ROUTLEDGE REVIVALS

The Rise of the English Prep School

Donald Leinster-Mackay

Routledge Revivals

The Rise of the English Prep School

First published in 1984, *The Rise of the English Prep School* was written to provide the first general history of the English Preparatory School.

The book examines how two types of English schools with largely different beginnings, one based on private enterprise and one primarily (but by no means exclusively) on philanthropy, came to be complementary parts of the 'English Public School system'. It explores the early beginnings of prep or quasi-prep schools in the eighteenth century and their development in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The Rise of the English Prep School will appeal to those with an interest in the history of education, and British social history.

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By Donald Leinster-Mackay

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Contents

Acknowledgments viii

Abbreviations xi

List of Tables and Figures xiii

Introduction xiv

Prologue: Whatever Happened to Mr Wratislaw? 1

Part 1 Emergence

1 Beginnings 11

2 The Question of Precedence 23

3 The Famous Five 37

4 National Child Parks? 53

5 Servicing the Senior Service 61

6 Lifelines for Clergymen 73

7 There's Nothing Like a Dame 91

Part 2 Giving Early Satisfaction

8 The Stable Network 105

9 Healthiness Was Next to Godliness 121

Part 3 Heyday

10 Prep School Pedigree 133

11 Did Bowling Bring Them Together? 167

12 Bull at the Common Entrance Gate 181

13 Athletes and Aesthetes 191
14 Assistants 207

Part 4 Coming to Terms with Contemporaneity

15 Much Ado about Greek 223
16 Enter the Insurance Companies 233
17 The Men in the Engine Room 251
18 War and Schemes of Symbiosis 261
19 Change in a Post-War World 277
20 The ISIS Citadel 291
21 PREP or PEP Schools? Will Vouchers Help? 307

Bibliography 313
Appendices 325
Index 359

To Jewel

Fundamentum totius reipublicae est recta juventutis educatio.
[The right education of youth is the foundation of the whole republic.]

Cicero

Λαμπάδα ἔχοντες ἀλλήλοις μεταδώσομεν

[Having the light we shall share it with others]

IAPS motto

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Abbreviations

The following is a check-list of abbreviations used in the text. Common abbreviations such as HMS, FRS and so forth have been omitted.

AHMPS	Association of Headmistresses of Preparatory Schools
AHPS	Association of Headmasters of Preparatory Schools
AMA	Assistant Masters' Association
APS	Association of Preparatory Schools
ARP	Air Raid Precautions
APSSM	Association of Public School Science Masters
ASPS	Association of Staffs of Preparatory Schools
BAAS	The British Association for the Advancement of Science
CEE	Common Entrance Examination
CEO	County Education Officer
DCPS	Dulwich College Preparatory School
DES	Department of Education and Science
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
HMC	Headmasters' Conference
IAPS	Incorporated Association of Preparatory Schools
ICS	Indian Civil Service
IEA	Institute of Economic Affairs
ISIS	Independent Schools Information Service
ISJC	Independent Schools Joint Council
JET	Joint Educational Trust
JSC	Joint Standing Committee
LEA	Local Education Authority
MOSA	Medical Officers of Schools Association
MMA	Music Masters' Association
OPS	Oxford Preparatory School
OTC	Officers' Training Corps
PNEU	Parents' National Education Union
PSA	Private Schools' Association
PSR	*Preparatory Schools Review*

Abbreviations

PPSYB — Public and Preparatory Schools Year Book
SATIPS — Society of Assistants Teaching in Preparatory Schools
SIC — Schools Inquiry Commission or Taunton Commission

List of Tables and Figures

Tables

1 Headmasters of Leading Early Preparatory Schools 41
2 Early and Mid-Victorian National Birthrate 55
3 Domestic Servants in England and Wales, 1851–71 55
4 Nineteenth Century Lay and Clerical Principals: Worcestershire and Warwickshire 84
5 Growth of Entrance Scholarships to Public Schools, 1889–99 111
6 Summer Fields and Public Schools, 1864–1909: Principal Ties 115
7 Accessory Buildings of AHPS Schools, 1900 158
8 *PSR* Articles on Physical Activities in Preparatory Schools, 1895–1965 195
9 Membership of SATIPS, 1954–78 217
10 Population Figures: England and Wales, 1905–35 243
11 LEAs' Expenditure, 1900–39 245
12 IAPS Association Membership, 1930–40 247
13 Taverham Hall Examination Statistics 281

Figure

1 Evolutionary Stages of the Preparatory School 18

Introduction

> In estimating the value of the various steps in a boy's bringing-up, and their respective influence on his character, the period which he spends at a preparatory school is generally disregarded in a most unaccountable way. (*The Saturday Review*, 7 February 1880)

Strange as it may seem to readers familiar with preparatory schools today, there has hitherto been no published history of the English preparatory school. This gap in English educational historiography is even more surprising when it is recalled that since 1816, when R. Ackermann wrote the *History of the Colleges of Winchester, Eton and Westminster, etc.*, many works have been written on the English public school. Yearly the volumes grow in number; meanwhile the English preparatory school remains virtually ignored. Symptomatic of this neglect is the comment with which Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy begins his book, *The Public School Phenomenon:* 'With this book I *complete* [my italics] a study begun some years ago with *The Rise and Fall of the British Nanny.*' Gathorne-Hardy claimed that his was the most complete history of the English public school because it included girls' and progressive schools; nevertheless, he gave only limited attention to the infrastructure of preparatory schools which serve to feed the public schools. At least half a dozen significant general histories of the English public school, together with other volumes dealing with specific aspects of their history, were published in the 1970s and Dr John Rae's book on *The Public School Revolution* appeared in 1981. This preoccupation with public schools underlines the need to pay similar attention to the preparatory schools which are an integral part of the public school system.

The lack of a comprehensive history of preparatory schools has not gone unnoticed. Professor John R. de S. Honey, in *Tom Brown's Universe* (1977), adumbrated the need for greater knowledge concerning preparatory schools for an understanding of the Victorian public school. The present work aims to make good this gap in educational historiography.

The interpretation of the history of the English preparatory school to be found here is the result of thirteen years' study involving visits to individual

preparatory schools and to the headquarters of the Incorporated Association of Preparatory Schools (IAPS) to examine school and Association archives. Institutional and personal links between public and preparatory schools have been established by the examination of the admission registers of certain public schools, whilst a study of *The Times* and the *Preparatory Schools Review* (*PSR*), of school histories, of biography and autobiography has brought to light much valuable information about these underpublicized institutions. Of particular value has been the Report, *Preparatory Schools* [Vol. 6], published in 1900 by the Special Office of Inquiries and Reports of the Board of Education to which volume [Sir] Michael Sadler contributed as editor. This Report examined many facets of preparatory schools at the turn of the century and was an amalgam of contributions from many preparatory school heads and one or two private and public schoolmasters.

Commentary on the English preparatory schools, however, has not been completely absent. In 1966 Mr Philip Masters, a then practising headmaster, attempted in *Preparatory Schools Today* to give a justification of the preparatory schools through a detailed analysis of their contemporary functions and characteristics, but he did not attempt a major historical perspective. More recently the late Mr Arthur Harrison in *How Was That, Sir?* (1975) attempted to provide that historical perspective largely by quoting from the *Preparatory Schools Review*, which yielded several very valuable insights into leaders of the preparatory school world since 1895. Harrison's own rich experience of preparatory schools supplemented the data found in pages of the *PSR*. But this again was not a preparatory schools' history. Even more recently the late Mr A.A.M. Batchelor in *Cradle of Empire* (1981) has alluded to the links between English preparatory and public schools and the British Empire in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but his work was essentially concerned with the history of Temple Grove School. By way of contrast this present work is a more formal history, recognizing the 'mediaeval' and the 'modern' or the difference between the Victorian practice of the earlier schools and the modern pragmatism of preparatory schools today. It considers the origins of preparatory schools going back beyond the nineteenth century. It recognizes that the schools at the beginning and towards the end of that century differed greatly in ethos. The earlier schools were institutions where harsh discipline and Spartan conditions prevailed and contrasted greatly with schools in the last quarter of the century when conditions had improved to such a marked degree that some critics complained of their 'propagating hot-house plants'. The emerging preparatory schools of the early nineteenth century prepared boys for entry to the Royal Navy as well as to public schools; this association with the Royal Navy continued into the twentieth century.

After examining the contributions to the development of boys' preparatory schools of those women, constrained to earn their own living, and of indigent or scholastically-inclined clergy, this book considers other major factors leading in the late nineteenth century, to their consolidation epitomized

in the setting up of the Association of Headmasters of Preparatory Schools (AHPS) in 1892. By 1914 this process of consolidation was virtually complete.

After dealing with the institution of the common entrance examination (1903) — intended to alleviate the burdens on the preparatory schools caused by the subject demands of the many public schools — I am concerned to show how the classics were replaced, first by English in the 1920s as the core subject then by science in the 1960s and 1970s. Other areas of the preparatory school curriculum to be highlighted are music and the arts in which the preparatory schools have been pioneers responding to general educational theory of the pre- and post-war periods. Organized games and the emergence of alternative physical activities are seen as reflecting concurrent developments in the public schools.

Preparatory school assistant masters have often shown themselves to be devoted teachers but their pedagogic role and their relationship to their headmasters have changed: like the headmasters, they have now organized themselves into a highly operative association.

Since the 1920s the preparatory schools have experienced in turn 'the economics of hard times' brought on by the depression years and a declining birth rate; they have experienced war-time evacuation and its many exigencies and the feeling of 'post-war euphoria', caused by increasing demands for preparatory and public school education. Since the 1960s, however, their existence has been under some political threat from the Labour Party which seeks their abolition as well as that of the public schools as institutions outside the maintained educational system. The penultimate chapter examines their response (and that of other independent schools) to this threat in the form of ISIS (the Independent Schools Information Service), whilst the last chapter considers the possible impact of vouchers on their existence.

Prologue: Whatever Happened to Mr Wratislaw?

Prologues precede the piece — in mournful verse;
As undertakers — walk before the hearse.
(David Garrick, *Apprentice*)

As the pendulum of educational opinion (if the Plowden Report is anything to go by) swings back to the view that the academic die of boys and girls is cast before the age of eight — indeed if not before the age of five — attention has switched to what happens in school before and after those ages. This is especially so since parents are now so much more interested in what the schools can do that they are having to be promised a much greater say in what schools intend to accomplish for their children — a promise which might well be implemented by the issue of educational 'vouchers' enabling them to choose their own schools.[1] If the opposition from the teachers' unions to such vouchers is to be evaded, there have to be schools in the private sector which would accept those vouchers. These already exist in the shape of preparatory schools. Yet whereas books about 'public schools' are continually exfoliating, those on preparatory schools are singularly rare, and even those which do appear are but pious histories of particular schools.

The purpose of this book is to remedy that gap. Painstakingly compiled from 'customers' opinions' as expressed in autobiographies of pupils and masters, and from biographies of the great and good that have attended them, it eschews high-flying theories and sticks to attested facts. It is neither an apologia for, nor a polemic against, the most neglected institution in the variegated British educational system and the author hopes that those who read it will not hesitate to communicate with him if they have had personal experience of, or think they have information about, any school, mentioned or unmentioned, in the following pages.

But first we must agree on what constitutes a 'preparatory' school. In the nineteenth century the adjective 'preparatory' was often used interchangeably with 'private'. Thus the private school at Ilminster,[2] attended in 1830 by the eight-year-old Edward Thring, the future headmaster of Uppingham, was in later terminology clearly a 'preparatory' or at least a 'quasi-preparatory' school

(a term we examine in Chapter 2). But in 1830 it was indistinguishable in name from other private schools which were *not* necessarily preparing young boys for entry into the 'great' or 'public' schools.

'Preparatory' in the nineteenth century covered both its present English and American meanings: the former connoting schools educating young boys before they went to a public school; the latter, schools preparing boys for university. Accepting this two-fold meaning of the term, it is easy to see why historians have hitherto fought shy of attempting a synoptic history of preparatory schools, as they have equally willingly written books on the collectivity of public schools, board schools, grammar schools and, indeed, universities.

Linked to this qualitative problem is one of numbers. It is extremely difficult to uncover any reliable statistical material. In estimating the number of preparatory schools in England at any point in the nineteenth century (as with secondary schools) one is not only hampered by the elasticity of terminology[3] but also because it is difficult to differentiate between an instructional group and a school. Indigent clergymen (like Dr Thomas Arnold with his large family) might have regarded their part-time pedagogical activity as 'taking in a few pupils', or they might have regarded it as 'keeping a rectory school'. Where can the line be drawn? How can acceptable statistics be given about the number of preparatory schools at any one time in the absence of any definition of a school and in the presence of such vagueness in terminology? But one thing we do know. The large rectories of Victorian England were an ideal setting for such activities.

But what about 'dames', those 'surplus women' of the nineteenth century who made a living this way? Indeed they had to, for the surplus grew as men were siphoned off to foreign parts. They actually called their establishments 'preparatory' even though they did not prepare boys for public schools. As many entries in nineteenth century county trades and commercial directories indicate, especially those for counties containing large conurbations such as Birmingham, these were not preparatory schools in the 'classical' sense: they prepared children of tradesmen for a life above that of the 'common' herd who went to the 'National' or the 'British' schools. Since they confound the unwary and sabotage efforts to compile reliable statistics, I have examined only schools[4] known to be 'preparatory', that is, they prepared boys between eight and thirteen for the public schools and the Royal Navy.[5] Working back from statistics of private schools given by [Lord] Bryce in 1895—some 15,000—it is apparent that preparatory schools were many fewer,[6] and also many fewer than the more conservative estimate of 6209 private schools cited by a survey conducted two years later by the Education Department.[7] The latter survey is important in that the AHPS participated in it.[8] Then over 200 strong, the AHPS helped to uncover the existence of some 6209 'private' schools, 1958 of which were boys' schools, 3173 girls' and 1078 were mixed. But boys' preparatory schools — both inside and outside the association — could not have constituted many more than 400 in 1900, according to Mr C.C. Cotterill,

the Hon. Secretary of the AHPS. As the return of 1897 itself suggested: 'No clear line can be drawn between the case of a gentleman who takes a number of private pupils into his house, and that of one who teaches a similar number of pupils, but calls his establishment a school.'[9]

Eleven years later in *John Bull and His Schools* (1908) W.R. Lawson expressed himself satisfied with its exhaustive inventory, crediting it with including 'practically every kind of upper class school in England and Wales [*sic*] not receiving State aid. It extends from Eton to the smallest private school of which any record can be obtained.'[10] But the man ultimately responsible for the return, Mr (later Sir) George Kekewich, ruefully confessed that the whole matter was exceedingly obscure.

By the beginning of the twentieth century both public and preparatory schools recognized their mutual inter-independence and the latter were regarded as being a very important part of the public schools' infrastructure. Despite this seemingly natural coalescence the process was by no means inevitable. The divergent origins of the two types of school could have been a major factor militating against such a union as could also have been the preparatory schools' nineteenth (even twentieth) century connections with the Royal Navy. Curricular requirements, for example, by the Royal Navy could even have had a negative influence on the gradual coalescence of preparatory and public schools during the second half of the nineteenth century.

There were, however, several strong reasons for public and preparatory schools becoming one articulated system. The older public schools had long employed dames to look after some of the non-academic aspects of the boys' lives. At Eton, for example, dames even kept boarding houses, the last being 'Evans', owned by a Miss Evans as late as 1906.[11] Moreover, women had long been regarded as being specially suited to looking after young boys. It was therefore very natural for many women, with a need to earn an income, to turn to the teaching of the very young sons of gentlemen in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The schools they ran were known by contemporaries as 'dame-preparatory' schools (see Chapter 7). During the nineteenth century some of these dame-preparatory schools gradually established themselves as feeder-schools of public schools but many of the dames, because of their lack of a classical education, ran schools preparatory to the emerging Classical Preparatory schools. In modern terminology they would be called 'pre-preparatory schools'.

The second propellant of the preparatory school was the indigent clergyman. As early as the eighteenth century they began to absent themselves from their parishes to become full-time private classical schoolmasters,[12] preparing boys for entry to the universities. Now, with the 'revival' of the endowed grammar schools and the growth of public schools in size and numbers, it was increasingly difficult to take in private pupils as did the Reverend William Gilpin,[13] Vicar of Boldre in the New Forest, whose school at Cheam later crystallized into a 'famous' preparatory school. Other private classical schools had grown so large that they demanded the total attention and time of the

clergymen[14] if they were to be conducted professionally. This, however, did not prevent other private classical schools being conducted in rectories, preparing a handful of pupils for public schools. Thus Highclere, another eighteenth century school, developed boarding house extensions attached to the rectory, and so would have been rather atypical in the nineteenth century. Other rectories, with their many rooms, were generally large enough for the relatively small number of pupils. The emergence in the early decades of the nineteenth century of the all-age private classical schools such as Twyford and Temple Grove (concentrating on the education of younger boys) set an example to clergymen who began to specialize in a like manner. By the 1830s, therefore, such private classical schools had ceased to be rivals to the public schools. Cheam, on the other hand, did not become fully preparatory until 1855 (see Chapter 10).

A third contributory factor in the emergence of preparatory schools as a recognized avenue to the public school was even simpler: public school assistant masters began, for one reason or another, to set up their own schools, retaining links with their former schools either by naming their school after their public school (as did the Reverend Herbert Bull of Wellington House, Westgate-on-Sea) or by association (as did Mr Alfred Kirk of Arnold House, Leamington) — or in a more concrete way by sending boys in large numbers to their former public schools (as did the Reverend Lancelot Sanderson, former assistant master of Harrow School and headmaster of Elstree from 1869 onwards).

Although the rise of the preparatory schools occurred later than that of the public schools, the one being determined to a larger extent by the other, both rode on the national expansion to empire and industrial hegemony. Ironically the Industrial Revolution was at the heart of this, as with other scholastic booms. The newly prosperous classes of early and mid-nineteenth century England hungered for gentility — or for their sons' acquaintance with the genteel — which the preparatory schools were eager to supply. The *nouveau riche* wanted 'polish'; the lower middle class wished their children to rise in the world. Hence the emergence of day preparatory schools whose ethos was less pretentious than some of the earlier boarding type preparatory schools I have mentioned.

Just as the railways 'made' Rugby, so the spread of lines made it possible for the preparatory schools to flourish in large numbers during the 1860s and 1870s, for those were the years when competitive examinations began to bite deeply into *family* 'connections'. The *new* 'connection' was to go to a school or coach which catered for these life hurdles. Wishing to gain an academic reputation in the light of parental demands for results in public and university examinations, many public schools now began to offer scholarships.[15] Alongside these highly competitive scholarship examinations, the public schools also introduced entrance examinations. As a result the judicious parent who wanted a son to attend a public school would first send him to a preparatory school, in much the same way as his contemporaries sought for their sons' entry to the

Army or the Indian Civil Service (ICS) by sending them to a 'crammer'.[16] Parents soon realized that a preparatory school was the best way of assuring entry, especially in view of the relationship that certain preparatory schools had established with certain public schools.[17]

The rise of the public schools themselves, therefore, constituted a most important factor in the rise of the preparatory schools. Notwithstanding the already ample publication on the subject of public schools, there is still need here for a brief consideration of their growth in the nineteenth century in relation to preparatory schools. In the early years of the century, there were but a handful of 'great' schools, sometimes called 'public schools', which enjoyed national reputations by dint of recruiting boys from all parts of the country. According to Sydney Smith, writing in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1810, a public school was by definition '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'.[18] The reference to eight- and nine-year-old boys is of great significance for us since it establishes, early in the century at least, a shared responsibility between public and 'private' schools for the education of very young boys before it became the peculiar responsibility of preparatory schools. Such 'public' schools, according to R. Ackermann, their first historian, were limited in number to nine: Winchester, Eton, Westminster, Charterhouse, St Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, Rugby and Christ's Hospital. Eight of these nine schools were to be, later in the century (1861–64), the subject of investigation by a Royal Commission, chaired by Lord Clarendon, which was to give them thereafter a permanently high-ranking scholastic status. The exclusion of Christ's Hospital from the Clarendon Commission's investigation and the inclusion of Shrewsbury School reflected both the continuing eleemosynary character of Christ's Hospital in mid-century and the successful opposition of Samuel Butler, headmaster of Shrewsbury (1798–1836), to the earlier omission of his school from being categorized as a 'public school', implicit in Henry Brougham's abortive Bill of 1820.[19]

The public schools had been subject to much criticism from the *Edinburgh Review* in the early years of the nineteenth century and later from *The Westminster Review*, which circumstance no doubt contributed to their institutional instability. The numbers at the public schools during the early years tended to fluctuate quite considerably. The reforms initiated by Samuel Butler at Shrewsbury and by Thomas Arnold at Rugby contributed possibly to the wider acceptance by society of these schools, despite the obloquy in influential journals of keen critics such as Sydney Smith and Henry Brougham.

The Clarendon schools were Anglican and endowed but it was not long before schools, neither Anglican nor endowed, were founded to meet the demands from a socially mobile populace for a classical education. At least two major ways of financing such schools consequently emerged. Some schools, such as Mill Hill, the nonconformist school founded in 1807, were founded on public subscription; others, such as Cheltenham College (1841) and Marl-

borough College (1843), were founded on a joint-stock basis and became leading proprietary schools.[20] Thus to the nine Clarendon schools were added proprietary schools such as Cheltenham (1841), Marlborough (1843), Rossall (1844), Wellington (1853) and Malvern (1862); revived endowed grammar schools such as Repton (1557), Uppingham(1584) and Sherborne (1550); denominational schools such as Stonyhurst (Roman Catholic), Kingswood (Methodist) and Bootham (Quaker); and private schools such as Bradfield (1850) and Bloxham (1860), owned initially by private individuals. To these generic groupings of nineteenth century public schools must be added two discrete systems of Anglican schools: the Woodard Schools such as Lancing, Hurstpierpoint and Ardingly, inspired by the Reverend Nathaniel Woodard; and the County Schools, such as West Buckland School and Elmham School (now defunct), the creations of the Reverend Joseph Lloyd Brereton.[21] There was, therefore, a great burgeoning of English public schools during the middle decades of the nineteenth century, culminating by the end of the Victorian period in what Honey has described as 'the public schools community'. This 'godly and manly' community was based firmly on the institutions of games,[22] religion and chapel.

This nineteenth century process affected the growth of preparatory schools. Because public schools entered a period of renewed prosperity during Victoria's reign there was a tendency for them to become large institutions. Arising from the size of large institutions there was seen to be a need for preparatory schools to shelter the shorn lamb from the rigours of a senior school.

Thomas Arnold was averse to the presence of very young boys in his school. This was one of the bones of contention between him and Mr W.F. Wratislaw, a Rugby parent and solicitor, which brought them to court.[23] The Wratislaw case exemplified two complementary aspects in the development of public schools in the nineteenth century — the provision of a non-classical education in response to local demand and the education of very young boys — both of which directly affected the development of preparatory schools, although in the case of the former aspect this can be only conjectured.

There had been a tendency for the parents of boys attending locally endowed schools to exert pressure on the schools to vary the classical curriculum to include commercial subjects. The classic example of this was the Leeds Grammar School case of 1805 which had led to Lord Eldon's judgment.[24] This judicial pronouncement safeguarded the classical curriculum of many grammar schools for at least three decades. But the insistent demands of locals for a non-classical education for their sons, based on rights enunciated by the founders' wills, was often deftly avoided by the device of setting up a second school on the foundation to meet these lower middle class aspirations. Three products of this sloughing off process were Alleyn's School (on the same foundation as Dulwich College); the Lawrence Sheriff School (on the same foundation as Rugby); and the John Lyon School (on the same foundation as Harrow). In the case of Tonbridge two schools were formed — the Skinners'

School and the Judde School — to retain the scholastic purity of the old foundation. It can be inferred that at the end of the century these new 'second grade' schools contributed to the eventual demise of many private adventure schools by offering a commercial curriculum on terms of keen financial rivalry. This in turn led to several private schoolmasters becoming purely 'preparatory' schoolmasters. J.V. Milne, for example, kept a private commercial school at Henley House, Kilburn,[25] but later moved to Westgate-on-Sea in Thanet, Kent, where he set up a preparatory school at Streete Court in 1894. After purging his original school of day boys over fourteen, Milne had a nucleus of ten boys with which to start his new school. It prospered and increased to fifty: an average size for a preparatory school in the late nineteenth century. As his more famous son, A.A. Milne, observed, he was 'convinced' that there was no future for his sort of private school. The only privately-owned school which could now succeed was the preparatory school for boys under fourteen.[26]

It was the second aspect of the Wratislaw case, however, which was more closely connected with the early development of preparatory schools. Arnold was one of the first to realize that small boys of eight or nine who had been traditionally taught their early letters in school with senior boys, were probably better off segregated. It is no accident therefore that in the year 1837, when Arnold abolished his Form 1, there opened on the Isle of Wight (where Arnold was born) a school which was later to be recognized as the first English preparatory school.

Notes

1 Cf. A.C.F. Beales, *et al.* (1967) *Education: A Framework for Choice*, Old Woking, Institute of Economic Affairs.
2 G.R. Parkin, *Edward Thring, Headmaster of Uppingham School: Life Diary and Letters*, Macmillan & Co. p. 12.
3 Cf. Admiral Sir William Goodenough, (1943) *A Rough Record*, Hutchinson p. 12. Goodenough not surprisingly hesitates in his description of Temple Grove and other 'preparatory' schools in 1875. He writes: 'Temple Grove, then, with Eagle House and Hawtreys, among the — what shall I call them? — better known *private* schools of the day....' Cf. also the article in *The Saturday Review*, 7 February 1880, 'Private or Preparatory Schools', 49, 87, p. 175. The AHPS on the other hand was angry with the Bryce Commissioners for failing to make the distinction.
4 Cf. Appendix, 'Preparatory Schools Founded in the Nineteenth Century'.
5 Cf. Chapter 3.
6 The Bryce Report figures were based mainly on the estimates of the College of Preceptors and the Private Schools Association which, in turn, based their estimates on trade lists for Longmans and Macmillans, booksellers. These lists are no longer extant.
7 Its full title is: *Return of the Pupils in Public and Private Secondary and Other Schools (Not Being Public, Elementary, or Technical Schools) in England (Excluding Monmouthshire) and of the Teaching Staff in Such Schools on the 1st June 1897.*
8 Although preparatory schools catered largely for boys between the ages of eight and thirteen they were nevertheless regarded as 'secondary' by the Committee of Council on Education. In 1897 the term 'secondary' had class connotations which

were only fully removed by the 1944 Education Act, which reorganized education in England and Wales into three consecutive stages. By this act preparatory schools became independent primary schools.

9 P.P. 1898 Return, p. 564.

10 W.R. Lawson (1908) *John Bull and his Schools*, Edinburgh, Blackwood and Sons p. 42.

11 J.D.R. McConnell, *Eton, How It Works*, Faber & Faber p. 26.

12 Nicholas Hans (1951) *New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp. 117–135.

13 Cf. Edward Peel, *Cheam School from 1645*, Gloucester, Thornhill Press pp. 35–6.

14 Laymen also conducted private classical schools but the majority of private classical schoolmasters were clergymen. (Cf. Appendix 1 of Nicholas Hans, *op. cit.*, pp. 221–42.

15 See Chapter 8.

16 Cf. D.P. Leinster-Mackay (1981) 'Competitive examinations in Victorian England: The development and decline of "cramming",' *ANZHES Journal*, 10, 1, Autumn, pp. 24–34.

17 See Chapter 8.

18 Article III Remarks on the System of Education in Public Schools, *Edinburgh Review*, vol. 16, 1810, p. 327.

19 Brougham's Education Bill of 1820 set out to introduce reading, writing and accounts in English endowed grammar schools to remedy deficiencies in the teaching of young boys. Cf. J.W. Adamson (1930) *English Education 1789–1902*, 1964 ed., Cambridge University Press pp. 53–5.

20 Cf. D.P. Leinster-Mackay (1981) 'English proprietary schools: A Victorian marriage between commerce and education,' *Education Research and Perspectives*, 8, 1, June, pp. 44–56.

21 Cf. J.R. de S. Honey (1977) *Tom Brown's Universe, The Development of the Public School in the 19th century*, Millington pp. 47–103.

22 Cf. J.A. Mangan (1981) *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School*, Cambridge University Press.

23 Cf. T.W. Bamford (1960) *Tomas Arnold*, The Cresset Press pp. 128–42.

24 Cf. R.S. Tomson (1970) 'The Leeds Grammar School Case of 1805', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 3, 1, December, pp. 1–6.

25 J.V. Milne, father of A.A. Milne, was an autodidact who took up teaching without any degree. By slow stages he gained a London BA [H.G. Wells was once a master at Milne's School in Kilburn] Elected as Hon. Secretary of the Private Schools' Association (PSA) in 1888, Milne was later twice President of the Association which he had helped to organize initially. It is interesting to see J.V. Milne dilating on similar topics in the journals of the PSA and the AHPS.

26 A.A. Milne, (1939) *It's Too Late Now*, Methuen p. 84.

Part 1

Emergence

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1 Beginnings

A child that has gone thro' this essay, and been successful in these initial and preparatory studies; that has made himself well acquainted with his Mother Tongue; learnt some general rules of Grammar; and attain'd a Degree of Knowledge above his age; will soon adorn the school he enters.
(From Anonymous (1732) *A Thought Relating to Education Offered to the Examination of Such As Have Noblemen or Gentlemen (from Age of 8–12 aut circiter) under Their Care*, London)

And that God which cause the immense rivers to flow from small spring-heads, vouchsafe to blesse these weak beginnings in tender age, that good learning may proceed hence to its full perfection in riper years.
(Charles Hoole (1660) *A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School*)

Catholic Conception

A strong case has been made that the English preparatory school originated within the structure of seventeenth century Roman Catholic education.[1] For having to operate a private system of education from the time of the passing of the Elizabethan penal laws (1563–93) until their abolition in 1791, wealthy catholics found it both expensive and inconvenient to send their sons to schools like Douai (1568) and St Omer (1592) on the continent and, as the penal laws relaxed, sent them to 'illegal' schools in England.

The first of these 'illegal' schools— Silkstead, close to Winchester — had been opened during the reign of James II, and moved to Twyford[2] in Hampshire in c.1692. It would seem that after the school moved to Twyford it became concerned largely with the education of younger boys. Linking Twyford School with another Catholic school founded in 1749 by Bishop Challoner[3] (at Standon Lordship, Hertfordshire), E.H. Burton, Challoner's biographer, wrote:

> The success of Twyford showed that there were many Catholics of good position who did not wish to send their *younger boys* [my italics] across the seas ... it was desirable that a new school should be established within a convenient distance of London.[4]

Within twenty years the school at Standon Lordship was moved to Old Hall, Ware,[5] to become a harbour of refuge for English boys forced to return to England because of the French revolution. A copy of 'Rules of Standon School' dated 1799 indicates that amongst officials of the school at the end of the eighteenth century was a 'Superior of the Preparatory School'.[6] This suggests that Ware did not entirely lose its original function as soon as the senior boys arrived from the continent. Other early Catholic 'preparatory' schools were to be founded at Sedgeley Park (1763),[7] Bornhem House Academy (1797) at Carshalton[8] and Tudhoe Academy (1797) in County Durham.[9]

The Catholic 'preparatory' schools were the first schools in England to manifest all three principles (see below) of *separation*, *preparation* and *rustication*, characteristic of later orthodox English preparatory schools. For this reason these Catholic schools must take a prime place in any examination of preparatory schools' antecedents.

Native Roots

Of course there were other precursors. We can identify the basic essentials of preparatory school education — namely (i) the preparation of the young eventually to take their places in institutions largely concerned with the teaching of the classics;[10] (ii) the separation of young from older boys for education in discrete institutions; and (iii) the boarding, mainly in the country, of young boys for this purpose[11] — quite early. These three characteristics of preparatory schools, designated above respectively as the norms of 'preparation', 'separation', and 'rustication',[12] can be seen in early elementary, writing or ABC schools;[13] song schools; and petty schools. Each of these three earlier types of school has something in common with the later preparatory school.

Indeed school was perceived as being mainly *preparatory* before Tudor times, that is, for future study of the classics in a grammar school. And in Tudor and Stuart times both Richard Mulcaster[14] (1530–1611) and John Brinsley[15] (1585–1665) assumed that the elementary school and its curriculum of reading, writing, drawing and music formed a necessary foundation for those going on to study the classics. Thus the mediaeval elementary school paralleled the modern preparatory school in its norm of *preparation*.

The second precursor (of this section) — the mediaeval song school — was, in Foster Watson's words, 'the most important type of elementary school before the Reformation'.[16] Like other elementary schools, the song schools provided a rudimentary education for those who later were to study the classics. The learning of Latin antiphons by rote provided a preparation, of a kind, for future studies in Latin and the classics. After some while there began

to emerge in the elementary or song school an 'upper division'[17] which was concerned overtly with those going on to study in a cathedral or grammar school. In such cases the nexus between cathedral or grammar schools and song schools clearly anticipated the later links between public and preparatory schools.

With regard to the third precursor, it is significant that Foster Watson used the terms 'petty' and 'preparatory' synonymously when dealing with Charles Hoole's 'small treatise' on the petty school[18] in *The Old Grammar Schools.*[19] Clearly, Foster Watson, who died in 1929 and lived well into the period of twentieth century institutionalized preparatory school development, was not strictly equating preparatory schools with petty schools. Nevertheless, his synonymous use of the terms suggests that he recognized the similarities between the two institutions. After being initially part of the grammar school set-up in post-Reformation England, the petty school master, by the seventeenth century, was teaching his pupils in a separate school building. It seems likely that one of the main agents of change in this evolution of the petty school was the increasing pressure of the university on the grammar school. There is a familiar twentieth century ring about Foster Watson's point concerning academic pressures from the universities:

> With good and advanced pupils to teach and a small staff ordinarily consisting of a master and an usher for teaching them, the work of preparation for the University of senior pupils became impossible if *there were 'petties' requiring the instruction which preceded the learning of Latin Grammar* [my italics].[20]

Because of such pressures, schools like Alford Grammar School (Lincolnshire) and Merchant Taylors' School (Middlesex), anticipating Arnold in the nineteenth century, refused to admit pupils who had not mastered the rudiments.[21] This rejection of the 'petties' by the endowed grammar schools led to the emergence of private schools catering for them, a development which has close parallels with the emergence of dame/preparatory schools (see pp. 15 and 91–101). It also provides us with a fourth norm — absent before but essential in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries — *the private profit motive.*

So far, apart from the Roman Catholic schools, consideration has been given only to schools which, though sharing characteristics with preparatory schools, had no ontogenic ties. We now turn to three directly-linked antecedents: Christ's Hospital's Hertford division; private classical schools; and dame preparatory schools.

The Example of Christ's Hospital

From its foundation in 1552, Christ's Hospital had two schoolmasters to teach the petties their ABC.[22] It is not known for certain when the school began to

use the three Hertfordshire villages or towns of Hoddesdon,[23] Ware[24] and Hertford to cater for the youngest children destined for Christ's Hospital, Newgate Street.[25] But there is evidence to show not only that Christ's Hospital nurses were operating in Hertfordshire at the time of the Great Fire of London (1666)[26] but also that earlier, in the 1650s, pupils had been attending school in Hertford as part of the Christ's Hospital system.[27] It was customary for boys to spend two or three months at Hertford until such time as they became proficient in reading and writing, when they went on to the senior school.[28] This pattern continued up to 1891, with few going straight to the senior school without first spending some time at Hertford.[29]

Between 1680 and 1682 the three provincial branches of Christ's Hospital were merged into the one establishment at Hertford which served both boys and girls. In 1781 the boys at Hertford began to learn the rudiments of the classics with the appointment of a grammar master. Christ's Hospital classical preparatory school can be dated from this appointment.[30] The Governors inspected the school once a year. A few days later, wagon-loads of boys and girls would be taken to London.[31] If Charles Lamb in *Christ's Hospital Five-and-Thirty Years Ago* and Leigh Hunt in his *Autobiography* are to be believed, the three or four months at Hertford helped to shelter the shorn lambs (no pun intended) from the rigours of harsh public school life.

From this brief examination of Christ's Hospital in Hertfordshire it is clear that, as in the Catholic Schools of Twyford and Standon Lordship, all three criteria of preparatory schools, namely *separation, preparation* and *rustication*, can be seen operating from an early date.

The Private Classical School

In his pioneer study, *New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century* (1951), Nicholas Hans drew his readers' attention to the existence in the eighteenth century of private classical schools[32] which differed both from the contemporary private academies and from the endowed grammar schools. By contrast with the private academies offering a wide utility-based curriculum, the private classical schools were concerned with a traditional curriculum and with entry to the universities. They differed from the typical local endowed grammar schools in having a more wealthy clientèle and in being generally boarding in character. For those wanting a liberal education in the classics, these private classical schools formed an alternative to the endowed grammar and 'great' or 'public' schools. It is thus irrelevant to consider them in relation to the norms of 'separation' and 'preparation'. However, since most of these private classical schools were boarding schools, they met the third criterion of *rustication*, which has been postulated several times as being one of the essential characteristics of nineteenth century preparatory schools. Moreover, they exemplified the fourth characteristic which became an essential feature of the nineteenth century preparatory school emerging as an identifiable new form of

educational provision: they were run for *private profit*.[33] The importance of the classical schools such as Cheam School competing with the public schools rather than providing them with pupils cannot be overestimated in any consideration of the origins of the English preparatory school. Moreover, as we shall see in the next two chapters, they were adaptive products of their age, adjusting to the new circumstances of the early nineteenth century and giving themselves a new preparatory role in a changing educational world.

The Dame Preparatory School

Whereas the surviving private classical schools[34] changed their function roughly in mid-century by preparing younger boys for entry into public schools rather than preparing older boys for entry into university, the dame/preparatory schools upgraded their educational activity to meet a demand for nineteenth century preparatory schools as the century progressed. It is likely, however, that many of the dame/preparatory schools did not cater for the full age-range, their pupils being of an age equivalent to that of the younger boys in preparatory schools or to that of pupils of pre-preparatory schools. In such schools the sons of gentlemen gained a grasp of the rudiments of learning before going on to the classical preparatory school to begin their study of the classics. In these cases the dame/preparatory school can be seen to be performing the function of the petties in the seventeenth century. Although contemporaries were probably happy in their use of the term 'dame' to describe the nature of these quasi-preparatory schools, the educational historian of the English preparatory school, as indicated in the Prologue, is likely to have difficulty in examining the records, since the term was applied to a wide spectrum of schools from unpretentious little back street schools in industrial towns such as Birmingham[35] to modish establishments in spa towns such as Malvern and Leamington and in seaside resorts such as Eastbourne and Brighton. These schools will be examined more closely in Chapter 7 when we come to examine the role of women in the development of preparatory schools. Suffice it to say at this stage that the dame/preparatory schools were an integral part of preparatory schools later in the nineteenth century not only satisfying the criteria of *separation, preparation* and *rustication* but also showing the common characteristic of the *private profit motive*.

The Process of Change

Because the emergent preparatory school of the nineteenth century had precursors in preceding centuries and because some of them such as the private classical school and the dame preparatory school could be regarded as directly lineal forbears, it is very difficult to identify the *first* English preparatory school *per se* if a condition of such identification is that the school should satisfy all the

later assumptions about what constitutes the modern preparatory school. It is not till late in the nineteenth century, when public schools *per se* ceased to take boys at an early age;[36] when other schools ceased to include the preparation of boys for public schools as one of their functions; and when parents[37] began to seek some protection for their sons of tender years that it becomes possible to discern clearly what is meant by an English preparatory school. Even though such a school was still generically referred to as a 'private school', several such schools had been in existence for some years.

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

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

The figure of twenty-two foundations before 1800 is astonishing: nearly all such schools were probably cathedral or choir schools.[38] Although founded in earlier centuries, these schools did not become preparatory schools till the late nineteenth century, and only two were members of the Association of Headmasters of Preparatory Schools (AHPS) by the end of the century.[39] Masters' other statistics for the nineteenth century are more valid and show a very slow pace of growth in the first half of the century, with a significant acceleration in the third quarter which developed into a gallop in the last quarter. It was only in the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century that the preparatory school became firmly established and institutionalized.

By mid-century the days of the private classical school, as an all-age institution in competition with grammar schools, were numbered. Some clergy in country rectories[40] continued, as they had probably done since the seventeenth century, to prepare boys in classical studies for the universities. But many were turning also to the preparation of younger boys for public schools. With the introduction of middle class examinations in the 1850s, such schools acquired yet another function, so that in the 1860s and 1870s many hybrid schools existed with a three-fold function of preparation for public school, for public examinations and for public service. It was from these hybrid schools, from the country rectories, from private coaching establishments[41] and from the upper-class dame schools that 'quasi-preparatory' schools emerged in the decades of the mid-century.

The Importance of Clarendon

The middle years of the century were the watershed of the development of the preparatory schools. The term 'preparatory' was used then less precisely. The Rev. J. Pycroft referred in 1843 to the custom of using the term for a finishing

school for young gentlemen.[42] On the other hand, the Rev. William Pound, writing in 1866, did *not* use this term to describe schools preparing young boys for public school: instead he adopted the term 'Intermediate'[43] to indicate schools intermediate between home and public school. This does suggest continuing variation in terminology in the mid-century.

But the *Clarendon Report* (1864) was in no doubt about the nomenclature of the schools from which public schools recruited most of their boys. Not only did it discuss the age of transfer from preparatory to public school but it also considered preparatory schools' deficiencies.[44] Whatever its strictures, the Report recognized the need for the *separate* treatment of young boys. In recommending the separation of the Lower School from the Upper School at Eton, the report declared that: 'the care and instruction of little boys is as important and, in some cases, as difficult as the care and instruction of older boys';[45] but at the same time great incentive was given to the private preparatory school by the fact that the boys in the Lower School at Eton 'should have no preference over the boys from private schools in the admissions to the Upper School.'[46]

The Schools Inquiry Commission, reporting four years later, also recognized that *separate* schools were needed for the teaching of boys going on to first grade schools and that such preparatory schools already existed.[47] For example, in his Report on Surrey and Sussex Mr Giffard gave a profile of fifteen preparatory schools in his area, with valuable details about their sizes, their fees and the subjects they taught.[48]

If the Clarendon and Taunton Commission Reports were clear as to the discrete existence of a *genre* of private school, sometimes called 'preparatory', it would seem the Bryce Commission of 1894/95 enquiring into English Secondary Education was not: they seemed to ignore them.[49]

They were ignored initially, however, not because they were thought not to be a type of private school different from schools whose heads were members of the Private Schools Association,[50] but because there was some doubt as to their 'secondary' nature.[51] As Chapter 11 suggests, the AHPS was constrained to make the claim rather forcefully before it was finally accepted that preparatory schools were 'secondary' schools.

The Profit and the Loss

There was no shortage by the end of the century of individuals willing to take up the venture of preparing boys for the flourishing public schools. But there is some conflict of opinion as to the profitability of such preparatory institutions. Although the will of Mr A.H.A. Morton, a successful preparatory schoolmaster, was executed with a net personalty of £145,473 in 1913,[52] this was no doubt exceptional. According to Mr R.J.S. Curtis,[53] the charge was never high nor the profit large, as 'anyone can discover for himself who cares to look up at Somerset House the estates left by preparatory school proprietors in the last

hundred years.'[54] On the other hand the scholastic agency Gabbitas-Thring suggests[55] that as there is no record of such schools closing in large numbers it can be assumed that a private preparatory school was a profitable undertaking, at least for the headmaster. The continuing rise in the supply of preparatory schools up to the First World War seems to confirm this.

From this examination of the origins and development of preparatory schools in the nineteenth century and earlier it can be seen that the educational historian needs to adopt, perhaps, the term 'quasi-preparatory school' to describe schools of a preparatory nature during the first six decades after the end of the Napoleonic Wars. This need is based on the realistic assumption that it is paradoxical to perceive the rise of the English preparatory school *before* there was any significant increase in the size and number of English public schools. As David Ricardo observed in another context: 'a commodity is not supplied merely because it can be produced, but because there is a demand for it.'[56] Thus it was in the development of English preparatory schools.

The Four Stages of Development

To recapitulate, there were four main stages in the development of nineteenth century 'quasi-preparatory' and preparatory schools. Stage 1 was the period up to about 1830, by which date a few private classical schools had abandoned their previous practice of preparing some or all their boys for university and were concentrating largely if not exclusively on preparation for the great schools. Stage 2 was the period up to about 1865 when many other private schools followed suit, causing them to be recognized officially by the Clarendon and Taunton Royal Commissions as 'preparatory' for public schools. Stage 3 was the period ending in 1892, by which time other private schools and schoolmasters had turned to preparatory schooling because of competition from revived endowed grammar schools and higher grade schools following the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 and the Elementary Education Act of 1870.[57] Stage 4 was the period after 1892 when the institutionalizing of preparatory schools as a *genre* of school had been formalized by the setting up of the AHPS. This evolution can perhaps be shown diagrammatically as in Figure 1.

Against such a background of stages of development, it can be seen that some schools satisfied the criteria entitling them to be regarded as preparatory

Figure 1. Evolutionary Stages of the Preparatory School

1800–1830	Private
1830–1865	Quasi-preparatory
1865–1892	Preparatory
1892+	AHPS ⟹ (IAPS)

schools in the modern sense long before those norms were themselves generally recognized.

It was calculated at the beginning of the twentieth century[58] that some £1,320,000 was being spent per annum by parents on preparatory school education at more than 200 preparatory schools. By 1899 there were 228 preparatory schools[59] in Great Britain represented in the AHPS and there are grounds for believing that as many again existed which were not members.[60] By the end of the nineteenth century the English preparatory school was firmly established. The rest of this book seeks to examine more closely the shape of that development.

Notes

1 Cf. *The Preparatory Schools Review* (*PSR*) June 1939, 12, 133, pp. 54–5. Cf. also the thesis of F.C. PRITCHARD (1938) *The History and Development of Boys' Preparatory Schools in England*, MA London, pp. 21–2.
2 The Roman Catholic School at Twyford was attended by ALEXANDER POPE. During the early eighteenth century it declined and was finally closed when the Jacobite rising of 1745 rendered Catholics in England suspect of treason. The Catholic School at Twyford is not linked with the early nineteenth century preparatory school in the same village. Cf. Chapter 2.
3 Cf. E.H. BURTON (1909) *The Life and Times of Bishop Challoner (1691–1781)*, 2 vols, Longmans & Co. Vol. 1, pp. 290–4.
4 BURTON, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 290. H.O. EVENNETT in *The Catholic Schools of England and Wales* (1944) Cambridge University Press cites the foundation as 1753 following the earlier dating by Mgr. BERNARD WARD in *History of St Edmund's College* Kegan Paul (1893).
5 The school, no longer preparatory in character, continues to exist as St Edmund's College, Ware, Hertfordshire.
6 F.C. PRITCHARD, *PSR*, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
7 Boys at Sedgeley Park were aged between six and fourteen. This school was also founded by BISHOP CHALLONER.
8 Cf. A.S. BARNES, (1926) *The Catholic Schools of England*, Williams and Norgate pp. 93–4.
9 *Ibid.*, p. 113.
10 This was an essential characteristic of preparatory schools until the mid-twentieth century.
11 Preparatory schools have, until recently, been predominantly boarding institutions (cf. Chapter 10).
12 Frequently the rustication took a 'littoral' form, with a preparatory school being set up at the seaside to enable its pupils to benefit from the bracing air (cf. Chapter 10).
13 'Elementary' was a generic term which described those schools which were severally called Reading School, Writing or ABC School. Often those who taught and were taught in such schools were called abcdarians.
14 Cf. RICHARD MULCASTER (1582) *Elementarie* and (1581) *Positions*.
15 Cf. JOHN BRINSLEY, (1612) *Ludus Literarius*.
16 Cf. FOSTER WATSON, (1968) *The English Grammar Schools to 1660*, Frank Cass p. 142., originally published in 1908.
17 Childrey School, founded in 1526 in Berkshire, was an early example. Cf. A.F. LEACH, (1915) *The Schools of Mediaeval England*, Methuen p. 300. NICHOLAS

ORME (1973) in *English Schools in the Middle Ages*, Methuen, refers to the Childrey School as being a chantry school.

18 CHARLES HOOLE, MA (1610–67) educational writer, Master of Rotherham School, later kept a private Grammar School in Lothbury Garden, London and was author of *A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole* (1660) of which 'The Petty-School' formed a part.

19 FOSTER WATSON, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 155.

21 JOHN BRINSLEY in *Ludus Literarius* (1612) strongly advocated the exclusion of petties from the grammar school. This sentiment of course provided him with a *raison d'être* for his scheme of elementary instruction for petty schools in Chapter 10 of his book.

22 FRANCES M. PAGE, (1953) *Christ's Hospital Hertford*, Bell & Sons p. 15.

23 Hoddesdon Grange, in the same village, became a well-known Victorian preparatory school under the Rev. C.G. CHITTENDEN.

24 It is astonishing that Ware should be a focal point for early preparatory school history in providing school sites not only for pioneer Catholics but also for Christ's Hospital.

25 G.A.T. ALLAN, (1937) *Christ's Hospital*, Blackie & Son p. 19.

26 FRANCES PAGE, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

27 It is known that in 1653 boys, boarding out with nurses, attended the school of Mr AARON PETERS at Hertford. PETERS seems to have been considered the first headmaster at Hertford, where his name is recorded on the school boards in the main hall. Cf. F.M. PAGE, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

28 Cf. THOMAS BALSTON, (1952) *William Balston, Papermaker*, Macmillan p. 2.

29 E.H. PEARCE, (1901) *Annals of Christ's Hospital*, Methuen p. 167. Cf. also GEOFFREY RAWSON, *Sea Prelude* Edinburgh & London Blackwood & Son pp. 3–5. RAWSON was at Hertford for a year between the ages of nine and ten. Cf. also HAROLD E. HAIG BROWN (Ed.), (1908) *William Haig Brown of Charterhouse*, Macmillan p. 2. HAIG BROWN went to Hertford at the age of ten in 1833 before going to Christ's Hospital.

30 F.M. PAGE, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

31 E.H. PEARCE, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

32 Cf. HANS, *op. cit.*, Chapter 6, pp. 117–35.

33 The exceptions to this generalization were the junior schools of public schools which were not typical of most of the nineteenth century preparatory schools.

34 Many of the more famous private classical schools, such as Mr ELWELL's School at Hammersmith, the Rev. BARRON's School at Stanmore and Dr HORNE's at Chiswick, did not adapt sufficiently to survive into the late nineteenth century. Others, such as Cheam, Temple Grove and Twyford Schools, ceased to teach older boys.

35 The nineteenth century commercial and trade directories of, for example, Birmingham, are replete with the names of so-called 'preparatory' schools, run by women, whose pupils were *not* destined for the newly emerging English public schools.

36 Examples from the *DNB* show that, until the mid-nineteenth century and beyond, young boys were accepted by public schools, e.g. ROBERT MOBERLY (1845–1903), theologian and son of GEORGE MOBERLY, went to Winchester aged eleven; the bibliographer, ROBERT PROCTOR (1868–1903), entered Marlborough at the age of ten; ALFRED LYTTELTON (1857–1913), lawyer and statesman, went to Eton in 1868 at the age of eleven; ROBERT BRIDGES (1844–1930), poet laureate, was sent to Eton in 1854 at the age of ten. Eton still receives boys at the age of twelve. Cf. *The Clarendon Report* (1864) Vol. 1, p. 93: 'Hardly any age is considered too early, nor any age (under fourteen) too late, for admission into the Lower School (Eton). Boys

may enter as soon as they are able to read; and they in fact enter, not unfrequently [*sic*], at seven years old.' Cf. also ANTHONY TROLLOPE, (1883) *An Autobiography*, Edinburgh p. 4. He joined Harrow in 1822 at the age of seven. Cf. T.W. BAMFORD (1974) *Public School Data*, University of Hull, p. 33 and Tables 9 and 10, pp. 35-7. BAMFORD's statistics include public school junior school boys and therefore do not invalidate the general point.

37 It was customary for the Victorian middle and upper class mother to regard the early schooling of her children, boys as well as girls, as one of her concerns. Father had more say about the public school his son was to attend.

38 Unfortunately the questionnaire papers upon which the figures of this survey were based were confidential in that code numbers were used by the schools. It must be assumed that those who claimed pre-1800 foundation were not answering *qua* early *preparatory* schools foundations.

39 *Viz*., Llandaff Cathedral School and St George's, Windsor, Cf. Chapter 10.

40 See Chapter 6 for the role of rectory schools in the evolution of the English preparatory school.

41 The history of private coaching establishments is a much neglected area of educational historiography. Examples of coaches who became preparatory school masters are: The Rev. C.G. CHITTENDEN of The Grange, Hoddesdon (1854), who had been an assistant coach to the Rev. FRANCIS J. FAITHFULL (Cf. Chapter 6); Lt C.R. MALDEN RN of Windlesham House (1837), who had been a coach before setting up his school.

42 J. PYCROFT, (1843) *On School Education* Longmans, p. 37.

43 WILLIAM POUND, (1866) *Remarks upon English Education in the Nineteenth Century*, Rivingtons p. 26 and *passim*.

44 *Clarendon Report*, Vol. 3 p. 122, Minutes 3736-7, Rev. E. COLERIDGE; Vol. 3, p. 182, Minute 5294, Mr E. WARRE.

45 *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 110.

46 *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 109.

47 Schools Inquiry Commission (SIC), Vol. 1, pp. 88-9.

48 *Ibid*., Vol. 7, p. 172, Table N.

49 See p. 000.

50 The main private schools" organization, 1880-1900. Cf. GORDON B. ROBINSON (1971) *Private Schools and Public Policy*, Loughborough University of Technology, pp. 1-36.

51 "Secondary" status was by no means a clear-cut issue at the end of the nineteenth century. Cf. R.P. SCOTT (1899) *What is Secondary Education*? Rivingtons. The Bryce Commissioners also discussed the meaning of secondary education.

52 Cf. *The Journal of Education*, September 1913, Jottings, p. 626.

53 Formerly Headmaster of Hurst Court Preparatory School, Ore, Sussex, now Vice-President of the IAPS.

54 R.J.S. CURTIS (1957) *The Future of Independent Schools*, University of Sheffield Institute of Education, Occasional Paper No. 3, penultimate page.

55 From correspondence in the author's possession dated 25 August 1970.

56 DAVID RICARDO, (1821:1911) *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* Dent p. 373.

57 The Elementary Education Act of 1870 led to the development, within a decade, of controversial higher grade schools teaching more than just elementary school subjects. Rate-aided and grant-attracting higher grade schools posed a great threat to endowed grammar schools, to private adventure and commercial schools. The 1902 Education Act was the death knell for many of the latter.

58 SPENCER WILKINSON (Ed.) (undated, c.1902/03), *The Nation's Need*, Archibald Constable & Co. p. 171.