism and militarism see T. Ashcroft's review of E.D. Morel's *The Black Man's Burden* (1920) in *The Plebs* Vol XII May 1920 p 5.

Replying to Horrabin's article in the next issue of The Plebs, R.D. Denman, M.P., agreed with him on most issues but warned against the dangers of making the schools a 'conscious weapon of Labour Propaganda.' ¹ Fenner Brockway of the I.L.P. however was in full agreement with Horrabin.

'I entirely agree with Frank Horrabin's article. The time has come for a thorough investigation and overhauling of school textbooks, particularly in regard to history and geography. The danger is that in many schools the raising of the leaving age will be a waste of time and worse.'²

In the same year Mark Starr wrote a small book, Lies and Hate in Education.³ Allowing for Starr's political views what is remarkable about this book is the way it analysed the range of textbooks being used in the schools at the time. Starr also provided a list of 'White Books' which he claimed were suitably free of 'class' or 'nationalistic' bias.⁴ Lies and Hate in Education is a unique work since it examines textbooks of nearly every European country and it is clear that teachers from all countries collaborated in gathering information about history books.

Starr detected a change in British history textbooks in the period just after the Boer War and claimed that there was much more conscious propaganda in them than previous works.

1. The Plebs, September 1929 p 206.
2. The Plebs, ibid. p 206. See also Education by F.C. Drake in the same issue p 209.
'Great Britain, in her spacious unchallenged days of world supremacy, was far removed from any inferiority feeling prompting her to querulous exhortations on the text of her imperial greatness. Such samples of nationalist and class bias as will be given from British textbooks are naive and often unconscious, and hence less obvious and more dangerous. The changing situation, from making goods for consumption to manufacturing those for production, from Manchester and Richard Cobden to Birmingham and Joseph Chamberlain in political thought, and from Tennyson to Kipling in poetry, necessarily reacted upon the school, and the cult of the King and Empire now noticeably appears therein as objects of conscious inculcation.'

According to one of Starr's correspondents, a teacher, school books failed to mention the true facts about the Empire.

'Some books ignore, none stress the fact that only one quarter of the population of the British Empire is white, and that in India 35,000 whites dominate 320 million of coloured people. The successful colonising of the Dutch in Java and elsewhere is not mentioned. The position of the United States is belittled and school lessons suggest it to be a sort of colony of England, while the dependent position of Canada upon U.S. capital is not recognised.'

Starr attacked the outside bodies who wanted the schools to strengthen the creed of nationalism and quotes with distaste the words of Margaret Bowen, the novelist, who said in June 1927.

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1. Mark Starr, op cit. p 5. Starr quotes the words of Anatole France in 1920, 'Burn, burn all the books which teach hatred! Exalt labour and love. Let us create rational human beings capable of crushing under foot the futile magnificence of barbaric glories and of resisting those bloody ambitions of nationalism and imperialism which have crushed their brothers.' p 94.

'What is to save this democracy that is made up of the ignorant, the blind, the passionate resentful workers, who have power now and are without wisdom. In America the little Jews and Dagoes are taught to buck about America as the greatest country on earth. Education is the only hope. Why shouldn't education have as one of its objects the making of loyal citizens? Education they must have and more education, and education of a different kind; and if they don't want it force them to have it.'

In dealing with the teaching of imperial history Starr found the Board of Education's pamphlet was equivocal in not rejecting outright 'national' history.

'We would not see a pure internationalism in history teaching take the place even of the too exclusive nationalism which has prevailed in the past; but there is no real contradiction between the two ideas; one rightly applied, leads necessarily to the other.'

It is worth quoting Starr at length, because even allowing for his strong pro-Soviet Union views, he has a grasp of the facts.

'Senior scholars, at least, would be intrigued by having to decide whether the whites or the natives in Kenya deserved support. The problem of the disappearance of the aboriginals should be considered to notice the gin of the foreign trader as well as the Bible of the missionary.

Teachers who wish to be truthful should make allowance for their own bias due to education and training in a British environment and be prepared


always to question accepted notions on the superiority of their own race. If there were interchanges of teachers and textbooks with other countries, a more objectively true narrative of human development could be written. As far as the writer is concerned, there is no denying the incidental benefits that British rule has brought to conquered countries, just as the Romans improved the original Britons. Roman roads in Britain and British railroads in India were both steps forward. A fair summary of history would acknowledge the British campaign against Suttee and chattel slavery and so forth, without ignoring the mercenary motives and the bad side of Empire expansion. Emphasis should naturally be placed upon the fact that contact is no longer made by conquest but by co-operation.

Lurid details of massacre and rape must be spared the children, but colour problems in Africa, strikes and poverty in India must not be ignored—No one will suggest that poverty is exclusively an English import, but if the imperialist boasts his rule, he must accept at least partial responsibility.

Truth should also be told about the facts of Empire population and trade. The child should know that in Canada, for example, according to the 1921 census, the British races amount to only 55.4 per cent of the whole population and 67 per cent only of immigration is of British origin, and that capital from U.S.A. is penetrating Canadian industry; the fact that in 1925 the British percentage of Australian trade was 47 per cent and fell to 43 per cent in 1926; and that Australia, like the other Dominions wishes to develop secondary industries. All this should not be hidden, for lies are no preparation for life.'

A new generation of teachers, many of whom had experienced the war, were highly critical of the textbooks being employed in the schools, but sustained criticism tended to come almost exclusively from the Left and in particular from The Teachers' Labour League which eventually came under

communist control. \(^1\) The League was an extremely powerful ginger group within the Labour Party and made the removal of Empire Day one of the central planks of its policy.\(^2\)

A writer to the *Morning Post* in 1928 urged the British Government to follow the example of the State of Victoria in Australia.

'It is the duty of all teachers employed in State schools to foster in the minds of their pupils the sentiments of love of country, respect for its laws, and loyalty to the Sovereign. Opportunities should be taken, from time to time, to impress upon children that they are to be citizens, not merely of Australia, but also of a great Empire, and the lessons in geography, history, poetry and reading should occasionally deal with phases of the development of the British Empire and the conditions of its successful maintenance. It is extremely desirable that a national Australian sentiment should be engendered; and teachers should do all in their power to give the children clear ideas of the relation to the Empire as a whole.'\(^3\)

However this was precisely what Eustace Percy was determined to resist. He was prepared to let local authorities run Empire Day as they chose to but he was not prepared to impose any sort of systematic propaganda in the schools.\(^4\)

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2. Labour Party Annual Conference Reports 1925, 1926 and 1927.
3. Morning Post, 24th May 1928. Subsequently a Labour Government did away with the more overt forms of Empire Day.
4. H.C. Debates 216, 5th Series cc 1054-5, 26th April 1928.
In 1928 the B.B.C. gave over some of its air time to the teaching of Empire History and Geography and Starr pointed out that the time had come when the geography and history teacher could no longer treat the Empire as a mere unit.

'The geography teacher as a scientist cannot treat the British Empire as a geographical unit. Empire geography now leads the child to think that America is Canada only. Asia is only India, and Africa but a collection of British possessions.

In reality the English patriot is not doing the men and women who share his language and his birthplace anything but a disservice when he sings 'Rule Britannia' and belaunds his country as 'the dread and envy of them.' It is time that human well being was looked at with clear eyes, instead of through nationalistic spectacles.'

But to be fair to organisations like the Royal Colonial Institute and other bodies, they were trying to accomplish exactly the same thing by drawing attention to the complex nature of the Empire and the wealth of products which it made.  

In his White-List, Starr cites Higham's History of the British Empire but claims it is 'objectionable in parts' and that no reliable special book is available. He cites William's The British Empire but feels it ignores the economic causes of imperialism and treats the Crown Colonies in a superficial manner. He cites Horrabin's book but makes no comment on it. However he does stress that the teacher should at least

read the special books written by Lenin, Hobson, Woolf and others in order to gain a critical insight into imperialism.¹

It would be wrong to dismiss Starr's work as a socialist counterblast to right wing propaganda. His study is well researched and it must be seen against the background of the General Strike of 1926 and the class antagonism which existed at the time. There were numerous cases of teachers being summarily dismissed by local authorities for failing to comply with local schemes for teaching the Empire Day curriculum.² Another factor which must be taken into account is that by the late 1920s there was a revulsion against the worst forms of war hysteria (see Chapter 4) and many teachers were genuinely worried that militarism was as prevalent in the schools in 1928 as it had been in 1914. There were, in addition, many who had been through the war and did not wish to see the children of the new generation put through the same ordeal. Lastly, the work of Hobson, Leonard Woolf, Emile Burns and others had convinced many teachers not just in Britain but in France also that a more enlightened approach to the understanding of Empire was essential. At its best the literature of the Empire Day Movement and the Empire Marketing Board was informative and did give pupils an idea of the wide range of the Empire. At its worst it still harked on about the 'civilising mission' and the cult of supremacy. Those who criticised the Empire Day Movement often did so because its official booklet on the celebration

of Empire Day was firmly rooted in the past. Many teachers felt that Armistice Day and the League of Nations were much more important than Queen Victoria's birthday and India, and by the mid 1920s there was a much greater awareness that the Empire brought with it considerable responsibilities. On balance, even allowing for the more blatant forms of imperial propaganda, Britain never took the teaching of facts about her Empire as seriously as France. In Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa there was a much greater awareness of imperial unity. To take one example, visiting Canada in 1931, Professor William Boyd of Glasgow University noted the distinctiveness of Canadian education.

'...That explains why the note of Canadian patriotism is so strongly struck in schools and colleges. I went to the United States expecting to find schools bent on inculcating loyalty by flag salutations and national songs, and was surprised to find most of them but lukewarm in their Americanism. I crossed the border into Canada, and there discovered the cult of the hundred per cent. Citizens more active than I had found it down south. High school gatherings, teachers' meetings, training college assemblies, all begin with the fervent singing of 'Oh Canada.'

Boyd was struck by the fact that Canadian education was much more authoritarian and paid much more attention to the needs of the Empire. By contrast he felt that English and Scottish education was much more relaxed and did not, on the whole, strike the high moral tone. In several schools he noticed cards which contained the coats of arms of all the Provinces and the following words:

'I believe in Canada. I love her as my home. I honour her institutions. I rejoice in the abundance of her resources. I glory in the record of her achievements. I have unbounded confidence in the ability of her people to excel in whatsoever they undertake. I cherish exalted ideals of her destiny as a leader among world nations. To her I pledge my loyalty. To the promotion of her best interests I pledge my support. To her products I pledge my patronage. And to the cause of her producers I pledge my devotion.'

In Britain the Government did little to encourage any further manifestation of Empire Day leaving the local arrangements to the educational authorities. Eustace Percy at the Board of Education did not wish any more attention to be paid to Empire Day and the pressure to step up imperial propaganda came from the Empire Day Movement and its supporters rather than from any direct Government pressure. It must be borne in mind that the various Education Acts - 1870, 1902, 1918 and that of 1944 were examples of what Dicey termed 'our inveterate prejudice for fragmentary and gradual legislation.' Successive governments were anxious to keep politics, of any hue, firmly out of the classroom,2 and leave local authorities to get on with the task of educating children.

One of the few official pronouncements on the Empire is to be found in a handbook of suggestions for teachers.


'Geography and history should be studied in conjunction with the story of England which is not an isolated story but linked up with other parts of the world.

When conditions are favourable the child may be expected by the time he leaves the elementary school, to have some idea of the stage in world history at which British history begins; of the people that were merged into the English nation, of the main social and economic changes through which the country has passed in the last thousand years; of the development of the national system of government; of the growth of the Empire; and of the present position of the British Commonwealth of Nations in the world.'

The extent to which textbooks influenced young people's views of the Empire is difficult to judge, as I have tried to show. The fact remains however that many critics of Empire were concerned with what they regarded as an insidious form of propaganda. Writing in 1939 Leonard Barnes felt that the cinema had replaced textbooks in helping to form 'a definite part of the ordinary citizen's political education.'

'The Drum', 'Bengal Lancer' and 'Sanders of the River' were films which aroused imperial sentiment he claimed.

'Whatever happens or does not happen in the universities, there can be no question about the continual barrage of propaganda by insinuation to which the man in the street is subjected. The old influences of press, school, Empire Day celebrations and the rest are supplemented today by the radio and the cinema. There are indications too that full length entertainment films are now being prepared with official backing for purposes of imperial propaganda.'

1. Board of Education, Handbook of Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others concerned in the work of Public Elementary Schools (1930).

2. Leonard Barnes, Empire or Democracy (1939) p 106.

I would like to suggest that the racial attitudes of the Victorian era, together with the stereotyped picture of Empire has been perpetuated to a large extent by oral tradition and that many of the attitudes of the late Victorian textbook are still held by many people. It is only in recent years that we have begun to witness a concern that school history textbooks need to give a much more detailed picture of the British Empire and Britain's place in the world.¹

¹. See for instance Hugh Tinker, Race and Neo-Victorianism, Encounter April 1972.
E.S. Jull, School History Textbooks and the Commonwealth (1962).
J.A. Lauwerys, History Textbooks and International Understanding (1951).
CHAPTER SIX

INTRODUCTION

In the next two chapters, I intend to take a detailed look at British education and its links with the British Empire. This chapter deals with the period 1880-1918 and chapter 7 deals with the period after the First World War up until the outbreak of the Second.

As I have said earlier, both imperialism and the public schools defy facile generalisation but Santayana had a point when he described the nineteenth century Englishman as 'the schoolboy master of the world.' The years between 1880 and 1918 saw many changes in the public schools therefore at no time is it safe to claim that Newbolt's brand of imperialism was typical of every single school. Similarly, enthusiasm for the Empire fluctuated. For most citizens of Britain, imperialism was something which existed but which they could not readily put a name to, it was something in the air. The imperial mood was easily caught but it was the imperialists rather than the man in the street who held a systematic and cherished set of beliefs in the British Empire. The popular imperialism of the 1880s was at times full of self confidence; at other times one can equally attribute it to a sense of national self doubt.

British education, whether public or private, could not escape the influence of the Empire. Exponents of the imperial idea worked in education, many of them in Government or in the public schools. In the latter

1. It was the claim of the imperialists that the public was totally behind them. Thus Edward Dicey writing at the height of the Boer War said, 'the instincts of the British public are those of an imperial race.' After the Present War, Nineteenth Century (1899) Vol 46, pp 694-695.
establishments, certainly in the period before the First World War, Christianity and imperialism were intermingled. For many public school headmasters, imperialism became as much a substitute for Christianity as a means of promoting it. Again it is difficult to generalise. Some public schoolboys succumbed to the imperial message. Churchill and Amery at Harrow in the 1880s are two typical examples. Others, like Orwell, (Eton 1917-21) went out to Burma because of family connections. For the public schools however, the Empire was a direct concern since so many of their pupils would end up working in it. For those who attended the State schools, the Empire was of less concern but it was an important backdrop to their daily lives. One simply could not escape from the fact that the British Empire existed and, increasingly, educationists saw it as part of their duty to teach young people about it. Power, it was argued, brought duties and responsibilities. It was one thing to tell this to a boy at Eton or Haileybury, quite another to try and impart it to 'a board school brat.' Nevertheless it was done with varying degrees of sophistication in both the elementary schools and the public schools.
In 1918 the Imperial Studies Committee of the Royal Colonial Institute sent a memorandum to the Board of Education calling for the establishment of properly endowed Chairs or lectureships in every British university. These 'centres of research', argued the memorandum, would examine the historical, political and economic problems of the life of the Empire. The memorandum also went on to say that an adequate study of the history and geography of the Empire should form an integral and compulsory part of the curriculum in all teachers' training colleges. Further, in all schools, every pupil should be taught something of the way in which the Empire had grown and how it was governed together with the physical, economic and political features of the component parts.  

As I indicated earlier because of the nature of the British educational system, the Board of Education could only encourage local authorities and teachers to adapt or radically amend the curriculum. However, the Board was not insensitive to the fact that there was a strong case for furthering a knowledge of the Empire.  

1. Memorandum of the Imperial Studies Committee to the Board of Education, June 1918 in United Empire No 9 (1918) 396-402. For a report on the Condition of Imperial Studies during the war see A.F. Newton, United Empire June 1917 pp 402-403. See also The Staple Trades of Empire (1917).  

2. Board of Education, PRO, Class Ed. 12/348, September 1918.
Interest in the Empire and the concern shown by educationists with strong imperial sympathies gained momentum after 1902. However before this there had been various uncoordinated attempts to stimulate an interest in the Empire. Trevor Reese has drawn attention to the educational work of both the Royal Colonial Institute and the Imperial Institute in the years between 1880 and 1914. It is difficult to estimate the effect of such efforts but the strong links which the Royal Colonial Institute built up with the public schools is reflected in the emphasis given to educational matters in the Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute. Headmasters of the better known public schools were frequently asked to address this body.

One outcome of this interest in the Empire and the connection with the public schools was that the Institute frequently sent speakers to them. No doubt some were like Kipling's Mr Raymond Martin, MP, but on the whole the aim of speakers was to get pupils to think of settling in the Empire, especially the Dominions, as much as it was to stimulate imperial enthusiasm and patriotism. If the Empire was to be maintained then it needed the right men to see that the task was carried out. It would be wrong to state, as Henry Salt imputed, that the English public school of the 1880s was a breeding ground for jingoism and war, where ultra-patriotism

was rife and where the boys referred to all foreigners, Europeans included as 'niggers.'\(^1\) *Stalky & Co* may not be historically accurate but it nevertheless presents a very convincing picture of boys at school.

Writing in 1952 at the age of 79, Leo Amery said:

'The Commonwealth of today and our hopes for tomorrow is something very different from the United Empire of my boyhood dreams.'

Amery was at Harrow from 1887 until 1891 and recalled how he was much influenced there by reading Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Froude's *Oceana* and Seeley's *Expansion of England*.\(^2\) Under the influence of Welldon and motivated by the songs of Edward Bowen, he arrived at Oxford 'with an ardent belief in imperial unity.' At Harrow where he was a contemporary of Churchill's, he claimed to have acquired his imperial patriotism because of the influence of Welldon but more particularly because of G.R. Parkin, President of the Imperial Federation League and later travelling secretary to the Rhodes Trust. Parkin is an interesting figure in imperialist and public schools circles of this period. A Canadian educated at the University of New Brunswick, he became headmaster of Gloucester Grammar School, Bathurst and headmaster of Frederickton in 1871. In 1873 he came to Oxford to study as a non-collegiate student.

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3. Ibid. p 52. Leo Amery (1873-1955) Parliamentary Under Secretary for the Colonies 1919-21. Colonial Secretary and Secretary for the Dominions 1924-29. Secretary of State for India 1940-45. At Harrow and Balliol he was an outstanding athlete as well as a brilliant scholar.
He formed a close friendship with Thring of Uppingham and later was in close touch with both Asquith and Milner. He resumed his duties at Fredrickton in 1874 until 1889 when he returned to England and became closely involved with the Imperial Federation League. He was Principal of Upper Canada College from 1895-1902 and kept in close contact with various English public schools. In 1902 he became the first organising secretary of the Rhodes Trust. On his death in 1922, The Times claimed he had 'changed the mind of England' regarding imperial unity. Parkin's influence was considerable even before his involvement with the Rhodes Trust. He was an active imperialist and moved extensively in political and educational circles promoting the cause of Empire and imperial unity. Parkin also wrote a very comprehensive textbook on the Empire which I would argue was extremely well written. It went into several editions and was still being used in schools after 1918.

Roseberry, in his introduction to Parkin's Round the Empire, urged the 'youth of our race' to learn from Mr Parkin's journey round the Empire. The purpose of the book, said Roseberry, was to remind British children that they inhabited not an island but an Empire.

2. The Times obituary 26th June 1922. See also D.N.B. Sir John Willison, Sir George Parkin (1929).
3. References are made to it in the book lists of several school magazines.
'For a collection of States spread over every region of the earth, but owning one head and one flag, is even more important as an influence as an Empire.... With the Empire statesmen are mainly concerned; in the influence every individual can and must have a part Influence is based on character, and it is on the character of each child that grows into manhood within British limits that the future of our Empire rests... We need to preserve our Empire not for ourselves only but for mankind. The time, indeed, cannot be far remote when the British Empire must, if it remain united, by the growth of its population and its ubiquitous domain, exercise a controlling authority in the world. To that trust our sons are born.'

For Parkin Oxford was the educational incubator of the Empire.

Writing in 1913, he said:

'Sons of Oxford have been among our greatest Empire builders and Empire rulers. Its graduates fill the Halls of the Mother of free Parliaments - Oxford has furnished to the Empire many, perhaps most, of its ablest Viceroyas. It feeds the Diplomatic Service. Its missionary bishops and clergy have gone to all parts of the world... There is scarcely a university in the Colonies or India that does not have its quota of men trained at Oxford. The tone of the place - its ideals - its merits and defects, are felt whenever the British flag flies. A mere list of the men that Oxford has sent out even within the last few years to rule or serve in various parts of the world would of itself show how many and strong are the links that connect the university with every section of the Empire...the relation of Oxford to the Empire is exceptional.'

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1. G.R. Parkin, Round the Empire (1906 ed) p iv. Roseberry wrote this in February 1892.

2. G.R. Parkin, The Rhodes Scholarship (1913) pp 210-211. See also C.K. Allan, Forty Years of Rhodes Scholarships (1944).
Parkin argued that Oxford had an increasingly important role in the furtherance of imperial unity and that the Rhodes Scholarships would add to this. The Rhodes Scholar said Parkin was:

'in close touch with a centre and system of training which has for centuries produced, and continued to produce, many of the ablest statesmen, lawyers, publicists, theologians, historians, critics, writers in prose and verse, men of thought and men of action, of which the Anglo-Saxon race can boast.'

Parkin's work and the development of the Rhodes Scholarships indicate that educationists knew the importance of the links between education and the British Empire and the scholarships were seen as playing a significant part in keeping the spirit of Empire alive.

Rhodes put in his will that the education of young colonists at a British University would broaden their views and at the same time instil into their minds

'the advantage to the colonies, as well as to the United Kingdom, of the retention of the unity of the Empire.'

Rhodes, who had not attended a public school himself, laid stress on the fact that he did not wish the scholars to be mere bookworms but fond of 'manly outdoor sports.' More importantly, character was essential. Notice should be taken of:

'His qualities of manhood, truth, courage, devotion to duty, sympathy for and protection of the weak, kindliness, unselfishness and fellowship and his exhibition during school days of moral force of character.'

These qualities, claimed Rhodes, would guide the scholar in his public duties especially with regard to the Empire.

One important appendage of the public school system and its links with the Empire was the Public Schools Emigration League (which was supported by the Headmasters' Conference and the Headmasters' Association). A selection of its literature indicates that it was anxious that all secondary schools should take advantage of the scheme. I think it is worth quoting the work undertaken by the League, which was set up in 1908, because it illustrates the concern that was being felt, especially by men such as H.B. Gray, that the public schools were failing to turn out the right type of Empire builder.

The establishment of the Public Schools Emigration League in 1908 was supported by the Headmasters' Conference and the Headmasters' Association and is indicative of the growing concern about Empire development. As the League's pamphlet stated, the overseas Dominions needed 'a supply of strong men of character, intelligence and energy, possessed also of a little capital.' The scheme was open not only to the public schools but to all secondary schools.

The Secretary will be able to arrange for students to enter Canadian Universities or other colleges in different parts of the Empire. The choice of future colonists from the public school is not restricted to Canada. Similar arrangements to the foregoing are made on their behalf to Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Rhodesia, West Indies, and the other Dominions, so that practically the same opportunities both of training and of settlement are available. The importance of sending out the right sort of boys cannot be too strongly emphasised; the dumping of public school failures in the Colonies has in the past worked great injury. The Central Office, therefore, will endeavour to safeguard the interests of the organisation and the good name of the schools generally, by selecting only those boys whose character and school record give special reason to believe that they are the kind of material out of which good colonists can be made. The Committee wish to make it clear that all secondary schools are welcome to avail themselves of the arrangements. The office will undertake to arrange the passages of those boys who are going out under the auspices of the League, and to carry out on behalf of the parents, as far as possible, any other details with which it may be charged in Canada through the local Committees in the different cities and towns. It may be pointed out that the various London representatives of the Overseas Dominions are prepared to supply official literature regarding their respective countries.

The progress made in the public schools and in the endowed schools after the Taunton and Clarendon Commissions was also reflected in the reforms of Oxford and Cambridge. As numbers grew at the public schools and at the two ancient universities, much closer links between the world

1. Public Schools Emigration League (1910) pamphlet.
of politics, government and administration and the world of education were forged. The public schools had catered for the needs of the Indian Civil Service since 1855. After 1870 when fully open competition was established, Oxford, and Balliol in particular, became an important factor in the connection between the university and the Indian Civil Service as Sir Geoffrey Faber has shown in his biography of Benjamin Jowett. Jowett was concerned with many other issues but his efforts to ensure that Oxford and Balliol were linked with government and administration is undoubtedly an important one. Similarly, at Cambridge, Seeley claimed that history was the school of 'public feeling and patriotism.'

'Though perhaps we seldom think of it, our university is, and must be, a great seminary of politicians. Here are assembled to prepare themselves for life, the young men from whom the legislation and statesmen of the next age must be taken.'

1. Papers relating to the Selection and Training of Candidates for the Indian Civil Service, PP 1876 Vol 55. In the early years it is clear that those who went out between 1864 and 1874 were almost exclusively educated at public school and were upper and upper middle class. After 1874 the pattern changes, see pp 310-311, ibid. See also P.J. Hartog, Examinations and their Relation to Culture and Efficiency. (1918).


4. J.R. Seeley, Lectures and Essays (1870) p 299. Seeley argued that the teaching of politics was an important subject. The growth of the subject as an academic discipline owed much to the demands made by the I.C.S. examinations.
The links between the public schools and Oxford and Cambridge were also another important factor in the connection between the universities and the Empire and this continued well into the 1930s, as I shall show in Chapter 7.

By August 1895, when the first competition for the Indian Civil Service and for Class I of the Home Service used the same papers, India still held pride of place for those who wished to make a career in the public service. In 1898, for instance, 224 candidates presented themselves for examination, 65 posts were on offer for India, 23 elsewhere in the East and only 20 at home. India continued to beckon the bright young man from public school and university. However it is wrong to assume that the public schools constantly urged young people to go to India or the Dominions. The existence of the Empire ensured that positions of responsibility, together with a reasonable salary, were in themselves sufficient to attract young men to compete for posts. Further, the public schools and several long established grammar schools represented the entire edifice of secondary education in England and Wales. In Scotland the burgh schools formed the secondary education sector. Together they constituted a small elite and it was from these institutions that the servants of the Empire came. As far as the I.C.S. was concerned, no single school produced more than one or two successful candidates in any single year. According to R.V. Vernede and Hugh Lane,

by 1929, when competitive examinations were held both in London and India, the 52 successful candidates came from 48 different schools including 16 in India. Grammar schools from England, Scotland and Ireland were well represented by this time and no single public school, even Haileybury, could claim an exclusively I.C.S. connection at any time after the 1870s.

The stream of eminent statesmen, public figures and generals who visited the public schools frequently espoused the cause of the Empire but there was nothing systematic about it, there was no attempt to consciously indoctrinate the young in these schools. In fact, it can be argued, there was no need to. However the ideology of imperialism had taken strong root in the public schools by the 1880s. Welldon at Harrow, Warre at Eton and Almond at Loretto were different types of imperialists but they exerted a profound influence on their pupils.

The first issue of the school magazine of George Watson's College Edinburgh in 1904 reveals the extent to which Empire, militarism and games occupied the minds of the boys.

'Watson's, like the British Empire itself, can claim a very substantial foothold on every shore of the habitable globe. In Canada, South Africa, and other English speaking countries, the Watsonian Club has its branches.'

2. The Watsonian Vol I No 1 December 1904.
There are references to the need to promote games,\(^1\) disparaging comments on the British workman,\(^2\) references to the visit of Sir Henry Craik to the school. Craik was a strong supporter of militarism in the public schools once he became a Unionist MP after retiring from the Permanent Secretaryship of the Scotch Education Department.\(^3\) A debate that athletics were carried too far was put to rout. We are informed that three Watsonians have gained places in the Indian Civil Service\(^4\) and there is a strong plea by a J.A. Doig to the effect that games are important since:

'adaptability to varying conditions is as essential to the success of a football team as to the success of a coloniser.'\(^5\)

One important point about the Victorian public school is the fact that it quickly acquired imitators throughout the Empire. I do not wish to examine this subject in any depth but it is interesting to note that by the beginning of the twentieth century, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and India all had boarding schools which were run on strictly public school lines. Some of these had been deliberately created with the public school spirit in mind. In India, Mayo, Daly and Aitchison and Rajkot Colleges were firmly established by the 1890s. As Curzon pointed out they provided the aristocratic families of India with a superior type of education. The schools, said Curzon, imparted:

\[\text{Sir Henry Craik had been a strong advocate of compulsory military training. Once in parliament Craik continued to press for its establishment. S.R.O. Ed/7/1/22 Craik to Balfour 28th May 1903.}\]
'that all round education, particularly in relation to character, that is admittedly the product of the English public school system.'

However character was not the only factor in education as Roseberry had noted. Character training was not in itself enough he told the Association of Headmasters in 1900.

'Some of our finest schools are content to turn out lads of admirable character and temper, I admit, but equipped for the keen competition of our modern world with a thin veneer of dead languages.'

This was the dilemma which faced those who wished to initiate reform. If the public schools were not prepared to fall into line then there was not a great deal that could be done. The state sector, such as it was, presented a different case and, increasingly, imperialists such as Roseberry came to see that it was essential for the preservation of the Empire that education was made more efficient.

The development of the Civic Universities in Britain in the nineteenth century must be seen alongside the general growth in Britain's standing as an industrial nation. Their critics attacked them from two directions. There were those who felt they were inferior to Oxford and Cambridge and those who felt they bore no resemblance to the large German

1. Progress of Education in India Fourth Quinquennial Review (1904) p 181. See also Fifth Quinquennial Review 1902-1907 (1909). An interesting article by J.R. de S. Honey, Tom Brown in South Africa was published as his inaugural lecture at Rhodes University 10th May 1972. de Honey traces the export of public school men and the ethos of the public school to South Africa in the years after 1870.

2. Roseberry MSS Box 76 31st January 1900, Roseberry/Association of Headmasters.
universities which concentrated on scientific and technical education. I have dealt with the need to provide technical education in Chapter 2 but the development of some of the Civic Universities has implications for the Empire. Although these universities, like Oxford and Cambridge, were private foundations, as early as 1889 they were in receipt of government grants which continued to rise each year after this. In 1919 the University Grants Committee was established.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>College or University</th>
<th>Opened</th>
<th>Became an Independent University</th>
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<tr>
<td>University College, London</td>
<td>1828</td>
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<td>King's College, London</td>
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<td>(University of London, 1836; effectively reorganised in 1898)</td>
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<td>Durham</td>
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<td>*Owens College, Manchester</td>
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<td>Hartley Institute (University College in 1902), Southampton</td>
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<td>1952</td>
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<td>Newcastle College of Physical Science (later part of Durham)</td>
<td>1871</td>
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<td>*Yorkshire College of Science, Leeds</td>
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<td>College of Science for the West of England, Bristol</td>
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<td>Firth College, Sheffield</td>
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<td>Mason Science College, Birmingham</td>
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<td>University College, Nottingham</td>
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<td>1948</td>
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<td>*University College, Liverpool</td>
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<td>University Extension College, Reading</td>
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<td>Exeter Technical and University Extension College</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>1955</td>
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*From 1880 for some years formed the Victoria (Federal) University.*
Roseberry in 1903 wrote to Lord Monkswell, the Chairman of London County Council outlining a plan for establishing an Imperial College in London on the lines of Charlottenberg. A substantial sum of money was donated by Wernher, Beit and Co. Roseberry said:

'The excellent provision now made for scientific and technological instruction in the Polytechnics and other institutions, so admirably fostered and directed by the Council renders more pressing than ever the crowning of the work of technical education by adequate opportunities for the most advanced teaching and for research. In the striking report presented to the Council by its Technical Education Board last July on the application of science to industry, it is clearly shown that several of our industries have suffered, and are still suffering, from our failure to organise, not so much technical education of the ordinary type as the more advanced instruction in scientific technology and facilities for original research. The report points out that in other countries special attention has long been paid to the highest technical training of those who will become, if not the captains of industry, the skilled lieutenants and confidential assistants in every branch of commerce or manufacture. Perhaps the most perfect instance of such provision is the great College of Applied Science at Charlottenburg, alongside the University of Berlin erected at an outlay exceeding £500,000 a year ....

An offer has been made by Messrs Wernner, Beit & Co to place a large sum of money in the hands of trustees to be applied as a contribution towards the cost of building and equipment, and further offers of the same kind have been made by other public-spirited London citizens.

It would, of course, direct its attention from the first, not to duplicating or overlapping any provision now existing in London, but to supplementing that provision by taking up subjects as yet undealt with, or only inadequately dealt with. Such subjects would probably include chemical technology, mining and metallurgy, electro-chemistry, electric traction, optical technology, bacteriology, railway and marine engineering, hydraulics, and naval architecture. It is intended to admit only advanced students able to profit by the instruction and facilities for original research which will be provided, but the institution
will be made of the ablest of those whom the London County Council is now training in the polytechnics and elsewhere may be enabled to raise themselves to the highest positions in the world of scientific industry.

Should this scheme be successfully carried through, I am not without hope that it may be possible to follow it up by taking further steps towards developing the University in such a fashion as to make it worthy to be the University of the metropolis of the Empire.'

At the same time, Sidney Webb argued that what was needed in London was a British 'Charlottenburg'. He admitted that whilst education had improved Britain still lagged behind Germany and others.

'The research scholarships given annually by the Commissioners of the 1851 Exhibition to the most brilliant graduate in each university of the British Empire, are deliberately made tenable, not at his own, but at some other university. Every German and Austrian university encourages its students to spend part of their time at some other seat of learning, whilst the French and Belgian Governments are always paying the expenses at foreign universities of carefully selected graduates. At this moment private munificence and travelling scholarships are keeping several hundreds of American graduates at one or other of the universities of Europe. And, as if to set upon this movement the seal of modernity, our new and 'up to date' ally in the Far East has, within the last few months, decided to send, at government expense, two hundred picked graduates from the Japanese colleges to spend some years in post-graduate study in the capitals of Europe. Now, to all this large and growing class of well-equipped and highly selected students London offers extraordinary attractions. Here they can live according to their own standards of expenditure obtain the food, keep the house, and follow the religious observances befitting their temperament, class or racial habits. The very distractions and sights, the contact with celebrities, even the dark places

1. Board of Education/Imperial College Archives (copy) ABC/4/1. See also Roseberry Papers Box 76.
and problems of the world's greatest city, are, to
the adult student, an education in themselves. We
need not, therefore, be surprised that, even with
the present meagre facilities for post-graduate study,
every year sees an increasing number of graduates
from other universities, following in the hospital
wards the celebrated operator or physician, seeking
admission to Professor Ramsay's experimental labora-
tory, or attending lectures at the Royal College of
Science or the London School of Economics. With a
highly specialised staff of university professors
in each faculty, the London University would attract,
not one or two here and there but a continuous
stream of the ablest and most enterprising of young
graduates from the colonies and the United States,
from every university of Europe and the Far East.
In the provision of facilities for this highest grade
of students the senate of the new London University
has an opportunity of combining a sane and patriotic
Imperialism with the largest-minded Internationalism.'1

The eventual establishment of Imperial College in 1907 was largely
due to the efforts of Roseberry and Haldane who induced Wernher, Beit and
Co. to make an initial gift of £100,000. The scheme secured the support
of Cecil Rhodes, the Rothschilds and the London County Council who gave
substantial sums.2 By 1907 Imperial College had 600 full time students
and this number stood at 800 by 1914. Students came from all parts of
the Empire and the setting up of the institution was a tribute to the
work of the efficiency of the politicians.3

2. The Royal Charter of Imperial College of Science and Technology (1957).
3. Departmental Committee on Royal College of Science and Technology
Final Report H.M.S.O. (1906). The report was scathing of Britain's
technical and scientific education.
M. Sanderson, (editor) The Universities in the 19th Century (1975)
p 209. See also L.C.C. Report of Technical Education Board Sub-
Committee (1902). Sir Douglas Logan, Haldane and the University of
The movement for greater efficiency took many forms. As Michael Holroyd has shown, Reddie of Abbotsholme, with the somewhat unpromising material of the young Lytton Strachey as one of his pupils, convinced himself that he could put a halt to the decline in Britain's national life by moulding his boys into a new English master race. As always Germany provided the example and like quite a few other headmasters Reddie looked to that country as an example of how citizens might be trained and how it would be possible to produce in England 'a directing class.'

The idea that God had endowed the British race with a world-wide Empire which was superior in form to all previous imperial systems the world had known implied that the citizens of this Empire should cultivate the sense of a mission to humanity rather than pursue a policy of aggrandisement. Further, it was argued, since the British Empire was founded upon a basis of justice, equality, freedom and progress, it was capable of enduring - but only if its citizens were eternally vigilant. Kipling in his poem Recessional had stated that it was the fear of God which would continue to make Britain a great nation. However faith in itself was not enough. If the Empire was to be preserved and maintained the youth of Britain had to be made aware of their responsibilities to the motherland and to the Empire as a whole. This was the rationale behind the Empire Day Movement and other imperialist organisations of the time.

1. Michael Holroyd, Lytton Strachey: A Biography (1971 ed) pp 82-83. See also Cecil Reddie, Abbotsholme 1889-1899 (1900). Reddie regarded his school as an 'educational laboratory.'
The hearts as well as the minds of young people had to be awakened to the great achievements of the Empire but, more importantly, the youth of Britain had also to be made aware that the Empire bestowed benefits on its citizens. In its train this brought responsibilities and if this included military service then it was essential that it was applied.

J.E.C. Welldon pointed out in 1908 that the schoolmaster had to determine exactly what the true nature of citizenship was. There was no doubt in his mind - it was service to the State. A citizen of Britain he claimed was also a citizen of the Empire and this brought certain obligations and duties. Above all, said Welldon, it was on the moral qualities of the men and women of Great Britain that the safety and dignity of the British Empire depended. To this end there had to be a much greater understanding of the Empire and the schools had a vitally important part to play in spreading this. Geography was vital.

'But the twin-sister of Geography is History. It is essential that young Englishmen should be taught how the Empire was built up, at what dates and by what means its various regions were acquired, and who were the statesmen, the generals and the administrators who played the chief parts in creating it and consolidating it. To the young, perhaps the most fascinating part of history is biography. I would strongly recommend the study of the lives of such Englishmen as the Elizabethan navigators, or Cromwell, or Chatham, or Pitt, or Clive, or Wolfe, or Nelson, or Wellington. Not less valuable are books at once so interesting and informing as Dr Fitchett's "Deeds that Won the Empire."
It is well, too, that the young should study the rising and falling of nations. They may ask themselves in the spirit of Sir John Seeley's "The Expansion of England," What is security, if there is any, that the British Empire, as it has risen like other empires, so will not like them gradually decay? Such a book as Carlyle's "French Revolution" may bring home to them how intensely moral is the law which governs the history of nations. From such studies as these they will rise with a strong belief not only in the God-given mission of their race, but in their own personal responsibility.  

In his rectorial address to the students of Glasgow University in 1897 Chamberlain linked the theme of patriotism with the Empire, but it was not everyone who wanted to 'civilise the tropics' as J.M. Robertson argued:

'It seems to be reckoned a marvel by themselves that Englishmen in the 19th Century should at last administer better than orientals of a previous age... The Anglo-Indian who strives and aims to bring the natives under him a little nearer self rule is indeed doing as high a work as any done on the planet; but not one Anglo-Indian in ten seems to have any such thought.'


2. J.C. Godard, Patriotism and Ethics (1901) p 14.

3. J.M. Robertson, Patriotism and Empire (1899). Robertson was Liberal MP for Tyneside 1906-18 and Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade 1911-15. He was a prolific author and an authority on Shakespeare.
For Robertson the Empire was not going to last for ever especially in India and the best policy would be to prepare for the inevitable change rather than delay it.

In an attack on Lord Roseberry, one anti-imperialist said:

'In fact, Lord Roseberry's Liberalism has been riding the tiger of Imperialism; and we know from the sad fate of the lady immortalised in nursery rhyme, such a performance, though satisfactory to the tiger is bad for the rider. Empire - that is to say the supremacy of the British race - is to his Lordship what King Charles the First's head was to Mr Dick; it is perpetually bobbing up, and almost invariably in the wrong place. Even on such a non-polemic topic as commercial education, he could not descant without conveying the impression that he was apprehensive of the cosmopolitanism of science and had a patriotic fear lest some nation should chance to know as much as we do.'

Godard's polemic is understandable but Roseberry and other efficiency politicians were concerned with education at all levels and not just with elementary education. The development of commercial education, as Webb pointed out more than once, was vital to imperial development. Further it was important that Britain kept abreast of her continental rivals. Only by doing so could she ensure that the Empire was maintained. Asquith had argued in 1896 that the one sure chance that Britain had as a nation of maintaining her political and industrial supremacy lay in the urgent development of the national educational system and as

1. J.G. Godard, Racial Supremacy (1905) p 72. Godard is referring to Roseberry's Mansion House Speech, 21st March 1901. Godard was a regular contributor to the Westminster Review.

2. The Times, 28th February 1896.
H.C.G. Matthew has shown in *The Liberal Imperialists* even those Liberals who were opposed to the 1902 Bill came to see that public education meant more than religious conscience.¹

John Buchan took the view in 1907 that 'we are all Imperialists at heart nowadays.' For Buchan, the Empire, like the Monarch, should be accepted as a fact of political life. It should not be used for party ends since patriotism was not the monopoly of any one side. However people needed to be informed about it.

'We shall, of course, always differ on particular questions, but there should be no difference on the ideal. Indeed I honestly think that there is little among ordinary sane minded people. The average man may be described as a confused Imperialist. He wants to make the best of the heritage bequeathed to him; his imagination fires at its possibilities; but he is still very ignorant and shy, and he has no idea how to set about the work. The first of imperial duties is to instruct him.'²

**JAPAN**

One country which attracted attention, particularly after 1905 was Japan. Asinori Mori, Japan's first Minister of Education (1885-89) said in 1886:

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² John Buchan, *A Lodge in the Wilderness* (1907) p 59.
'In the administration of all schools it must be kept in mind what is done is not for the sake of the pupils but for the sake of the country.'

At the same time, Tokyo's Imperial University Charter claimed that the role of the university was:

'To have as its object to teach and to explore the innermost secrets of those branches of scholarship technology, and the arts which can meet the needs of the State.'

Japanese education held some interest to British educationists and a former Japanese Minister of Education, Baron Kikuchi, visited London in 1906 to deliver a series of lectures on the subject of education in Japan. The Office of Special Inquiries and Reports at the Board of Education published a pamphlet to coincide with Kikuchi's lectures and mounted an exhibition. These attempts to learn from the educational systems of other countries are interesting. Whilst the official pamphlets did not make any recommendations about transferring parts of the Japanese system to Britain it made special mention of the fact that in Japan immense importance was attached to the teaching of patriotism (the word is underlined in the Board of Education publication), and of reverence towards the Imperial house. It is interesting to compare the Japanese attitude with that of the statement on patriotism issued by the Welsh Board of Education (see appendix 6).

2. Ibid. p 205.
'Our Imperial Ancestors have founded our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting, and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue. Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of our Empire and herein also lies the source of our education.'

The pamphlet also noted that in order to encourage loyalty to the Emperor and Empress, photographs and paintings of their majesties were officially distributed by the government and displayed in the schools.

Another interesting pamphlet which appeared in 1905 purported to be a set book for use in Japanese schools in 2005 and refers to the decline and disintegration of the British Empire. Japanese school children were to be reminded of Gibbon and how Britain, like Rome, would come to grief. It is a subtle piece of writing but it is more than yet another example of imperialist propaganda. Its significance lies in the fact that Japanese education is indirectly praised for teaching patriotism and instilling those virtues necessary for the maintenance of the nation. Britain and her Empire, claimed the anonymous historian, declined and eventually disappeared for the following reasons:

1. Health - prevalence of town over country life.
2. Forsaking the sea.
3. Growth of refinement and luxury (the provision of school meals is specifically attacked).

1. Op cit. p 16
2. Op cit. p 18. See also W.T. Stead, Great Japan, A Study in National Efficiency (1905) which dealt with, among other things, Japanese education. Lord Roseberry contributed the preface. Japan was not seen as a threat but as an example of a nation determined to make the best use of her limited resources. After her defeat of Russia Japan became an object of interest to British imperialists.
4. The decline of literature.
5. Decline of intellectual and religious life.
7. The inability of the British to defend themselves and their Empire.  

Those preachers whom J.A. Hobson castigated in his attack on the moral and sentimental factors underlying imperialism hoped that the enthusiasm raised by the Empire would lead the youths of Britain to join the Territorials.  

However, above all, it was stressed that the Empire was vitally important to Britain as the following statement shows:

'And then you Boys and Girls. The Empire will want you presently. You are the men and women of the future. You must get ready. You must train yourselves. You must keep your bodies sound and fit, in temperance and in chastity. You must keep your hearts and brains cool and clear and courageous. You lads and boys here, remember that a great Empire is not going to be built on the cigarette smoking boy, with his weak heart and his puny limbs and his scrawny face. We want, for the Empire's sake, healthy, wholesome boys and girls, with boundless pluck and courage and enterprise.'

1. Anon., The Decline and Fall of the British Empire. A brief account of those causes which resulted in the destruction of our late ally, together with comparisons between the British and Roman Empires: appointed for the use in the National Schools of Japan Tokio 2005 (1905).
These Sermons for Empire Day reveal the military and patriotic aspect of imperialism. Titles include: England's Appeal to Her Sons, A Sermon for Men; Wisdom or Folly; An Address to Lads; Righteousness Exalteth a Nation; Earth's Proud Empire; Patriotism and The English Child's Crusade. ¹

J. Ellis Barker, who as O. Elzbacher had drawn attention to the military catastrophe of the Boer War in the same year (1910) urged on British statesmen the need to organise the Empire and pointed out that the patriotism taught in Japanese schools could be usefully transferred to English schools. ²

PATRIOTISM

Patrick Pearse may have had the edict of Tacitus in mind 'the language of the conqueror in the mouth of the conquered is ever the language of the slave,' when he wrote his essay The Murder Machine in 1911. However what Pearse had to say about English education was not just that it represented an instrument of oppression but that the quality of it was poor. More interestingly, Pearse in his school St Edna's in Dublin

unconsciously modelled it on the English public school by insisting on 'the knightly tradition of Cuchulain' - 'better is short life with honour than long life with dishonour.' In fact in some of Pearse's statement there are the overtones of the Victorian headmaster.

'The Fianna never told a lie, falsehood was never imputed to us - strength in our hands, truth on our lips and clearness in our hearts.'

It is ironic that someone who did most to give the British Empire no end of a lesson should share some of its ideology, if only in a different national context.

Is Pearse's patriotism that different from Roseberry's who told the boys of Wellington in 1909?

'There are encroaching opinions which threaten patriotism, menace our love of country, and imply the relaxation, if not the destruction of all the bonds which hold our Empire together. I would urge that as far as possible the study of patriotism be promoted. If this is done daily and sedulously in this College it will live up to the conditions of its foundation and the illustrious auspices under which it has hitherto done its work.'

1. Collected Works of Patrick Pearse Vol I (1922) pp 35-40. Pearse (ibid, p 38) 'a heroic tale is more essentially a factor in education than a proposition in Euclid. The story of Joan of Arc or Napoleon means more for boys and girls than all the algebra in all the books.' Sir Joshua Fitch formerly an HMI for training colleges in his Lectures on Teaching (1898 17th edition) called for the teaching of patriotism in schools, p 392.

What is interesting about Pearse is the fact that he wanted to mould the character of young Irish boys in order to make them patriots. Education whether in Ireland, Britain or Germany could not escape the upsurge of patriotic feeling which was the hallmark of so much thinking before the First World War. Militarism, as I have already shown, was a strong feature of the public schools. To take one example, the school magazine of Fettes for this period is preoccupied with the subject and an examination of public school magazines of the years between 1902 and 1914 reveal a strong concern over the Corps and the Empire. The Fettes Magazine for 1911 carried an interesting interview with a Sergeant P. Adam who had served in the Crimea and later became a drill instructor at both Fettes and Clifton. Sergeant Adam thoroughly approved of the Corps which he regarded as essential for national defence.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

In his essay Will the Empire Live Wells argued that it was idle to pretend that the Empire was giving its constituent peoples any real benefit beyond

2. The Fettesian Vol XXXIII No 3 (1911) pp 67-68. For other public school magazines which are strong on games, and militarism see The Alleynian (Dulwich College) The Marlburnian, The Cliftonian and The Glenalmond Chronicle.
'a certain immunity from warfare, a penny post, an occasional spectacular coronation, a few knight-hoods and peerages and the services of an honest, unsympathetic, narrow minded officialism.'

Wells said that the Empire, if it were to survive had to become the 'universal educator, newsagent, book-distributor, civiliser-general and vehicle of imaginative inspirations for its peoples.' He felt that the old fashioned imperialists were totally complacent in their views and bore an ill-concealed hostility to education. If the Empire was to progress in any meaningful direction then it was essential, wrote Wells, to make English a universal language throughout its length and breadth. Education had to be spread.

'The effort and arrangement needed to make books, facilities for research and all forms of art accessible throughout the Empire, would be altogether trivial in proportion to the consolidation it would effect.'

Wells argued that if Britain were to retain the Empire and make it a positive force for good in the world then it could make a start by improving the status of English without suppressing national languages. Wells also felt that translations of every important American, French and German scientific and technical work would help Britain to strengthen the Empire and improve national efficiency.

2. Ibid. See for example W.T. Stead's introduction to the Imperial Exhibition and Pageant, London 1911 entitled Festival of Empire.
3. See also Wells essay in the same volume The School Master and the Empire pp 218/228 which is an attack on the public schools for their failure to understand the modern world.
There had been some activity in the educational field at the time of the Jubilee of 1897 and contacts between educational institutions in the Empire had been established over the years. In May 1907 a number of official delegates and various officials from overseas Dominions and colonies had attended the Federal Education Conference organised by the League of Empire. Two private meetings took place at this conference on 27th and 28th May between the Board of Education, the Scotch Education Department, officials of the Indian Education Departments, the Colonial Office and the India Office. As a preliminary to an official Imperial Education Conference to be held in 1911, it was decided that the Director of Special Inquiries and Reports should coordinate activities between various departments of Education in the Dominions, India and the Colonies and increase the number of visits to these countries. Further it decided that the Board of Education should supply copies of its various publications to all the departments of education in the Empire. In 1911 the first Imperial Education Conference took place. Walter Runciman, President of the Board of Education and his deputy C.P. Trevelyan were in attendance for most of the conference which consisted of delegates from the Dominions, Colonial territories and was administered by a Standing Committee of the Colonial Office, the

2. Ibid, p 25.
3. Ibid, p 27.

For an account of progress in education in the Empire generally prior to 1900 see Countess of Warwick, Report of Education Section. Victorian Era Exhibition 1897 (1898).
India Office, the Board of Education, the Irish Office, and the Scotch Education Department. Opening the conference Asquith outlined the importance which the Government placed on educational matters. In spite of its somewhat banal tone his speech was an indication of the concern over imperial education.

'The governing aim and purpose of a conference of this kind is to secure the formative touch and to see that the power throughout the British Empire should be developed on the best lines, with the greatest efficiency, and with the most complete equipment; and if these conditions are satisfied we are convinced that with the raw material at hand the most brilliant and satisfying results can be obtained. If a conference of this kind representing the Imperial Governments could coordinate in the way of information and in the way of effort the latent resources of the Empire and make provision for a really efficient, vital and vigorous teaching system, we should have contributed more to the real consolidation of the Empire and the happiness of our people than so many so-called reforms today.'

Among the participants, which included representatives from British universities and a wide range of educational agencies from Britain and the Empire, was Halford Mackinder who spoke on the need to teach geography from an imperial viewpoint. He drew attention to the work of A.H. Fisher, the photographer and the slides of the Visual Instruction Committee of the Colonial office. Professor Hugh Egerton, Beit Professor of Colonial History at the University of Oxford, delivered a

2. Ibid. p 55.
lecture on Some Aspects of the Teaching of Imperial History. Sir Herbert Risley of the India Office and Professor Richard Lodge of the University of Edinburgh supported Mackinder and Egerton in arguing that both imperial history and geography should be taught more effectively. W.T. McCoy, one of the Australian delegates put forward a scheme for a Bureau of Education which would publish a year book and undertake a formal exchange of teachers. The conference tended to be dominated by the White Dominions and apart from exhortations to spread a knowledge of the Empire, the main theme of the 1911 conference was the demand for a more effective collection of information on education throughout the Empire. All the delegates took imperial unity for granted but it is interesting to note that Canada, Australia and New Zealand were most anxious to know how education was progressing in Britain.

At this point it may be appropriate to draw attention to Mackinder (see biographical note on page 457). Mackinder taught geography in Oxford University from 1887, having first taken a first class degree in history. He was a man of immense activity. He acted as principal of the new Extra Mural College at Reading from 1892 to 1893, lectured on geography

2. Ibid. p 69.
3. Ibid. p 70 The total number attending was over 300.
at the London School of Economics from 1895 to 1903 and became director of the school from 1903 to 1908. It is interesting to reflect, given its subsequent reputation, that the school's first two directors Hewins and Mackinder were such ardent imperialists. Mackinder continued to lecture at the London School of Economics until his retirement. It was said of him that he kept three dress suits at Oxford, Reading and London and that the Great Western Railway benefited from his custom. In addition to this he represented Camlachie in Glasgow as Unionist MP.

Mackinder's interest in the Empire extended to his being Chairman of the Imperial Shipping Committee from 1920 to 1945 and of the Imperial Economic Committee from 1926 to 1931. Mackinder's training in history coloured his geographical viewpoint but it added a new dimension to political geography. Mackinder frequently stated his views on education and the Empire. For him geography and history were inseparable.

'If education is to build up the Empire it must aim at supplying not merely knowledge but a motive and that motive must spring from a wide not narrow outlook....

Our task as teachers of the twentieth century, responsible for the next generation, is to secure that our pupils shall view the world not merely from the standpoints of England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa or India, but that they shall identify themselves with the British Empire.'

This in fact was the main theme of much of Mackinder's work.

Mackinder had been influenced by German geographers but his first book published in 1902, Britain and the British Seas reflects his interest in

world strategy. His famous paper to the Royal Geographical Society in 1904 on the 'geographical pivot of history' developed his theory of world power. The scheme, somewhat conveniently, ignored the strength of the United States. For Mackinder, the 'geographical pivot' was the interior or the Heartland of the World Island, in effect the Russian Empire, already weak by 1904. Fearing that there might be an alliance between Russia and Germany in 1904, he saw the strategic significance of the lands between Germany and Russia.

Who rules East Europe commands the Heartland
Who rules the Heartland commands the World Island
Who rules the World Island commands the World.

Leo Amery was present at Mackinder's address and he spoke on the strategic implications of Mackinder's views for the Empire.

Mackinder's close involvement in the university extension movement and his considerable academic and political energy ensured that his views became heard. He helped to inaugurate the Geographical Association and himself wrote several textbooks for schools. Mackinder was at the peak of his talents in the years between 1902 and 1918 and his influence on several generations of geography students has to be reckoned with. Perhaps his greatest contribution to the world of education is that he helped to change the teaching of geography. Throughout his lifetime he was an ardent member of the Royal Geographic Society and he more than anyone else helped to make geography an important subject in the school

2. H.J. Mackinder, Our Own Islands (1904) and Lands Beyond the Channel (1905).
curriculum. It was Mackinder who encouraged A.J. Herbertson subsequently Professor of Geography at Oxford in his career. Geography became an increasingly important subject, Morant's Regulations for Secondary Schools and the increase in the number of higher elementary schools, secondary schools and grammar schools ensured that more geography teachers were needed. Consequently Oxford offered a diploma in geography and both Mackinder and Herbertson pushed the idea of geography summer schools which became an important feature of teacher training. Herbertson also helped to develop the journal The Geographical Teacher.

Mackinder's name crops up with frequent regularity during the years between 1900 and 1920, he seemed to be present at almost every gathering of educationists expounding his views on the need to teach geography and in particular the geography of the British Empire. What is significant about the years after the Boer War is the realisation by imperialists of different views that education has a vital role to play in helping people to understand the Empire. Such knowledge, it was argued,


2. Regulations for Secondary Schools (1904) CD 2128.

would increase an awareness of the Empire. Educationists like Mackinder had therefore a 'twin mission'. One was to spread knowledge of their subject and the other was to spread enthusiasm and understanding of the British Empire.¹

1914 - 1918

The first effects of the war on British education were not favourable. The 1902 Act had done much to unify the country's educational system but some felt it had not gone far enough.² The war revealed even greater anxiety about the state of British education as Arthur Henderson, the Labour Party's first incumbent at the Board of Education proclaimed.³

"The war has brought home to the people what has long been common knowledge among those who concern themselves with education and that is that our national prosperity and security demand greater concentration of trained intelligence on problems of industry, of commerce, and of public administration."

Fisher's Act of 1918 was not passed with the Empire specifically in mind but the various debates which took place during the lengthy passage of the Bill reveal a concern about the future of the Empire.⁴

1. Mackinder may not have coined the term 'yellow peril' but he seems to have used it frequently before 1914. "Were the Chinese for instance, organised by the Japanese to overthrow the Russian Empire and conquer its territory, they might constitute the yellow peril to the world's freedom." The Geographical Pivot of History address to Royal Geographical Society 25th January 1904 in Geographical Journal Vol 23 (1904) pp 421-37. See also H.J. Mackinder, Democratic Ideals and Reality (1919).

2. See Haldane Papers 5905 f 81 f 175, 6010 f 196.

3. The Times, 19th July 1916.

Fisher, in particular, stressed that education was vital to Britain's survival as a great power. The defeat of Germany did have the effect of making the erstwhile Germanophile educationists come to the conclusion that the innate deficiencies in German culture and society had been a contributor to the defeat of that nation. To take one example, a Belgian educationist writing in late 1917 argued that for England to remedy its intellectual backwardness would only take a very short time compared to the time it would take Germany to recover from her moral atrophy. For F. De Hovre education was 'the characteristic outgrowth of the soul of a nation.' Comparing Germany's colonial policy with that of England he said it was precisely in this area that one could see the crudest antagonism between German and English character. Unlike Germany, England's acquisition of Empire had been conducted in a civil fashion and it was training the 'lower races' in order to adopt them into 'the great family of civilisation.'

De Hovre claimed that English education had stood the test which the war had imposed on it. Moral character training had ensured the survival of Britain and her Empire. As Ian Hay (Major Ian Hay Beith) author of The First Hundred Thousand told the boys of Fettes in 1922, the Great War was essentially a war of Second Lieutenants. It was the O.T.C. which had literally won the war for Britain and her Empire.

1. F. De Hovre, German and English Education (1917) p 53.
2. Ibid. p 54.
3. Ibid. p 99. The same point is made in W.L. and J.E. Courtney, Pillars of Empire (1918) p 27.
INTRODUCTION

The period of my thesis is from 1880 to 1930. However, I have looked at events leading up to and including World War II.

After 1918 the British Empire appeared to be stronger than ever. However, as H.A.L. Fisher revealed in 1923 in an article entitled Education and the Empire, whilst literacy had been achieved throughout the Dominions, there was little room for complacency. In Ireland, for instance, education was less than adequate he said. As far as universities were concerned

'Many of the universities in Great Britain and in the Dominions have not yet reached the standard which prevailed before the war in the universities of Germany.'

Fisher expressed his concern about the economic situation in Britain and the effect this could have on education and on the hopes enshrined in his act of 1918. Educational policy throughout the Empire he argued, was governed by a common fund of ideas which tended to be generated from Britain. The Dominions were quite prepared to follow British policy and adapt it to local conditions.

Fisher saw four main problems facing education in the Empire.

These were

1. H.A.L. Fisher, 'Education and the Empire', Empire Review 1923 p 579. Fisher was still President of the Board of Education when he wrote this article.

2. Ibid. p 580.
'the development of adolescent education in Britain, the strengthening of the Arts Faculties in the Canadian Universities, the raising of the matriculation age and such reforms as may enable London University to take its place as one of the great High Schools of the Empire.'

As far as Britain was concerned Fisher predicted that there was bound to be an increasing demand for more secondary education. The Cabinet early in February 1919 had come to the conclusion that

'The development of the population and the whole British Empire is the key to the problem of post-war reconstruction.'

To this end, Empire settlement was to be encouraged but as far as education was concerned the Labour Party were beginning to press for more money to be spent on secondary education. The Cabinet took the view that reconstruction was important but education was not deemed to be a pressing issue. However by 1920, the Labour Party's educational policy amounted to little more than a vociferous demand for more secondary education. It was an important demand as Tawney ascertained in his book Secondary Education for All. It would be wrong to suggest that no improvement took place after 1918. As the following tables show the number of those attending schools rose gradually.

2. PRO 24/75 G.T. 6846, February 20th 1919.
# SCHOOL PUPILS IN STATE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND AND WALES

*(as percentage of 10-11 age group)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>14-15</th>
<th>15-16</th>
<th>Total over 14</th>
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<td>17.4</td>
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<td>24.1</td>
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Source: Board of Education Statistics

# SCHOOL PUPILS IN STATE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND AND WALES

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<td>12,637</td>
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<td>1922-23</td>
<td>654,637</td>
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*(Compiled from Board of Education Statistics*
BOYS: AVERAGE HEIGHT IN CENTIMETRES

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<td>10½</td>
<td>129.8</td>
<td>135.8</td>
<td>139.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11½</td>
<td>134.3</td>
<td>140.4</td>
<td>144.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12½</td>
<td>138.7</td>
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<td>13½</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>14½</td>
<td>148.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>163.2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(Source: L.C.C. School Reports, quoted in S. MacLure, One Hundred of London Education 1870-1970 p 104.)
As the late J.P. Mackintosh observed, in the 1920s and 1930s the bulk of Labour voters had little knowledge or interest in the Empire or its problems. Only a few had ever encountered any Africans or Indians, and only then when serving abroad in some capacity or another. Mackintosh argued that the general attitude of the British working class was mildly xenophobic. There is a great deal of truth in this statement. However I think it is also true to say that this xenophobia extended to an acceptance that the Empire 'belonged' to them. Even in the 1950s Labour conferences would applaud attacks on 'imperialism' but the bulk of Labour voters agreed with the Conservatives that the answer to Nasser's nationalisation of the Suez Canal in 1956 was to send in the troops. In the 1920s there were still many advocates of the imperial idea. Whilst they tended to be almost exclusively middle class, among working people there was, I am certain, a strong belief that the Empire was something to be proud of.

A.P. Thornton has made exactly the same point. Whilst it is true that the majority of British people did not read the works of Sir Charles Lucas and other imperialists, the Empire remained for them the symbol of British power. Those left wing critics between the two wars

2. Ibid. p 3.
3. Sir Frank Fox, The British Empire (1929) vii/viii. The French, claimed Fox, might denigrate the British Empire. The Germans had done the same before 1914 to no avail. There was no doubt as far as Fox was concerned about the permanency of the Empire.
5. Ibid. p 2.
who considered the Empire to be totally irrelevant to the social problems failed to see that the possession of the Empire added another dimension to the lives of people. They confidently expected to retain it and the power and prestige that it conferred. Thus the xenophobia was not always of the mild variety. On the whole the bulk of the British people, including the working class, were fairly indifferent to Spain in the 1930s. At the time of Amritsar there was considerable support for General Dyer in this country and after the Second World War when many British people, whether working class or not, had come into contact with African or Indians their views were not always muted.¹

The Imperial Education Conference of 1923 must be seen in the light of the events of the Great War. The overall tone was set by the Duke of York in opening the Conference when he said that 'events conspire to make us all imperialists now.'² By far the most important item on the agenda was the exchange of teachers. From 1919 onwards, the League of Empire had arranged for unofficial exchanges between the United Kingdom and the rest of the Empire and no government support had been forthcoming for this venture. The Conference did not wish this state of affairs to continue. An exchange, as well as a supply of teachers, from the motherland was vital to imperial cooperation and unity. Education ministries and departments were to be held responsible for organising these exchanges. Payments and the transfer of pension rights posed

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¹ The British national service man of the 1950's soon picked up the racial prejudices of an earlier generation.

² Report of the 1923 Imperial Conference (1924) H.M.S.Op 11. The Duke of York was at pains to claim that the days of imperial aggrandizement were over.
certain problems but in spite of these difficulties by the mid 1920s a steady stream of teachers from Britain left to go to various countries in the Empire. The traffic tended at first to be one way and the number of teachers coming to Britain was much less. An Act of Parliament in 1925 empowered the Board of Education, with Treasury consent, to give recognition to membership of statutory superannuation schemes in other parts of the Empire.

The significance of the 1923 Conference is to be found in its endorsement of the unity and strength of the British Empire. The Empire for the delegates was much more than a vague political term and the theme of imperial unity and strength runs throughout this Conference. As Sir Charles Lucas pointed out:

'If we in Britain wish to know the true history of our island, we must keep the Empire always in sight and always in mind. Moreover if we wish our overseas brethren to maintain their interest in us we must widen and develop our interest in them. I begin, therefore, with an earnest appeal to the home education authorities to foster to the utmost the study of empire....

The British Empire is not a colossal expansion of original sin as some seem to think. It is a great and glorious achievement. It has set up a standard for Empires and provided a text on recognition of responsibility. I do not hold with those who, for the term British Empire, would substitute British realm or British Commonwealth.'

The 1927 Imperial Education Conference was to reiterate much of the points put forward in 1923.

1. Sir Charles Lucas, ibid. pp 190-192. Lucas was speaking on the need to improve history and geography teaching with regard to the Empire. His insisted that jingoism played no part in this. He recommended the work of the Visual Instruction Committee and the R.C.I. and the Victoria League.
'In the interests of the future solidarity of the Empire, it is imperative that adequate provision should be made for the efficient teaching of geography and history of the Empire by all Education Authorities; that to this end the provision of suitable textbooks and maps is essential; and that the Imperial Studies Committee be asked to consider this need in association with the geographical and historical societies of the different parts of the Empire, and with the university departments for these branches of study.'

However it was the subject of teacher exchange which was the central theme of the conference. Between 1924 and 1927 a total of 261 teachers went from Britain to the Dominions and a similar number came to Britain.

There were difficulties involved in these exchanges regarding pension rights. The conference felt that the Empire Marketing Board should establish a fund to enable more travel for teachers in the Dominions. However there was a need to ensure that there was more participation in the scheme by the Dominion Governments. An important outcome of the 1923 Conference had been the passing of the Act of Parliament which ensured that teachers going to work in the Empire had their pension rights protected. At the 1927 Conference the passing of this Act was welcomed, but delegates were keen to ensure that attempts should be made to standardise teaching qualifications throughout the Empire.

1. The Third Imperial Education Conference Report H.M.S.O. 1927 p 35. In addition to the three imperial education conferences held before 1939 there were five meetings of the universities of the Empire in 1912, 1920, 1926, 1931 and 1936.

2. Ibid. pp 10-12.

3. George 5 15 and 16

4. 1927 Conference Report pp 16-17. The need to facilitate the exchange arrangements took up a lot of discussion time.
This was the last imperial education conference before the outbreak of the Second World War. The economic events of 1931 and the rise to power of Hitler, ensured that no large scale educational event took place until the first Commonwealth Education Conference in 1959. However the links between Britain's educational system, the Dominions, India and the Colonial Empire remained strong and the fact that an increasing number of students came to Britain after 1920 is an indication of how seriously British educators took the task of preserving and maintaining these links. Sir Percy Nunn, the first Director of London University's Institute of Education, and his successor Sir Fred Clarke worked hard to improve the quality of overseas teachers, particularly in the Colonial Empire. In 1944 the University established a separate Colonial Department within the Institute of Education which was a natural extension of the work of the unified Colonial Education Service set up in June 1938. The journal Oversea Education, first issued in 1929


2. A conference of Colonial Office officials and educationists was held in 1927 which led to the setting up of a Colonial Advisory Education Council, see Proceedings of Colonial Office Conference CMND 2883 1927. London University became responsible for training teachers from and for the Colonial Empire. Sir Percy Nunn hoped to establish an educational institute for the Empire - 'an imperial training college for teachers' see Oversea Education, October 1931 pp 6-10.

3. During the years 1933-46, the University of London Institute of Education published a series of 14 studies and reports which dealt mainly but not exclusively with educational problems both at home and abroad. Many of these were on distinctive imperial themes. These studies are of varying quality but they indicate a concern for problems of Empire education. The reports include Educational Problems in the Far East and Near East, The Yao Tribe of Tanganyika, Arts and Crafts in the Training of Bembar Youth, Quebec and South Africa, Aspects of Indian Education, Education in Tropical Africa, Australian Education, Education and U.N.E.S.C.O..

served as a useful publication for all those educators who wished to maintain strong ties with the Empire.¹

One of the more interesting developments of the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley was the establishment of an educational conference on the theme of The Place of Imperial Studies in Education which was instituted by the Imperial Studies Committee of the Royal Colonial Institute. What is significant about this conference, held at Wembley on 26th, 28th and 29th May 1924, is the extent to which the role of imperial studies was discussed. Numerous educational and imperial organisations took place and nearly every sector of British education was represented. Almost 500 delegates took part and it is clear that the emphasis was on the need to understand the Empire. As A.P. Newton noted, the Empire was undergoing rapid changes and the schools and universities had to come to terms with these developments. The training of pupils to be good citizens, with some basic knowledge of the political and economic factors underlying the Empire, was essential. Further, he argued if 'Imperial Studies were to become part of the curriculum there would need to be much greater attention paid to history, geography and elementary economics.'²

2. Imperial Studies in Education (1924) p xii.
Speaking on the theme of 'Imperial Studies in Public and Secondary Schools', The Duchess of Atholl drew attention to the fact that when she had read Seeley's *The Expansion of England* at the age of 18 it had an enormous effect on her and this was one book which she considered should be given as a school prize. She knew that it was frequently given for this purpose at Eton and Harrow but not in the State secondary schools she came into contact with in Scotland. Indeed she claimed books about the Empire should find a place in the prize list of all schools to get over the imperial point of view.1

Dr Keatinge of Oxford University pointed out that the overall standard of textbooks on Colonial history was poor and that history should be taught as history and not as propaganda2 but there was little emphasis placed on this point by other speakers.

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1. Op cit. p 68. When the writer was at school in the early 1950's the most popular prize was *Scott of the Antarctic* by Lord Evans.

2. Ibid p 30.
Some Organisations Taking Part in the Conference

Victoria League
Overseas League
Universities Bureau of the British Empire
National Union of Teachers
Assistant Masters' Association in Secondary Schools
Headmasters' Conference
Association of Education Committees
Geographical Association
Historical Association
World Association for Adult Education
Educational Institute of Scotland
Association of Education Committees
Association of Education Authorities in Scotland
Association of Principals of Technical Institutions

Some Participants

A.P. Newton  Rhodes Professor of Imperial History, London University
Sir Charles Lucas  Chairman of Imperial Studies Committee, Royal Colonial Institute
Sir Henry Hadow  Vice Chancellor of Sheffield University
The Dowager Countess of Jersey  President of the Victoria League
Miss F.R. Gray  President of the Association of Headmistresses
Alderman Conway
J.A. White
Dr Robert Jones
Miss E.R. Conway
Col. Sir James Allen
Mr Benjamin Skinner
The Duchess of Atholl
Dr Albert Marsbridge
Rt. Hon H.A.L. Fisher
Rt. Hon C.P. Trevelyan
W.H. Fyfe

President of the National Union of Teachers
Bow Central School
Chairman, London Teachers' Association
Former president of the N.U.T.
High Commissioner for New Zealand
President of the E.I.S.
Conservative and Unionist Party Spokesman on education.
W.E.A.
Former president of the Board of Education
President of the Board of Education
Headmaster of Christ's Hospital

The sessions were given over as follows:

1. The Place of Imperial Studies in Education.
2. The Place of Imperial Studies in the Education of the Teacher.
3. The Place of Imperial Studies in Elementary Schools.
4. The Place of Imperial Studies in Public and Secondary Schools.
5. The Place of Imperial Studies in Adult Education
6. The Place of Imperial Studies in the Education of the Citizen
The overall tone of the conference is best caught in the words of W.H. Fyfe, headmaster of Christ's Hospital, who felt that educationists had to wake up to the fact that the Empire had radically altered.

'When I was at school, the British Empire was a large red incubus, an unconscionable excuse for jelly-bellied flag flapping, an insistent temptation to think of ourselves more highly than we ought to think and to look complacently down our noses at 'lesser breeds without the law.' But times have changed and ideas with them. The South African War sapped the blood out of that attitude, and the World War buried its bones!'

Most delegates shared the attitude that the British Empire was no longer a collection of conquered nations and the emphasis throughout was on that more had to be learned about 'the British Empire'. Significantly most speakers used this term rather than Commonwealth and Sir Charles Lucas took some exception to one speaker who pointed out that Imperial Studies frequently failed to inspire adult working class students and that they were not interested in the Empire. This speaker further asserted that many school teachers were not content to have history utilised in such a way to boost the Empire. Miss E.R. Conway replied:

'In my opinion the stories of adventure do attract children. I also think we undervalue the history of the British Empire....

I think, myself, that what we want to bring men and women who belong to Britain to realise is, that Britain has played, on the whole, a very high part in the history of the nations of the world, and we are not ashamed to say so. I find the working people are intensely attracted by the history of the British Empire, and they do want to know how things have been done, and how things have been won for the Empire. Since the institution of Empire Day in the schools, knowledge of the Empire has grown considerably and our people who have friends overseas are keenly interested in everything that goes on, and if those you meet who come from overseas are keenly interested in what is going on at home, do not let us all be led away by the idea that there is something ignoble in a little flag-flapping."

The nearest thing to direct Government propaganda in the schools on the subject of the Empire came with The Weekly Bulletin of Empire Study which was issued in 24 weekly parts between January and July 1924. The last issue of the bulletin pointed out that there were approximately 36 million people in England of whom 2 million were at school aged 11 to 16. The bulletin acted as good publicity for the Empire Exhibition of 1924 but this was not its main purpose. In the first six months of 1924 over 125,000 weekly issues of the bulletin were distributed, mainly through the National Union of Teachers and the Educational Institute of Scotland. The bulletin which had been devised by an Inter-departmental Education Sub-Committee of the Colonial Office, the Board of Education, and the Department of Overseas Trade, represented the work of many of those connected with various imperialist bodies but it was a strictly

2. Weekly Bulletin of Empire Study No.24, 11th July 1924.
non-party document. Its first issue had a message from Edward Wood, President of the Board of Education and subsequent issues carried messages from august personalities such as Sir Charles Lucas and Sir Frederick Lugard. Sir W.H. Hadow, Vice Chancellor of Sheffield University wrote:

'There can be no more urgent direction of our educational work, at the present time than that which encourages a more careful and exact study of imperial questions.'

Stanley Baldwin wrote of the need to know the elementary facts about the British Empire and there were similar exhortations from Sir J.H. Yoxall, General Secretary of the National Union of Teachers, and Professor H.E. Egerton, Professor of Colonial History at Oxford. The Bulletin was at some pains to stress the peaceful nature of the British Empire and claimed that there was nothing inconsistent between the subject of Empire study and a genuine belief in the principle of the League of Nations. The 24 issues were intended primarily for teachers and it was hoped that teachers would make full use of the lesson sheets. Considering that large quantities of these sheets were distributed free, and given the high standard of academic contributions by such people as

1. Op cit. No 1, 25th January 1924. Wood lost this office in January 1924 when C.P. Trevelyan succeeded him as the Labour Government's first President of the Board of Education. Wood became Viceroy of India as Lord Irwin and later became Lord Halifax. His attitude to education was totally patrician. See The Earl of Birkenhead, Halifax (1965) pp 325-326.

Mackinder, Newton, Egerton, Lugard and others, it would be wrong to assume that these lesson sheets went unused. The contributors hoped that teachers would improve their overall knowledge of the history and geography of the Empire.

Education and the Empire were bound together as Baldwin wrote:

'The spirit of Empire today is profoundly peace-loving and there is an ever growing sense of responsibility or trusteeship. It is important that we should not beguile of cant in this matter. It is a mere matter of history that the British Empire was established mainly for commercial reasons, and it would be idle to pretend that it is maintained altogether out of motives of pure philanthropy. Such a pretence deceives no foreigner. There is a danger that we may ourselves be deceived and no deception is so dangerous as self deception. All the same we do feel increasingly a sense of responsibility towards the children in the Empire's household, and we must teach our own children, that they in their turn whether they like it or not, have got to be fathers and mothers to an immense family. The child races of the world must be saved from slavery, disease and ignorance, cured, cleansed, taught and guarded. These are noble tasks. They call for knightly qualities in the governing races. Knightliness is the spirit we should associate with true imperialism.'

A.P. Newton observed in 1924 that:

2. A.P. Newton, The Universities and Educational Systems of the Empire (1924) p 274.
'Among the means by which the bonds of comradeship are carried down into the lives of all the vastly diverse peoples that owe allegiance to the Crown, the most potent of all are to be found in the universities and the schools. It is they, above all other agencies that must sway and direct the spiritual forces, the ideas, and the sentiments in which the abiding strength of the British Empire rests.'

This was a theme which Cyril Norwood as headmaster of Harrow proclaimed in 1929. For Norwood there was something innately fine in the national tradition of education since it had to stand up to the strain of the war. It was as commonplace he argued before 1914 to say that Britain could not compare for efficiency or results with Germany. The war had disproved that and Norwood claimed that Germany was beginning to look to English schools in order that she could learn the secret which eluded them.²

'That English tradition not only carried our country through the war, but to it we owe the acquisition, maintenance and development of our present Empire, to it we owe the fact that is of vital import for the future of humanity, that in essence it is not an Empire of conquest and exploitation, but of trusteeship, development and growth. It is free to change, to cast off the old and seek the new.'²

Later on in his book Norwood referred to the lead which the Empire gave to the world.³ The countries of this Empire were united by the symbol of the Crown.


2. Ibid. p 6.

3. Ibid. p 284.
They constitute an Empire which the logical realist would regard as a sham and which its enemies have repeatedly represented as one more supreme instance of the hypocrisy of the English, who put forward pretences as reality; yet it was a band strong enough for all its members to be willing to offer themselves in battle for the common cause.

As I showed in Chapters 4 and 5 the growing observance of Empire Day in the schools and the increase in school textbooks with imperial themes had become firmly established by the 1920s. There was opposition to these various forms of imperial celebrations but the fact was that these demonstrations of patriotism continued. The London Star on Empire Day 1927 pictured a school in Clerkenwell with children saluting the flag and a bull dog perched on a table. The Empire Day Medal Association - an offshoot of the British Empire Union claimed to have distributed over a million copies of the Empire Annual booklet. This organisation also distributed a vast quantity of medals as prizes for essays on the Empire. In May 1928, the Morning Post made the claim that five million children participated in the Empire Day ceremonies. That same year Meath took part in the B.B.C.'s Empire Day broadcasts and boasted that the Empire consisted of 460 million inhabitants 'bound together by love and voluntary union.'

2. Star, 24th May 1927.
3. Empire Medal Association Pamphlet 1927.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
Criticisms of Empire Day continued but it showed no sign of disappearing. 1 Another feature of patriotism in the schools after the Great War was Armistice Day and in 1927 the Conference of the British Legion petitioned the Board of Education to make Armistice Day services obligatory. 2 In the same year the League of Nations Union was concerned that Empire Day was getting out of hand and it deplored what it regarded as a resurgence of the military spirit. Schools should not be made the instruments for teaching about war, and classrooms should not be decorated with pictures illustrating the glories of war. 3

Whilst the left in Britain 4 were not slow to point out the effect of imperial propaganda 5 they were not averse in suggesting that propaganda could be put to use elsewhere. Fenner Brockway argued that film and radio should be used in India so that millions of peasants might be reached in order to broaden their mental horizons. Brockway also suggested that such propaganda work would make sensible use of the thousands of Indian university men and women in poorly paid jobs who could act as teachers. 6

1. Teachers' World, 3rd April 1928.
2. Ibid. 10th April 1928.
5. Anon. Empire Stories (1938). A good example of 'stirring stories about the Empire.' A.P. Thornton, For the File on Empire, suggests that the nationalist history of any nation, including India, singles out heroes for its children. p 22.
6. Fenner Brockway, The Indian Crisis (1930)p 206. Brockway claimed that Russia was already 'proving the immense possibilities of mass education.'
The production of Noel Coward's *Cavalcade* first staged in 1931 and his Empire ballad *Mad Dogs and Englishmen* celebrated middle class patriotism, nostalgia and an affection for the Empire and throughout the 1930s the Empire appeared to be sound and well. It is true that the strident imperialism of the 1890s was no longer in vogue but the Empire remained a symbol of British identity.\(^1\) Orwell, who spoke from experience made the telling point in 1937 when he said that no Englishman really wanted to lose the Empire because it provided a high standard of living for everyone. This, he claimed, was the real barrier to Indian independence.\(^2\) Yet one has to continually ask how deep was this feeling for the Empire?

One pointer to a strong imperial sentiment at this time is the formation of the Empire Crusade. Whilst it is true, as Taylor noted, that it was largely Beaverbrook's one man band, it should not be forgotten that the United Empire Party attracted 170,000 members and this has to be taken seriously.\(^3\) The movement was certainly strong enough to threaten Baldwin's leadership of the Conservative Party and one cannot ignore the movement entirely. The Second World War displayed a degree of imperial unity which was to endure at least until 1956.

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1. L.S. Amery, *My Political Life* 3 Vols (1955) Vol 2 pp 470-474. Amery wrote that in the 1920s it was necessary to 'kindle the imperial idealism of the working man and so seduce him from the false gods of socialism.' p 299.


4. Ibid. p 427. Very little of substance has been written about the Crusade or the United Empire Party. See also A.J.P. Taylor, *English History 1914-1945* (1965) pp 282-283, 333. C.L. Howat, *Britain Between the Wars* (1968) pp 367-371. The aim of the movement was 'to develop the industries and resources of all parts of the British Empire to the fullest possible extent, and for that purpose to make the Empire a single economic unit removing as far as possible all obstacles to freedom of trade between constituent parts.'
Amery's period as Colonial Secretary from 1924-29 witnessed a flurry of activity in imperial matters. In 1925 a separate department of state was set up for the Dominions and Amery held this until 1929, when Lord Passfield took over under a Labour Government. In 1930 separate Secretaries of State were appointed. Amery's close involvement with The Empire Marketing Board ensured that a considerable amount of propaganda regarding the Empire was distributed and much of this found its way into the schools. In his memoirs Amery states that the concept of the massive advertising campaign which ensued was not to glorify the power or the wealth of the Empire but to sell the idea of the Empire as a cooperative venture and to make people aware of its commercial importance by creating an interest and an awareness of Empire products. According to Amery, the campaign took the country by storm and was highly successful. Hoardings were erected throughout the countryside to advertise Empire goods, publications such as Macdonald Gill's Highways of Empire were distributed free of charge. The Empire Marketing Board produced a barrage of propaganda and as I have indicated earlier the fact that so much of it was free meant that school teachers were happy enough to use it. Other

1. L.S. Amery, My Political Life Vol 2 (1953) pp 347-356. A.J.P. Taylor claims in his English History 1914-1945 (1965) p 327, that Amery was 'able but a long winded bore', but his memoirs reveal a strong grasp of recall and they provide a vast source of material. Amery's exclusion from the National Government in 1931 was probably due to his strong imperialist views.

2. L.S. Amery, op cit. p 355. The driving force behind the Empire Marketing Board was Stephen Tallents. Kipling had suggested to him the need to use the modern media to make people aware of the Empire.
publications of the Empire Marketing Board included recipes for Empire products and a 'Calendar of Empire Fruits and Vegetables.' In addition to this the Board arranged over 2,500 lectures in its short life span and was able to establish a chair of Empire Economic Relations held by Professor John Coatman at the University of London. Grierson's film *The Drifters* was made under the Board's auspices and the film *One Family*, regarding the imperial ingredients of the Buckingham Palace Christmas pudding emphasised the cause of imperial unity. Amery quoted with strong approval the words of Smuts who said that the Empire Marketing Board was the 'one bright spot in recent Empire policy.'¹ Amery also took a strong interest in the Wembley Exhibition and he claims that he was responsible for persuading the Cabinet that it should be retained for a second year in 1925.²

Amery also took a close interest in another venture of this period. In November 1925 a School Empire Tour Committee was set up under the aegis of the Church of England Council of Empire Settlement to organise a British visit to Australia. At one time it was hoped to send up to 200 boys drawn from 'Public Schools, Secondary Schools and Public Elementary School and it was intended that nominations from the latter category should

¹. *Op cit.* p 356. See also *A Summary of the Progress and Development of the Colonial Empire* November 1924-29 CMND 3268 (1929).

². *Op cit.* p 340
be made by the leader of the Labour Party. Included in the Committee were W. Hamilton Fyfe, Headmaster of Christ's Hospital, Sir Cosmo Parkinson of the Dominions Office, A.R. Ainsworth of the Board of Education, J.R. Stuart MacLeod of the Overseas Settlement Department and Sir Hal Colebatch Agent-General for Western Australia.¹

The first tour in 1926-27, cost the 40 boys who travelled to Australia via Gibraltar, Port Said and Ceylon, £135. As far as can be ascertained the boys were exclusively from public schools or well established grammar schools. The tour to South Africa and Rhodesia in 1927-28 was led by T.L. Thomas a master at Rugby and later headmaster at Repton.² Amery took a keen interest in these tours. In particular he was anxious that Stowe should become the 'Empire' school and he hoped that the tours would become established on a permanent basis.

The driving force behind the Empire tours was Montague Rendall. Rendall is the epitome of the public school headmaster. Born in 1862 one of nine sons of a country parson, he joined the staff of Winchester in 1887, became headmaster in 1911 and retired in 1924. He was deeply affected by the death of over 500 Wykehamists in the Great War. According to his biographer:

1. I am indebted to Mr D. Simpson of the Royal Commonwealth Society for providing the material from which the above information is drawn. A concise account of the Empire Tours and the work of its Honorary Secretary may be found in the Royal Commonwealth Society Library Notes (New Series) no 226 April-June 1978. Papers and documents relating to the School Empire Tours are collected in the R.C.S. library. Amery also hoped that the newly established Stowe College would become 'an Empire school.'

2. The second tour was led by G.H. Wooley, a master at Harrow in 1928. Prior to this Wooley had been at Rugby. He was awarded the V.C. during the First World War. G.H. Wooley, Sometimes a Soldier (1963) pp 92-97. He led several tours. Wooley died in December 1968.
"His vision of a renewed and purified Britain and Empire, springing from the example and sacrifice of the Fallen, continued untouched by post-war lassitude and disillusionment."

On his retirement from Winchester in 1924 Rendall had left for a tour of the Empire on behalf of the Rhodes Trustees to consider how Rhodes scholars should be selected. Rendall returned to Britain in April 1926 convinced that links between the schools and the Dominions should be strengthened. His outlook can be gathered from an address he gave in 1928 in which he referred to the tradition of English public schools and the development of schools in the Empire.

"We have then, two large bodies whose childhood and boyhood have been moulded by similar inheritances, though one of them is more closely bound by its heritage of tradition.... What can we do to strengthen and perpetuate these bonds? Well, in the first place, the knowledge of the Empire in our schools is progressing at an incredible pace."

Rendall's biographer noted that until his death in 1950 at the age of 89, Rendall remained a staunch imperialist.

"He regarded the Anglo-Saxon race as the rightful leaders of the world, and those who had a higher secondary education on the English model as the elite of that elite."  

1. J. d'E Firth, Rendall of Winchester (1954) p 162.
2. 'Youth and Empire' United Empire Vol XIX 1928 pp 683-691.
3. J. d'E Firth, op cit. p 216. Firth says it is difficult to assess the value of the tours but much goodwill was generated.
Rendall argued that personal contact between young people in the Empire was worth a million textbooks.\(^1\) The organising talent behind the Empire tours was Margaret Mary Best who worked tirelessly to ensure that the tours ran smoothly.\(^2\) One thing appears certain and that is the enthusiasm of those boys who were fortunate enough to go on one of the tours.\(^3\)

According to Mr. D. Simpson some of the records of the Tours Committee were lost in the bombing of the Royal Empire Society in 1941 but those relating to itineraries form part of the archives of the Royal Commonwealth Society. The tours with numbers of boys (the idea did not extend to girls) were as follows:

1927-28 South Africa and Rhodesia (43)
1928 Canada and Newfoundland (34)
1929 New Zealand and Australia (45)
1929-30 India (27)
1930 East Africa (29)
1931 West Indies and British (22)
1931-32 Australia and New Zealand (22)
1932 South Africa and Southern Rhodesia (32)

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1. United Empire 1928 p 690.
2. United Empire 1942 Vol XXXIII p 22.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Country/Region</th>
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<td>Canada</td>
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<tr>
<td>1932-33</td>
<td>New Zealand and Australia</td>
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<td>1933</td>
<td>Eastern Canada</td>
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<td>1933-34</td>
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<td>1939</td>
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The 26 boys who returned from Canada in the liner Acquitania in 1939 were at sea when war was declared. The Tour Committee was not wound up until 1944. As late as 1947 Rendall was trying to get the Ministry of Education and local authorities to sponsor new tours.

The Rev A.A. David, headmaster of both Rugby and Clifton and later Bishop of Liverpool wrote of the tours in 1932:
'I have had no experience of them, but I can imagine the value to a boy in after life of his impressions, however imperfect, of boys and men and institutions different from what he has known, and of himself as bound to them in a blood relationship. So he begins to realise the greatest fact in modern history, the British Empire, a Commonwealth of Nations without a central constitution, a federation without a federal government, the product of natural growth rather than deliberate policy relying for its unity not on treaties and statutes but on a sense of fellowship symbolised in loyal allegiance to the British Crown.'

For David, and for many others, the Empire was not only a political phenomenon but also a spiritual fact of 'the highest significance to the destiny of the world.'

One of the more interesting public schools to come into existence after the First World War was Stowe. Its first headmaster came to the school from Lancing in 1923. J.F. Roxburgh sensed what the grandeur of Stowe would mean to the school and he accordingly set the school up on fairly traditional lines. However where Roxburgh differs radically from public school headmasters of the 1890s is that he saw the public schools as having a dual role. Whilst he believed in the existence of a ruling oligarchy, he did not wish to see British institutions remaining the same for ever. He had a gradualist philosophy and although he felt that a democracy had to be governed by a select elite he claimed that the public schools nevertheless had to maintain

1. A.A. David, Life and the Public Schools (1932) p 121.

2. See for instance Milner's Credo published in The Times 27th July 1925. Declaring himself 'a British race patriot', Milner hoped that 'imperialism should become the accepted faith of the whole nation.' Also J.E.C. Welldon, Forty Years On (1935).
'the tradition of conduct, bearing and speech which marks off the well-bred Englishman from others. The first justification of an Aristocracy is that it shall give leadership and service. But the second is that it shall maintain a standard of culture and refinement to which other classes can look and rise.'

This is a far cry from the views of Minchin, Warre, Almond or Welldon and Stowe brought a new sense of purpose to the public school. Roxburgh was also less conservative in his educational views than Norwood and realised that the Empire and the public schools were bound to undergo rapid changes. Nevertheless he had a profound faith in the character training aspect of the public schools as did Sir Ralph Furse who frequently referred to the qualities of chivalry which the public schools upheld. It should be noted that character training did not just extend to the ability to play games although a poor performance in this area could cast doubt on a person's qualities.

The influence exerted by the nineteenth century public school is present in several writings on colonial education in the 1920s. To take one example, Lugard argued that character formation was much more important to African native education than any other single ingredient. For this

1. Noel Annan, Roxburgh of Stowe p 57. Roxburgh's views on the role of the public schools are set out in Eleutheros or the Future of the Public Schools (1930) which is in the form of a platonic dialogue.

2. Noel Annan, op cit. pp 114-115, 125-126. The war had made a deep impression on Roxburgh. Annan recalls the story of the 'two pacifists' who burned the Union Jack on Empire Day 1933 and the publicity this act received. Roxburgh showed considerable tact and understanding about the incident. The Prince of Wales visited the school shortly after the incident.

3. See also Ralph Furse and Walter de la Mare in Sir Henry Newbolt, A Perpetual Memory (1939) p XVI.

reason he felt that the new African administrative class which would emerge in time would have to be trained in residential schools where the emphasis was firmly on moral instruction. This was exactly the same point made by Guggisberg, if character training was omitted

"the progress of the African races will inevitably become a series of stumbles and falls."

As I mentioned in Chapter 6, the establishment of schools, run on public school lines, throughout the Empire is a feature of the early twentieth century. The emphasis on character building was to be found in these establishments just as it was in Britain. Bernard Darwin in his book the English Public School written in 1931, defended these qualities. Those who attended public school he claimed brought away with them a manly straightforward character, a scorn of lying and meanness together with habits of obedience and command and fearless courage.

"Thus equipped, he goes out into the world, and bears a man's part in subduing the earth, ruling its wild folk, and building up the Empire." 2

1. F.G. Guggisberg, The Keystone, pp 13-15. Guggisberg had a much more practical approach to education than Lugard and the founding of Achimota in 1923 and his close association with the college reflected his views that an African elite had to be produced. Education for Guggisberg was the 'keystone of progress.' Character training was vital to education. For this reason he encouraged the setting up of Boy Scout organisations in the Gold Coast. See also Arthur Mayhew, Education in the Colonial Empire (1938).

This same point is made a little less passionately by Philip Mason that the public schoolboy who went into the Indian army arrived at Sandhurst already equipped to exercise leadership, ready both to obey and command.

However one American writer of this period, observing the importation of the public school system into Australia, felt that it was an alien corn. Such schools he argued were excellently adapted to preserve society's attitude to caste and class. The Englishman might point to the public school as the flowering achievement of English education but these schools transplanted in a 'democratic' country like Australia were a total anachronism.  

H.G. Wells was one of the many critics in the 1920s who claimed that the public schools, despite their increased popularity, were outmoded, no longer a crucible for Empire builders. However, even Wells saw that

'the ruling and directive English of today has been made politically and socially by the public school.'  

2. H.G. Wells, The World of William Clissold (1926) p 633. Sir George du Maurier wrote in The Morning Post 13th July 1923, that the public schools could be relied on when England was in trouble to provide 'a sort of Ku-Klux Klan or Fascisti.' Such statements were rare however but the public schools responded well in the 1926 General Strike.
By the 1920s more and more public schoolboys were going into the world of business and the demands made on the Empire were not as great as they had been in twenty or thirty years earlier but the character training of the public schools was still in demand. Games continued to be important.

Sport, of all types continued to be justified for several reasons. For those public schoolboys who would serve abroad, particularly in India, it was an essential part of their schooling, but games had more than one advantage. Sport played 'an enormously important part' in the lives of the British soldiers and officials who served in India. Exercise, it was claimed, was absolutely essential in order to maintain physical fitness and thus avoid illness. According to Sir Christopher Masterman of the I.C.S. who served in India from 1924-27, sport was important in the official's relationship with educated Hindus. Masterman claims he got to know Hindus of the educated classes by playing tennis with them. In the Indian army and the police there was always some form of exercise between five and dinner in the evening and games provided a valuable opportunity for British officers and officials to exercise and mix informally with their men.¹

I.F. Nicolson and Colin Hughes in their study of Colonial governors between the years 1900-1960 state that after 1918 no colonial official

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¹ For an interesting account of sport in India see Plain Tales from the Raj (Editor C.Allen) Chap 10 (1977) pp 129-140.
who eventually became a governor had gone to Eton or Harrow. Indeed of the 200 governors studied by them, 161 of them were not educated at one of the nine Clarendon schools. In the main they had gone to H.M.C. boarding schools. More recently Mr A. Kirk-Greene has shown that of the 159 British colonial governors appointed after 1900 only 38 did not go to public schools. Private education accounts chiefly for this number of 38 and it is clear that these colonial governors came from essentially middle class backgrounds; their fathers were ministers of the Church, army officers or colonial civil servants. This seems to have been the case for the Colonial Civil Service as a whole and as one former district officer Sir Kenneth Bradley has stated, the colonial civil servants of the 1920s and 1930s were mainly the younger sons of the professional middle class who had been given an 'old fashioned liberal education' in the Humanities. Their background, as he admits, was chiefly the public schools.

The Colonial Service relied almost entirely at this time on those who were public school trained. Later as both Heussler and Sir Ralph Furse have shown, detailed selection and one year at Oxford became more important. However, Furse maintained that as far as the public schools

were concerned the 'show' could not have been run without them and he possessed an uncanny knack of selecting the right public schoolboy. As C.A. Vlieland of the Malayan Civil Service has written the Colonial Civil Servant of this period believed wholeheartedly in the permanence of the Empire and cherished the belief that it was the best thing in the world. For Furse and others the key to selecting the right person was character and it was the public schools and games which helped to form this character. However the public schools were essentially educational establishments and whilst it is true that Furse kept in touch with individual schools there is no question of the public schools being specifically created to staff the Empire.

F.H. Spencer making the point in his book The Public School Question (1943) took exception to the charges made by T.C. Worsley who claimed that the public schools were created specifically

'to train an ever increasing number of future administrators for the purpose of governing a large colonial Empire.'

1. Sir Ralph Furse Aucupariaus (1962). Furse could rightly claim that he had had 'a front seat at the Empire.' Furse claimed he chose a man like he would choose a horse (p 233). Chapter 10 and 11 of Furse's book give a fascinating picture of the Colonial Civil Service's recruitment policy. pp 216-244.


5. T.C. Worsley, Flanelled Fool (1935).

According to Spencer:

'A few schools were founded to train lads for the Colonial Service. These schools were newcomers and did not create the tradition. The public schools, if we may believe the evidence available, were 'tough' enough before the day of Arnold, one of whose tasks was to canalise the pre-existing barbarism of his school, and, by example of others into a controllable channel. Mr Worsley seems to be obsessed with the idea that in the nineteenth century, their heyday, the principal object of the public schools was to train boys for the Colonial Services, to which most certainly a large majority of the boys say from Eton, Harrow, Winchester or Charterhouse did not go. Neither the old schools like Rugby or the new schools like Marlborough, Clifton, and Cheltenham regarded training for the Colonial Service as their principal object.'

As Leonard Barnes wrote at the time in *Empire or Democracy*, the Colonial official of the 1930s was remarkably free from jingoistic sentiment and was highly sceptical about 'the old clap trap about Empires being designed to spread European enlightenment in the dark places of the earth.' Richard Hilary in *The Last Enemy* said of his days at Oxford in the late 1930s:

'Trinity was, in fact a typical incubator of the English ruling class before the war. Most of those with Blues were intelligent enough to get second class honours in whatever subjects they were 'reading' and could thus ensure themselves entry into some branch of the Civil or Colonial Service.... We were held together by a common taste in friends, sport, literature, and idle amusement, by a deep rooted distrust of all organised emotion and standardised patriotism, and by a somewhat self conscious satisfaction in our ability to succeed without apparent effort. I went up for my first term, determined, without over-exertion, to row myself into the Government of the Sudan, that country of Blacks ruled by Blues in which my father had spent so many years.'

Writing in 1932 A.A. David, Bishop of Liverpool who had been head-master at both Clifton and Rugby asked

"What place can the public schools take in the national system of secondary education? At the end of the last century any suggestion of this kind was regarded in such circles with utmost horror. At that time any proposal for contact with the Board of Education was strongly resisted because it seemed to threaten ultimate loss of independence."¹

This was true, the public schools had no wish to be part of the general educational system. Those critics who argued that the public schools were socially exclusive seldom argued that they should open their gates to the populace at large. Sydney Webb was one of the first to observe that the public schools were part of Britain's system of secondary education but it was R.H. Tawney and other Labour Party educationists who pushed the issue.² However it was not taken up again with any great enthusiasm until the outbreak of war in 1939.

In his book The Collapse of British Power, Corelli Barnett argues that the evolution of the English public school had a crucial bearing on Britain's plight in 1940. He makes the claim that most of the administrators of the British Empire in the 1920s and 1930s, together with business leaders and MPs, were products of the public schools of the years between 1870 and 1900. Barnett states that with the exception of the Young Nazis or Communists, no class of leaders in modern times had been

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1. A.A. David, Life and the Public Schools (1932) p 115.

so subjected to a prolonged moulding of character.¹ There is something in this but exactly how one measures the success or failure of the mould depends on what criteria one uses. According to Anthony Eden, Hitler regarded the public schools as para-military organisations and thought they were to be admired. Eden's protests the Fuhrer regarded as 'patriotic deception'.² However the charges levelled by Barnett against the public schools have to be taken seriously. Did they fail the nation in 1940? The answer must be that they did not any more than they had done in 1914. The key to Britain's national character does not lie exclusively in the public schools and I would argue that it does not do to get things out of proportion. An army may be as good as its generals it is also as good as its non-commissioned officers. Thus the public schools were (and still are) an easy target for anyone who wished to fix the blame for the country's shortcomings on them.

At all times between 1880 and 1930, the public schools were subjected to criticism. There were few who wished to abolish the institutions outright.³ During the 1930s they came under increasing criticism from intellectuals who had, in many instances, not been too happy at them.⁴

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¹ Op cit. p 24.
³ Bernard Shaw, Sham Education (1923) p 359, wanted them razed to the ground. See also R. Barker, Education and Politics (1972) Chapter VI pp 98-119. It was not until the mid 1950s that the Labour Party began to seriously question their role in British society.
There was a tendency to make rash generalisations about these establishments. Grahame Greene's book together with Giles Romilly's work however had the same effect as Alec Waugh's Loom of Youth. As I have said, many of these books were simplistic in their analyses and helped to perpetuate the myth of Arnold and the equally distracting idea that the public schools had been deliberately created with the Empire in mind. This was certainly not the case but the fact that it was repeated meant, as Nicolson rightly pointed out, that people acquired a totally erroneous view of the public schools and their function in British society. The public schools were something more than crude and unsophisticated agents for the British Empire but they played an important part in its creation and development.

In his play, Forty Years On, written in 1968, Alan Bennett allegorically represented Britain as a public school, Albion House, which is undergoing a change of headmaster. The Empire has gone and Britain must decide on its future role.

'To let a valuable site at the crossroads of the world. At present on offer to European clients. Outlying portions of the estate already disposed of to sitting tenants of some historical and period interest.'

1. Nicolson's opinion on public school education and his patrician views on education in the Colonial Empire (Uganda) are captured in his Diaries and Letters Vol I (1971 ed) pp 285-287. Nicolson felt the British Colonial Service were doing a good job.


The two most distinguished writers of the 1930s did not fail to ignore the links between the Empire and the public schools.

Orwell and Forster were opposed to the Empire because they felt that it was unjust and reflected the crassest forms of hypocrisy. However both A Passage to India\(^1\) and Burmese Days\(^2\) represent only one side of the imperial coin. Both writers attacked the public schools, Orwell with particular vehemence. However it has to be pointed out that Orwell's experience was confined to Burma and Forster's to India. How typical are the portraits which they paint? Orwell held that 'booze was the cement of the Empire'. For Forster, the British public schoolboys turned administrators went forth 'into a world of whose richness and subtlety they have no conception.'\(^3\) Again, this is only partly true. The Empire occupied a far wider and richer canvas than the one which Orwell and Forster chose to paint.

Orwell also made the claim that as far as the Empire was concerned, the British working class compounded the general hypocrisy by not knowing about its existence. This seems to me to be a facile judgement. Orwell was the first to admit that in England the flag waving was done by small minorities, and that whereas the working man's heart did not leap when

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1. E.M. Forster, A Passage to India (1952 ed).
2. George Orwell, Burmese Days (1934) p 34. Orwell in his essay, England Your England CEJL Vol 2 (1940) pp 74-134 had some harsh things to say about the public schools and the Empire in this essay.
he saw a Union Jack, the famous 'insularity' and 'xenophobia' of the English was far stronger in the working class. I have argued before that English youth, particularly after 1918, could not help being aware of the existence of the Empire. Apart from geography and history lessons in schools and the work of various imperialist bodies, the entire range of children's fiction from Biggles to the heroes of The Gem, The Magnet, The Hotspur, The Rover, The Wizard and The Champion was preoccupied with the British Empire. Typical of this genre is the following introduction to Empire Stories (1938).

'The British Empire is the largest, richest and most powerful that the world has ever seen. No wonder that we are filled with pride when we consider that the Union Jack streams out over about one fifth of the globe and 400 millions of people of every race, colour, language and religion. How a small handful of people like the British built up such a mighty Empire is a thrilling story that all our boys and girls ought to know by heart, for it is a record of brave deeds in fighting, in exploration in trading, in missionary work, such as no other country can boast....

We have carried civilisation and Christianity into many lands, whose people have cause to bless the day when they went under the Union Jack.'

However books such as The Empire at Work series issued between 1938 and 1943 took a much more detailed and sophisticated look at the working of the Empire. What is discernible in the years after 1930 is that there is a greater awareness of the difficulties involved in getting ideas across

to school children. In 1934 a Joint Standing Committee for Empire Education Work was set up under the chairmanship of Dr. J. Drummond Shiels 'to coordinate and to develop the work of all the non-party Empire societies in London which include such activities in their programme.' The Committee's work seems to have amounted to nothing more than encouraging the flow of literature about the Empire into the schools and universities. By 1936 the League of Empire still saw its main work as being concerned with the exchange of teachers between Britain and the overseas Dominions. Along with Shiels' Committee, the Board of Education encouraged the League to continue its work in this direction and the 174 teacher exchanges in 1936 were effected as follows:

- Canada 75
- Australia 64
- South Africa 27
- New Zealand 7
- Newfoundland 1

According to the League's report since the inception of the scheme in 1907, over 3,000 teacher exchanges took place.²

The Royal Empire Society Cambridge Branch held conferences on the Empire in 1936, 1937 and 1939. In her address to the 1939 meeting which was attended by several Cambridge academics, Mrs Hugo Harper claimed she

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1. Universities Yearbook 1935.

detected a decline in imperial sentiment in the schools and urged that this should not go unchallenged.\(^1\) The Empire she said was under considerable threat of breaking up unless more attention were paid to the dissemination of patriotism. The old slogan of 'Fear God and Honour the King' was something which should not be lightly put aside.\(^2\) A similar but somewhat less patriotic point was made by some of the authors in the special 'Empire' issue of the Political Quarterly in 1938. An awareness of the Empire was essential if the Empire were to continue as a political entity and this was recognised by those who cared about the unity of it.

An Australian schoolmaster, John A. McCallum, whilst deprecating the worst forms of propaganda, wrote in 1938:

'Yet we must have Empire propaganda, or education, or both. And we must have some concept of Empire which can be successfully 'put over' to the unintelligent and accepted by the intelligent.'\(^3\)

The need to strengthen the bonds between the various Dominions became increasingly apparent as the threat of war loomed.

As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Empire Settlement Act of 1922 marked a success for those who continually strived to improve imperial unity. Over 400,000 emigrants were assisted before the early 1930s

\begin{enumerate}
\item Ibid. p 99.
\item An Australian Looks at the Empire, Political Quarterly, Empire Issue (1938) p 572.
\end{enumerate}
when, because of the depression, emigration began to slow down.¹ As Alex Scholes showed in 1932 there were considerable implications for British education in the fact that 'Empire settlement (is) the most urgent of national duties.'²

Scholes argued that schools in rural areas in Britain should not undertake the work of training pupils specifically for life overseas nor should they indulge in what he termed 'migration propaganda.' Rather, he felt, they ought to provide instruction in history and geography and in the principles and practice of agriculture. This, he said, would arouse an interest in life in the Dominions and would help to facilitate the flow of labour which was urgently needed in countries like Australia, New Zealand and Canada. Scholes indicated in his book that several education authorities in rural areas had devised a curriculum with Empire settlement in mind. The problem as Scholes saw it was for the mother country to produce young agricultural workers and fit them individually for the work awaiting them overseas.³ Youths still continued to go to Canada, Australia and New Zealand until 1936 but it is extremely difficult to obtain exact numbers for them.

2. Alex. G. Scholes, Education for Empire Settlement (1932) p 235.
3. Ibid. p 236. The gradual centralisation of elementary rural schools and the growth of secondary schools ensured that there was a decline in the teaching of rural subjects.
Army Education during the 1939-1945 War went to some pains to spell out Britain's imperial responsibilities. Pamphlets 3, 16 and 17 dealt specifically with the Empire. As Vincent Harlow wrote to the troops:

"In this vast range of human life you will realise something of the fascination, complexity and urgency of the problems of the British Colonial Empire."

These pamphlets were undoubtedly a serious attempt by the army and the Army Bureau of Current Affairs to give a greater insight into the workings of the Empire. Historians have pointed out to the influence of the Army Bureau of Current Affairs and the extent to which the lectures and discussion groups were used to get ideas across to the troops.

The Empire was held up as a civilising force in the world and the humble African was just as much a citizen of Empire as the British soldier. The question was posed 'What would the Empire mean to you if you were a Central African?' The answer is given:

'You would think of the Empire as somehow belonging to the King, far away and very great and you would think of the King as somehow belonging to you - your King. If you travelled you would find yourself a citizen of a world Empire and the Empire would help and protect you. You would think this a great thing for a humble African.'

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2. Pamphlet 3 Citizen of Empire dealt with the growth of the Empire, the Dominions, India and the Colonial Empire. Pamphlet 16 with the problems of self government and pamphlet 17 with the Colonies. The authors included Vincent Harlow, Professor of Imperial History at the University of London and Sir William McLean K.B.E.


Once the war had started and the Empire had rallied to the mother country, the concept of colonial trusteeship was reiterated in an official publication.

"His Majesty's Government are trustees for the well being of the Colonial Empire, and the spontaneous and whole-hearted support given by the inhabitants of every territory to the common war effort is the best testimony to their appreciation of the way in which the trust is being discharged....

Many colonies cannot finance out of their own resources the research and survey work, the schemes of major capital enterprise, and the expansion of administrative or technical staffs which are necessary for their full or vigorous development, an adequate standard of health and education services."

At this stage, even although Britain was facing the might of Germany the permanence and unity of the Empire seem assured. India presented a problem but even that did not seem totally insurmountable. Education for the Empire continued and although imperial patriotism in the schools was perhaps not as strident as it had been in the First World War, it was nevertheless present.\(^2\)

During the war education in the forces and the work of the Army Bureau of Current Affairs ensured that the subject of the Empire was not ignored. Thus, the **British Way and Purpose** put out by the Directorate of

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2. See for instance J.P. Mackintosh regarding his school days in Edinburgh during the war. **Political Quarterly** January/March 1970 pp 43–44.
The tone of these three pamphlets which were widely circulated throughout the three services is one of a spirited defence of the Empire but they accept that independence may come to some countries. However, as one writer claimed, there was no serious suggestion that Britain should pull out of her imperial responsibilities. Independence for India after the war was one thing but the troops were instructed to remember the weakness of the colonies.

"Nigeria with 20 million people has the largest population of all the colonies. Noting the fate of European countries before German aggression, do you think that Nigeria has the power to maintain her independence on her own?"

Even at the height of the war the idea that the Empire might not endure was hardly ever questioned. Welldon who was Churchill's headmaster at Harrow (1885-98) frequently spoke to his boys about the British Empire. At the height of the Second World War, Churchill received the freedom of the City of London and said in his speech:

"It is even more remarkable that the unity which has existed and endured in this small densely populated island should have extended with equal alacrity and steadfastness to all parts of our world-wide Commonwealth and Empire. Some people like the word Commonwealth; others I am one of them, are not at all ashamed of the word Empire. But why should we not have both?"

Therefore I think the expression British Commonwealth and Empire may well be found the most convenient means of describing this unique association of races and religions which was built up partly by conquest, largely by consent, but mainly unconsciously and without design within the all embracing circle of the Crown." 2

There were many who shared Churchill's views and they had learned this lesson in the schools and colleges of Britain.

2. George Bennett The Concept of Empire (1953) p.416
Some Conclusions  One has to ask what effect did all the various forms of imperialist ideology and propaganda have? Could they, in fact, have done anything to prevent the slow decline of the Empire? Imperialists, after all, were the first to warn of this decline. I have shown how, after 1918, imperial organisations from the Empire Day Movement to the Empire Marketing Board used a wide range of methods to interest the young in various aspects of the Empire. Given the obvious enthusiasm and dedication of the imperialists, it is hard to believe that it fell on deaf ears. Certainly, before 1918, all the evidence suggests otherwise. After 1918 the situation was less certain. Whilst the Empire appeared to be more secure the need to make young people aware of its existence became more sustained. Admiral Earl Jellicoe complained in 1931 that the Empire Day Movement was failing in its task since it was not reaching the working classes¹ but as I have shown there were many in the Labour Party and elsewhere who were concerned at the level of imperial propaganda in the schools. I think the facts show that more people tended to support the Empire as they increasingly came to learn something about it at school, if only in a vague sense.

However it was one thing to demonstrate a vague sentiment towards the Empire, quite another to work towards the practical application of imperialist policies. Perhaps this is why, as Orwell indicated, that Kipling's brand of imperialism in the 1890s offered a far more exciting prospect than that of Lord Beaverbrook and Empire butter.¹

It is true that there was an aura of indifference to the Empire but I think the majority of the population still took a pride in Britain's imperial achievements.² It was not until after Suez in 1956 that the Empire began to recede in the national consciousness. I would argue that it had been implanted there not just by the politician, the press and the new media of film and wireless but also by educators. The existence of the British Empire had implications for Britain's educational system both public and private. The Universities and the public schools had to adapt their curricula to suit the needs of the Empire. The Board of Education, the Colonial Office and the Indian Civil Service realised that an efficient educational service was vital to the maintenance of the Empire. For this reason, along with other institutions of British life, the British educational system was imported into various countries which today form the Commonwealth.

1. George Orwell 'On the Death of Kipling' in New English Review 23rd June 1936

2. Herbert Morrison who had helped to ban Empire Day in London claimed that he was proud of Britain's Colonial record Daily Herald 1st February 1936 quoted in Donoghue and Jones Herbert Morrison (1973) p 251
Those who attended school, college and university in the years between 1880 and 1930, and arguably until the 1950s, were made aware of the British Empire. There was a pedagogy of empire, it took many forms and varied in its degree of sophistication but if its tone altered from time to time the music remained the same. Education was fundamental to the Empire's strength and its stability.
Extracts from *Eton and the Empire* (1890).

Geoffrey Drage delivered this lecture to the boys of Eton on Saturday 15th November 1890. Drage, whose biographical details I have given on page 454 bears, at least in print, some resemblance to Kipling’s 'jelly-bellied flag-flapper.' However what is significant about his address is the complete assurance that Etonians were destined 'to conquer and rule others.' It would be wrong to regard Drage’s views with derision. They reflect the spirit of the public schools in general at this time.
Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Literary Society.

Speaking in this place and to such an audience I need not trouble myself to enumerate the different divisions of the British Empire or the wars and individual acts of heroism which led to their acquisition. There is no part of that empire, vast though it be, on which some Eton boy has not left his mark for good, there is no part where some Eton boy has not cheerfully laid down his life for his country and his Queen, and the whole empire in its present extent is in large measure a monument to the courage, the patriotism, and the statesmanship of an Eton boy, William Pitt, the great Lord Chatham. But the task to which I shall address myself this evening is that of shewing to the present generation the mainsprings of the constitution under which the empire grew, and the part that schools like ours have played in the past and must play in the future, if that empire is not to be counted among the things that have ceased to be.

The English constitution, that is the whole body of law written and unwritten which regulates the central and local government of this country, assumes as inherent in the breast of the citizen three public virtues, which have till the present century been the guiding stars of the English nation. English institutions are founded on loyalty, piety and patriotism. The last two expressions speak for themselves, the first needs further definition. Loyalty is obedience where it is noble, that is where it involves self-denial! It is in fact self-denying obedience to superiors and to that which is in England supreme, the law of the land. It finds its expression in the local self-government for which England is famous, as English piety finds its expression in the
national church, and English patriotism in the national militia, in the which every Englishman was and should be bound to serve. The history of English public law is the history of the development of the Church, the militia, and local self-government! On these three columns is raised the superstructure of parliament, in which those who lead in the Church, the militia, and local self-government, assist in ruling the state which they have first learnt to serve. Political rights are the result of political duties duly performed. The sovereign is supreme because the sovereign is at the same time the first servant of the state. In the eighteenth century political philosophers seeing how well England was governed attributed the fact to the parliament. They imagined parliament to be the creator instead of the creature of English political institutions. Hence in the nineteenth century parliaments have been introduced into almost all civilised countries, unfortunately without the solid basis to which they owe the whole of their value. The decline of parliamentary government in England has been very largely due to the decline of the institutions on the vitality of which it depends. The first step which the regenerators of England will take will not be to reform parliament, but to reform the national Church, the national militia and the national system of local self-government.

The natural tendency of the individual man is undoubtedly at all times to be selfish and to head up money. In order to have more leisure for this object the tendency of the present age has been to pay others to perform those public duties which a man is bound by our English law to perform himself contrary to his private interests. But money payments cannot take the place of unpaid personal services in every department of local self-government, of unpaid personal services in every department of religious and charitable work, and above all of
unpaid personal services in the defence of the country. These are the duties which the legislator has in the past and must in the future compel and by compulsion accustom those who have the privilege of being British citizens to perform. By the performance of these duties alone can the different classes of the state be brought to see that they have but one true interest, the conscientious administration and defence under the Queen and with God's help of the greatest empire that the world has ever seen.

I do not pause to ask what are the benefits that English rule has conferred upon mankind in the past. I do not lay stress upon the fact that it was England that broke the power of Spain under Queen Elizabeth and saved the world from a universal tyranny of body and soul, or on the fact that from that time to this her arm has always been raised in the cause of liberty, of justice and of truth. But I do point out to you that for the last century in the great continent of Africa, which we are gradually making our own, England is the only country which has never failed to turn an attentive ear to the cries of the down-trodden and oppressed, and for that purpose, she has poured out not only treasure but the blood of the noblest of her sons like water. I do lay stress upon the fact that it is our rule in India and our rule alone, which stands between countless millions and every kind of oppression, tyranny, and wrong. It has been my lot in many a foreign country to enter and examine schools and to find how well each scholar knew what parts of the English Empire should be torn from it by his own country, and to wonder with bitterness how many English boys would so much as know the names of the places mentioned. And it was my fortune in a Russian school, on asking what India was, to be told that it was a country oppressed by the British and that it is the mission of Holy Russia to liberate it.
I want to know whether every boy in this school is aware that in the words of a famous living German statesman, "If we lose Shakespeare and Milton and every other writer that has ever made our name illustrious throughout the world, the justice and ability with which we have administered India will be an imperishable memorial to our nation". If such is the opinion of a foreigner, what should be the opinion of an Englishman? Is there any sacrifice public or private so great, that it should not cheerfully be made in order not only to maintain but also to extend as far as possible the only empire known to history, of which the rulers may proudly say, "we have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, and we have striven to do justice to all men without respect of persons."

There has long been in this country a body of political philosophers called the Manchester school, on whose honesty I cast no doubt, who have held that it is the duty of this nation to decline any further burdens and responsibility; there has been and still is a growing party which makes light of the heroic virtues which have planted the Union Jack in every country and in every clime. We have much wealth laid up for many years, we are to be content to enjoy it, and give up the duties which that wealth imposes on us. Worst of all they have expressed a doubt whether love for the fatherland is a virtue, and whether we should not be ashamed instead of proud of our country, and this idea creeps slowly forward like the fatal horse of Troy.

Illa subit mediaeque minans illabitur urbi,
O patria, O divum, domus Ilium atque inclyta bello
Moenia Dardanidum.

It is then at such a time as this well worth considering what our history has been, what our country is; and I think that from such study no one of you will arise without a firm determination not to betray the glorious inheritance we have received from our ancestors.
The army and navy have always been favourite professions here, and I will not enlarge on the charm and romance that attaches to them, but I will remind each one who thinks of them that, with his regiment and his ship, he acquires a new responsibility, a new dignity, and new traditions that he must maintain, and, further, that the enthusiasm, which he must carry from here, must be such as will render him proof against any of the slights that superiors and above all permanent officials have from time immemorial in this country thought it their business to lay upon young officers. In this there is nothing new, nor is there any new thing that I can say to you about the noble and self-denying profession— with which I am told my family has been connected for more than two centuries and of which I am immeasurably proud—the profession of medicine. Those, whose talents call them in that direction, I may remind that they bind themselves for life to a mistress, who allows no holiday, who has no gratitude, and who shews them the ignoblest, as well as the noblest, sides of human character. One reward indeed they have, that, when all is done, when they have earned their bread and educated their children, they can look back and say with certainty, "We have appreciably lessened the sum total of human misery," and this is more than a barrister can say with certainty of his profession, whatever charms the law may have for her votaries, among whom I reckon myself.

But the careers, to which I particularly call your attention, are those of education, engineering, and of trade. With regard to the first, I point out to you that it is your business to use every effort to place the masses, who now exercise the vote and control the destinies of the country, in a position to use that vote for the benefit of the whole
empire. It is of the utmost importance that those, who bring up the younger generation of the lower orders, should be before all things gentlemen, and I use the term in the highest sense. What is wanted there, as elsewhere for the young, is not a cram knowledge of all the 'osophies,' the 'ologies,' and the 'onomies,' but a certain nous as Aristotle calls it, a tone and a code of honour such as is obtained here, however faulty the schoolboy code may appear to the complete philosopher. They must above all be brought up to respect their parents, a virtue which is dying out, and to respect themselves and their womankind. These are things which cannot be lectured into any one. It is merely by coming into contact with manly persons, who act on such ideas, that children adopt them. Such a profession will take many of you from luxurious homes to spend your lives among the poorest of the poor in the haunts of misery and of vice. Reward on earth you will have none; your friends will look on you as Quixotic, your enemies, if you have any, as mad. But here, if anywhere, the ancient motto "noblesse oblige" applies, and I say to you that of all the ways in which you can render service to this country at this moment, the most certain, if the least striking, is that of the qualifying for and serving in the humble career of a master in a schoolboard school. And I may add that it is in respect of our popular education that we have most to learn from our cousins in America and our countrymen in the Colonies.

For the adventurous spirits, of whom there are no doubt many here, there are untold new worlds in the realms of travel and of science. Africa is still practically unexplored. Two or three expeditions have made their way across the great dark continent, and many a young Englishman has already lost his life in hunting tours, undertaken to gratifying his mere love of sport. If half the time and energy, which
has in the last twenty years been applied by Eton men alone to sport, had been turned in the footsteps of Rajah Brook of Sarawak, this country would be able to reckon many an island in the eastern seas, and many a province in the southern continent, among the presents she has received from this school. Besides devoting your attention to bringing new countries under the Union Jack, there are great careers for the mining and civil engineer, in those which have already been subdued. It is not on conquest but on administration that we rest our right to rule. In this, as in trade, of which I would next speak to you, recollect that if you would be happy as well as successful men you must have some idea beyond that of your own purely selfish interests. Take to yourselves, you who engage in these professions, the idea of making some corner of the world more English, that is more thoroughly subject to the ideals by which we live, and you will find with that idea before you, perils and difficulties which seemed insurmountable, illnesses and the petty miseries of life which seem insupportable, will disappear from your path like the dew from off the grass before the sun.
Those of you then, who will in time join the ranks of our merchant princes, must remember that you join a body with great traditions, and never forget that any transaction, of which you do not in your heart of hearts approve, casts a slur on the probity of your compeers in trade as well as on your own house. At this moment the name of English merchants is in the commercial world of Europe synonymous with princely dealings on a large scale. Try to heighten and not to blur that reputation.

There are two more callings to which I must now direct your attention. No! there are three. I had almost forgotten that of the diplomatist. For him I am sure as for the lawyer, of whom I made such slight mention, the most important consideration is to keep the lamp of truth burning brightly in his soul. Be sure that the old maxim that "An Ambassador is sent to lie abroad for the good of his country," does not hold good for an Englishman. Your word as Englishmen is worth a thousand times more to you than any petty temporary advantages deceit may seem to give you.

But of the two professions now left to you besides letters - and for me the pen includes the pencil - on which I shall not touch, because "Poeta nascitur non fit," I will take the least difficult first.

If the future of this country is not to be shrouded in the deepest gloom, there must be some among my hearers, on whom the mantle of Pitt and Fox will fall in earlier or in later years. But beware how you lightly commit yourselves to the career of a statesman. Above all, recollect that John Bull, with his material common sense demands that a statesman should have a stake in the country. It is idle to cite great names to him. "Those," he stolidly replies, "are exceptions, and
who are you?" Poverty, as the Russian proverb says, is not a crime but it is twice as bad, and I say, let the poor man weigh well before he launch forth on a career, in which he can only become poorer. It may be that the day will come, when some of the nearest to him shall stand in need of money, the dross which he now despises to earn, and he in the bitterness of his heart shall wish to sell body and soul for their sakes and all in vain. I tell you that the bitterness of that moment is worse than the bitterness of death, and that the death of the best beloved relation in the world.

But this I only say in warning for I cannot convey to you with what anxiety, and yet with what confidence the eyes of all old Etonians are turned upon this school. From among you there must come forth some great ones to steer this country through the coming storms. In this great task all can help, to this all must turn their eyes, and if any word of mine written or spoken shall make any single one of you more manly, more honourable, more chivalrous, I feel that I shall not have lived in vain. But to that young soul among you who shall take up the great task of guiding the destinies of the old country or that of one of her children across the seas, when he emigrates, to him I say above all "BE SILENT". If you feel you can do somewhat, keep your own counsel even from your dearest friend.

I am not here to talk politics, but I will point out to you, before I turn to my last great subject, that it is the duty of every one of you to take an active interest and an active part in the government of the country. I have no sympathy for the finnikin milksop spirit which is afraid to lose its refinement in the turmoil of politics. Believe me, if your refinement is worth anything, it will stand that test, and what is more it will refine others. A man, who is so exquisitely frail that
he requires to stand apart from the vulgar herd on the pedestal we reserve for our womankind, is not only useless but he is a reproach to our sex. In every English speaking country you have the same duties as here, and in every English speaking country you will find two great parties. The one takes for its motto law, the other takes for its motto liberty. The former stands on guard to see that liberty does not degenerate into license, the latter that law should not harden into tyranny. Both sides have noble watch-words, both have noble traditions and a noble history. I do not attempt to influence your choice, but when that choice is made, which will be long after you have left this school, let your decision be final. Above all, which ever side you take at home or in the Colonies, try at all times to sympathise with the hopes and the fears and especially with all that is lofty in the ideals of other English speaking countries. Put away from you that John Bull spirit which induces us both as a nation and individually to tell the most unpleasant truths with the most tactless and brutal candour to our nearest and dearest relations. That brutality has its good side, a hatred of exhibiting feeling. I have often seen in distant places partings, which were destined to be permanent, between English families on the one hand and foreign families on the other. The foreign boy embraces his mamma frequently and weeps copiously. The English boy stands apart looking ineffably sulky and says "Don't paw me." But he is aware, and his mother is aware, that he does not wish her to break down, for his own heart is breaking too, and there would be, what he most detests, a scene, and he knows that nothing but his truculent attitude will prevent it. On the other hand this brutality has its bad side. The unnecessary repulsion of the yearning for affection, which blood relationship must produce, is naturally returned with interest, and leads
to the bitter feeling which our foes try to foment between ourselves and our American cousins. But they are in fact as proud of us as we are of them, and that is no light word. I tell you that there are among the rising generation over there thousands and thousands of chivalrous warm-hearted men and women who will eagerly grasp the right hand of fellowship, if you only hold it out to them. That you will do with most dignity when the storm which has so long threatened our country has broken. I rejoice that before it breaks America has begun to build a fleet, for you know as well as I do that, if in the midst of that storm a hostile fleet should attack her shores, a large part of our fleet which is already insufficient for the defence of ourselves and our colonies, would surely be detached at whatever cost to protect them. When that storm does break I need not say to you here "Strike home." If you fall, you know that Eton will send forth still better men to fill your places. Recollect -

Stat sua cuique dies breve et erreparabile tempus
Omnibus est vitae, sed famam extendere factis
Hoc virtutis opus.

There remains but one calling more. It is the highest of all on earth, and one of which I am unable, as I am unqualified to speak, that is the calling of the Church. Not many months ago an eloquent person called upon me, and desired me to direct the attention of a colonial government, to a certain abuse not unconnected with religion. I answered that it would ill-become a young Englishman who was travelling to learn, to criticise colonial statesmen, and could do the country no good, and my friend replied with a burst of enthusiasm, that I ought to live "ad majorem Dei gloriam." Sir, I am, I deeply regret it, unable to take that higher standpoint, it is enough for me as I told my friend, to break my lance, if it may be, "ad majorem Angliae gloriam," and to leave to higher natures, the highest human office. But I am here to
night to point out to you the better path, and, if I told you to be silent, should you feel a vocation for the service of our country, how much more shall I tell you to be silent if you feel a vocation for the service of Him "Who maketh the clouds his chariots; Who walketh upon the wings of the wind." In these days of morbid sentiment, of morbid self-examination, of morbid confession, of morbid fears for one's miserable self you cannot be too careful to avoid gush, to maintain a manly reserve in this the highest sphere and to keep the "mens sana in corpore sano". Here above all keep silence even from good words. Learn the evils mental, moral, and religious, from which your country suffers, and if there be among you, as I know there are, characters as noble, loyal and chivalrous as that of Galahad, blameless in thought and word and deed, to them in this place, if anywhere, shall come at this the darkest hour of our national religion the call which came to Samuel, and with that call strength from on High and words like those, which were spoken by the Lord to Gideon in the day of woe. "Go in this thy might, for thou shalt deliver the land of Israel. Have not I sent thee."

Strive to be ready when the call shall come, to whatever duty, to whatever sacrifice, in whatever part of Her Majesty's dominions. For you shall leave father and mother and wife, and children for your Queen, your country or your faith. You shall conquer and rule others as you have learnt to conquer and rule yourselves. You shall go out unhesitatingly into the uttermost parts of the earth, and you shall return, however insignificant your errand may seem, with your shield or upon it. You shall do your duty as Eton men. And may the God of our ancestors, in whom you and I believe, prosper the work of your hands. Go forth in His name and in the name of St. Mary, the patron saint of this College. Go forth and shew yourselves worthy of this high mission.
So shall all English speaking men of after times join in our glorious anthem - "Floreat Etona." May Eton flourish - Aye, and she shall flourish!
Appendix 2

The work of the Visual Instruction Committee marks an important step in the attempts to further educational interest in the Empire. There is nevertheless a distinct reluctance by the Government to become too directly involved in the subject of imperial propaganda. One significant feature of this Colonial Office document is the differing political views of those who took part in the work of this Committee which took a very business-like approach to the dissemination of imperial knowledge.
THE VISUAL INSTRUCTION COMMITTEE.

I. Formation of the Visual Instruction Committee

The Visual Instruction Committee dates from 1902. Various organisations in this country had drawn attention to the need for giving to the people of the United Kingdom and of the Overseas Dominions and Colonies a more vivid and accurate knowledge than they possess of the geography, the social life, and the economic possibilities of the different parts of the Empire. Professor M.E. Sadler, who was at the time Director of Special Enquiries at the Board of Education, and who in that capacity initiated a series of very valuable reports on the educational systems of the Overseas Dominions and Colonies, made suggestions for providing, on uniform lines, lectures of the highest standard, illustrated by lantern slides of the best quality, for use in the schools of the United Kingdom, India, and the Colonies. He had recently noted in the State of New York how much educational work of high quality was being carried out in that State, with the aid of public funds, in the form of lectures illustrated by lantern slides, and he drew up, at my request, memoranda (see Colonial Office Paper, Miscellaneous No. 150, December, 1902) which I was able to lay before Mr. Chamberlain, then Secretary of State. The result was that Mr. Chamberlain approved the appointment of a small committee to consider the matter, more especially with reference to the Crown Colonies in the first instance. At the same time a letter was addressed to all the representatives in this country of the self-governing Dominions to apprise them of
what was in contemplation, and to ask what steps were being taken in the same direction in their respective States. This letter and the answers are printed in Colonial Office Paper, Miscellaneous No. 152. The intention was not to propound at the outset any large scheme, but to work slowly and tentatively along well considered lines.

The original Members of the Committee, all of whom were appointed by the Secretary of State (Lord Onslow, acting for Mr. Chamberlain during the visit of the latter to South Africa), were:--

The Earl of Meath.
Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, as having had special experience of Crown Colonies and as being connected with the Royal Colonial and the Imperial Institute.
Mr. Mackinder, as representing the Victoria League.
Dr. R.D. Roberts, as Secretary to the Gilchrist Trustees.
Mr. Sadler, as representing the Board of Education.
Sir John Struthers, as representing the Scotch Education Department.
Sir C. Lucas, as representing the Colonial Office.
Lord Meath has always been our Chairman, and the following have been added to the Committee at different times:--
Sir Philip Hutchins, as being connected with the India Office and with the League of the Empire.
Sir Charles Holroyd, Director of the National Gallery.
Dr. H.F. Heath, as representing the Board of Education, when Mr. Sadler was no longer connected with the Board.
Mr. W.H. Mercer, Crown Agent for the Colonies, whose office has transacted all money business for us, and who acted for me when I was in Australia.
Sir E. im Thurn, as having had wide and recent experience of
the tropical colonies.

It would be difficult, I think, to find a committee of more
representative men including men directly connected with education,
and the fact of their joining the committee and taking part in its
work year after year may fairly be taken as evidence of the importance
of the work and the interest attaching to it.

The Secretarial work was at first done voluntarily, but after
a short time a member of the Second Division of the Colonial Office
was asked to take it up and was paid £20—later £25—per annum, on
account of this addition to his ordinary official duties. The first
paid Secretary was Mr. Hunter; his successor, the present Secretary
is Mr. Noall. The payment was first allowed by the Treasury to be
a charge on public funds. Subsequently, as from the 1st of April,
1908, the Lords of the Treasury ruled that the charge could no longer
be allowed, and the payment has been made from the subscribed funds
which have been at the Committee's disposal. The sum is wholly
incommensurate with the work which falls upon the Secretary and with
the intelligence applied to the work.

It may be added that from 1st January, 1908, to 31st March,
1911, Mr. Mackinder, who took in hand the preparation of the
lectures, was given £4 a quarter to provide for him secretarial
assistance.

II. --Beginning of the Committee's Work.

The Committee began their meetings in January, 1903. The first
memorandum which was put before them stated that "the enquiry is
intended to be, in the first instance "at any rate, of a purely
informal and tentative character." On my initiative, if I remember
right—for I had special facilities for interesting the Governments of the Eastern colonies in the matter—it was decided to turn attention in the first instance to lectures on the United Kingdom for use overseas, to invite a group of Crown Colonies to pay for the preparation of such lectures and the accompanying slides, and to select for this purpose the three Eastern colonies of Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and Hong Kong, which could well afford a moderate outlay on an educational experiment and whose Governors and Governments were likely to be friendly to an invitation of the kind. The result was the preparation of a "Syllabus of a "course of Seven Lectures, illustrated by lantern slides, on "a Journey to England from the East, Descriptive of the "United Kingdom and the Defences of the Empire." See Colonial Office Papers, Miscellaneous No. 157, August, 1903, and Miscellaneous No. 174, April, 1905. This Syllabus was submitted to Mr. Chamberlain and with his approval was, in September, 1903, sent out to the three colonies already mentioned, the Governments of which were asked whether they would each provide £300 to cover the cost of preparing the lectures and slides. They very cordially agreed, and thus the Committee had £900 at their disposal at the office of the Crown Agents for the Colonies, to whom warm acknowledgments are due for having throughout held all the Committee's moneys and kept their accounts without charge of any kind.

In February, 1904, the Committee, with the approval of Mr. Lyttelton, who had succeeded Mr. Chamberlain, asked Mr. Mackinder, who was at the time Director of the London School of Economics, to prepare the Seven Lectures and manage the entire scheme on their behalf for a fee of £200. The arrangement was carried out. A
specimen lecture was delivered by him in December, 1904, and at
the end of March, 1905, he reported to the Committee that the
undertaking had been completed at a cost of £690, or £230 for each
of the three colonies, instead of the £300 which had been granted.
The seven lectures were accompanied by 360 slides, and for the sum
mentioned each of the three colonies received 50 printed copies
of the lectures, two complete sets of the slides, and two lanterns
with apparatus.

On the 13th of April, 1905, a circular despatch was sent
by the Secretary of State to all the Dominions and colonies other
than the Eastern colonies stating what had been done, suggesting
that the lectures might be adapted for other parts of the Empire,
and setting out the cost of such adaptation. A copy of the circular
was also sent to the India Office, and to the Foreign Office for
communication to the Egyptian Government, the initial cost of
adaptation in each case being estimated roughly at £100, or £150
including the purchase of books, lantern and slides, and a payment
on account of copyright to the Eastern colonies as the owners of
the original lectures. The result was that the scheme was accepted
for India, for the West Indies, for West Africa, and for Mauritius,
and editions were prepared accordingly by Mr. Mackinder and duly
published. A statement showing the distribution of the several
editions will be found in Appendix E. Some 26,000 slides, in all,
have now been sent out by the Committee. Editions were also arranged
for Canada and for South Africa, but so far, owing to press of work
at home, have not been prepared. As regards the South African
edition, I recently spoke and wrote to Mr. Malan, the Minister of
Education of the Union of South Africa, while the latter was in
this country. The Indian edition was also issued for use in the schools of this country. In Australia and New Zealand the scheme was not taken up. Favourable reports have been received from several of the colonies which have adopted the scheme.

It may be summed up that the object of the Committee, acting throughout with the approval of the Secretary of State, was to provide for use throughout the Empire uniform lectures descriptive of the different parts of the empire. This object has in great part been carried out, although not wholly as yet, owing largely to the great pressure on the editor's time, which has so far delayed the publication of a Canadian and South African edition. That the scheme has not been more widely taken up in this country and in the Dominions and colonies concerned is certainly to be attributed in part to the cost of each set of lectures and slides, and to the fact that a voluntary committee with no funds at their disposal for advertisement are not in a position to push such a scheme of this kind so as to make it a pecuniary success. But the lectures now stand ready for further developments, and it may be fairly said that much work of a very high order has been done which will not require to be done again, and that the lines have been laid down on which when the time and the money come, it will be easy to expand.

The account with the Eastern colonies, which was lately closed, is given in Appendix A, and shows that each of the three Governments was credited with £112 8s. 8d., reducing the original grant of £300 to £187 11s. 4d.

The copyright of the original edition was taken out in Mr. Mackinder's name, and subsequently transferred to the Crown Agents for the Colonies in their own names. The copyright of the adapted editions was taken out in the names of the Crown Agents. The
following arrangement was made with regard to the edition issued in this country. The books were to be sold by Messrs. Newton in connec-
tion with the slides, Messrs. Newton receiving 10 per cent. of the actual sales, Mr. Mackinder, as the author, 25 per cent., and the Eastern colonies fund, 65 per cent.

The cost of a set of slides illustrating the edition for use in this country is £35. Out of this Messrs. Newton pay the Committee a royalty of 12\(\frac{1}{2}\) per cent., of which one-half goes to Mr. Mackinder and one-half to the Eastern colonies fund.

It may be added that a full set of slides has from the first been kept by the Committee for purposes of reference.

III. —The Princess of Wales's Fund.

In the last paragraph of Mr. Lyttelton's circular despatch of 13th April, 1905, to which reference has been made above, it was stated "that it is hoped to supplement these "lectures on the United Kingdom by lectures on the "colonies for use in the schools of the United Kingdom." When the first suggestions of the scheme were made to Mr. Chamerlain, he noted that "if anything is done, it "ought to be a reciprocal undertaking," that the lectures on the colonies ought to be paid for here, and that the lectures on the Mother Country ought to be paid for by the colonies.

When the lectures on the United Kingdom had been completed, except so far as adaptations was required for the purposes of this or that part of the overseas possessions, the committee were anxious to take up the other side of the scheme, viz., lectures on the overseas possessions for use primarily in the schools of the United Kingdom, and secondly, in each other's schools.

Early in 1907, Sir Francis Hopwood, who had recently been appointed Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Colonial Office
did much to further the object which the Committee had in view by bringing the undertaking to the notice of Her Majesty the Queen, then Princess of Wales, and of Lady Dudley. Under Her Majesty's gracious patronage, a committee, presided over by Lady Dudley, raised a fund amounting to £3,715 18s., in addition to the grant by Sir Owen Phillipps of free passages to the colonies served by the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company for the artist-photographer whom it was designed to send out at the expense of the fund to collect material for illustrations on the Empire.

Subsequently, in 1910, an appeal to the City companies produced £205, viz., 100 guineas from the Mercers' Company, and £100 from the Goldsmiths, while an application to the Rhodes Trustees produced £500 to be earmarked for Lectures on South Africa. A statement of the accounts will be found in Appendix B.

Having this money for their purpose, and having continually in view the importance of uniformity of treatment, the Committee invited Mr. Mackinder to undertake the work of preparing the lectures and the general management of the scheme, and selected an artist who was also a competent photographer to visit the Dominions and colonies, and bring back material for lantern slides, acting throughout under Mr. Mackinder's supervision and instruction. The latter was Mr. A. Hugh Fisher, who had been connected with the Illustrated London News and was a member of the Painter Etcher Society. The Arrangement, with Mr. Mackinder and Mr. Fisher was in either case for three years from the 1st September, 1907.

Mr. Mackinder was to receive a fee of £300 for general management, and £5 for the authorship of each lecture. Mr. Fisher was to receive £300 per annum, for each of the three years, with travelling expenses and subsistence allowance.
On his first tour, from October, 1907 to June, 1908, Mr. Fisher visited Ceylon, India, including Burma, Aden, Somaliland, and Cyprus. On his second tour, from July, 1908 to the end of May, 1909, he visited Canada, Newfoundland, Weihaiwei, Hong Kong, Borneo, and Singapore, returning through Canada so as to obtain views and photographs of the Dominion in both summer and winter. On his third tour, from October, 1909 to August, 1910, he visited Gibraltar, Malta, Australia, New Zealand, and Fiji. This last tour was to a slight extent circumscribed, owing to the fact that the fund was becoming exhausted.

On the 31st of August, 1910, Mr. Fisher's engagement came to an end.

On the 4th of June, 1909, Mr. Mackinder gave a lecture illustrated by lantern slides showing some of Mr. Fisher's work, at which Her Majesty was present, but owing to various causes, including the temporary ill-health of Mr. Mackinder, the publication of lectures would be completed by the end of the three years for which the arrangement with Mr. Mackinder had been made, and more specifically that a course of lectures on India should be completed by the 30th of September in that same year. The eight lectures on India, being the first of the series and requiring specially careful treatment, involved very great labour, and much revision, both official and unofficial. They were not finally published until the autumn of 1910, the copyright of the book and of the slides being taken out in the name of Mr. Mercer, as one of the Crown Agents. It was then decided that these lectures should be followed by three other sets of lectures, one on Imperial stations, including the dependencies in the Mediterranean and the far East, one on British North America,
and one on Australasia, that Mr. Mackinder should be relieved of responsibility in regard to these lectures, and that they should be prepared during the current year by Mr. A.J. Sargent, subject to Mr. Mackinder's revision and advice. The arrangement with Mr. Sargent is that he receives a fee of £100 for authorship of the three sets of lectures, and two-thirds of the royalties on the sale of the book for five years from 18th November, 1910, up to a maximum of £200.

It should be explained that while the lecturers' edition of the lectures on India was printed by Messrs. Waterlow, a popular illustrated edition was published by Messrs. Philip, the arrangement with the latter, embodied in an agreement with the Crown Agents of 28th October, 1910, being that Messrs. Philip should bear all the expense of publication and pay to the Committee a royalty of 10 per cent. on all copies sold. Half of this royalty up to a total of £100, and half the royalties on the sale of the slides of all four sets of lectures, is to be paid to Mr. Mackinder for a term of five year.

When the arrangement with Mr. Sargent was made, it was decided that the publication of the coming lectures should be offered to Messrs. Philip on the same terms as the edition of the lectures on India, and thus for future sets of lectures the lecturers' edition will coincide with the popular edition. The present position is that the three sets of lectures are being prepared and revised in MS.

It has been noted above that efforts are being made to sell the lectures, not only in connexion with the lantern slides but also in the form of cheap illustrated books, through publishers, Messrs.
Philip, who have special experience in educational literature, and in this connexion, as in regard to the scheme as a whole, it is right to put on record that the Committee have derived great advantage from Mr. Mackinder's high reputation as a lecturer and a writer, especially on geographical subjects.

Another attempt was made to utilise the material at the disposal of the Committee for educational purposes and to add to the receipts in the form of wall pictures for schools.

The Committee invited various publishers to tender for the reproduction of some of Mr. Fisher's paintings for this purpose and it had been hoped that Messrs. Nelson, who made an offer, would carry it into execution; but the firm appear to have misunderstood the intention of the Committee, with the result that the matter is at present in abeyance.

IV. --Present Position and Recommendation for the Future.

The present position may be summed up by saying that a great amount of valuable and suitable material has been collected which can and will be in one form or another made available. Further, the experience gained by the Committee, if in some ways discouraging, is at least such as is not to the same extent and of the same kind available elsewhere. On the other hand, less has been actually completed up to the present time than had been anticipated, and much remains yet to be done. It must be admitted that the sales of the Indian slides have so far been disappointing, having been almost entirely confined to a few purchases through official channels, and Messrs. Newton are insistent on the stimulus which will be given to sales and on the good effect which will be produced on the scheme as a whole, by bringing out as soon as possible the further sets of
lectures which are now in hand, for they argue that "any educational authority wishes to teach not only India, but the other great British possessions."

The statement which is to be found in Appendix C, shows that it may be possible with the residue of the fund to publish the three sets, but it will at best be barely possible, and it is not permissible to have recourse to the £500 granted by the Rhodes Trustees, because that sum, as has been seen, has been earmarked for South Africa.

The experience already gained seems to show that what is needed now is some arrangement by which the slides can be issued at a lower price and the scheme brought under the notice of teachers and governing bodies of schools in a more effective way.

Accordingly I am concerned to set out for the consideration of my colleagues and, so far as they agree with me, for submission to the Secretary of State, suggestions with a view to carrying on the work with success.

How far has the scheme gained or lost by being connected with the Colonial Office? It has thereby been given prestige which would otherwise never have attached to it. The connexion, it may fairly be said, has attracted a stronger and more influential committee than might otherwise have been induced to give time and attention to the subject. Through the Secretary of State and through despatches and letters from the Colonial Office, Governments in all parts of the Empire have been made more or less acquainted with, and interested in, what has been and is being attempted. The Committee's minutes and correspondence are printed by the Colonial Office Printing Department, the letters are sent out from this office, the Secretary is a member of the office with a small extra fee, the Crown Agents keep
the accounts. There is therefore no little practical help accruing from the Colonial Office connexion, in addition to the standing which it gives to the Committee. The connexion, too, has time behind it, having lasted for pretty nearly nine years.

On the other hand there are disadvantages attaching to the connexion with the Colonial Office. Under existing circumstances it is not so easy to push the scheme commercially, as it might be if it was in the hands of an outside non-official organisation. The long delay in bringing out the lectures on India was in a large measure due to the extreme care which was felt to be necessary, and to the minute revision which took place in the India Office and out of it, because the lectures came out to some extent under the aegis of the Government. At the same time the scheme is in a backwater at the Colonial Office, not being part of the regular work, and, as matters are, depends in no small degree on the personal interest of the member of the office who is on the Committee. If handed over to a private organisation it might well be not a by-product, but its principal work, with one or more agents and lecturers entirely devoted to it; and, on taking it over, the organisation might be in a better position than the Committee is at present to raise the additional funds which are wanted to carry the enterprise through and which may perhaps be estimated at £2,000 in addition to the money now in hand.

Any disadvantages which attach to the connexion of the Visual Instruction Committee with the Colonial Office would attach also to its connexion with any other Government office (e.g., the Board of Education), even if any other office were willing to take it over.

The alternatives, therefore, seem to be between continuance of the present arrangements and transfer to some unofficial body.
Transfer to the Imperial Institute has been suggested, but would, for more reasons than one, not meet the case. I had contemplated the possibility of transfer to the Royal Colonial Institute, who have lately been taking up with some vigour the work of lecturing on the Dominions and Colonies, but I gather that the work at present being undertaken by that Institute is not of the same class as ours, and that for this and other reasons transfer in this direction would not commend itself to at any rate some of my colleagues.

There remain among other agencies the Victoria League and the League of the Empire. These two Leagues are unfortunately not at one. The Committee have had relations with both, and it would be difficult to transfer our work to the one to the exclusion of the other. Sir Philip Hutchins, the representative on the Committee of the League of the Empire (a letter from whom is printed separately), while strongly deprecating any recommendation that the work should be handed over to the Victoria League alone, has suggested that it should be made over to a joint Committee of the two Leagues, but the views of the Victoria League upon this proposal have not yet been ascertained. If this is not possible, he would make the transfer to the Imperial Education Trust, a body which has been constituted by the League of the Empire, with full discretionary powers to further Imperial education in any way it thinks proper, which holds the copyright of the three Imperial text books published under the auspices of that League, and which from the proceeds of those books enjoys a substantial income and is able to bear the cost of the three sets of lectures still awaiting publication. If it is thought that this Trust is too closely connected with the League which he represents, he thinks there would be no difficulty about replacing (say) two of the Trustees with members of the Visual Instruction Committee, and possibly an Organising
Secretary, approved by this Committee, might be appointed to push the lectures commercially.

It must be borne in mind that no transfer can take place without first ascertaining what Her Majesty's wishes may be on the subject.

The possibility has been suggested of retaining the preparation of the lectures at this office under the existing Committee, and leaving to an outside organisation the agency work, the commercial side of the scheme, but it might be difficult financially to make any such division. Mr. Mackinder, however, in the letter which is circulated separately with this memorandum favours some such arrangement.

In considering whether or not transfer of the scheme from the Colonial Office to a non-official organisation would be advisable, an important point is whether, if the connexion with the Colonial Office were severed, the members of the present Committee would continue to serve, and I apprehend that some of them at any rate would not, which I consider a great misfortune, for I have tried already to emphasise that the continuous attention which has been given to the scheme by experts of high standing is perhaps the most valuable feature of it. On the other hand I find it most difficult to conclude that the scheme can find its permanent home in the Colonial Office.

Assuming that it were decided to transfer the work to an outside organisation, I think the decision as to what organisation it should be must depend largely on the extent to which the Committee's funds are likely to be supplemented.

C.P.L.

September 1911.
APPENDIX 3

This extract from *The Public Schools from Within* (1906), which I have referred to in Chapter 3, is by the Rev J.P. Way, D.D., Headmaster of Rossall. Rossall claimed to be the first public school to have a school corps but Eton, Harrow, Marlborough and Winchester soon followed in the same year - 1860.

The influence of Baden-Powell and the lessons of the Boer War are apparent in Dr Way's appeal to arms. It is interesting to see how he stresses not just national defence but the importance of imperial defence.
England loves peace, and rightly. Yet to love peace overmuch is to provoke war. The humorous press delights to represent John Bull in its cartoons as a rotund and comfortable personality, evidently quite unfit to run a race or wrestle for his life. He wears old-fashioned dress, he fingers a well-filled purse, and looks altogether a tempting prize for any highwayman. The picture is all too true. A true joke is no joke. It represents a really serious state of affairs, when one remembers that the 'law of the jungle' still holds sway, despite our boasted civilisation. If England wishes to maintain her own, she needs to grapple more vigorously with the problem of defence. She needs to train every citizen to be ready to take his share in the defence of his country against a real danger, the greatest she has ever had to face.

A military training on a far larger scale than she has ever before attempted is absolutely needed. It is a matter of life and death. We are apt to think our shores impregnable. This is not so certain as once we imagined. Vessels go thirty miles an hour nowadays. Our rivals at any rate have thought the invasion of England a matter worth serious discussion; academically, of course, at present. But, even if the coast of England can be kept inviolate, and our fleet can maintain the command of the sea, and our food supply be assured, the size of the British Empire provides many vulnerable points. Our Empire is continental as well as insular. Lord Roberts in his impressive speech before the London Chamber of Commerce, in August, 1905, has made quite clear the terrible risk we run. Even international rivalry in trade is itself a great danger. Very soon, with the growth of population, it may become a struggle for the necessaries of life. It is quite evident that the Empire needs the personal service of its own sons. It is a matter of vital importance that some universal system of military training should be established in England. If not
compulsory, it must be at least comprehensive.

To some this seems a terrible thing. Yet military training in itself is a good thing. Experience has shewn that it is a blessing and not a curse, especially to that portion of the community which would otherwise grow up untrained and undisciplined. There is plenty of testimony as to this. Organisations, such as the Church Lads' Brigade, have deliberately selected military training as a missionary agent, and found it of immense value. The public conscience has been concerned of late with the supposed signs of physical degeneration. Military training is one of the best remedies. Those who have seen its effect know well how astonishing an improvement in the physique of ill-grown and weedy boys is the result of only two or three months physical training. If Englishmen are to hold their own in the competition of the nations, a healthy body is the first requisite.

Again, there is the 'hooliganism' which has caused grave concern. Those who have tried to devise a specific to cope with this disease have found the military system invaluable. In a very short time it gives habits of discipline, cleanliness, and self respect. It is ten thousand times better than imprisonment or the cat o'nine tails.

Even when it comes to practising a craft, the military training has shewn its value. Sir Joseph Whitworth once said that the labour of a man who had gone through a course of military training was worth 1/6 a week more than that of the untrained man. The training gives promptitude, attention, and capacity for joining in combined action. The great manufacturers on the continent, such as Krupp, have borne the same testimony. Here the conscription, which we dread above all things, has done much for the continental nations by improving physique and instilling habits of punctuality, readiness to take trouble and respect for authority. It has even been utilized to provide a spur for the idleness of boyhood.
In England things move slowly - too slowly in the face of danger. Yet, if the nation hangs back the schools seem to be going on. So far, the military training in the schools has been mainly confined to those schools which maintain a corps and, in these schools, to those who are energetic and patriotic enough to join the corps. Now, however, a new departure has taken place. At Bradfield and Rossall and possibly other schools, the elements of military drill have been taught for some years past to the rest of the school, the civilians outside the corps. The custom is spreading and under the influence of the recent appeal made by Lord Roberts, some twenty or thirty schools now drill all their boys. Some schools are more fortunate than others. Some, for instance, have as many as three ex-army sergeants permanently retained - the School Sergeant, the Sergeant in charge of the Gymnasium or Baths, and a third, the Sergeant of the Cadet Corps. With these it is possible to give the civilian contingent a drilling which is quite first rate. The employment of Army Sergeants in various capacities about a school is to be recommended on a great many grounds. They are the pick of the army, and could easily replace some of the civilians already employed. As for the drilling, it certainly does the boys much good. It gives them an upright carriage, expands the chest, removes the slouch, and trains them to be attentive to the word of command and quick in obeying it. The drill is not found to interfere either with school work or with school games. Half-an-hour's drill twice a week throughout the year is found to be quite sufficient to teach a squad the elements. An elaborate system of drill is not deemed necessary. If more is required more time can be given still without interfering with work or games.

This may, however, be more difficult at day schools, where work does not begin till 9 a.m., and boys have to spend time travelling to and fro between school and home. Still, it is hoped it will not be long before a military training will be a recognised part of all school training. There will then
be less need of conscription. Every boy in the elementary schools, and also in the secondary schools, including the larger public schools, will have received a military training which is both physically and morally beneficial. Thus will be provided, against the hour of need, a great citizen army, an army destined for defence not for aggression. It will embrace nearly all the manhood of England.

More, however, is needed than drill. We have to be practical. Drill is little good without shooting. Good shooting, even without drill, was found all too effective in the Boer War. Though it is a great thing that universal drill has become the custom in so many schools, it is infinitely more important that some practice in shooting should be made part of the routine of every school. This is already the case at Uppingham, Harrow, Rossall, Glenalmond, Repton, and Dover. It is no new idea. History tells of a time when the practice of archery was encouraged by Act of Parliament even in the schools, as the Shooting Fields at Eton and the Butts at Harrow bear witness. Neglect be it noted, was punishable by a fine.

It is greatly to be desired that more schools would encourage rifle practice. There have been difficulties in the way. It has been wished, for instance to preserve the shooting as one of the privileges of the Cadet Corps. Then there has been the cost of the ammunition, the difficulty of finding a range close at hand, or of providing enough butts on the range to render it possible to pass, perhaps, several hundred boys through their shooting course in the limited time available. It has, however, been discovered that practice with a miniature rifle at a miniature target with miniature bullets at thirty yards range is almost as good a training for a boy as the practice with the full sized rifle. These small rifles are of two classes - air rifles and powder rifles. Where the miniature air rifle is used, the cost of the rifle, and of the ammunition, and the labour
required for cleaning, are reduced to a minimum. The rifles in which powder is used require more cleaning, and the ammunition costs more. It is a great advantage that the miniature rifle is only useful at short range. Little space is needed. The element of danger is all but eliminated. It is possible to put several ranges side by side, with a partition between each if necessary. If the civilians use the miniature rifle, the use of the full-sized rifle can be retained as the privilege of the Cadet Corps.

Some day, perhaps, the Board of Education will require all this as an essential part of every English boy's physical education. The Government will then, it is hoped, find rifles and ammunition; and, above all, will use their great powers to compel the provision of ranges. This is of vital importance. Meanwhile, the Volunteer Cadet Corps are invaluable to the nation. Everything should be done to encourage them. Privileges may well be reserved for those whose patriotism is willing to take so much trouble and incur so much expense. At all schools they alone are given the right to wear the King's uniform. They alone have the privilege of attending field days. These are generally held in some attractive piece of country, and provide the corps with an outing, which is a useful experience, and certainly a very enjoyable holiday. In some schools, as at Rossall, the members of the corps have also the privilege of the use of the baths as a drill hall in winter time. The water is turned off, and the bath boarded over with a stout platform supported by trestles. Here with winter hours are enlivened by spirited competitions between the various houses in physical drill and squad drill. It is an interesting sight to see the boy sergeants of the houses, each in their turn, march and countermarch their squads backwards and forwards across the drill hall at the word of command, unravelling difficult situations, and managing the whole squad as if it were a single individual.
APPENDIX 4

Essays on Duty and Discipline appeared in October 1910 edited by Lord Meath. They provide an interesting insight into the literature of education and the Empire. Between 1910 and 1911, five editions of the book appeared. I refer to several of the essays in my main text.

After 1911 there were several other reprints made of the 1911 edition. Another important feature of these essays is that they were frequently issued separately and distributed in the schools.
NOTE

The Essays of the Duty and Discipline Series have been published with the object of drawing public attention to the very generally acknowledged growth of indiscipline amongst British children of all classes, to the decay among many of them of a sense of duty, and to the apparent gradual disappearance of the ancient British determination to overcome difficulties by the force of a strong will, which declined under all circumstances to recognise even the possibility of defeat.

The Publishers have attempted to bring together the views on the above subject of leading men and women representative of different, and sometimes opposing, sections of thought and of society, united only in the belief that the above-mentioned evils are real, and constitute a serious danger to Society and the State. Having done this, the Publishers consider that their work is at an end. They have no theories to advance and no remedies to recommend. They decline responsibility for any opinions expressed by the writers, and inasmuch as the latter are bound by no bond other than that already mentioned, it is obvious that they cannot be held responsible for any opinions to be found in the above series other than those expressed in their own papers.
Your perusal of the series of Essays entitled "Duty and Discipline" is earnestly requested.

This series is being published, not for profit, but with a view to counteract the lack of adequate moral training and discipline, the effects of which are so apparent in these days amongst many British children, in rich as well as in poor homes.

Where such conditions are not apparent, it is yet advisable to closely scrutinise present educational and social developments, lest relaxed discipline, false sentiment, or an immoderate pursuit of pleasure should tend to weaken the moral fibre of the children.

The writers feel strongly that the present juvenile indiscipline is a serious social danger, and a peril to the permanent security of the Empire. In this view they are supported by many men and women eminent in varying lines of thought and action, some of whose names appear below, and whose actual expressions of opinion concerning this work, together with many others, will be found in the Appendix to this volume.

You are particularly requested to refer to these pages.

THE LATE VERY REV. HERMANN ADLER, D.D., PH.D., LL.D.
(Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire).

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH,


vii
Admiral the Lord Charles Beresford, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., M.P.
General Booth, LL.D. (Founder of the Salvation Army).
The Right Hon. Louis Botha, P.C., LL.D. (Premier of the Union of South Africa).
His Eminence Cardinal Bourne (Archbishop of Westminster).
The Right Hon. the Earl Brassey, G.C.B., D.C.L., etc. (late Governor of Victoria, Australia).
The Rev. Charles Brown (President of the National Free Church Council).
The Right Hon. John Burns, P.C., M.P. (President of the Local Government Board).
His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.
The Rev. Prebendary Carlile (Founder of the Church Army).
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Carpentaria, D.D. (Australia).
The Right Hon. the Earl Curzon, P.C., G.C.S.I.
The Right Hon. the Lord De Villiers, P.C., K.C.M.G. (Chief Justice of the Union of South Africa).
His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, P.C.
Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, D.L., LL.D.
The Viscount Esher, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., D.L. (Permanent Member of the Committee of Imperial Defence).
Mrs. Henry Fawcett, L.L.D.

Sir William Hall-Jones, K.C.M.G. (High Commissioner of New Zealand).


The Right Hon. the Lord George Hamilton, P.C., G.C.S.I.


The Lord Kinnaird, F.R.G.S., D.L., etc.

Rudyard Kipling, Esq., LL.D.

Field-Marshal the Right Hon. the Viscount Kitchener of Khartum, K.P., O.M., G.C.S.I., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., etc.


The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London, D.D.

The Right Hon. the Marquis of Londonderry, P.C., G.C.V.O. (formerly Minister of Education and Chairman of the London School Board).


Sir Donald MacAlister, K.C.B., M.D., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. (Principal and Vice-Chancellor of Glasgow University).

The Right Hon. the Lord Macdonnell, P.C., G.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., D.C.L.


The Rev. Frederick Bretherton Meyer, B.A., D.D. (President of the National Federation of Free Churches, 1904; Hon. Secretary of the National Free Church Council, etc.).

The Right Hon. the Viscount Milner, P.C., G.C.M.G., etc.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Northampton (R.C.).

Professor Sir William Osler, Bart., M.D., LL.D., D.Sc., F.R.C.P., F.R.S. (Regius Professor of Medicine, Oxford).


The Right Hon. the Lord Pentland, P.C. (Secretary for Scotland).
Should you approve of these Essays, it is hoped that you will (a) show them to your friends; (b) enclose them in your correspondence; (c) when possible, order further copies for distribution by post or at meetings, etc.

A Movement has recently been started to bring the principles enunciated in the Essays into practical touch with the family and school life of the nation. As Hon. Sec. of this Movement, I shall be pleased to send particulars concerning it to any who care to apply to me.

(Signed) Isabel Marris,
Secretary of "The Duty and Discipline" Series,
31 Sutherland Place, Westbourne Grove,
London, W.
This extract from C.R.L. Fletcher and Rudyard Kipling's work *A History of England* first published in 1911 is typical of many of the textbooks of the pre-war period. As I have indicated in Chapter 5 this was a very influential book and also an enduring one. It reflected the enthusiasm for Empire and at the same time delivered a warning to the youth of Britain to be prepared for the coming war.
The next point to which I must direct your attention is the growth of the British Empire. Soon after Victoria became Queen a cry for "self-government" began to be heard from the Colonies. There were five-and-forty British Colonies all told, and the joke went round that they were governed by three-and-twenty clerks of the 'Colonial Office' in Downing Street, London. This was not quite true, as most of our colonies had little councils of their own, which in some cases were even elected. It was in Canada that the cry for a more free system first arose. Many of the inhabitants of its two provinces were of old French descent, and spoke, as they still speak, French. There were mutterings of rebellion out there, and threats that the Canadians would join the United States of America. In order to prevent this and to satisfy the Canadians, the experiment was tried in 1840 of giving them the beginnings of a regular Parliament like our own, with a ministry responsible to that Parliament and named by a Governor representing the Crown.

The gradual extension of the Dominion of Canada to include the territories known as Ontario and British Columbia right up to the island of Vancouver, was the work of the middle period of Victoria's reign; and during the same period the United States of America were extended Westwards and ever more Westwards till they reached the Pacific Ocean. In 'British North America', Newfoundland now alone remains a colony separated from the 'Dominion of Canada' and with a Parliament of its own.

In Canada we had really little difficulty in making good friends with our new French subjects, for they hated and feared the pushing Americans, whose territory lay to the South, and they knew that we would defend them against these men. In Australia we had nothing but a few miserable blacks, who could hardly use even bows and arrows in fight. In New Zealand we had a more warlike branch of the same race, called the Maoris, to deal with. But in South Africa we had not only really fierce savages like Zulus and Kaffirs, but also a large population of Dutch farmers and traders, who have been settled there since the middle of the seventeenth century.

These were called the 'Boers'; they thoroughly disliked our rule, and they were continually retiring farther and farther from Capetown into the interior of the continent.
They treated the native Kaffirs very badly, and objected when we tried to protect these against them. Besides 'Cape Colony' (at the Cape of Good Hope itself), there were Dutch or half-Dutch States at Natal, on the Orange River, and beyond the Vaal River. One by one, in the reign of Victoria, each of these was annexed by Great Britain, and the last years of our great Queen were made sorrowful by the war which we had to fight against these brave, dogged and cunning Dutch farmers of the Transvaal. This war, though against a mere handful of men, strained the resources of Great Britain to the utmost; it showed us how very badly equipped we were for war upon any serious scale; but it also led to a great outburst of patriotism all over the Empire, and our other colonies sent hundreds of their best young men to help us. In the end we won, and peace was signed in 1902; a 'Federation' of all the South African colonies with a central Parliament at Capetown has recently been concluded, and the hatred between British and Dutch is now almost a thing of the past. South Africa owes its recent prosperity more to the discovery of great gold and diamond mines than to agriculture; but almost anything can be grown there.

The vast territory of Rhodesia, in the centre of the dark continent of Africa, and the British 'Protectorates' of Uganda, British East Africa and British Central Africa farther to the North, are still, as yet, more or less undeveloped; but great things may be expected of all of them, both as agricultural, commercial and mining colonies. The natives everywhere welcome the mercy and justice of our rule, and they are no longer liable, as they were before we came, to be carried off as slaves by Arab slave-dealers.

What the future of our self-governing and really great Colonies may be, it is hard to say. Perhaps the best thing that could happen would be a 'Federation' of the whole British Empire, with a central Parliament in which all the Colonies should get representatives, with perfect free trade between the whole, and with an Imperial Army and Navy to which all should contribute payments. But there and when shall we find the statesman great and bold enough to propose it?

This great expansion of the British Empire during the last ninety-six years has not come about without a great deal of jealousy from the other European powers; and this jealousy was never more real or more dangerous than it is to-day. But the one European war which we have fought since 1815 had nothing to do with the expansion of our Empire.
The other nations have realized that this Empire was founded on trade, that it has to be maintained by a navy, and that it has resulted in good government of the races subject to us. So, though they have envied us and given us ugly names, they have, on the whole, paid us the compliment by trying to copy us, to build up their navies, to increase their manufactures, to plant colonies and to govern subject races well. Some people think that they have not succeeded in this last object so well as ourselves. But all European nations are now keenly interested in trade rivalry; whether this will end peaceably or not, remains still to be seen.

All civilised nations, except ourselves and the Americans, have also set themselves to arm and drill all their citizens, so as to fit themselves for war on a gigantic scale at any moment. If ever a great war breaks out in Europe, the nation that is most ready with its fleet and its army will win; in the greatest war of the nineteenth century (that of 1870 between France and Germany) it needed only a telegram of two words to put the German army in motion in a few hours. On the other hand all the great mechanical inventions of recent years, railways, telegraphs, enormous guns, iron ships, airships, have made war, not only much more terrible, but infinitely more expensive; and, so, each nation will naturally shrink from being the first to start a war, for defeat will spell absolute and irretrievable ruin. But I don't think there can be any doubt that the only safe thing for all of us who love our country is to learn soldiering at once, and to be prepared to fight at any moment.
APPENDIX 6

The Empire Day Book of Patriotism 1912 and 1919 reflect the dedicated approach of the Empire Day Movement to the theme of the Empire. What is apparent is the thoroughness of the lessons. The author (Lord Meath) also showed a subtle touch by stating that a half holiday on Empire Day was important since children would then appreciate some of its significance.

After 1919 the Empire Day Book of Patriotism and other publications of the Empire Day Movement were frequently advertised in the educational press and as I have shown in Chapter 4 and 5 the Empire Day Movement and its publications drew fierce criticisms in the 1920s and 1930s.
APPENDIX

EMPIRE DAY

Extracts from the Empire Day Books of Patriotism 1912 & 1919

1912 Edition

a) The Conduct of Empire Day in Schools

Some Education Authorities do not recognize Empire Day at all and others leave the manner of its celebration entirely to the discretion of their teachers. A half-holiday is certainly one very prominent part of the observance, or it should be. Children do not readily appreciate the importance of any event unless it brings a holiday in its train. The morning devoted to the celebration in school, the afternoon to the holiday--this is by far the best arrangement. Otherwise, the day--unless the ceremonies be postponed to the afternoon--has a tendency to become tedious.

It is quite appropriate to open or conclude the morning session of Empire Day with a special form of service. There are various hymns well suited to the occasion, and it is a simple matter to change the ordinary school service, whatever its character, into one having specific reference to the day. Lessons on the Empire, its geography and history, the duties and responsibilities which fall to the lot of its citizens, and the story of the Union Jack, a programme of music, comprising such songs as the one which appears elsewhere in this issue or attaining to the dignity of a cantata or a musical pageant; forms of drill, morris dancing, a march past, including a salute of the Union Jack--all these and other exercises can be arranged according to the taste of the teacher responsible. In some large schools the classes have their own
programmes in their own rooms; in others they are grouped together in
the hall or playground for at least a portion of the day's doings. Boys
are allowed to attend in their uniforms as Scouts and members of Boys'
Brigades, and all are, in many schools, encouraged to bring flags with
them to decorate their class-room or carry in procession.

Assuming that the school meets for only one session on Empire
Day, the following scheme will be found to give very satisfactory
results.

9 a.m. General assembly in the school hall.
Hymn, "O God, our help in ages past," or one of those given
on p. 4.
Prayer
Address on the meaning of Empire Day, with a clear, concise
explanation of Britain's greatness and the responsi-
bilities of each of her citizens.
Unfurling of the Union Jack.
National Anthem.
March-past of the whole school and salute of the flag.

9.40 a.m. Lessons in class-rooms. The lessons will, of course,
be of various types, but all should bear on the
Empire in some fashion or other. The following hints
should prove useful:

SCRIPTURE—Based on the text: "Fear God, honour the
King, love all men."

WRITING—The names of the colonies: patriotic extracts
from the works of great authors (see p. 22).

READING—Selected passages dealing with great events
in our national and imperial history, e.g., the Revenge
the Armada, the Capture of Quebec, the Black Hole of Calcutta, Trafalgar, the Indian Mutiny, Captain Scott's journey in the Antarctic.

HISTORY—The story of the Union Jack, English maritime enterprise in the time of Elizabeth, great British explorers, the Seven Years' War, the Napoleonic War, the causes of British colonial expansion. The lives of eminent historical personages, such as Raleigh, Clive, Wolfe, Nelson, Wellington, Marlborough, Sir Philip Sidney, Gordon, Livingstone, Florence Nightingale, Cecil Rhodes, Lord Roberts.

GEOGRAPHY—Our lands oversea—their extent, position, peoples, climates, productions, government, uses. Ocean highways and how they are protected. A voyage to America, Africa, India or Australia. The mutual dependence of the Motherland and the colonies.

COMPOSITION—Some subject based on the work done in the Reading, History, or Geography lesson.

ARITHMETIC—Distances, populations, amount of exports and imports graphed out to scale. Examples based on commercial transactions with the colonies.

DRAWING—Pastel, Watercolour work, etc. See pp. 12, 13, 14.

NEEDLEWORK—Making miniature flags.

NATURE STUDY—The Daisy. (See page 16 of this volume, or The Teacher's Book of Nature Study, pp. 103-109, EVANS BROS., LTD., 3/6 net, 3/11 post free.)
RECITATION--Suitable pieces, such as are given on pp. 17-20, and in Poems for Young Patriots (see p. 16).

SINGING--Traditional and other patriotic songs, e.g. The Children's Hymn (an anthem of the Homeland), 3d. net (EVANS BROS. LTD.); also Songs in Kingsway Songs, Vol. I.

FOR INFANTS the following items can be confidently recommended:--

OCCUPATIONS--Brushwork: colouring flags; paper-cutting: flags and ships; clay-modelling: soldiers; rapid winding: a photo frame for the portrait of the King or Queen; paper-modelling: soldier's tent; paper-folding: a crown; paper-tearing: a flag; object-drawing: products of colonies, a rose (England), a daffodil or a leek (Wales), a shamrock leaf (Ireland), a thistle (Scotland), a maple leaf, (Canada).

Represent in most suitable material trains, ships, and articles we export, e.g. boots, hosiery; things we import from the other parts of the Empire, e.g. fruits, bags of grain, chests of tea; typical animals, e.g. lion, elephant, grizzly, kangaroo.

OBSERVATION LESSONS--Rice, sugar, tea, coffee, cotton, etc.

GAMES--Free representations of trains--the sleeping-trains of the Canadian Pacific Railway; ships--lading and unlading, say what they are carrying, whence and whither; workers making goods to export; farmers of
Canada and Australia; miners; fishers; hunters, etc.

MARCHING—Play at Red Indians stalking silently;
Indian coolies drawing jinrickshaws; the Canadian and mounted police, or cowboys galloping.

11.20 a.m. Presentation of "Overseas Club" Empire Day Certificates.

11.30 a.m. - 12. Songs, recitations, pageants, plays, either in the school hall, or (if more convenient) in classrooms. The following programmes are suggested as types of what will be found most inspiring and effective:

I.

1. Unison Song Hearts of Oak
2. Recitation England, my England
   Poems for Young Patriots, p. 34.
3. Costume Scene (for 4 Children and Chorus)
   (a) Ye Mariners of England (England) Traditional
   (b) Men of Harlech (Wales) Traditional
   (c) Scots Wha Hae (Scotland) Traditional
   (d) St. Patrick and Ireland (Ireland) Teacher's World 10/3/15
   (e) Rule Britannia (All) Traditional
4. Song for Girls
   I'd like to be a Soldier or a Sailor
   Kingsway Songs, Vol. I
5. Dialogue Empire Day Verses
   Book of the School Concert. p. 22.
6. Part Songs
   (a) The Song of the Western Men Traditional
   (b) Here's a Health unto His Majesty Traditional
7. Recitation  The Children's Song
     Poems for Young Patriots, p. 46

8. Flag Drill  The Book of the School Concert, p. 13

1. Solo & Chorus  A right little, tight little Island
     Traditional

2. Recitation  A Ballad of the Ranks
     Poems for Young Patriots, p. 56

3. Song  The Sea-Dogs (see pp. 30, 31).

4. Fancy Marching  The Rally Round the Flag
     (See p. 11 of this volume)

5. Song for Boys  The Hour
     Kingsway Songs, Vol. I

6. Recitation  The Call of Empire
     Poems for Young Patriots, p. 10

7. Song  The Children's Hymn
     Kingsway Songs, Vol. I, 2/3 post free, or issued separately, 3½d.
     post free

8. Grand March Past

    (Music "The Call of the Flag" followed by National Airs.
     Teacher's World, 19/5/15)
Appendix continued

From The Empire Day Book of Patriotism 1912

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Appendix continued

Extracts from the Empire Day Books of Patriotism 1912 & 1919 Editions

1919 Edition

c) Empire Day Message by Sir Henry Newbolt
The Teaching of Patriotism

"How can patriotism—the most difficult and the most vital of subjects—be taught?" The answer is, that all depends on the teacher. See what happens for lack of education. In this War what has been badly done—what has been lost as regards unity, power, influence, and possibly safety—has been largely due to a lack of education. Take an example. The selfish materialist who says "So long as I get my money, it doesn't matter who rules England, King George or the Kaiser," is lacking in education; his imagination is dead. The extreme idealist is in like case. His facetious "anti-Imperialism" is not in touch with reality. It is not England that is endeavouring to enslave the world by force, so that his objections are mere irrelevances. The educated man, on the other hand, is loyal to his country, not because it is powerful or victorious, but because it is the centre of his ideals.

We need to develop this spirit throughout the country, this realization of a poetical England, and it can be done only by deepening and widening our education. What education is potent to effect in this direction is almost limitless; hence our insistence on its being not merely deep, but wide. Otherwise, the signal is set at danger, as we have seen in that rigid and undeviating application of national education on narrow lines which has produced the Prussianized Germany of to-day. Education has made that nation mad. It was designed to do so. It has led them to worship force, and has established an intellectual slavery. We must do the opposite of that; for if the masses of the
people are to be permeated by ideals and to be helped to enrich, control, and ennoble their feelings, in fine to be educated, they must be educated from the beginning both at home and at school.

**THE INDIRECT METHOD.**

In the inevitable default of complete home training, a double burden is imposed upon the school. How is this to be met? Shall we make patriotism a subject of the curriculum to be pumped in as a lesson and to be pumped out again in examination? The inclusion of patriotism in the syllabus may be possible elsewhere, in France for instance, where excellent little books on *Civisme* are used for the purpose, but in England the attempt would inevitably fail, and would end in mere words and flag-waving. Patriotism can be taught only by the Indirect Method. Nothing worth having can be got except in this way. The Indirect Method is almost a test of education. Information or instruction can be given directly; education cannot. Education is drawing out, not putting in; it develops innate potentialities; it creates new powers, and does not merely store up provisions. Even information from books has to be made digestible before it can be assimilated. Moreover, from mere books one cannot gather even information, still less powers, feelings, thought, wisdom. The teacher and the school alone can help here. The first thing, then, is to find teachers with ideals; ideals gained from training colleges, perhaps from White Papers, certainly from mature thought, from books, and, best of all, from poets. They will hand on their ideals as a fire gives off sparks. A teacher is not a fund of information, but a flame, and every good school is a blazing hearth, a whole furnace of ideals. Whether a teacher knows it or not, if he is such a flame many of the pupils will catch fire; all will become warm. The flame will have produced its effect—a lasting one.
THE SECRET OF THE FIRE.

This power of kindling enthusiasm has been the peculiar characteristic and glory of our Public Schools, and merits our close investigation. The Public Schools have been criticized for faulty curricula and for various failures. The ideal curriculum is still to seek; discussions of it are endless. That defects exist, no one can deny. Yet the Public Schools have the secret of the fire, and it should be the ambition of every other school, great and small, to emulate their excellences whilst avoiding their failures.

THE TASK OF EDUCATION.

The virtues which are the inheritance of the Public Schools are: the ideal of service and the interdependence of the members of the community; equal honour of all in the service; a legitimate pride in their Order rather than in themselves; an imperative duty to play the game according to the rules, lest, whatever the result, the game itself be destroyed. The desire for victory comes second to the desire for the welfare of human society. The aim is to hand on this spiritual torch unquenched. Such an education needs the addition of modern scientific instruction, but it is in intention a practical education, an education in the Art of Life, the Art of Citizenship, the Art of Patriotism; nor is there any severance here between life and education. What is taught, and what takes place in life, are the same. So, in the Middle Ages, when the education of youths consisted largely of training in war-like exercises, all knew that what they were learning had a direct bearing on the business of life; they were learning to do what their fathers were actually doing, what they in their turn would do. For a fuller life we must have a fuller training, but the principles remain good. Mere bookishness is incompatible with such an education. Our task is to extend this heritage of
ideals to the whole nation. An instance of such an extension is at hand. By a flash of inspiration little short of genius, General Baden-Powell has translated these ideals into the Boy Scout system, and has embodied them in the Scout Law, a practical rule of life by which motives are supplied and actions regulated. The Boy Scout's guiding principles are to be loyalty, brotherhood, courtesy, service; no day must pass without some act of helpfulness. The potentialities of the young are latent; they need only to be converted into energies. This conversion can be effected by the strong personality of the teacher and the collective character and tradition of the school. Again and again has this been demonstrated in letters from the Front. In the fierce flashlight of war many a young soldier fresh from school has seen for the first time what his school stood for, how the ideals which inspired his master's teaching and the affection which had been born of his own recognition of those ideals had transformed into a higher and nobler passion the natural attachment which he felt for his school.

THE IDEAL TEACHER.

The following extract from a letter written after a long spell in the trenches is typical. The writer was killed in Flanders last May, at the age of 20. From a small Grammar School in Staffordshire he had gone up to the University carrying with him a love for beauty and goodness aroused at school. In a letter to a friend he describes how, as flame leaps to flame, he and his companions had responded to the ideals of their teacher:—"Once, when I was extremely young, extremely ingenuous and naif, there was a man whom I loved, and he knew and understood that the child must be shown that there are greater and more wonderful things in the world than self and money; that the
instinctive love of beauty and the right things, which is such a wonderful prerogative of children, must be fostered and developed by every means in our power; that we must preserve the innocence of the child life, because it is one of the most essentially lovely, lovable, and beautiful things in existence, and, through proper development, it—and it alone—can lead to the reformation of civilization and the development of mankind in goodness.

"Whilst we were at school he formed a small coterie of devoted friends, and without our consent or knowledge—how should we give consent who didn't understand?—educated us in his own fashion. He made us love, not ourselves, but the school. He gave us an ideal which we could understand—he made the school more than an Alma Mater to us—she became our first love; and, as we have all discovered since, an abiding and ever-increasing love—abiding because of the essential beauty of the ideal, increasing as we more and more realized the illimitable depth and breadth of its meaning.

"From this love of school have sprung all my ideals; and so to this man, and to him almost alone, we half-dozen, now scattered all over the world, engulfed in this life-and-death struggle over the fate of mankind, hold this same ideal, and are determined, if possible, that whatever happens we shall do our utmost to further and expand the goodness which this man has wrought in us, so that the six may become sixty; the sixty—who knows where this may end? Who knows what may be the end of a smile of sympathy at a critical time in a boy's life? Had there been no one to teach us, had there been no one to steer us into the only way, I could never have written this nor you have read."
The same effect is manifested in certain poems written by young soldiers. In nearly all, thought has guided feeling, and the right note of patriotism is struck.

THE TREATMENT OF POETRY.

It has been suggested that I should indicate the method which should be applied to the treatment of such a poem as Drake's Drum. At the first reading the child is likely to experience little by beyond a pleasure which comes from a sense of rhythm and the emotion of national pride. Then comes the teacher's opportunity. He gives the necessary information—who Drake was, how he died, what it all meant. This explains the history in the poem, but—except as a guide to something more—it is irrelevant. The something more that a teacher gives must come without effort. He must open his mind and let the child catch a glimpse of the fire within. The glow of imagination and ideals lighting up the associations and the symbolism will reveal the spirit of resistance to autocracy and evil which, quenchless in death, lives on to-day and animates and sustains the men and women of our race. Some one has said—"Let me make the ballads, and let who will make the laws." Shall we not rather say, "Let us make the young minds, and let who will make the old"?

THE TEACHERS ARE THE GREATEST PEOPLE.

In conclusion, let me repeat that, whatever the world may think, its teachers are its greatest people, and the school is a forge at which the world of the future is, even now being fashioned. That world is in your hands. From the moment you begin to teach it is true of you that—

"Henceforth the School and you are one,
And what You are, the race shall be."
There's a breathless hush in the Close tonight--
Ten to make, and the Match to win--
A bumping pitch and a blinding light,
An hour to play and the last man in.
And it's not for the sake of a ribboned coat,
Or the selfish hope of a season's fame,
But his Captain's hand on his shoulder smote,—
"Play up! Play up! and play the Game!"

The sand of the desert is sodden red,—
Red with the wreck of a square that broke,—
The Gatling's jammed and the Colonel dead,
And the Regiment blind with the dust and smoke.
The River of Death has brimmed his banks,
And England's far, and Honour a name,
But the voice of a Schoolboy rallies the ranks,
"Play up! Play up! and play the Game!"

This is the word that year by year,
While in her place the School is set,
Every one of her sons must hear,
And none that hears it dare forget;
This they all with a joyful mind,
Bear through life like a torch in flame,
And falling, fling to the host behind,
"Play up! Play up! and play the Game!"

1. From "Poems New and Old," by Henry Newbolt.
Appendix continued

Extracts from the Empire Day Books of Patriotism 1912 & 1919

1919 Edition

b) Patriotism

WHAT WE MEAN BY "OUR COUNTRY."

"Our country" is the land which our fathers lived and worked and died to raise to its present great position in the world and to make a better place for you and me. In "our country" we have a glorious inheritance—noble languages, great literatures, splendid deeds, free institutions, priceless liberty. The words "our country", when spoken by any British man or woman, are not a mere expression; they mean to every one of us home and the homeland, and all that those words include. "In love of home, the love of country has its rise" (Dickens). In "our country" every boy and girl, every man and woman has a share: in serving "our country" every one must take a part. The symbol of the unity of the scattered peoples who belong to "our country" is the Union flag. That unity shelters us and keeps the British Empire together.

WHAT OUR COUNTRY HAS DONE FOR US.

Our fathers loved their country: they worked for it all over the world: they gave their lives—many and many of them—to make our country a free and happy place to live in, a country to be proud of. Hence our liberty of speech and of action, hence our Parliament—"the mother of Parliaments." Hence our liberty to worship God without let or hindrance as our conscience bids. Hence the long series of great social movements which have resulted in the spread of knowledge among the people, and which make for the betterment of the conditions under which they live and work.... Then our homes—for hundreds of years

1. The passages here given are taken from "Patriotism" issued by the Welsh Department of the Board of Education.
undisturbed by invasion—our fathers have lived and worked in them for you and me. A hundred years ago our fathers had to face a terrible danger—as we do now—that of seeing their liberties swept away by Napoleon, whose armies threatened Europe as Germany's do to-day. They rose up and fought until they won, and, by their sacrifices, they gave their children and grandchildren safety for a hundred years. It is now our task to do the same—our fathers' voices are calling to us, "We did it for you—you do it for your children."

HOW WE CAN SERVE OUR COUNTRY.

Our country not only deserves our love but needs our service. Citizenship means belonging to the great family which we call our country; this citizenship has its responsibilities as well as its privileges.... The greatest strength of a country is the character of its men and women—men who are good fathers, good husbands, upright and hardworking and steady in their business; women who are good homemakers, rearers of children, and who discharge to the full the duties that fall on them. Children can serve their country best by striving to become good men and women; by practising what they know to be right, and by refraining from what they know to be wrong; by being kind and thoughtful, especially to those who need help; by willing service of every kind at home, in school, and in the world.... Finally, we can and must serve our country by preserving and defending, even at the cost of our lives, the great heritage of liberty and honour which we have freely received.

TRUE PATRIOTISM AND FALSE PATRIOTISM.

There are false forms of Patriotism; for example, talking Patriotism instead of practising it; being a "slacker" or a shirker,
and then shouting and wearing a flag in one's buttonhole is not being patriotic, but the reverse. So also is being callous or selfish, unwilling to make sacrifices or surrender something when our nation requires that we should; so is insisting on our own privileges when our brothers are enduring untold hardships for us on the high seas and in the trenches; spending money recklessly or unwisely when, to help our country, we should be careful and economical and thrifty. All conduct of this sort is not loving our country, but indulging our own selfishness. Intemperance is unpatriotic as well as wasteful and harmful. Our country requires that we should show our patriotism by giving up things, not standing out for more things; by each of us saving for the hard times that are coming. Penny banks and savings banks are to help children to be thrifty, and by being thrifty to be patriotic, and by being patriotic to help their country as well as themselves. Self-sacrifice is the foundation of all true patriotism. All true patriots should aim at being "warriors in the service of Humanity and Goodness and Truth."
This extract comes from V.S. Bryant, *The Public School System in Britain in Relation to the Coming Struggle for National Supremacy* (1917) Chapter V.

It represents the traditional attitude to the public schools but it is, I think, a representative attitude of those who were convinced that the public schools had proved themselves in the war because they had stuck to their traditional role of training leaders. Bryant's philosophy is one of manliness and patriotism. He is 'muscular' without being necessarily Christian in his approach to the training of character.
The factors tending to the formation of character are so diverse, and are so difficult to trace, that only a few of them can be indicated here. The first salient point to be recognised is that most of them operate outside the classroom, and consequently the boarding-school system from this point of view is decidedly preferable to the day school system. Of course the boy loses home influences to a certain extent, but, however desirable home influences may be, the cultivation of a wide outlook upon life, and the advantages of the association with other boys and with masters is so important, that to some extent home influence must be limited in order to secure the most desirable result. In any case home influences are predominant for three months in the year during a school career, and too much of the apron-string is, after all, undesirable.

What, then, are the factors which tend towards the formation and development of moral fibre? First and foremost athletics and games are of the utmost importance, and any reformed public school which minimizes this importance will be doomed to failure. Only those who have had experience in the training of youth can estimate at its true value the importance of athletics in this connection.

The healthy rivalry of house and dormitory matches in both cricket and football, and the playing of the game on the recreation fields, are the finest possible training for the bigger game of life. The parrot cry of the undue attention paid to athletics at our big public schools is based on ignorance and misapprehension.

Second only to the importance of athletics is the part played by the Officers Training Corps in this relation. Never possibly in its history has the Government spent money to better advantage than in fostering this movement. The Officers Training Corps was formed as recently as
1908, and yet within a few months of the outbreak of war in 1914 no fewer than 20,000 officers had been supplied through this organisation. When the history of this war comes to be written, it will be proved that the organisation of the new armies would have been almost impossible had there not been this reserve of public school men trained, and efficiently trained too, to take their part as junior officers in His Majesty's Forces.

The main value of the Officers Training Corps however, paradoxical it may seem, does not lie in its military aims. For the majority of boys leaving a public school success or failure in after life depends to a large extent on their ability to control men. In no department of school life is this taught except in the Officers Training Corps, although it is acquired to a certain extent in other spheres. A junior division Officers Training Corps with an establishment of two companies, that is to say comprising 480 cadets, has approximately fifty non-commissioned officers, who are employed not only in controlling but in actually instructing squads, sections, or platoons. The lance-corporal of, say, 16 years of age gains experience rapidly, and, as promotion ensues, his command increases in size and importance. Long before a boy attains a position as a dormitory or school prefect he has acquired self-confidence and the power of control, and house masters and tutors look upon the school corps as the most valuable training ground for their own lieutenants of the future.

Discipline and Initiative in school life are to a large degree antagonistic terms, and one of the most difficult tasks a head master has to perform is to so adjust school life as to preserve the necessary balance between the two. The whole training of the Officers Training Corps from the cadet officer down to the junior private is such as most efficiently to combine these two, for the successful soldier is
the one in whom both these qualities are developed in the highest degree.

To quote from "Infantry Training", 1914:

"The objects in view in developing a soldierly spirit are to help the soldier to bear fatigue, privation, and danger cheerfully; to imbue him with a sense of honour; to give him confidence in his superiors and comrades; to increase his powers of initiative, of self-confidence, and of self-restraint; to train him to obey orders, or to act in the absence of orders for the advantage of his regiment under all conditions; to produce such a high degree of courage and disregard of self, that in the stress of battle he will use his brains and weapons coolly and to the best advantage; to impress upon him that, so long as he is physically capable of fighting, surrender to the enemy is a disgraceful act; and finally to teach him how to act in combination with his comrades in order to defeat the enemy...."

".... The privileges which he inherits as a citizen of a great empire should be explained to him, and he should be taught to appreciate the honour, which is his, of serving his King and his country."

These are not mere words, they are the definite aims of the Officers Training Corps, and an organisation with such high ideals is worthy of the most active encouragement, not by any means merely from a militarist standpoint, but from the point of view of development of that fine type of character which is necessary for national supremacy in the future times of peace.

Much of the value of an Officers Training Corps depends upon its voluntary basis, the necessary discipline is consequently submitted to willingly, for a cadet may resign his membership at any time. Participation in such an organisation is indeed looked upon as a privilege, but once it is made compulsory the subject becomes a part of the school curriculum, and the opportunities of the master-officer are consequently seriously impaired. These opportunities to a large extent are dependent on the fact that in the school corps a master has an opportunity of becoming thoroughly acquainted with quite a different side of a boy's life to that exhibited during school hours.
The Officers Training Corps system must be maintained, stimulated and developed in any reorganisation of the public schools.

The "fagging" system in vogue at most public schools, is again, a most valuable assistance to the formation of character. The contention that it encourages bullying is devoid of foundation, for whatever may have been the case in the old days, a decade or a quarter of a century ago, and contrary to general belief, "bullying" is now practically non-existent in our great schools. Wherever it does exist in a minor degree the victim in most cases deserves it and is eventually the better for it. At any rate the advantages of the system far outweigh its possible abuses. It is the finest thing in the world both for the pampered, high born youth who is brought up in the lap of luxury, and for any boy who is eventually to be served by others, to know something of the other side of the picture.

The "fagging" system is perfectly controlled at the present time, and both the "fagger" and the "fagged" obtain great benefits from it. After all it is the germ of the whole system of master and man, which, for good or evil, is a permanent feature of our social organisation, and the more one experiences this system, even in its most rudimentary form, the better.

At the conclusion of this war, economists tell us, the relation of capital to labour will be an extremely difficult problem. Mutual understanding between the "prefect" and the "squealer" at a public school will help the embryo employer to appreciate the men's point of view more satisfactorily.

The association between officers and men in the trenches, and on service generally, will doubtless do much to ease future controversies between employer and employed: the British officer does look after his
men, and gains in very many instances their love and their respect. On his side, however, he gets to know those serving under him and can appreciate their views. Mutual misunderstandings are consequently lessened, and it is to be hoped that this rapprochement between classes on the field of battle may persist in the industrial life of the nation in the future.
A more sophisticated approach to the question of the future role of the public schools is to be found in F.L. Carter's article, *The Public School The Master and The Empire* which was printed in *United Empire Vol VIII No 11, November 1917*, pp 642-647.

Carter argued that the public schools had a vital role to play in ensuring imperial unity. The idea that public school masters should visit the Empire had been advocated by H.B. Gray in 1910 and through various agencies this idea was put into action in the years after 1920.

Carter felt that as a result of the Great War the various parts of the Empire would feel sympathy for each other and this could lead to a greater understanding between the mother country and the Dominions.
THE PUBLIC SCHOOL, THE MASTER, AND THE EMPIRE.
(From United Empire, Vol. V111 No. 11, Nov. 1917

".... my thoughts had constantly turned to the extraordinary influence which the school systems in the self-governing portions of the British Dominions were destined to exercise in regard to the unity of the Empire." - Report of the Director of Education for the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, June 1904.

When men are thinking of the many results that this war is bound to have not only on our social life, but also on the political life of the whole Empire, and are hoping that out of the present turmoil will arise a Commonwealth of sister nations, jointly responsible for the government of a great part of the world, enough importance does not seem to be attached to the part that the schools of the Empire may play in guiding and fashioning those forces that make for Imperial Unity. Doubtless the greater part of the work to be accomplished is that of the statesman, at any rate, the part that shows: he it is whose duty it will be to plan the building and to lay the blocks; but the schoolmaster will also have to take an important share in the work: he it is who should prepare the minds of the rising generations, so that the mortar in which the statesman's stones are laid shall bind and hold the building firm and fast to all the winds that blow.

One good result of the present conflagration must be the mutual respect and sympathy that the various parts of the Empire will feel for each other; it will surely be impossible, at any rate, for the men that are fighting side by side upon the battlefield ever to feel that the interests and difficulties of their particular part of the Empire are paramount to the exclusion of all others. The stay-at-home Englishman will no longer regard the Colonial with the kindly condescension and interest that a parent displays towards his child, nor will the men who have come from the uttermost parts of the earth be able to regard their comrades from the Old Country as backward, selfish, or lacking in initiative. Each one will have learned that there is much to admire and much to respect in his brother Briton, whether he comes from the grimy streets of the Black Country, or from the sunny slopes of the Blue Mountains. Our kith and kin from west and south will have realised from their actual experience in England the many difficulties that the Homeland is called to face, whilst we at home will also have learned something of the ideals and aspirations that move our brothers from overseas. The foundations have been laid in sorrow and great travail; it is for us to build upon them, and to see that the heavy spade-work that has been done has not been done in vain. To the schoolmaster is the Empire of the mind.

Before the outbreak of war a movement had been started for the exchange of masters between English and Colonial schools, and also between the schools in the different Dominions; it is earnestly to be hoped that this plan will be revived on a still larger scale when peace reigns once more. If we would have our children grow up trained to think Imperially, not blinded by the narrow circle of local difficulties, nor cankered by petty prejudices, but looking beyond to the great problems that are of concern to the whole Empire, then we must have the interest of the children in the various parts of the Empire quickened by men who are thoroughly acquainted with the difficulties and who are keenly alive to the importance of their solution. Once let us sow the seeds of a sympathetic interest for the difficulties that lie before us in the minds of the rising generations, and we shall find, as the years roll by, that remedies will be discovered.
How is it possible for the man who has been brought up amidst the rude plenty of Colonial life - where, if a man will but work, he can be assured of a living - to make his pupils understand the dire poverty that exists in our great towns of England? How can a man realise the crying need for migration, until he has seen the vast vacant places waiting to be filled, or appreciate properly the cry for a White Australia, if he has not formed some conception of the difficulties that arise when colour is introduced, or realised the opportunity that is given us of building other and happier Englands of our own kith and kin in the broad lands that lie waiting for us still? Books can do something; pictures can do something; but to give flesh and blood to the facts related in the books, and to make the pictures live, a man is wanted who can from the treasure of his own experience talk with that touch of personal knowledge which will fill the books and pictures with living beings. It has been the writer's good fortune to have the opportunity of talking to Colonial boys in the course of a lesson about some of the social problems of England, and he will always remember the keen interest and horrified astonishment that they showed when they heard of the struggle for life that goes on in the dark lanes and narrow alleys of our own great cities.

Many an English schoolmaster knows the Continent thoroughly; the classical man is able to add to the interest of his lessons by his descriptions of the ruins of Rome, Athens, or Troy; the historian can describe accurately many of the great battlefields of Europe; whilst the Modern Language teacher has an intimate acquaintance with the life of France and Germany. That is all to the good, but their experiences in foreign countries are not of the kind to take them out of the conventional rut of English life. On the whole, life is much the same in these old countries of western civilisation. One's thoughts are turned much more to dreams of the past than to visions of the future, doubtless one comes back fresher to one's task, but one does not come back with fresh ideas; old interests are revived and strengthened, but new ones are not added. In contrast with this knowledge of Europe, what can the average English schoolmaster tell his boys about the Dominions beyond the sea? Practically nothing. Whatever information he has acquired has been obtained from books or newspapers or from the experiences of friends. It is not his ault; not only are the distances between the Motherland and her daughter countries too great, but the expense of the journey for the ordinary schoolmaster is prohibitive. Perhaps once in a schoolmaster's lifetime he ay be given a holiday term, but no man can learn much that is of real value n a few short weeks in a new country. A few outstanding features will strike him as he hurries from one interesting place to another, but he will not et to know thoroughly either the country or, what is more important, its people; he will only come home with a few hastily formed generalisations and opinions which, if he were to stay longer, might quite possibly be reversed.

rely, if the schools of England are to do their duty to the Commonwealth, minds of the boys must be awakened to a much more accurate knowledge of a various parts - a much intenser realisation of the difficulties that list. A knowledge of the civilisations of Greece and Rome is important, a knowledge of the British Commonwealth and all it means is at least as necessary. A young New Zealand officer, who had been wounded on the Somme, d to the writer when he was discussing his British comrades, "So many of em seem to think that we are only half civilised out there" - and there is underlying truth in the criticism.

English schoolmaster who is able to spend a couple of years in a Colonial school will find himself thoroughly shaken out of his old grooves. He will d himself amongst men of much greater simplicity of thought and much lter directness of action - men who do not allow their minds to be clouded a multitude of side issues, but who see clearly the object they have in view go straight for it. Their vigorous life has no time for the conventionalities & hammer us in the Old Country.
He will probably for the first time recognise the difficulties that the Colonial has had, and still has, to face, and his admiration for him, born of real knowledge, will be increased tenfold; with this knowledge and admiration will come a far greater sympathy for the attempts that the Colonial is making, especially in Australasia, to avoid the social problems that have arisen in the Old Country and a clearer understanding of the various political difficulties that each colony has to face. As he travels over the plains and hills and feels the pulse of a strong young life beating around him, the scales will fall from his eyes and he will be able to balance more evenly the dust and ashes of bygone ages against the hopes and possibilities of the future. The words empire, colony, life, will assume a new meaning - a meaning which on his return to the crowded Motherland he will try to translate afresh to his pupils.

The Colonial schoolmaster knows more of England than his English confrère does of the colonies; he is familiar with our history and the slow growth of our constitution, he regards the land as "Home", and he has a fairly complete knowledge of our great towns and regions of industry; what, however, he does not realise is the complexity and vastness of our social problems and the intricate character of our foreign policy, due to our interests in every quarter of the globe. To a man accustomed to vast areas and sparsely populated regions the realisation of our crowded conditions is impossible, and yet it is just that realisation which is necessary, if there is to be a sympathetic appreciation of our difficulties at home and a willingness to help in their solution. Similarly for such a one, who has lived far from the centre of the web of Empire, it is difficult to appreciate the many varied interests that have to be combined in our foreign policy, however great his realisation of those in his immediate neighbourhood may be. In these matters, however, he will not have so much to learn as the Englishman who goes to the colonies, it is rather on the technical side of his profession that he will find there is most to be gained.

The Colonial schools have had many difficulties to contend with - difficulties that are natural to new countries, and when one says that they are behind the English schools in their standard of education (this does not apply so much to the primary schools) and to a certain extent in their level of discipline, it is not intended to belittle their success; one can only admire the way they have faced their difficulties and the manner in which they are overcoming them. The earlier headmasters of many of those schools, which have taken the English Public School as their pattern, were generally men who had been educated at some such institution at home. As time has gone on, this influence has gradually diminished and some of the best characteristics that make such schools in England, unintentionally and unwittingly on the part of those in authority, have tended to disappear. The Colonial-born schoolmaster reads about English schools, the words Public School come easily to his lips, but his actual knowledge of them is rather scanty; he cannot get the spirit that lives in them from books; he must see them in their working and become part of the machine before he can grasp their value or appreciate the influence they wield. It is not suggested, however, that there should be any attempt to reproduce a copperplate English Public School - different conditions develop different needs, the school must be suited to its environment, a freer and imperler one - but what seems important is that the men whose care the youth of these new lands is entrusted should have caught something of the vision that inspired Arnold, Percival, and Thring. Criticise as one may the failings of the English Public School, there is to be found in them a sense of service, a love for learning, a reverence for the humanities, and an appreciation of the things that make life beautiful. It was undoubtedly the intention of the founders of the Colonial schools that their institutions too should be the home of such interests, but amidst the constant pressure of external forces due to the conditions of environment, there has been a tendency to lose sight of the truly ducative part of school life and to yield rather to a purely utilitarian casure of values.
uch being the position, the schoolmaster who comes "Home" will find himself in an atmosphere of much greater intellectual keenness, of a much wider love for all that constitutes true learning; he will find that much as athletic prowess is worshipped at home, still it is not placed upon the pedestal that it has reached in the colonies; he will discover that the boy with brains is just as capable of exercising authority as the boy with muscle, and that probably in the long run he will exercise it more wisely. His conception of school discipline, as controlled by the boys, will be changed; he will realise what government by the boys, for the boys, and through the boys means. Finally, there will gradually dawn upon him as he goes about his daily work—meeting old boys back from the confines of the Empire, or reading the names on the Honour Boards of those whom the school delighteth to honour—a more vivid realisation of what the work of Empire means, and he will return to his own school hoping that in the land where his work lies, the boys will also learn to take their share in the burden of Imperial Government.

Twelve years ago the present headmaster of Townsville Grammar School, Queensland, wrote: "When it is realised how narrow the life and sympathies of the teacher are apt to become, and how vitally important it is that the education of the young should be in the hands of those whose lives and sympathies are not narrow, it will be admitted that Imperialism in this matter at least is desirable, if possible. At some of the New Zealand High Schools, or example, the majority of the masters attended, as boys, the same High School where they are now masters, proceeded for a year or two to the adjoining University College, and have then come back to teach for perhaps the rest of their lives at their old school. The same is the case with many masters of Grammar Schools at home, they pass their whole lives within the walls of one building. Would it not be an incalculable gain to master and scholars, would not preserve from the rust of routine and keep fresh the enthusiasm of youth, if a master could, with no more difficulty than that involved in distance, pass from teaching in Quebec to Manchester, from Melbourne to Cape Town, to Hinsburgh or London?"

What is true of High Schools and Grammar Schools is equally true of the schools that claim the title of Public School at home or in the Dominions. A great step towards the ideal set forth in the above quotation would be made, if once a regular system for the interchange of masters were established; not only would the secondary teaching of the Empire become more andarised, but from it would flow one of the greatest influences for Imperial Unity. "Train up the child in the way he should go, and he will not depart from it".

is not within the power of the writer to give definite figures as to the rears of the boys who pass through these schools which approximate to the glish Public School, but he is fairly certain that, apart from a very few who enter the Imperial Navy or Army, the number who enter the various Public Services of the Empire is extremely small.

The United Kingdom has taken upon herself almost entirely the duty of sending the officials necessary to govern those races within the Empire which are not capable of governing themselves; the United Kingdom, with its 45,000,000 people, has supplied the rulers for 395,000,000 of the subject races, the Dominions, with their 14,000,000 have only controlled about 5,000,000. Time has surely come when their sons should be prepared to come forward to take their share in this vast business. As a result of the War it is probable that for many years we shall find a number of Colonials amongst the leaders of the Imperial Army, but, as far as one can see, there will be no special impetus to the boys of the Dominions to enter upon the task of Civil Government in company with their brothers from the Old Country, unless an effort is made to draw their attention to this duty which they ought to assume.

* The New Nation by P.F. Rowland. /Contd..............
APPENDIX 9

LIST OF 'PUBLIC SCHOOLS' WITH DATES OF FOUNDATION WHICH WERE MEMBERS OF HMC AND GBA IN 1956.
King's, Canterbury (600), King's, Rochester (604), St. Peter's, York (627), Warwick (914), St. Albans (948), Lincoln (1090), Bedford (1150), Carlisle G. (1188), Norwich (1256), Worcester Royal G. (1290), Hereford Cathedral (1381), Winchester (1382), Ipswich (1400), Durham (1414), Sevenoaks (1432), Eton (1440), Lancaster Royal G. (1469), Magdalen College S. (1479), Stockport G. (1487), Haferfordwest G. (1488), King's Macclesfield (1502), Q. Elizabeth's G., Blackburn (1509), St. Paul's (1509), Giggleswick (1512), Nottingham High (1513), Pocklington (1514), Manchester G. (1515), Wolverhampton G. (1515), King's Bruton (1519), Cranbrook (1520), King's Taunton (1522), Allhallows (1524), Bolton (1524), Sedbergh (1525), Bristol G. (1532), Stamford (1532), Berkhamsted (1541), Christ College, Brecon (1541), King's, Chester (1541), King's, Ely (1541), King's, Worcester (1541), Mercers' (1542), Dauntsey's (1543), K. Henry VIII, Coventry (1545), Newcastle-upon-Tyne Royal G. (1545), Archbishop Holgate's, York (1546), Bradford G. (1548), Maidstone G. (1549), Truro Cathedral (1549), Sherborne (1550), Christ's Hospital (1552), K. Edward's, Birmingham (1552), Leeds G. (1552), Shrewsbury (1552), Bromagrove (1553), Tonbridge (1553), Gresham's, Holt (1555), Oundle (1556), Brentwood (1557), Repton (1557), Bablake (1560), Solihull (1560), Westminster (1560), Merchant Taylors (1561), St. Olave's (1561), High Wycombe Royal G. (1562), Abingdon (1563), Elizabeth, Guernsey (1563), Felsted (1564), Highgate (1565), Rugby (1567), Hardy's, Dorchester (1569), Harrow (1571), Ruthin (1574), Sutton Valence (1576), Woodbridge (1577), St. Bees (1583), Oakham (1584), Uppingham (1584), Q. Elizabeth's G., Wakefield (1591), Emanuel (1594), Wallasey G. (1594), Wellingborough (1595), Whitgift, Croydon (1596), Trinity, Croydon (1596), Aldenham (1597), Kimbolton (1600), Blundell's (1604), Peter Symonds', Winchester (1607), Charterhouse (1611), Hulme G., Oldham (1611), Monmouth (1615), Perse (1615), Portora (1618),
Dulwich (1619), Merchant Taylors, Crosby (1620), Sebright (1620), Latymer Upper (1624), Heriot's, Edinburgh (1628), Chigwell (1629), Exeter (1633), Bury (1634), Haberdasher Aske's (1690), Dame Allan's, Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1705), Colston's, Bristol (1710), Churcher's, Petersfield (1722), Watson's, Edinburgh (1723), Rishworth (1724), Bancroft's (1727), Gordon's, Aberdeen (1729), Portsmouth G. (1732), Kingswood (1748), St. Edmund's, Canterbury (1749), Bedford Modern (1764), Ackworth (1779), Downside (1793), Stonyhurst (1794), Royal Masonic, Bushey (1798), Ampleforth (1802), Mill Hill (1807), Royal Academical, Belfast (1810), Caterham (1811), Woodhouse Grove (1812), Silcoates (1820), Bootham (1823), Edinburgh Academy (1824), Loretto (1827), King's College S. (1829), Prior Park (1830), University College S. (1830), K. Williams, I. of Man (1833), Merchiston Castle (1833), Forest (1834), City of London (1837), Liverpool College (1840), Cheltenham (1841), Glenalmond (1841), Wellington, Som. (1841), Eltham (1842), Mount St. Mary's (1842), Marlborough (1843), Queen's, Taunton (1843), St. Columba's, Dublin (1843), Rossall (1844), Brighton (1845), Glasgow Academy (1845), Radley (1847), Ratcliffe (1847), Taunton (1847), Lancing (1848), Llandovery (1848), Hurstpierpoint (1849), Bradfield (1850), Leatherhead (1851), Victoria, Jersey (1852), Epsom (1853), Stewart's, Edinburgh (1855), Wellington, Bucks. (1856), Alleyn's, (1857), Ardingly (1858), West Buckland (1858), Oratory (1859), Birkenhead (1860), Bloxham (1860), Beaumont (1861), Clifton (1862), Haileybury (1862), Malvern (1862), Cranleigh (1863), St. Edward's, Oxford (1863), Framlingham (1865), Trent (1866), Eastbourne (1867), Bishop's Stortford (1868), Monkton Combe (1868), Denstone (1868) Fettes (1870), Dover (1871), Newcastle-under-Lyne (1874), Leys (1875), Lower School of John Lyon (1876), Ashville (1877), Kelly (1877), Plymouth (1878), St. Lawrence, Ramsgate (1879), Truro (1879), Wrekin (1880), Culford (1881), Wycliffe (1882),
Barnard Castle (1883), Ellesmere (1884), Kent (1885), Rydal (1885),
Dean Close (1886), Hulme's G., Manchester (1887), St. Dunstan's (1888),
Hymer's (1888), Bishop Wordsworth's (1890), Leighton Park (1890),
Bedales (1893), Campbell, Belfast (1894), Worksop (1895), Arnold, Blackpool
(1896), Clayesmore (1896), Jones's, Pontypool (1898), St. Benedict's,
Ealing (1902), Douai (1903), R.N.C. Dartmouth (1905), St. George's,
Harpenden (1907), K. Edward VII, Lytham (1908), Imperial Service College,
(1912; amalgamated with Haileybury, 1942), Lord Wandsworth (1912),
Strathallan (1912), Nautical College, Pangbourne (1917), Rendcomb (1920),
Canford (1923), Stowe (1923), Bryanston (1928), Gordonstoun (1934).
Abbotsholme School
Abingdon School
Aldenham School
Aldworth School
Ampleforth College
Bainbridge College
Arnold School, Blackpool
Artville College
Banfield School, Bolton
Bath, King Edward's
Bedales School
Bedford School
Bedford Modern School
Belfast, Campbell College
Belfast Royal Academy
Belfast, Royal Academical Institution
Berkhamsted School
Birkenhead School
Birmingham, King Edward's
Bishop's Stortford College
Blackburn, Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School
Blaxhall School
Blenheim's School, Tiverton
Bootham School
Bootham School, York
Bradfield College
Bradford Grammar School
Brecon, Christ College
Brentwood School
Brighton School
Bristol Cathedral School
Bristol Grammar School
Broadstone College
Bruton, King's School
Byron School
Bury Grammar School
Cambridge, The Leys School
Camberley, Hillside School
Campion School, Camberley
Canterbury, King's School
Canterbury, St Edmund's School
Carisbrooke School
Chadlington School
Chadwick School
Cheltenham College
Cheltenham, Dean Close School
Chester, King's School
Chigwell School
Christ College, Brecon
Christ's Hospital
City of London School
Cheltenham College
Cirencester College
Coleraine Academical Institute
Coventry School
Cranleigh School
Cuffley School
Dame Allan's School, Newcastle-upon-Tyne
Daniel Stewart's and Melville College
Dauntsey's School
Dean Close School, Cheltenham
Denstone College
Dorset School, Wooton
Downside College
Downside School, Bath
Dulwich College
Dundee High School
Durham School
Eastbourne College
Edinburgh Academy, The
Edinburgh, Daniel Stewart's and Melville College
Edinburgh, George Heriot's School
Edinburgh, George Watson's College
Ellesmere College
Elmham College
Ely, King's School
Eton College
Exeter School
Felsted School
Fettes College
Forest School
Framlingham College
George Heriot's School, Edinburgh
George Watson's College, Edinburgh
Giggleswick School
Glasgow Academy, The
Glenalmond, Trinity College
Gordonstoun School, Elgin
Gresham's School, Holt
Guernsey, Elizabeth College
Halberdiers' Aske's School
Harleybury
Harrow College
Harrow, John Lyon School
Hereford Cathedral School
Hilgay School
Huile Grammar School, Oldham
Hurtisperpoint College
Hutcheson's Boys Grammar School, Glasgow
Hymers College, Hull
Ipswich School
Isle of Man, King William's College
John Lyon School, Harrow
Jersey, Victoria College
Kelly College
Kelvedon Academy
Kent College, Canterbury
Kimbolton School
King Edward VI School, Lytham
King Edward's School, Bath
King Edward's School, Birmingham
King Edward's School, Weybridge
King William's College, Isle of Man
King's College, Taunton
King's College School, Wimborne
King's School, Bruton
King's School, Canterbury
King's School, Chester
King's School, Ely
King's School, Macclesfield
King's School, Rochester
King's School, Worcester
Kingston Grammar School
Kingswood School, Bath
Lancing College
Layston Upper School
Leatherhead, St John's School
Leeds Grammar School
Leighton Park School
The Leys School, Cambridge
Liverpool College
Llandovery College
Lord Wandsworth College
Loretto School
Loughborough Grammar School
Lytham, King Edward VII School
Maclefield, The King's School
Magdalen College School, Oxford
Malvern College
Manchester Grammar School
Marlborough College
Merchant Taylors' School (Crosby)
Merchant Taylors' School
Merton College, Cambridge
Mill Hill School
Monkton Combe School
Monmouth School
Montfort School
Mount St Mary's College
Newcastle upon Tyne, Royal Grammar School
Newcastle upon Tyne, Dame Allan's School
Norwich School
Nottingham High School
Oakham School
Oldham, Huine Grammar School
Oratory School
Oxford, Magdalen College School
Oxford, St Edward's School
Perse School, Cambridge
Plymouth College
Pocklington School
Portora Royal School
Portsmouth Grammar School
Prior Park College
Queen Elizabeth's School, Blackburn
Queen Elizabeth's School, Wakefield
Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, Bristol
Queen's College, Taunton
Radley College
Ramsgate, St Lawrence College
Ratcliffe College, Leicester
Reed's School
Rendcomb College
Repton School
Robert Gordon's Coll, Aberdeen
school

Source: Public Schools Directory 1979

APPENDIX 10

LIST OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN 1979
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rochester, King's School</td>
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<td>Duke of Devonshire</td>
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<tr>
<td>E. Wood</td>
<td>1922 - 1924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Trevelyan</td>
<td>1924 - January - November</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eustace Percy</td>
<td>1924 - 1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Trevelyan</td>
<td>1929 - 1931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Lees Smith</td>
<td>1931 - June - August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir D. MacLean</td>
<td>1931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord Irwin (formerly E. Wood later Lord Halifax)</td>
<td>1932 - 1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. Stanley</td>
<td>1935 - 1937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earl Stanhope</td>
<td>1937 - 1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earl de la Warr</td>
<td>1938 - 1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Ramsbotham</td>
<td>1940 - 1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.A. Butler</td>
<td>1941 - 1945</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

ALMOND, H. H. (1832 - 1903)
Headmaster of Loretto 1862 - 1902. Born 1862, educated Glasgow University, Balliol College Oxford. Second Master Merchiston Castle School 1858. Strong advocate of physical fitness and 'games as a moral agent'.

BRYCE, James (1838 – 1922)

DRAGE, Geoffrey (1860 – 1955)
FLEMING, David Pinkerton (1887 - 1944)
Educated at Glasgow High School, Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities and Heriot-Watt College. He built up a large legal practice before becoming Solicitor General for Scotland in 1921. MP for Dunbartonshire in 1924. Thereafter a Scottish judge. Chairman of the Committee on Public Schools appointed by the President of the Board of Education in 1942. Its report was issued in 1944.

FURSE, Sir Ralph Dolignon (1887 - 1974)

HADOW, Sir William Henry (1859 - 1937)
Educated at Malvern and Worcester College Oxford. His academic studies were in the field of music. He was principal of Armstrong College Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1909. Vice Chancellor of the University of Durham from 1916 - 1918 (when he was knighted). Vice Chancellor of the University of Sheffield until 1930. Chairman of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education 1920 - 1934.
HEWINS, W. A. S. (1865 - 1931)

HORRABIN, J. F. (1884 - 1962)

LUCAS, Sir Charles Prestwood (1853 - 1931)
Civil servant and historian. Educated Winchester and Balliol College. Lucas was first head of the Dominions Department 1907. Fellow of All Souls 1920 - 1927. Author of numerous books about the British Empire. Historical Geography of the British Colonies (1887), Canadian War of 1812 (1906), A History of Canada 1763 - 1812 (1909), Greater Rome and Greater Britain (1912), The British Empire (1915), The Partition and Colonisation of Africa (1922), The Story of the Empire Vol II (1924), The Empire at War (1921-1926), Colonising and Trade (1930). Lucas was a prolific writer on the subject of the Empire and active in many organisations connected with the Empire.
MASTERMAN, Charles Frederick Gurney (1874 - 1927)

MACKINDER, Sir Halford John (1861 - 1947)
Educated Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, Gainsborough then Epsom College. At Christ Church Oxford. From 1885 closely involved in Oxford University Extension Movement. Lectured up and down the country on what he called 'the new geography', 1887 - 1905. Author of Britain and the British Seas (1902). Director of the London School of Economics 1903 - 1908 and continued to hold appointments at Reading and Oxford. Did not retire from University of London until 1925. 1910 - 1922 Liberal MP on numerous Government Committees. A staunch imperialist, he took an interest in everything connected with the Empire. Mackinder's 'geopolitical' views and his ideas on the 'heartland' as a natural seat of power was closely examined in Germany between the two wars. He took part in several negotiations concerned with the Empire.

MEATH, Lord (1841 - 1929)
MORANT, Robert Laurie (1863 - 1920)
Educated Winchester and New College Oxford. Educational adviser in Siam for seven years. Assistant Director in the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports Education Department 1895. Chosen by Balfour to draft 1902 Education Bill. Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education 1902 - 1911.

NEWTON, A. P. (1873 - 1942)
Emeritus Professor of Imperial History in University of London. Born Birmingham 1873. Educated King Edward's School Birmingham, Mason College Birmingham, King's College London. Lecturer in American and Colonial History and Rhodes Lecturer 1914 - 1918. Organiser of Imperial Studies Committee Royal Empire Society. Joint Editor Cambridge History of the British Empire. Author of numerous books on the British Empire.

NORWOOD, Cyril (1875 - 1956)
Educated Merchant Taylor's School and St. John's College Oxford, where he read Classics and Greats. He entered the Home Civil Service (The Admiralty) in 1899 but resigned in 1901. Senior Classics Master at Leeds Grammar School. He was appointed successively, headmaster of Bristol Grammar School in 1906, Marlborough College in 1916 and Harrow School in 1929 where he remained until 1934 when he became President of St. John's College Oxford, from which office he retired in 1946. A staunch defender of the Public School system. He was Chairman of the Secondary Schools' Examination Council from 1921 - 1946. He was knighted in 1938. As Chairman of the Committee of the Secondary School Examination responsible for the famous report of 1943 which evolved the tripartite system of secondary education.
PLAYFAIR, Lyon First Baron Playfair of St. Andrews (1818 - 1898)
Educated Parish School of St. Andrews, then studied at St. Andrews
University Ph.D. Classics 1839 - 1840. Chemical Manager at
Thomson's Calico Works Clitheroe. Elected Fellow of the Royal
Society 1848. Special Commissioner of Great Exhibition 1851. 1858 -
1869 Professor of Chemistry at Edinburgh. 1868 returned as Liberal MP for the
Scottish Universities 1880 Chairman and Deputy Speaker of House of Commons.
Created Baron in 1892. Playfair was a staunch advocate of scientific
and technical education.

SADLER, Sir Michael Ernest (1861 - 1943)
Educated at Rugby, Trinity College Exford. 1885 Secretary of
Extension Lectures Oxford University. 1895 left Oxford to become
Director of the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports in the
Government Department of Education. Between 1895 - 1903 eleven
massive volumes appeared, the most notable on German education by
Sadler himself who made a special study of it. The volumes are an
important contribution to the study of comparative education.
Resigned in 1903 after disagreement with Morant. Professor of
Education at Manchester 1903 until 1911. Vice Chancellor of Leeds
University 1911 - 1923. 1917 President of a Commission on the
University of Calcutta. 1923 Master of University College Oxford
until 1934.
SAMUELSON, Bernhard (1820 - 1905)

Was apprenticed as a merchant but exported machinery to Europe and became an engineer and ironmaster. Sat as Liberal MP for Banbury in 1859 and then from 1865 - 1895. Staunch advocate of technical and scientific education. Visited Germany and America frequently to examine their educational systems. Chairman of Royal Commission on Technical Instruction 1882 - 1884. Served on the Devonshire Commission on Scientific Instruction 1872 - 1875 and on the Cross Commission of 1888 on the Elementary Education Acts.

WARRE, Edmond (1837 - 1920)


WELLDON, James Edward Cowell

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   The papers of H.A.L. Fisher MP

2. Oxford Rhodes House
   Various papers relating to Empire Day Movement and pamphlets on the Empire

3. London Royal Commonwealth Society
   Council Minute Books of Royal Colonial Institute and Royal Empire Society. Various cyclostyled papers; Library Notes.

4. Edinburgh National Library of Scotland
   Kerr MSS, The papers of Philip Kerr Marquess of Lothian
   Haldane MSS, The papers of Richard Burdon Haldane, Viscount of Cloan
   Roseberry MSS, The papers of Lord Roseberry

5. Public Record Office
   Private Office Papers of the Board of Education Class ED/24 and ED/136
   Cabinet Minutes. War Office 32/9; papers relating to Cadet forces. ED/25 Universities of the Empire 1922-1940

6. Scottish Record Office
   Class ED/7. Chiefly memoranda from Henry Craik regarding Cadet forces
B NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

1. Daily and Evening Papers

- The Daily News
- The Daily Telegraph
- The Morning Post
- The News Chronicle

- The Morning Standard
- The Pall Mall Gazette
- The Times
- The Standard

- The Star
- The Scotsman
- The Manchester Guardian

2. Weekly Newspapers and Magazines


(Edinburgh) The Scots Observer, The Scots Review

(Manchester) The Manchester Weekly Times

3. Fortnightly, Monthly or Quarterly Periodicals

- Blackwood's Magazine
- British Quarterly Review
- The Contemporary Review
- The Cornhill Magazine
- Fraser's Magazine
- The Gentleman's Magazine
- The Liberal Unionist
- The London Review
- MacMillan's Magazine
- New English Review
- The Nineteenth Century and After
- The North British Review
- The Quarterly Review
- The Westminster Review

4. School Magazines Chiefly before 1914

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- The Carthusian
- The Cliftonian
- The Cheltonian
- The Eton College Chronicle
The Fettesian
The Glenalmond Chronicle
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The Harrovian
The Lorettonian
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The Wellingtonian
The Wykehamist

5. Specialised Educational Publications

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6. Educational Newspapers

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7. Journals relating to the British Empire

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C 1. Parliamentary Papers

Newcastle Report 1861 CD 2794
Clarendon Report 1864 CD 3288
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Bryce Report (Secondary Education) 1895 CD7862
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Report of the Proceedings of Congress of Universities of the Empire (George Bell) 1921
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(ii) Imperial Education Conferences

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CD 566 1911 PP XVIII.I
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(iii) Special Reports

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Apart from the interview I had with Canon Patterson regarding Welldon most of the oral evidence I gathered related to Empire Day and the attitudes of teachers (and pupils) who were at school in the 1930s to the gamut of 'Propaganda' which was available in the late 1920s and the early 1930s. At least three of my informants can specifically remember Empire Day being celebrated in the early 1950s with little modification from the lines laid down by Lord Meath in 1912. One informant remembers taking a daisy to his primary school (Mr R D Anderson)
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