

"The professions is a type of 'moral community' which will provide just that element of collective interest which can transcend the unbridled self-seeking, which is regarded as an essential feature of capitalist society" (Noel and Jose Parry)

"Professional institutions are important stabilizing factors in the society and through their international associations they provide an important channel of communication with intellectual leaders of other countries, thereby they help to maintain world order" (Noel and Jose Parry)

"Professional people, writers and artists were, from the point of view of the prevailing class theories, particularly disturbing phenomena, since their relationship to the industrial order was even less clearly defined than that of the other white collar groups" (Noel and Jose Parry)

INTRODUCTION to Ph.D.

Professionals in Britain have existed and have had their beneficial impact felt practically since the Tudor times but it took them a centuries' long evolutionary process to grow into a more or less socially identifiable group in English society. They underwent considerable numerical growth in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but the breakthrough that brought about the real change and produced quality work took place in the nineteenth, when during the reign of Queen Victoria, professionals started proliferating and their occupational pattern became much more diverse than before. It was mainly after the watershed event of the Great Exhibition of 1851 that their work was increasingly sought mainly by the middle class and, as a result of the growing need for welfare and professional services as well as the growing division of labour, professional work became more structured and sophisticated. Consequently, a refined hierarchy started taking shape and besides the ancient traditional branches (medical, legal, clerical and the army), new occupations emerged that could be considered as professional work, such as teaching, acting, architecture, engineering, civil service and a lot more. They required a thorough educational background, expertise in practising them. What is more, people were willing to pay for them, which means that they increasingly created an existential opportunity for the practitioners. For the sake of even better and faster advancement professional people recognized the necessity of organizing themselves into unions and pushed for laws, regulations to protect themselves against those who wanted to impress the public with substandard work.

The professionals grew out of the populous and heterogenous middle class, so no wonder that the bulk of the literature dealing with the Victorian era focuses on this greater unit within the society and only devotes a chapter of two to the intellectual segment, sometimes even treating them as a marginal group. My intention in the dissertation is, therefore, to procede hot on the heels of the historians who have given a thorough, in-depth analysis of professional life in the Victorian century - Harold Perkin, W.J. Reader, T.W. Heyck and F. M. L. Thompson - and to show the essence of the existence of this social sub-class in the last third of the Wonderful Century by using a social history approach. This way I hope to illustrate and prove that the contribution of professionals to the well-being of the English society was far from being marginal and a great number of achievements on the level of the empire and on the national scale would not have been possible at all if they had not done their intellectual work in the

background, rarely in the limelight. Without the reformation of the educational system on all three levels - primary, secondary and higher education - without the general spread of culture and without illuminating the minds of many a good deal of the late Victorian legislation would have materialized much later, if ever. What is more, if British economy is blamed for having lagged behind other rival nations on the eve of the First World War, it would have been even more so without the outstanding achievement of prominent professionals such as John Stuart Mill, Thomas and Matthew Arnold, Lord Clarendon, James Bryce, Joseph Lister and many others who may not have been directly involved in social life and politics but had their own channels to exert their influence.

It is true that one of the most frequently mentioned debates in connection with professionals and the economic performance of the country in the closing decade of the century is based on the thesis of Prof. David Ward, who claimed that the public schools (the major stronghold of creating the continual supply of professionals) caused a "haemorrhage of talent" away from industry because the prevailing patronage system and the obsolete classical curriculum failed to prepare the boys for the economic competition, which challenged the country from abroad, most typically from Germany and the USA. Although Prof. Martin Wiener adopted the idea of Ward and developed it further, there are a number of historians, such as Hartmut Berghoff and W. D. Rubinstein, who made efforts to restore the good reputation of the intellectual elite and that of the public schools by using statistical data collected by themselves to undermine the above allegation. Their major argument is that the public schools were predominantly for the professional classes whose sons tended to enter the professions. Likewise, businessmen's sons also followed in their fathers' footsteps and the drift to the professions affected only a small percentage of the students and by no means could be considered as a "haemorrhage". It was only the younger sons of business families, for whom nothing was left to inherit from the family enterprise, who - for want of a better option - chose a profession for a living. In my dissertation I will join the debate by adding statistics gathered and analyzed by myself about two leading public schools of the age - Harrow School and Merchant Taylor's - and I will make an attempt to come to a conclusion as to the role of the public school and examine how it contributed to the economic performance of the country in the last third of the nineteenth century.

Besides providing a **fair evaluation of the significance of the professional subclass** in the late Victorian period, another major task I undertake here is **the clarification of key terms** without the understanding of which every utterance about the Victorian professionals remains

vague and confusing. During my studies and research I realized the extent of the confusion that prevailed as to **the true nature of professional existence** in Queen Victoria's days and distinguishing them from men-of-letters and intellectuals seemed to be a troublesome issue but it does not seem to be a simple task for historians even today. Although some of them like Reader, Perkin, Heyck and Thompson came up with a definition of their own, to me it seems that none of them are complete or accurate and especially they fail to draw a clear borderline between those who fulfilled the criteria of being a professional and those who would rather fall into the category of an intellectual. In my dissertation I will attempt to make the difference between these notions clear and point out both the similarities and the differences.

The major approach to the topic in my work is that of **social history**, which means that each chapter serves the purpose of tracking down the way and the conditions in which professionals in the last third of the nineteenth century underwent their evolutionary process and gained more and more ground and importance. In each part of the present dissertation I will describe **a different stage of their advancement**, starting with the roots and core of their coming into existence and by examining the social, economic and cultural factors that increasingly made professional work indispensable. Three different chapters are devoted to the three major stages of the education of intellectual-professional people because the evolution of the education system after 1870 is a phenomenon of vital importance and is most relevant to my topic. The reforms were generated by the advance of intellectual life and facilitated its further extension, thus it is impossible to talk about professional existence without discussing the Forster Act, which was issued in 1870, or the national institution of the public school or the University Extension Movement in higher education.

A separate chapter will provide description and meticulous analysis of **how professional people lived** in reality in the period 1870-1901, what **their living and working conditions** were like, how they spent their leisure time and the money they earned, how they dressed and behaved, which principles they adopted from the value system of the middle class out of which they had grown. This section of the dissertation will include information on their own ever shaping values, self-view and the collective spirit, which united them more and more and ultimately won the support of the state for them.

As an illustration of the hitherto discussed general observations I will include **a case study**, that is, a chapter on the evolution of a randomly chosen profession and the career of a representative of that given profession. As doctors had always belonged to the most

prestigious traditional branch of this segment of the society but also underwent considerable modernization in the latter half of the nineteenth century, I will give a detailed description and analysis of **Sir James Paget's career**, who was one of the most acknowledged surgeons and pathologists of his age and whose life I regard as an ideal example for making my point.

Some passages in the dissertation will have to be devoted specifically to the evolution of the professions mostly practised by women since this is an undisputedly fundamental part of the diversification tendency. However, for lack of space, the gender issue cannot be a focal point in my work and the same is true of the political correlations of the topic. However, I will present **the emergence of professional women** as a phenomenon closely interwoven with the life and career chances of male professionals and will refer to the constant parallel between the two.

Another topic that deserves special attention in my work will be the examination of the **factors that contributed to the molding of professionals into a more or less homogeneous sub-class**. Once this question is answered, it is worth taking a close look at the relation late Victorian professionals had to the other classes, the aristocracy above and the labour aristocracy below them in the social hierarchy. I would like to emphasize that I do not wish to include political analyses in my dissertation as I do not consider politics really relevant to my topic. Both professionals and intellectuals in late Victorian Britain tended to be exempt from strong political convictions and most historians agree that they certainly lacked a revolutionary spirit. However, in the closing chapter of the dissertation I will briefly examine what the attitude of the leading politicians was to the providers of services and what kind of regulations, laws facilitated their gaining more and more ground both at home and on the colonies. As I consider the position of professionals in the social hierarchy significant, I will examine the possible tendencies and directions that most professionals were likely to face in the closing years of Queen Victoria's reign.

The reason why I have chosen **the time interval 1870-1901** for the period under my scrutiny is manifold. 1870 seems to be a watershed year in the course of Queen Victoria's reign. *Forster's Elementary Education Act*, *the First Married Women's Property Act*, *the Veterinary Surgeon's Act*, poor laws and restricting regulations on child labour, Dickens's death - all are prominent events that date back to this crucial year and they seem to foreshadow the creation of the welfare state, which becomes fully established only after the Second World War owing to the Beveridge Report of 1942 but which could not have happened without these

antecedents in the late Victorian period. As the above mentioned acts and measures aimed at creating a better life for the bulk of the English population and a new process started with this watershed year, I consider 1870 especially pertinent to the advance of professional people. I would like to add here that, although the closing year of the examined period coincides with Queen Victoria's death, I am aware of the fact that the various tendencies that started during her reign had their effects felt for a long time afterwards and the Edwardian decade carried many of the reforms on. Therefore, a strict handling of time seems to be superfluous.

As far as the major analytical method I plan to use for writing the dissertation is concerned, I have chosen **methodological structurism** because it concentrates on the transforming interactions of people and their environment. I expect this method to provide theoretical richness as well as empirical complexity for my work and will give me the chance to insert passages of explanatory narrative where it serves the better understanding of the text. Including quotations from **primary sources**, such as Parliamentary Papers, Commissions' reports, personal diaries and letters, school registers and nineteenth century publications will be of vital importance and, by doing so, I hope to provide an encompassing view of the life of the social group under scrutiny. Finally, throughout my investigation I wish to use the dual method of generalizing and offering specific examples to back up the general statements and this way I hope to make my work a useful, valid and true to life experience to read.

WHO WERE THE PROFESSIONALS?

THE EVOLUTION OF THE MIDDLE CLASS BEFORE AND DURING THE VICTORIAN ERA

My interest in the dissertation lies mainly in the middle stratum of the society because it is this social group that produced the professional subclass during the subsequent years and it is their ranks out of which the very diverse Victorian professional community grew. According to rough estimations, in the course of the nineteenth century the middle class grew in size and importance consistently. At the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign it made up about 15% of the population, while, by the end of the era, their numerical ratio reached 25%.¹ As this chapter will show it was a heterogeneous social group which underwent drastic restructuring and refinement and played a vital role in the shaping of English life in the nineteenth century. Consequently, a whole range of prominent historians such as George Kitson Clark, David Cannadine, Patrick Joyce, E.P. Thompson or Alan Kidd and David Nicholls have dedicated themselves to coming to terms with their significance, though the research done on this social class is still lagging behind the one accomplished on the working class. The most frequently and thoroughly discussed questions about the middle stratum of the Victorian society have investigated the legitimacy of the term 'class' in connection with them, the evolution and the restructuring they experienced in the course of the nineteenth century, the notion of 'gentlemanly capitalism' and the role they played in the partial economic decline that Britain experienced in the closing years of the era.

¹ Sally Mitchell, *Daily Life in Victorian England*, London: Greenwood Press, 1996. p.20.

ANTECEDENTS

In retrospect it is important to realize that the Middling sorts of people made up a considerable percentage of the population already in the decades preceding the Industrial Revolution. As early as the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century one could observe that the English society was highly stratified and encompassed massive differences in living standards and life chances. In this period the social order was a finely graded hierarchy, which stretched down from the nobility and the landed gentry to cottagers, labourers and vagrants; furthermore included a wide range of occupational and status groups. The main reason for their emergence and advancement in the modern age was that work under industrial capitalism was radically transformed and throughout the Victorian age there were shifts in the occupational composition of the English people. Therefore, middle class identity was gradually formed through creating new institutions, a more and more homogeneous culture, lifestyle and value system. The fact that non-manual work was elevated and the cultural, institutional foundations were laid down explains why and how the middle class could experience an increasingly homogeneous civic order and more freedom in a predominantly urban environment.

Most contemporary sources distinguished between three broad clusterings of social groups, namely "gentlemen", "the middling sort of people" and "the lower sort" or "poor".² The stratification called attention to the complexity of the criteria according to which social position could be defined and pointed at the well distinguishable social and cultural milieux that the representatives of the various groups belonged to. According to *The Cambridge Encyclopedia*, in the years before the Industrial Revolution the "gentlemen" were above all the landowning elite, though gentility was also accorded to the wealthy leaders of commerce and the professions. **The middling sort** included the relatively well-to-do lower ranks of trade and the professions, master craftsmen and prosperous farmers.³ Under them worked and toiled the masses of poor labourers mostly in agriculture and, to some extent, in manufacturing.

It is important to point at the fact that the society in the years before and during the Industrial Revolution was far from being a fixed or rigid social order and there were numerous chances for mobility and ascendance, mainly for talented individuals. But overall, the social hierarchy

² The Cambridge Historical Encyclopedia of Great Britain and Ireland, ed. by Christopher Haigh, Cambridge University Press. 1985. p.230.

³ Ibid. p.230.

in the early eighteenth century endured and those who claimed gentility remained a small minority. In this period it was even more rare that somebody attempted social ascendance by relying on his mental excellence or by making use of his education or knowledge. Consequently, the professionals in this period were still not identical with the social group whom the term implied a century or more later.

In the eighteenth century the middle class lived on a relatively high economic level, expanded in numbers and even a certain degree of diversification could be observed in their composition. Financial, commercial and industrial development produced what we call the 'monied interest' of rentiers and added to the number of merchants and master manufacturers. Besides them, small tradesmen also multiplied and an increased demand for professional work appeared. At the same time the freeholding yeoman declined in importance and newly rising large tenant farmers tended to replace them in rural areas.

As for the living standard and lifestyle changes in the pre-Victorian years, it is easy to realize that, parallel with the growth of the middle class, purchasing power also grew and gave impetus to bustling consumerism, which was one of the side effects of industrialization. This was the period when people started spending money on entertainment and leisure pursuits, frequented the coffee houses, theatres and libraries and there appeared an expanded preoccupation with fashion. Industrialization gave rise to a new urban culture, the basis of which was commerce and commercialization.

The nineteenth century was the linear continuation of the tendencies that began before and during the Industrial Revolution but also brought even more complexity. In the Victorian era the main merit of the middle class was that it played a crucial role in stabilizing the society after the drastic transformations caused by the restructuring of economy during the previous decades. David Nicholls goes as far as to claim that by the Victorian era it was easier to depict the development of middle class consciousness than to define the constitution of the class itself.⁴ By the period between 1850 and 1886, which he calls the middle class hegemony, most of the new production relations had been established and the new complex social order had been created. F.M.L. Thompson, the prestigious social historian, gives a whole list of the main values that mostly determined middle class existence in the Victorian era. Among the forming middle class institutions he mentions the growing significance of family life,

⁴ David Nicholls, *'The English Middle Class and the Ideological Significance of Radicalism'*, Journal of British Studies 24 (October, 1985) p.415-433.

education, self-respect and self-help, hard work, discipline, austerity, chastity, self-improvement, respectability, status consciousness, mostly conservative complacency and also robust traditionalism.⁵

Before I get immersed in the discussion of the composition of the Victorian middle class let me examine briefly what the most prominent historians of our age think about the **concept of class** itself, which is a Marxist term in the eyes of many and is even thought of as obsolete by today. Still, my opinion is that the notion of class and other key terms like segment, layer social mobility etc. are of vital importance in my analysis because they played a key role in the development and in the shaping of the professional self-view and identity, which is a main aspect in the dissertation and in this chapter specifically.

First of all, I should make it clear what I mean by **class** and **status** because the professionals, who are in the focus of my dissertation and occupy key position within the middle class, definitely became a major segment within it in the course of the nineteenth century and it is important to see what chances they had for ascendance within this encompassing social unit. Class, a major concept of history, has been in the centre of attention of leading British historians, such as E.P.Thompson, Max Weber, Patrick Joyce, David Cannadine, F.M.L. Thompson, R.S. Neale, Geoffrey Crossick., Jose Harris and others, who from time to time came up with different definitions and had different interpretations of them. Marx and Max Weber are often mentioned as the great forefathers of the concept of class but there were clearly fundamental differences in their views. While for Marx, class relationships were grounded in exploitation and he juxtaposed oppressors and the oppressed, for Weber class situations reflect differing life chances in the market. Whereas for Marx class action appears to be inevitable, for Weber it only seems to be an option for communal action.⁶ In his much quoted work titled *Making of the English Working Class* (1963) E.P.Thompson defines class as an abstract force whose impact is very real though. In his words: "By class I understand a historical phenomenon, unifying a number of disparate and seemingly unconnected events...I emphasize that it is a historical phenomenon. I do not see class as a 'structure', nor even as a 'category', but as something which in fact happens."⁷ Like Marx, Thompson sees class in the context of production, but what really matters here is that he also tends to put the emphasis on

⁵ F.M.L. Thompson, 'Social Control in Victorian Britain' *The Economic History Review*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIV, No.2., May 1981 pp.189-208.

⁶ Rosemary Crompton, *Class and Stratification: An Introduction to Current Debates*, Polity Press, 1998. p.35.

⁷ E.P. Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, Penguin: Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1968. p.9.

class consciousness, which I myself see as the point most pertinent to my own work. For him as well as for his followers, class consciousness refers to the way in which experiences are handled in cultural terms, which become manifest in one's value system, traditions, the way one speaks, the ideas and institutions that we are related to.⁸

In their book titled *The Making of the British Middle Class*, Alan Kidd and David Nicholls distinguish between the Marxist and postmodernist interpretation of 'class' when they say: "In contrast to Marxists, who see class power as constituted by the organization and control of the means of production, and language as a site of conflict intricately linked in an interactive way to social structure, postmodernists are concerned with the production of meaning, that is with explaining how discursive categories like 'class' come to be seen as the foundations of knowledge. Class, they suggest, collapses in the face of theoretical conceptions of the self and of identity, not least of gender identities and of theorizations (the so-called 'linguistic turn') about the ways in which discourse establishes the boundaries of people's ideas and actions."⁹

There have also been attempts to define class on the basis of **the occupational hierarchies** and this theory would have come in handy from the point of view of my analysis because it would have made it easier to make fine distinctions between layers and smaller segments. It would also have provided answers for social mobility questions, however this explanation has also proved inadequate for a number of reasons. For example, this theory ignores the fact that not all members of the society are productive in economy and the idle household members are considered in the class of the active breadwinner, which may be misleading. Second, other factors that might be decisive in the division of labour, such as age, gender and race, are not taken into account. Third, the occupational title does not indicate the capital or wealth holding, which is fundamental to the understanding of class, though it would be a mistake to regard it as the sole criterium. Finally, it is important to realize that occupation primarily refers to job tasks and to their hierarchy within the professional order, while class mostly means social relations at work or positions within the social division of labour.¹⁰ Weber and his pupils, eg. Goldtorpe and Wright saw mobility boundaries as crucial to the identification of the social classes.

⁸ Ibid. p.10.

⁹ *The Making of the British Middle Class?* ed. by Alan Kidd and David Nicholls, Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing, 1999. p.17.

¹⁰ Crompton, p.56-57.

David Cody, associate professor of Hartwick College highlights the importance of **exerting power and authority** as a major component of class membership when he gives the definition of class as follows: "Different social classes can be (and were by the classes themselves) distinguished by inequalities in such areas as power, authority, wealth, working and living conditions, lifestyles, lifespan, education, religion and culture."¹¹ F.M.L. Thompson also talks about exercising **social control** by one class (in this case by the middle class) to influence and manipulate the class below (the working class). In his article titled 'Social Control in Victorian Britain' the author highlights his concept according to which one class imposes habits and influence on another and provides a standard of conduct, which is desirable and serves as a model for the other. This way the class in authority can either maintain the status quo, the existing social order and this way preserve its own superior position or obtain other goals.¹²

So as to see clearly how the notion of 'class' is applicable for the Victorian age specifically one has to realize that the concept appeared in a manifold form in the contemporary sources of the period - eg. in the products of the press, such as journals, newspapers or books - the word 'class' was virtually interchangeable with other terms like *rank, order, sorts, parts, interests, degrees* or *stations*. The concept of class appeared approximately from the mid-eighteenth century and was firmly entrenched by the mid-nineteenth. It mainly gained importance with the formation of the working class because the existence of the aristocracy as a homogenous social layer had been taken for granted for a long time and the middle layer was still hardly identifiable and was mostly regarded as a diverse cluster of people having a wide range of occupation and income. In fact, the middle class was still in the process of growth and was undergoing fine stratification. The professionals, almost without exception, came from the ranks of the middle class and formed a sub-class within the greater unit. As segmentation became more and more refined and the class as a whole became more layered, social mobility, ascendance or sinking on the social ladder also gained more importance. As J.F.C. Harrison says: "In Early Victorian England the tests of membership were more objective, though not by any means rigid or even definite. An income above a certain minimum was the first requisite. A particular occupation or calling was also useful in identifying a person as a member of the middle class. Education, religious affiliation and style

¹¹ David Cody on Social Class in the Victorian Web,

¹² F.M.L. Thompson, 'Social Control in Victorian Britain' in the Economic History Review, Vol. XXXIII. 1981j. pp.191-192 .

of home provided further distinguishing characteristics.” The author adds that even so wide differences in wealth and status were possible within these limits, thus introduces terms like ‘the haute bourgeoisie’ and the lower middle class to make distinction easier.¹³

David Cannadine asserts the point that the working and middle classes had not been made by 1850 and throughout the years between from 1780s and 1870s British society was envisaged by contemporaries essentially the same ways as it had been the century before. He realizes that Victorian society was structured but, according to him, the former conditions prevailed late into the nineteenth century. In his words: "The language of class was employed, as before, in connection with all three of the models of British society, which had been available throughout the eighteenth century. Those attracted to the hierarchical vision continued to use class as an alternative to 'rank', 'station', 'order' and 'degree'. Those who preferred the triadic model used class as a synonym for 'sorts', 'rank' or 'degree', or, increasingly instead of them. And those who envisioned society as divided into two different groups often described them as as the 'upper' and 'lower' classes. But whichever model was being used, most people who resorted to the language of class did so in the plural: 'middle ranks', 'middling sorts', 'middle orders', 'productive classes' and 'industrious classes'. Even as they divided their society into these large collective groups, few Britons believed that there was one single middle class or one single working class, and they were right to be thus credulous."¹⁴

Similarly the work of W.D. Rubinstein and Martin J. Wiener critically questioned the socio-economic unity of the nineteenth century middle class and its capacity to challenge the cultural and political dominance of the older landed elite.¹⁵

As for **social status**, it is a notion also crucial to the understanding of the self-view of the representatives of the middle class and, within their ranks, that of the professionals. In his writings Max Weber writes about a traditional, 'status society' when he discusses the situation of the professionals and the other members of the upper-middle class, arguing that in Victorian England the basis of social identity was birth primarily, rather than work, merit or achievement.¹⁶ Gerth and Mills point at another aspect of Weber's theory, according to which

¹³ J.F.C. Harrison. *The Early Victorians 1832-1851*. New York: Praeger Publishers. 1971. p.101.

¹⁴ David Cannadine. *Class in Britain*, Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 1998. p.60.

¹⁵ *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle Class Identity in Britain 1800-1940*, ed.by Alan Kidd and David Nicholls, Manchester University Press: Manchester and New York, 1999. p.12.

¹⁶ Martha Vicinus, *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Gentlewomen*, Indiana University Press, 1977. p.190.

for Weber 'classes' and 'status groups' are phenomena of the distribution of power within the community.¹⁷ As far as I can judge, status order, in Weber's views, was strongly influenced by one's economic situation but was separate from it, too. Property was undoubtedly of great importance but it was not the factor on the basis of which status groups were formed. For him, it was a specific lifestyle which was expected of those who wanted to belong to a certain social circle. Furthermore, the factor that had the capacity of forming class was primarily economic interest but he considered life chances as something different.

Among the elements that determine social status historians tend to list a number of **objective and subjective criteria**, such as income, occupation, education and material possessions, self-assessed status, participation in certain social activities and relationships and finally the status judgements of others. Kidd and Nicholls add **ideology, language and consciousness** among the subjective elements and call attention to the fact that the various **cultural practices** also formed identity, therefore **religion** and even **leisure pursuits** were formative components of middle class membership.¹⁸ As for myself, I fully agree with the above historians and side with them and Cannadine who claim that identities and meanings are formed on the terrain of culture as a result of complex negotiations and conflicts, which may take economic and political form. In the words of Kidd and Nicholls: "the precise identity and meaning of the term 'middle class' at any time was always a matter of cultural construction."¹⁹

As far as the forms of **stratification** are concerned, I wish to point at the three principal types which, according to my observation, (based on my readings) prevailed in the latter half of the nineteenth century: **economic, political and occupational**. In my opinion, these are often so interrelated and there might be so many overlaps that they can be separated only abstractly and conceptually. Therefore, strata may or may not act in society as cohesive groups. Andrew Miles also confirms my position when shows the hardly noticeable shifts in the hierarchy that one had to subject oneself to in Victorian England if one wanted to ascend on the social ladder. Having worked on the data of five marriage registers dating back to the period between 1839 and 1914, he acknowledges the fact that the five categories he distinguishes cannot be identified with social classes, or perhaps not even with various social strata.²⁰

¹⁷ H. Gerth and C. W. Mills (eds.) From Max Weber, Routledge: London, 1948. p.181.

¹⁸ Kidd and Nicholls. p.20.

¹⁹ Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle Class Identity in Britain, 1800-1940, ed. by Alan Kidd and David Nicholls, Manchester Univ. Press: Manchester and New York, 1999, p.24.

²⁰ Andrew Miles. Social Mobility in Nineteenth-and Early Twentieth Century England, Macmillan: London, 1999.

As for the place professional people occupied in the social hierarchy, In *Class and Ideology in the Nineteenth Century* Neale refers to **the representatives of the professions as a `quasi-group`** because in his opinion, the professionals belonged to the middling set of people, who could not be righteously called `middle class` in the modern, or late nineteenth century sense. In his words: “The social class in question was made up of those who were low in the traditional scale of status and privilege, i.e. towards the bottom in relationships of authority and subjection, and those in this position who aspired to rise and could only do so through their own unaided efforts, whether efforts of mind and skill in trade and manufacture or in the professions...It mirrored that individuated, privatized, and non-deferential social class consciousness which grew among the middling set of people in a rapidly expanding and changing society, but which in no modern or late nineteenth century sense was `middle-class`. This set of people or quasi-group included composers as well as doctors, artisans as well as small producers, self-employed shopkeepers as well as bigger and more successful retailers.”²¹

In England class and stratum could not be regarded as synonymous because class was more suitably applicable to attitudes, that is, to the way in which one regarded and treated other people, and was regarded and treated by them. To me, this definition seems to be the only acceptable explanation for the reason that some historians refer even to intellectuals as a separate class. In my opinion, English intellectuals have always represented and advocated an attitude of the mind, therefore if we apply the terms 'class' to them, it is not in the Marxist sense of the word. (T.W. Heyck claims that the term `intellectual` is very often associated with the concept of class in the minds of many people. One can read about `the intellectual class`, `the intellectual aristocracy`, or `the intellectual ruling class` in different sources and in Heyck's own words: “the late-Victorians seem to have thought that an intellectual class was forming; that it was mainly based in the universities; that it was detached from, and felt superior to, the rest of the society; and that it was distinguished by scholarly research.”)²²

From the above observations it follows that **I consider the professionals as a segment formed from the ranks of the all-inclusive cluster of the middle class, who are capable of behaving and acting as a class, or rather, subclass.** They certainly satisfy the Marxist

²¹ R.S. Neale. *Class and Ideology in Nineteenth Century England*. Routledge & Kegan Paul. London and Boston. 1972. p.26.

²² T.W. Heyck. *The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982. p.236.

criterion of holding property - thus being a **social entity** - and postmodern criterum of being a **cultural formation**. In my view, professionals in the Victorian era formed an integral part of the middle class, which became more and more distinct from the lower and the upper classes, they did **share interests, lifestyle, a common value system, aspirations** and were increasingly capable of **collective action** (see the emerging professional organizations, registers and trade unions). Consequently, in the following parts of my dissertation I will refer to them as **`sub-class` or *stratum***. If intellectuals ever emerge as a **`class`**, it can happen only if they coincide with professionals, which is not always the case. Later on in this chapter I will discuss the overlap between intellectuals and professionals and point at the difficulties that one encounters when one tries to draw a sharp dividing line between the two notions.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE VICTORIAN MIDDLE CLASS

Having clarified the concept of class and its sub-divisions, it is time we reached back to the **composition of the Victorian middle class** and examine it in its complexity. W.L. Guttsman calls attention to the vanishing aristocratic tint when he says that it serves a greater clarity in analysis if we "distinguish between an old professional and commercial middle class, a class which one could describe as non-aristocratic, non-landowning part of the upper strata of English society, whose wealth and social standing would put them within the (bottom) layers of a continuous strata termed 'the gentlemanly class' and a new middle class, a class devoid of family tradition whose more immediate ancestry would be found within the 'lower orders'"²³. However, I have to mention at this point that I find the attitude of the professional middle class rather ambiguous towards the aristocracy. Although the Radical faction seemed to reject the aristocratic values and would have liked to get rid of their social, political and religious domination, the professional middle-class existed in a close alliance with them and with the gentry in the public schools and the concept of the gentleman – perhaps the most dominant central category of the age - was mostly forged out of the ideal of the moral and intellectual superiority, which only the aristocracy could plant into and disperse among the representatives of the middle-class.

²³ W.L. Guttsman, *'Aristocracy and th Middle Class in the British Political Elite 1886-1916: A Study of Formative Influences and of the Attitude to Politics.'* The British Journal of Sociology, Vol.5. No.1.(March, 1954) p.20.

As we can learn from Patrick Joyce, recent work on the nineteenth century middle class has revealed that the middle layer of the Victorian society was far from being a distinct and class conscious social entity, but it was rather **a cluster of diverse groupings**, which were split according to their economic - social situations and on the basis of their political and religious convictions.²⁴ Peter Stearns also maintains that fine stratification is necessary for the analysis of the middle class composition and says that numerous attempts have been made to position people within the complicated structure of Victorian society (that point beyond the oversimplified Marxist method of dividing society into rulers and the ruled). He mentions Dahrendorf's challenging system, which mainly uses gradations of authority as a criterium and calls attention to John Goldthorpe and his colleagues, who talked about a distinct middle class allied to the ruling elite through work ethic and perceptions of mobility.²⁵ Stearns concludes that the various stratification analyses show that the upper class recruited new members of middle class origin from the 1850s onwards and started behaving in new (more accepting) ways. But the middle class neither melted into, nor allied completely with the ruling one, it did not act as a sponsor of imperialism and was a major pillar of the so-called 'gentlemanly capitalism', which means that the old aristocracy joined power with the financial elite of the country, sometimes against capitalists and the representatives of commercial life. Elements of the middle class may have risen to upper class status but this kind of mobility did not mean class merger. If the amalgamation took place it was mainly due to the common essentially classical education that both classes received in the public schools.²⁶

M.S. Hickox, in his noteworthy analysis on the so-called '**middle class debate**', provides a very interesting list of those standpoints that pour light on the controversial nature of the evaluation of the Victorian middle class by well-renowned historians of our days. The three phases he distinguishes within the debate are the following:

1. **The Anderson-Nairn thesis** of the 1960s in which the authors acknowledge the fact that the industrial bourgeoisie was a dominant class in England but they blamed them for having fallen under the ideological hegemony of the landed aristocracy and for failing to develop the necessary class consciousness and a proper sense of group identity.

²⁴ Patrick Joyce, *Democratic Subjects: The Self and the Social in Nineteenth Century England*, Cambridge University Press, 1994. pp.161-168.

²⁵ Peter N. Stearns, *The Middle Class: Towards a Precise Definition*, p.378.

²⁶ *Ibid.* p.392.

2. **The Wiener thesis** of the 1980s reflected the Thatcherite emphasis on the role of the entrepreneur. Professor Wiener condemned the British middle class for abandoning the industrial spirit and for lagging behind Germany, Japan and the US in conducting successful capitalism. He put the blame on public school education for the British failure in producing organized capitalism and a national producer strategy.

3. **Rubinstein, Cain and Hopkins**, however, argued that the representatives of a new consensus, the industrial middle class had never been a dominant class, what is more, they pointed at the regional differences in the manifestation of 'gentlemanly capitalism' saying that it had always centered in the South in fusion between the landed aristocracy, the finance capital and the Civil Service. Rubinstein denied Wiener's thesis and argued that there was little statistical evidence that could confirm Wiener's allegation about the excessive influence of the public school spirit.²⁷ I will join this debate myself later on in my dissertation supporting Rubinstein's viewpoint with data collected by myself. Cain and Hopkin's major point in the debate is that gentlemanly capitalism meant the symbiosis between the landed classes and the City financial elite. They conclude that the industrial bourgeoisie simply could not keep up with gentlemanly capitalism and from the 1870s on it was doomed to lag behind. All in all, they proved to be unable to create a united front against foreign competition but as Britain's main strength had always been in finance and the service sector, there could not be real loss either.²⁸

From the above debate it can be seen that as the industrial gurus started declining in importance in the last third of the century, life chances for the professionals started emerging in a greater number and they could also gain and enjoy more social appreciation. Perhaps this is the factor that formed the basis of the Wiener thesis but I agree with Rubinstein that his concept is misleading and cannot be supported by adequate data.

We have already seen the list of **the various criteria** that candidates had to live up to if they wanted to belong to the middle stratum of the society and it is easy to realize that the concept of bourgeoisie was not wholly in accord with the realities of middle class life, which was very heterogeneous in the mid-Victorian period. Harrison says that the determinants of membership of the middle class were still essentially the same as before: an income above a

²⁷ M.S. Hickox, 'The English Middle Class Debate' in *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 46. No.2. (June, 1995.). pp.311-324.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p.320.

certain minimum, a particular occupation or calling, education beyond simple literacy, recognized religious affiliations a certain style of home and the employment of at least one servant. In short a middle class person had to be able to lead a comfortable life.²⁹ Furthermore, middle class existence was often associated with domestic virtue, with religiosity - mostly of the evangelical conviction - a certain degree of social control over the lower orders and a level of morality, which was a determining factor both in private and public behaviour.

We have to point out at this point the significance of **the Reform Act of 1832**, which can and should be seen as a watershed event in the moral elevation of the middle class as it brought an unprecedented triumph for them through the extension of the franchise (though democracy was still far from being complete owing to the prevailing property qualification and two more reform acts were needed in 1867 and 1884 to accomplish the much awaited universal male suffrage). Beatrice Webb describes the middle class social elite of in the 1880s as follows: "The bulk of the shifting mass of wealthy persons who were conscious of belonging to London Society, who practised its rites and followed its fashions, were, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, professional profit-makers: the old established families of bankers and brewers, often of Quaker descent, coming easily first in social precedence; then one or two great publishers and, at a distance, ship owners, the chairmen of railway and some other great corporations, the largest of the merchant bankers - but as yet no retailers. Scattered in this pudding stone of men of rank and men of property were jewels of intellect and character; cultivated diplomats from all the countries in the world, great lawyers, editors of powerful newspapers, scholarly ecclesiastics of the Anglican and Roman Catholic communions; the more 'stylish' of the permanent heads of Government departments, and here and there a star personage from the world of science, literature and art, who happened to combine delight in luxurious living and the company of great personages with social gifts and a fairly respectable character."³⁰

Historians tend to set up numerous **sub-groups** when they talk about the growing complexity within the Victorian middle class structure. Peter Stearns even states that a single middle class never existed and in his article distinguishes between the traditional middle class, that is, **the bourgeoisie** and **the new middle class**. According to him even the traditional bourgeoisie is

²⁹ J.F.C. Harrison, *Late Victorian Britain 1875-1901*, Routledge, 1991. p.50.

³⁰ Beatrice Webb, *My Apprenticeship*, 1926. p.47.

divided into **the heute bourgeoisie**, which is practically the ruling class in any capitalist society and into **the petty bourgeoisie**, which is closer to the lower ranks and can be manipulated for power purposes. At the same time he points at the separation of **a new set of middle social layers** - businessmen, new style professionals and white-collar employees - who are at similar levels of property ownership and education but a new nineteenth century phenomenon. Stearn adds that the traditional middle class, the bourgeoisie could not really cooperate with the new middle class because the interest of the first group was to maintain the status quo, whereas the second wanted to gain more and more ground and to ascend higher and higher in the economic, social and political spheres.³¹

The emergence of the sub-categories was mainly due to **the diversification process**, which was generally true within the middle class, and due to the separation of intellectual work from the process of production. Consequently, it has to be seen clearly that the growing number of professionals, managers and civil servants had access to and could control cultural and organizational assets differently from those who were in charge of the economic capital. When examining the composition of the middle class work force and the formation of occupational sub-groups (the result of the growing division of labour!), one should notice the really spectacular ascendance of clerical and managerial work in the closing decades of the century. While artisan-proprietors and small business owners did not disappear completely, they comprised a lesser segment of the middle class as clerical work gained ground. I will come back to the discussion of clerical and managerial work in a later chapter when I examine the role of professionals in the closing years of Victoria's reign.

Now let us take a look at how different statistical sources presented the facts of the diversification process collected in different periods and by different agents.

³¹ Stearne, pp.377-396.

Table. 3.2. Occupational Structure of Great Britain, males 1851-1911 (in thousands)

From F.M.L. Thompson: The Cambridge Social History of Britain (1750-1950)

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
I.							
Public administration	64	72	106	109	146	191	271
Professional occupations/ subordinate services	162	179	204	254	287	348	413
Commercial occupations	91	130	212	352	449	597	739
II.							
Transport, communications	433	579	654	870	1,409	1,409	1,571
Agriculture, horticulture and forestry	1,788	1,779	1,634	1,517	1,422	1,339	1,436
Mining, quarrying and workers in products of same	383	457	517	604	751	931	1,202
III.							
Metal manufacture, machines, implements, vehicles, etc.	536	747	869	977	1,151	1,485	1,795
Building and construction	496	593	712	875	899	1,216	1,140
Textiles and clothing	1,079	1,025	983	933	1,002	980	1,071
Food, drink and tobacco	348	386	448	494	597	701	806
Total in these occupations	5,380	5,947	6,339	6,339	7,808	9,197	10,444
Total occupied	6,554	7,271	8,182	8,844	10,010	11,548	12,930
Total unoccupied	1,041	1,054	1,169	1,778	2,028	2,242	2,515

Gourvish, Later Victorian Britain 18/67-1900, Table 2. Approximate growth of selected professional occupations (males and females, England and Wales), 1861-1901

Occupation	Numbers			Growth rates	
	1861	1881	1901	1861- 1901	1881- 1901
				%	%
Clergy	19,195	21,663	25,235	31	16
Barristers and solicitors	14,415	17,386	20,998	45	21
Physicians and surgeons	14,415	15,116	22,698	57	50
Midwives	1,913	2,646	3,055	60	15
Dentists	1,584	3,583	5,309	235	48
Teachers	110,364	168,920	230,345	109	36
Authors, editors	2,315	6,111	11,060	378	81
Actors	2,202	4,565	12,487	467	174
Artists	10,819	11,059	13,949	29	26
Musicians	15,191	25,546	43,249	185	69
Architects	3,843	6,898	10,781	181	56
Surveyors	1,843	5,394	6,414	248	19
Civil and mining engineers	4,400	9,415	11,052	151	17
Accountants	6,273	11,606	9,028	44	-22

From Charles Booth census data, 1911. Vol.X. Occupations and Industries. Table 26. p.540.

Occupation	1881	1891	1901	1911
Accountants	7,456	7,923	9,026	9,479
Architects	6,875	7,779	10,775	11,122
Army officers	10,252	12,969	13,115	16,206
Authors, etc.	5,778	7,473	9,807	12,005
Bankers, bank clerks	15,932	20,765	30,036	39,881
Barristers and solicitors	17,386	19,978	20,998	21,380
Clergymen, Church of England	21,663	24,232	25,235	24,859
Clergymen, other	11,823	12,568	14,660	15,583
Dentists	3,538	4,562	5,149	7,337
Engineers	8,667	9,042	10,268	7,207
Finance agents, clerks	601	989	978	3,165
Insurance officials, clerks	4,124	10,139	20,812	41,586
Medical practitioners	15,091	18,936	22,486	24,553
Naval officers	2,389	2,942	4,797	6,997
Scientists, etc.	1,170	1,849	3,171	6,171
Surveyors	4,849	5,059	5,745	4,028
Total class IA	137,594	167,205	207,058	251,559

Charles Booth, 'Occupations of the People of Great Britain by Guy Routh with a compendium of a Paper 'Occupations of the People of the UK (1801-81) by Charles Booth, 1987, Macmillan, London , women's employment pattern

<i>Occupations</i>	<i>1851</i>		<i>1861</i>		<i>1871</i>		<i>1881</i>	
	<i>Nos</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Nos</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Nos</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Nos</i>	<i>%</i>
Textiles, etc.	394	16,7	443	16,3	466	14,9	500	14,7
Dress	441	18,8	525	19,4	529	17,0	589	17,4
Others	358	15,2	364	13,4	434	13,9	465	13,7
Industry, total	1190	50,7	1332	49,1	1429	45,8	1554	45,8
Medicine	26	1,1	27	1,0	31	1,0	38	1,1
Education	67	2,8	82	3,0	97	3,1	127	3,7
Domestic service	909	38,7	1128	41,6	1375	44,1	1446	42,6
Others	6	0,3	11	0,4	18	0,6	28	0,8
Independent	150	6,4	130	4,8	168	5,4	200	5,9
Total self-supporting	2348	100	2710	100	3118	100	3393	100

H.J. Perkin, "Middle Class Education and Employment in the Nineteenth Century: A Critical Note" *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol.14., No.1. (1961), pp.122-130.

	Thousands				Percentage
	1851	1861	1871	1881	Increase 1851-81
Law	32,2	33,7	38,7	43,6	35,4
Medicine	34,0	36,1	41,2	45,1	32,7
Literature and Science	1,9	3,1	6,3	8,0	321,1
Education	28,0	32,9	36,0	51,5	83,9
Religion	30,1	35,5	39,5	43,9	45,8
Total, 5 professions	126,2	141,3	161,7	192,1	52,2
Administration	49,7	60,6	67,7	72,6	46,1
Total, 6 professions	175,9	201,9	228,4	264,7	50,5
Employed male population	5,875,8	6,518,4	7,250,3	8,108,3	38,0
Total population	17,927,6	20,066,2	22,712,3	25,974,4	44,9

INTELLECTUALS AND PROFESSIONALS

INTELLECTUALS:

The word 'intellectual' is difficult to define even today because of the multitude of different meanings it has always had, the vagueness, diversity and the occasional inadequacy in the usage of the term. Sometimes it is used by educated people to refer to their own pursuits, other times by the less educated ones, who are proud of their common sense and practicality. It happens that they refer to the more sophisticated people a bit condescendingly, because they consider them rather impractical and slightly detached from reality.

If we take a close look at the definition of *the Random House Dictionary of the English Language* (2nd edition, unabridged), we will easily realize the current diversity of meanings. There are ten meanings given for 'intellectual', the first being "appealing to or engaging the intellect". This may encourage the scholar to look up the definition of 'intellect', which - according to the dictionary - is "the power or faculty of the mind by which one knows or understands, as distinguished from that by which one feels and that by which one wills; the understanding; the faculty of thinking and acquiring knowledge" From this it is clear that intellectuals are concerned with/preoccupied with knowledge, ideas and symbols.

However, it is not difficult to realize that different ideas and knowledge require different intellectual work, different approaches and different experts. Theologians, philosophers, social reformers, or professors of linguistics all pursue different intellectual activities and this is exactly what causes the difficulty of drawing the borderline between intellectuals and professionals who follow their intellectual occupation for livelihood or for gain. (also according to *the Random House Dictionary*). I will discuss the question of profitmaking and the possible overlap between the two groups later in this chapter.

Another connotation of the word 'intellectual' is to acquire knowledge on a high level. In a related definition we are told that an intellectual is "a person of superior intellect". On the basis of my readings, I have concluded that in my dissertation I will apply the term 'intellectual' to persons who were engaged in mental labour, who also fulfilled a sort of

socially structured public role – e.g. a writer, a journalist, a teacher or a doctor who regularly published in prestigious journals. In my opinion, their main contribution to life in the Victorian age was that they exercised a critical, independent spirit by talking to other people (who also had inclination for intellectual matters but were on a lower level) about their observations, analytical results and judgements.

Here I have to say a couple of words about the **distinction between high and low culture**. We have a reason to assume that some elements of culture exist in most minds but common people interpret symbols on a lower level and have lower forms of ideas. However, they may be sensitive to the teachings of the representatives of high culture, who have the superior intellect, have acquired advanced specialized training and have an active, innovative gift. Although intellectuals recognize one another as members of a special privileged group and tend to talk primarily to their peers, they also have the feeling of responsibility to transmit their advanced knowledge in a usable form to those on lower levels of understanding.

Closely related to this is what Edward Shils, a leading theorist on intellectuals claims about a minority in any society who had an exceptional sensitivity to the sacred, an uncommon reflectiveness about the nature of the universe and the rules that govern the society. In his opinion there is a desire in these exceptional people “to be in frequent communion with symbols which are more general than the immediate concrete situations of everyday life”³². Of course, he hurries to add that the personal inclination or needs alone are not enough. It is also essential that there should be a similar desire in the community that they serve for such spiritual leaders who create a bridge between the community and the world of the sacred, as only they have access to it through their ability to interpret symbols. This is how the need was born in tribes and later nations to create and maintain the separate, detached caste of priests and theologians, whom Herbert Spencer considered the forefathers of all professionals (obviously he also recognized the kinship in the activity of intellectuals and professionals). Shils certainly agrees with this because he also maintains that intellectual work arose from religious preoccupations, from the concern with the ultimate, with what lies beyond the immediate concrete experience. Little wonder then that intellectuals have always had confrontations with common laymen, who do not have the same gifts and inclination but at the same time have impressed them, too and provoked their unadmitted admiration.

³² Edward Shils. *The Intellectuals and the Powers and Other Essays*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1972. p.2.

Bernard Barber, an expert on intellectuals, tells us that the best thing to do, so as to avoid the inevitable vagueness of the term, is to concentrate on various intellectual pursuits.³³ Andrew Ross of New York University says that those who explicitly call themselves intellectuals and write about intellectuals are often professors or specialists in the so-called humanities, that is, in areas that include literature, philosophy and languages. Specialists in natural and social science, art and theology are less likely to apply this term to themselves even when they proclaim ideas functionally similar to those of their humanities colleagues.³⁴

According to my ultimate definition the true intellectual is a kind of dissenter, a mostly marginal person or an outsider in society who feels free to voice his opinion even in public. Intellectuals are precisely those persons whose public performances can neither be predicted nor fitted into some slogan, orthodox party line, or fixed dogma. Consequently, very often they are the ones who dare to challenge the general opinion about patriotism, corporate thinking and interpret the questions of class, race and gender on their own. Total independence is the hallmark of intellectuals. There are and should be no rules by which intellectuals can decide what to say, or do, therefore they are alienated, separated and lonely outcasts of the society.

As for the numerical ratio between professionals and intellectuals, I do not think that it can be estimated because I am sure that the borderline which distinguishes the two groups is vague and it is only profit making which stands out as a palpable difference. In my opinion, profit making characterizes the professionals rather than the free-thinking intellectuals for whom it is a moral urge to voice their views. With or without payment, they must speak their minds. Consequently, for me it is exactly **profit-making through practical work** that cuts professionals off from intellectuals who tend to do their work regardless of pecuniary reward. Another aspect worthy of consideration would be the fact that while intellectuals can very well exist on their own, as lonely champions of their ideas, **professionals crave for protection** through creating a **community**, a 'guild' for themselves, as we shall see when we examine the tendencies in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

I have concluded that it would be a mistake to consider either group as a subcategory of the other as they stand apart from each other, although the fact that they do work by exploiting

³³ Barnard Barber: Intellectual Pursuits. Toward an Understanding of Culture. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. New York. 1998.

³⁴ Andrew Ross. No Respect: Intellectuals and Popular Culture. New York: Routledge. 1989.

their intellectual capacities certainly creates the feeling that they should or could be viewed together within any society.

My standpoint is closest to that of Guttsman's, who holds the view that "We can obviously not equate the professional men with the intellectuals conceived as a spiritually creative section of the community, composed of individuals who tend to discuss problems rationally and critically and seek new insights and ideas and their expression and propagation. Yet considering the social structure of the country in the period under discussion we expect to find the intellectuals among the University educated and in the ranks of the professional men, especially those whose professional career is least regulated: the lawyer, the person following an academic career and the "free-lance", some of whom may be thought to have a vested interest in intellectual pursuits."³⁵

Any expert on intellectuals should raise and try to answer the question: how intellectuals evolved as a distinguishable group and to what extent they were homogeneous in the examined period.

With very few exceptions, nowhere in nineteenth century documents, literary pieces or even in private writings can one encounter the word 'intellectual' used as a noun. The simple reason for this fact is that it was a relatively slow process, roughly between the 1830s and the 1880s that the so-called 'forgotten middle-class' started forming itself into a more or less independent and homogenous social group, which corresponded to the non-capitalist segment of the Victorian society. It was actually the relatively stable decades of the 1850s and 1860s when the moral and material hegemony of the middle class became so unquestionable that it could even afford to let the separate group of spiritual leaders step on their own unique path and carry out their mission in the mature industrial society. The term indicated a sort of undefined class, which stood somewhat apart from the mainstream spirit of the age, the dominant mentality of the powerful bourgeoisie and middle class and which primarily occupied itself with the creation, distribution and application of culture, to refer to the definition used by historian, Seymour Martin Lipset. He held the view that the main sphere of activity of these people was the symbolic world of man, including art, science and religion

³⁵ W.L. Guttsman. "Aristocracy and the Middle Class in the British Political Elite 1886-1916", British Journal of Sociology. p.20.

and added that even this group could be divided into two subgroups: the ones who created culture and the ones who distributed and applied it.³⁶

As historians Perry Anderson and Tom Nairn claim intellectuals have always existed in England but not always separate from the hegemonic class. They acknowledge that there had been a longstanding tradition of a body of intellectuals, which was at once homogeneous and cohesive but not yet a true intelligentsia.³⁷

It is easy to realize that there must have been certain forces operating in 18th an 19th century Britain that paved the way for the emergence of modern intellectuals and facilitated their advance. Among the preconditions of their gaining ground in Victorian society we have to mention the demand of these sensitive people for art, literature and the need to be in contact with the past. The more the community recognized the beneficial impact of the spiritual leaders, the more they called for the continual and systematic education of these exceptional members of the society. It was increasingly realized that there were a number of activities that only intellectuals could perform and these things had to be performed for the sake of the individual, who obeyed an inner urge and also wanted to satisfy the demands of the community.

As regards the question of how homogeneous they were, John A. Hall refutes the views that claim that just because there was a distinct group of intellectuals from the 1830s onwards, it is not correct to consider them as a group which comprises an intelligentsia as “they were far too integrated into the neo-aristocratic culture of the establishment.”³⁸ Hall’s argument is that the above idea is deeply flawed because it ignores important historical changes. The thing is that literary men, clerical teachers, preachers, educators, scholars, scientists, biographers, philosophers, even journalists had existed and produced outstanding achievement before the Victorian era, what is more, they had always been a more or less appreciated segment of the society, whose aloofness and detachment had been taken as natural and whose advice had been sought by prominent social figures as well as common people and who had been counselled as sages and prophets, who could perhaps provide a clue to the future. These people had been held in a high esteem but of course their prestige had varied from time to time. Their main function had been to give moral guidance to the more ignorant bulk of the

³⁶ Seymour Martin Lipset. *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics* New York: Garden City, 1963. p.333.

³⁷ Tom Anderson. 'Origins of the Present Crisis' p.42.

³⁸ John A.Hall. 'The Curious Case of the British Intelligentsia', *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.30. No.3. September 1979. p.291.

population. They had arisen from the ranks of ordinary people owing to the special propensities they had had like their unusual sensitivity to reflectiveness about the universe. Their success had greatly depended on their cultural heritage, various material resources, the scope of their audience, the nature of their task and the modes of reproduction of intellectual achievements.

It is important to note that throughout the nineteenth century people increasingly had access to written matter produced by the men-of-letters, literary men, journalists, poets, novelists, pamphleteers, social thinkers, propagandists etc. in the form of literary pieces, quality and shallow newspapers, magazines, reviews, travelogues, biographies, diaries etc. either in their own stock of books or from the moving libraries which circulated around the country. The reading public was growing by leaps and bounds as a result of the ever increasing literacy due to the radical school reforms in the last third of the century. Though historians seem to agree that literacy existed on many different levels and there were a lot of people who remained half-literate for their whole lives, it is very difficult to estimate how the actual size of the reading public changed in the course of Victoria's reign. One thing is for sure. As T. W. Heyck says "Middle class people had a voracious appetite for literature of all kinds. They wanted entertainment, diversion, information, social instruction, moral guidance and spiritual reassurance. As members of a relatively new social order, the middle class lacked the traditions and connections that might have satisfied some of these needs, and they turned instead to publications for satisfaction and guidance. Religious literature, fiction, encyclopedias, newspapers, political commentary and criticism of many varieties were ground out of the presses to meet the new market. Hence the middle class, by their demand for reading matter, created a market for writing and at the same time called into being the man of letters as a social type – a producer of material for the presses."³⁹

Hall says that "Firstly, it is argued that English intellectuals did comprise an intelligentsia between 1830s and 1880. This intelligentsia was not revolutionary but it was bourgeois in origin and did produce very powerful and rigorous thought. Secondly, it is argued that since 1880 there has indeed been a significant decline..."⁴⁰ – referring to the economic decline, which may have been facilitated by intellectuals, as some historians would suspect. The intellectual class – in the current meaning of the word - was a distinctly modern phenomenon

³⁹ Heyck. p.28.

⁴⁰ John A.Hall. 'The Curious Case of the English Intelligentsia', *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.30., No.3, September, 1979. p.291.

and the word itself came into common use only after the 1870s. This is the decade and beyond when the idea and the vocabulary of intellectuals truly spread.

From this we can easily realize that there has always been a demand for such spiritual people, practically from the beginning of times, therefore they have developed a timeless quality and only the language is the indicator of change, as different terms have been attached to them, all of which mean more or less the same thing. People have used terms like **men-of-letters**, **literary men**, **cultivators of science** but with time many of these terms lost the prestige that had first gone with them and started denoting second rate cultivators of belle lettres only. It was not only at the end of the Victorian era that the negative aspect of intellectualism could be sensed. Intellectualism had been as good as synonymous with rationalism and had implied cold abstraction and a sort of ineffectiveness to the great public. As Heyck points out the rationalist ideology of the French Revolution, the romantic rejection of reason in the benefit of the heart or the growing desire for independence from established religious and political institutions all had evoked unfavourable connotations of intellectualism in the mind of the general public as early as in the pre-Victorian era.⁴¹

Furthermore, as I mentioned earlier there was a relative **lack of rebelliousness** on the part of intellectuals in England, and although with time there appeared more and more cohesiveness among their ranks, they continued forming their own independent intellectual enclave instead of ever getting into open confrontation either with the aristocracy or with the prevailing political and social system. They seemed to be much too absorbed in their intellectual tasks and too eager to create the acceptable degree of security and stability for themselves. However, intellectuals in England and in the whole of Britain never became completely isolated or detached in the sense as it happened in Russia or in other countries on the Continent. They remained closely connected to the practical and institutional life by their families, occupation and aspirations.

⁴¹ Heyck p.236.

FUNCTIONS OF INTELLECTUALS

As I said earlier, one can grasp the essence of intellectual existence through the functions they have in any society and it is easiest to define them on the basis of these. Now we shall take a look at the different categories theoreticians apply when they discuss intellectuals and the **functions** they find important to highlight.

Edward Shils, for example, points at **the commitment of intellectuals to the cultivation of alternatives, to possibilities rather than to realities**. In his opinion, intellectuals are preoccupied with what might be instead of what there is. He also highlights the intellectuals' endeavours to **break with the established tradition** and their opposition to constituted authority.⁴² All this confirms my allegation according to which genuine intellectuals are capable of **self-movement, autonomy and self-guidance** rather than being externally driven.

Alvin W. Gouldner distinguishes two elites, namely, the *intelligentsia*, whose intellectual interests are fundamentally "technical" and the *intellectuals*, whose interests are primarily "critical, emancipatory, hermeneutic and hence often political."⁴³ It turns out from his book that the term 'intelligenty' was first used in Russia in the 1860s to refer to a self-conscious elite, who were well educated and had a critical attitude toward the status quo. Later the term 'intellectuals' came into vogue through the "*Manifesto of Intellectuals*" protesting the French government's persecution of Dreyfuss. He goes on to argue that while intellectuals often convey a kind of revolutionary quality and can become leaders, they also serve to accommodate the future to the past and they endeavour to reproduce the past in the future. (notice the contrast with Shils). On the other pole, the technical intelligentsia often wish to be allowed to live for their obsession with technical puzzles and, through their innovations, to modify the status quo and upset old values and traditions. Of course, this is quite a modern concept of the term 'intelligentsia', hardly valid in the Victorian age, but from the above definitions it is clear that it is impossible to interpret the essence of intellectual existence without realizing its innovative and revolutionary quality (not necessarily in the political sense).

⁴² Edward Shils. *The Intellectuals and the Powers and Other Essays*. Chicago. 1972.

⁴³ Alvin W. Gouldner: *The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class*. New York: The Seabury Press. 1979. p.48.

To sum it up, in Gouldner's opinion, both the intellectuals and the intelligentsia represent a **revolutionary force**, for the simple reason that **they reject old forms, bureaucratic barriers and promote innovation.**⁴⁴ What is more, through the cultural dissolution they carry out, they commonly alienate people from tradition. While doing so, they themselves become **alienated from the rest of the society.**

Different components contribute to their alienation:

- the way they think and send messages is at least as important as what they think (their central mode of influence is communication, that is, writing and talking) they mostly reach their goals by rhetoric, persuasion and argument through publishing and speaking
- often there is a blockage of their upward mobility (Gouldner refers to them as "blocked ascendants, not declasses")
- there is almost always a disparity between their income and power on the one side and their self-regard and cultural capital on the other. This means that they experience a gap between their great possession of culture and their modest enjoyment of income, their limitations in power and wealth.
- they have a commitment to social totality. According to this, they tend to feel a kind of obligation to the collectivity as a whole, mainly due to their privileged education and the social roles they fulfill. Teachers, for example, are commonly regarded as representatives of the whole society and as the guardians of national values.⁴⁵

Besides Gouldner, other experts on intellectuals point at other distinguishing features. Philip Gilbert Hamerton, painter, art critic, essayist and friend of C.E. Appleton, who devoted a meticulous work to the celebration of intellectual life, first published in 1873, mentions **the disinterestedness of intellectuals**, that is, the willingness to serve the interest of the public even if it means "accepting the truth when it is most unfavorable to ourselves."⁴⁶ He is also concerned with **the moral guidance** intellectuals are supposed to carry out towards the philistines - a rife phenomenon in the closing decades of the 19th century - when talks about what intellectual people can and should do with the people who simply fail to appreciate genuine values and who turn their enthusiasm towards the pleasures which only the

⁴⁴ Ibid. p.52.

⁴⁵ Ibid. pp.60-66.

⁴⁶ P.G.Hamerton. The Intellectual Life, New York: A.L. Burt Company Publishers, 1891. p.60.

fashionable world can provide. At this point the main observation is that instead of complaining, the superior minds should act as guides for the inferior ones and Hamerton advocates a little patient condescension because he does not find it appropriate that the Philistines should continue their `stupid talks` without the least fear of contradiction. He does not consider it fair that they should eternally have things their own way. Somebody ought to have the courage to enlighten them even if it brings shame and a certain kind of humiliation for them. And who else could do this unpleasant moral duty but the intelligentsia?⁴⁷

Closely related to this is **the habit of advocacy**. This means that it is almost impossible for historians, journalists or even for medical men to remain unbiased and not to advocate views which serve their own interests best or fit in the line of their own convictions. And, of course, they feel an inner urge to tell others about these convictions.

In his book Hamerton claims that class views in general narrow the mind and prejudices tend to keep people in ignorance, therefore they are not good.⁴⁸ It might be true that the English intelligentsia failed to stand up for the rights of the working class, or if it did, it did so only at the end of the century when the labour movement was standing on firm grounds anyway, after having struggled its way up on its own. However, the other half of the truth is that most intellectuals also condemned the illiberal spirit of the aristocracy whom they adopted a lot from and with whom they had a lot to share throughout the century. Instead of the narrow class spirit English intellectuals tended to **find the components of a meaningful life** in other things, namely in a life of health, in sound morality, in disinterested intellectual activity and in freedom from petty cares. This mostly coincides with the high ideal of professional existence and is hardly compatible with the excessive uniformity that the democratic manners require and impose on individuals. The author of *The Intellectual Life* admits that the democratic feeling might raise the lower classes and increase their self-respect, which is indeed a very beneficial thing for the nation, but it has a tendency to fix one uniform type of behaviour and thought as the sole type in conformity with what is accepted for commonsense and that type is not really a very elevated one. In addition, he complains that the ultra-democratic spirit is hostile to culture, it hates all delicate and romantic sentiments, scorns tender and fine feelings in the human nature and is simply incapable of comprehending the needs of a higher life. However, in Hamerton`s opinion, if the intelligentsia of his age had to choose between

⁴⁷ Ibid.p.286.

⁴⁸ Ibid.p. 58.

aristocratic or democratic ideals, the latter one seems more acceptable. In his words: “ And yet, notwithstanding all these vices and excesses of the democratic spirit, notwithstanding the meanness of the middle classes and the violence of the mob, there is one all-powerful reason why our best hopes for the liberal culture of the intellect are centered on the democratic idea. The reason is, that aristocracies think too much of persons and positions to weigh facts and opinions justly.”⁴⁹

PROFESSIONALS:

If one wishes to form a clear idea of the essence of professionalism in the 19th century, it is worth taking a glimpse at the conditions of such work in the preceding centuries.

The meaning of the term must have undergone numerous modifications almost from decade to decade but, in my understanding, primarily it must have referred to **a kind of calling or vocation that, through education, a particular person or body of specialized knowledge, fulfilled a kind of service, mostly skilled service, to a community and this job had always been held in higher social esteem than the trades or crafts.** On the basis of my readings I have also concluded that, in any past age, the profession presupposed **a lengthy training,** often with many years **apprenticeship,** it was intellectual in nature and at the end of the training there came **a recognized qualification** of some sort. The training was mostly vocational and **meant a livelihood** for the person who practiced it.

THE PROFESSIONAL IDEAL, DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS:

In fact, just like in the case of intellectuals, it is easier to form a comprehensive view of the professionals by examining their spheres of activities, the way they fulfill their duties and the central values they hold.

⁴⁹ Ibid.p.254.

First of all, what was **the professional ideal**? Obviously it concerned itself with **what the society should be like**, was based on **trained expertise** and required **selection by merit**, while also preserving something of the old, traditional **patronage system**. It left the judgement of professional quality to the opinion of similarly educated experts and thus had the capacity to convince the state that its services were of vital importance and by doing so, it tried to get the adequate **state support**. Owing to its nature it was clearly **against the capitalist, entrepreneurial ideal**, whose main focus was moneymaking and material success. In the second half of the century the professional ideal gradually replaced the capitalist one and the ideal of the self-made entrepreneur. This might be one reason why some historians are inclined to put all the blame on the expanding professional segment for the industrial decline, which characterized British economy in the last third of the century.

However, in spite of the difference in ideal, the professionals were not entirely isolated from the world of business. In reality the expanding professional sub-class permeated society from top to bottom and created **hierarchies**, which did not always respect the boundaries of social class and even infiltrated into the business sphere in the form of management. These hierarchies were not equal in prestige and rewards, that is, had their own sophisticated system of upper and lower rungs in the social ladder. There were powerful and domineering professional bureaucrats promoted and backed by the state and there were the private corporations which were mostly run by equally domineering professional managers.

Besides their presence in the economy, the professionals of the late Victorian society fulfilled numerous **other functions**, which were actually closer to the original professional ideal. They acted as **theorists, apologists** and **propagandists** for the three major classes of the new industrial society and served not only their own ideals, but also those of the other classes. In the opinion of Perkin, they carried this function to such perfection that they even tended to forget about themselves as a class or only occasionally did they recognize their own existence as one. Hence the term – "the forgotten middle class".⁵⁰

The public schools clearly became the strongholds of the new professional ideal, they advocated the need for **selfless public service** and either consciously or unconsciously produced the group of people who – through their vital services – were capable, willing and eager to run the empire in a period when it was almost ungovernable owing to its immense

⁵⁰ Harold Perkin. *The Rise of Professional Society*, London and New York: Routledge, pp.117-118.

size, the huge dimensions and all kinds of political factors. It was here that the anti-industrial attitude was an openly undertaken principle and was fuelled continually throughout the period. According to some sources, even when the admission barrier was lifted and the sons of businessmen were also admitted to the prestigious public schools, it was still expected of them to disavow their background and live entirely for the principles advocated by the school.

Prominent social thinkers of the age, like Coleridge and Bentham, urged the greatest happiness for the greatest number, while others - Carlyle and Ruskin - waged war on the blind obsession with moneymaking. Professionals were ready to live up to the ideals of their ideologues by **increasing the quality of life** for as many people as possible and, although they insisted on a solid and regular source of income, they scorned ardent and excessive desire for material wealth. This way they remained **faithful to their own ideal** and always kept up a rather **unique attitude to property**. They were never against private property, in fact regarded their own service as a source of income, as a force which could be converted into wealth. However, they were convinced that this was valuable and meaningful property, not the same kind that industrialists produced.

Much quoted experts, A.M. Carr-Saunders and P.A. Wilson point at the following distinguishing marks:

- professionals tend to **form associations, guilds and clubs** so as to distinguish between competent and incompetent members, between honourable and dishonourable practitioners. So as to uphold unanimous values, they even **create ethical codes** (the essence of which is the consideration of the client's need and the quality of the work) and it is hoped that "the public will come to realize that in giving patronage to members of the association they are assured of honest as well as of competent service. For Victorians it became increasingly important to protect professional interests besides maintaining the old notion of respectability. It became obvious that a relatively high level of remuneration implied a public recognition of status.⁵¹ Later the authors add that each profession is organized on a craft basis; and relations between the various associations are generally friendly, willing to *cooperate*. Terence J. Johnson observes about **the significance of homogeneity**: "Under professionalism, a continuous and terminal status is shared by all members. Equal status and continuous

⁵¹ A.M. Carr-Saunders and P.A. Wilson. The Professions. Frank Cass & Co.Ltd. 1964. pp.302-303

occupational career are important mechanisms for maintaining a sense of identity, **colleague-loyalty and shared values**. Also **the myth of a community of equal competence** is effective in generating public trust in a system in which members of the community judge the competence of one another.”⁵²

Cooperative associations did a lot in the Victorian age for the unification of the professionals but could not cover the whole field. Gradually **the State** stepped in, especially in those areas where the self-interest of the professionals was not sufficient to bring about the necessary degree of growth but where the demand of the public was readily given.

- Closely connected to the unifying tendencies and the ethical code is the appearance of **the professional register**, which is an even more formal mode of distinguishing between sufficiently qualified and less qualified members. Since the beginning of the 19th century a new system of training and testing was elaborated to make sure that only competent people could gain the legitimate right to practise their professions. According to the new system, prestige within the occupation depended on colleague evaluation and technical competence became a significant criterion of individual growth. As a result, the State set up a register for certain professions (the medical and the legal are very good examples) and by admitting the really knowledgeable members to its ranks, it created a much firmer basis for their livelihood and ultimately got rid of the fake experts. Admittedly, the mere existence of the register discouraged the practice of the unqualified and created a healthier competition between the good practitioners.
- The **obligation to serve** is practically synonymous with what other experts call **disinterestedness**. To quote Fred Bullock: “When a man becomes a member of a profession, he undertakes an honourable calling. His duty is to serve the interests of the public...He is not compelled by law to attend to any case to which he may have been called, but he must remember that, having accepted a public calling, he must as a rule have good reasons for his refusal.”⁵³ J. A. Jackson says that “the service ideal of the professional is usually taken to be one of the key characteristics of the profession.” He admits that an objective disinterestedness may be a necessary condition of task

⁵² Terence J. Johnson. Professions and Power. Macmillan. London. 1972. p.52.

⁵³ Fred Bullock. Handbook for Veterinary Surgeons (1927). pp.13-14.

performance but agrees with Carr-Sanders and Wilson, who say that “Professional men are not philanthropists. They ask for a decent living in return for the services which they perform. But if they were called upon to give an account of themselves, they show that gratuitous service is often given to those in need.”⁵⁴ In Jackson’s opinion “there is no reason to assume that professionals are either more charitable or more interested in their fellow men than others. What, rather, is significant, is that their occupational niche is defined around problems of universal, or at least widely experienced, social concern.”⁵⁵

- The good, almost **personal relationship with the clients** is an essential part of the professional work, therefore **remuneration** is always somewhat awkward and is very often **indirect**. Practically it means that both the professional and the client pretend that the work is done solely for the client’s betterment but they all know that the professional also needs money for his living. Consequently, the financial reward or payment may come in a covert form (money may not be paid directly, but a cheque may be sent) **Professional secrecy** was and still is also a component of this personal, almost confidential relation between the professional man and his clients. However, apart from the individual relationship that the provider maintained with the receiver of the service, it became increasingly recognized that the professional could no longer exist in a social vacuum but his or her activities had to be related to a wider social structure and finally **a fix place** had to be given to professionals **in the social hierarchy**.
- In spite of, or besides the personal, sometimes intimate relationship with the client, there is also **an aura of mystery** around professional people. As Jackson observes professionals encompass specialized areas of knowledge and the public knows that only few of them can become real experts of their field. In his words: “By virtue of their character these areas of knowledge assume a mystery, a quality of the sacred whereby they take on a distinct mystique which distinguishes them from more mundane matters. The professional becomes necessarily the high priest of that area of knowledge in which he is acknowledged to be competent.”⁵⁶ So as to keep up this

⁵⁴ Carr-Sanders. p.471-472.

⁵⁵ Jackson. pp.6-7.

⁵⁶ Ibid. p.7.

sacred image of the professional, various ritualistic elements may be significant: legends, symbols and stereotypes may aid in formulating the public attitudes to the profession. In his book titled *Professions and Power* Terence J. Johnson acknowledges the mystery around professionals but calls attention to the subordinated position of clients when he says that although “a specialized priesthood may be regarded as fundamental to the well-being of a group, such occupations involve social relationships of potential tension, where the provision of specialized services is threatening and uncertainty compounded. The greater the social distance, the greater the ‘helplessness’ of the client, then the greater the exposure to possible exploitation and the need for social control”⁵⁷

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- A fundamental element of professional existence is **patronage**. So as to get a good start, young professionals have always had to rely on and make full use of family connections and the recommendations of their tutors. Patronage is taken for granted by most professions as they see it as a guarantee of maintaining quality and as a means of building the hierarchy. Even in communities where the meritocratic principle and the spirit of competition has come to replace the old routine, patronage has retained some of its influence and will surely continue in the future. In the past patronage either started in the cradle or during the apprenticeship of the young professional and in certain professions life was unimaginable without it, eg. in the Army where the basic pillar of promotion was patronage.

OVERLAP AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PROFESSIONALS AND INTELLECTUALS

Once we recognize these values as the preconditions and essential components of professional life, it is easy to point out **the overlap** and the obvious **differences with mere intellectual existence**.

Acquiring knowledge on a high level, mostly within the walls of a **university**, and **transmitting knowledge on to others** seems to be a common point. As for the distinguishing marks, besides the element of **profitmaking and joining a professional community** (for

⁵⁷ Terence J. Johnson. *Professions and Power*. Macmillan. London. 1972.

intellectuals working without it) I consider the contrast between a **conformist and non-conformist attitude** as a fundamental element, which characterizes the two groups respectively. Generally thinking, I identify intellectuals with material disinterestedness and non-conformism, whereas professionals tend to stand for conformism and the desire for wealth.

As for **intellectuals**, I accept Shil's view according to which they endeavour to find alternative modes of looking at things and mostly by breaking with traditions.⁵⁸ From this it follows that in a sense they are deviants, outsiders, non-conformists in any society. When I analyzed the nature of intellectual activities, I pointed at their revolutionary quality, their capacity for self-guidance and the fact that they were never externally driven. Intellectuals with a revolutionary drive were not likely to respect the existing order and here I consider the ideologues and social thinkers of the age eg. the Philosophic Radicals.

The question may arise whether this attitude characterizes **professionals** as well. In my opinion, a lot depends on **the type of professional** we examine. If the professional overlaps with intellectuals, that is, has the capacity and the drive for innovation and advocacy, the above allegation may be true of him or her. However, if the professional is a relatively well educated person, who rejects new intellectual challenges, (eg. An old style rural dentist, who never published anything that could be considered scientific after getting his degree but did his job mechanically for the rest of his life), we have all reasons to assume that he did not spend his time trying to find alternatives to the good old routine, was never preoccupied with how to get his inventions accepted, therefore, no one had a reason to treat him as an outsider. He was not interested in breaking with the prevailing traditions - being a conformist - because it was exactly the old order that created the basis for his comfortable private practice. He may have inherited his father's clientele (if he happened to be a dentist as well) and the methods he had used. Instead of offering alternatives, he was happy to cling to the existing order as the respect for authority was a precondition of tranquil scholarly activity.

I am convinced that, if the professionals did not overlap with the above mentioned radical intellectuals but belonged to the less creative type (see the rural dentist example), then they certainly lacked the revolutionary drive, were happy to ascend on the social ladder by taking small steps (if there was any ascendance at all) and to gradually win over clients and thus to

⁵⁸ Shils.p.6.

secure a modest life for their families. I accept the views of those social historians who claim that in the Victorian age professionals mainly strove for security rather than fame or spectacular growth in wealth and prestige. For this reason, they must have joined associations with great willingness where their interests were protected by others, where they were given a code of conduct and were told how to behave if they wanted to fit in the line. It was definitely comfortable and satisfactory for many of the small professionals that they did not have to worry about the following day because others observed their interests.

Also, as the demand for professional services became more widely recognized, the public and the State started taking steps to officially acknowledge the merits of those who provided them and integrated them into the social hierarchy as a legitimate sub-class of the middle layer of the society. Consequently, it would be a mistake to regard these professionals as outsiders or social declassés.

As far as their **income** was concerned, being members of the `exclusive` middle class, most professionals had a share from the economic benefits of the post- Industrial Revolution age. As we can learn from Hoppen, there were enormous incomes paid to the leading practitioners in law and medicine. Between 1809 and 1899 ten professional men died leaving more than half a million pounds behind and the chain of the hierarchy moved down through the prosperous at a 1,000 pounds or more a year to the palpably hard-pressed.⁵⁹ At the same place Hoppen says that professional earnings did not increase considerably during the second half of the 19th century and the leading branches remained the medical and the legal professions. It remained a fact that, in pursuit of social position, the professions retained and enhanced their advantage over the business world because of the moral superiority their occupation represented in the eyes of many.

As we have already mentioned **the habit of advocacy** and **sharing ideas** with others in connection with intellectuals, it is easy to see that it is this activity which as good as creates an overlap with professionals, who are just one step further along this path because they also receive some payment for passing their knowledge on to others. (I would remark here that we are talking about perhaps the most underpaid group within the professions). In the Victorian age there was growing need for the work of the cultivators, conveyors and distributors of information, although their social prestige did not really grow with the demand. As W. J.

⁵⁹ K. Theodore Hoppen. *The Mid-Victorian Generation 1846-1886*. Clarendon Press. Oxford. 1998. p.44.

Reader says: "For a variety of reasons, therefore, in the first thirty or forty years of the nineteenth century there were a good many able and determined men setting out to organize professional education as it had never been organized before. They belonged to the same energetic, ambitious, serious-minded middle class which at the same time was demanding reform elsewhere in the national life, not least in morals and politics."⁶⁰ Throughout the era these people, treated as sages, prophets, vates spokesmen of lofty ideologies, stepped up as **public educators** and were greatly admired. As Shils says: "Through their provision of models and standards, by the presentation of symbols to be appreciated, intellectuals elicit, guide, and form the expressive dispositions within a society."⁶¹ In Shils' opinion intellectuals shape people's aesthetic tastes on which their ethical judgements will rest. He adds that intellectuals infuse into the laity attachments to more general symbols and provide for them a means of participation in the central value system. To quote his own words: "Intellectuals are not, however, concerned only to facilitate this wider participation in certain features of the central values system. They are above all concerned with its more intensive cultivation, with the elaboration and development of alternative potentialities. Where creativity and originality are emphatically acknowledged and prized, and where innovation is admitted and accepted, this is perceived as a primary obligation of intellectuals."⁶²

So what intellectuals were expected to do for the great public was mostly **the generalization and interpretation of information** which people heard or read in the daily papers and reviews as well as **the systematization and rationalization of things** which were not obvious at first sight and this way people became increasingly well-prepared to adapt to new tasks and to tackle obstacles. As literary people were partly viewed as educators, it is little wonder that they were also expected to provide a model for the intellectual activity of others. Literary men mostly considered study to be their true profession and were rather detached from the world of production. They had to study continually and regularly and write when they had something important to say. About the teacher we can read in *The Intellectual Life* that his or her success was not to be measured by the number of those whom he influenced directly. What really mattered was whether there were at least some people who could grasp the essence of the master's explanation and could receive his thought by sympathy. The idea remained with the student in later periods of his life and he or she also passed it on to others,

⁶⁰ Reader. p.50.

⁶¹ Shils. p.5.

⁶² Shils. p.6.

and this way the idea was propagated.⁶³ What Hamerton calls "**intellectual charity**" is certainly one of the greatest achievements the cultivated intellect could have, namely, to convey the best and noblest knowledge to the uncultivated, the untaught and the unprepared and to make them capable of assimilating. This view of intellectuals as educators and moral guides was so general, that they were even sent outside Britain to carry out missionary work in the colonies and go to developing countries and other civilizations (especially in the colonies) to spread their own models. The idea was that, by doing so, they could turn 'uncultured' people's lives for the better and enhance Britain's good reputation in the world. When these intellectuals started receiving payment for their services they could easily slip into the category of professionals.

In my opinion, another thing that creates the main borderline between intellectual and professional existence is the very consciously chosen **university training**, which a person with an intellectual disposition chose if he wanted to gain a livelihood from his activity and which he mostly did disinterestedly to serve the public good. I share the views of T. Parsons, who maintains that the profession depends on the notion of the university as the institution of the intellectual.⁶⁴ J.A. Jackson carries Parsons's idea on when says: "The modern university with its emphasis on teaching and research provides both the training and the intellectual tradition itself but in some measure incorporates also the legitimating structure of authority and competence. It is in the university that intellectual traditions have become institutionalized...and as the curriculum of the modern university has developed and diversified, it has produced new areas of competence assuring the status of profession."⁶⁵ In fact, university training was often received so that the individual could **institutionalize the knowledge and wisdom** he had and so that he could enhance his or her own prestige by doing so, otherwise he or she would not have been heeded by the public. University education was especially vital for those who chose advocacy and transmitting knowledge to others as a profession. It was mostly teachers, university dons, schoolmasters, missionaries, journalists and literary men who needed the official document to back themselves up with it and to get admitted in the narrow circle of those professionals who gained their livelihood by practising this activity. As I myself consider higher education vital to the understanding of professional

⁶³ Hamerton. p.315.

⁶⁴ T. Parsons, 'Professions', International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York, 1968), p. 539.

⁶⁵ Professions and Professionalization. Editorial Introduction by John A. Jackson in the book of the same title. Cambridge, University Press. 1970. p.4.

existence in the period under analysis, I will devote a separate chapter to the description of the evolution of the Victorian university .

THE EVOLUTION OF THE PROFESSIONS

To understand the formation of the Victorian subclass one has to reach back to former centuries and see what conditions facilitated their formation into a more or less unified social group. The most active phase of transition the professionals had ever experienced took place as early as the late seventeenth century and produced a remarkable flux of growth between 1680 and 1730. The key to the understanding of this spectacular growth was the rapid urban development which was going on in most regions of England as a side effect of the Industrial Revolution. **Urbanization and the growing need for services** clearly provided a stimulant to the expansion and diversification of the professions.

According to Geoffrey Holmes, the first references to “the professions of arms” can be traced back as far as the Elizabethan period and this means that people, as early as the 16th century, endeavoured to classify forms of employment and distinguish vocational, intellectual work, which was not “trades”. We can also learn from Holmes that a century and half later the word was widely used. From the 1740s on architecture was described as a profession or certain people referred to themselves as professional artists.⁶⁶ Holmes also talks about the major numerical growth that took place between 1680 and 1730 when the social and economic climate of Britain gave a spectacular impetus to the rise of the professionals. Elements he picks out are **the fruitful urban development, the growing desire for better sanitary conditions and more comfort, different standards of material prosperity** – all of which, undoubtedly served as stimulants to the expansion and diversification of the professions.⁶⁷ In contemporary newspapers one can read about the fact that more and more **lawyers** were needed to **facilitate international business transactions** (their number grew fastest between 1590 and 1640) or full-time **estate stewards** who could increasingly apply scientific methods to the maximization of rents and estate yields. But we could mention **the urging need for the**

⁶⁶ Geoffrey Holmes. Augustan England. Professions, State and Society, 1680-1730 p. 4.

⁶⁷ Holmes. p.12.

work of book-keepers, accountants, customs officers, schoolmasters and Exchequer officials.

Wilfrid Prest points at the fact that the extent of continuity between the professions before and after the Industrial Revolution is rather impressive considering the fact that the membership and clientele of the early modern professions were not so socially restricted as it has generally been supposed and the term `profession` was employed in a specific as well as in a general sense. In his opinion, however, there were some important differences that plainly separated the early professions from the ones that we regard as such today. The most obvious contrast is organizational. Prest claims that “what distinguishes a profession from all the other occupations is the ability of its membership to determine, directly or indirectly, who may pursue that particular vocation” and adds that before the nineteenth century most occupations lacked any kind of **formal institutional structure**. During the early modern period, many of these occupations were performed by persons who had no standardized training or formal paper qualifications and were not linked by **common membership of an occupational organization**.⁶⁸

In the mid-18th century, when it came to the education of children, people started using the word “breeding them up to some profession or other” and they mostly meant **training for the Army, the Navy or the Church**. In the pre-Victorian age more and more apothecaries, solicitors, attorneys and surgeons underwent a formal apprenticeship, since the practical aspect of their work was still more important than the theoretical knowledge. In the government service a clerkship was frequently recognized as the equivalent of an informal apprenticeship. Professionals in Augustan England involved themselves in **townplanning**, founding charity schools and in improving communications. In one word, they contributed to the improvement of living conditions of the community they were the members of. For example, lawyers often acted as town clerks, or medical men competed for the posts of lord mayor.⁶⁹

Historians agree that their contribution towards the maintenance of a relatively mobile but firmly integrated social order during and even before the Industrial Revolution should be seen as crucial. Prest agrees that “ what the professions were includes the sum total of their social

⁶⁸ The Professions in Early Modern England. Edited by Wilfrid Prest. Croom Helm. London and New York. 1987. p.14.

⁶⁹ Holmes. p.14.

relations and roles – their impact upon society as well as the reverse.”⁷⁰ Here we mean the dealings of professional people with clients, with other intellectuals and professional groups and with the State in the course of which they they used their expertise often to their own material advantage.

Another typical Augustan feature was the frequent **overlap between certain occupational groups**. For example, in the teaching profession, it was only natural that university dons and grammar school headmasters were also clergymen. Specialization and separation of medical fields became rife only in the 19th century.

As far as the social standing of professionals was concerned, they were entitled to the label of ‘gentleman’ and in certain circumstances (eg. a barrister or a captain in the army) they may have gained the rank of ‘esquire’. From the letters and memoirs of this period it turns out that Augustan professionals did not enjoy the beneficial impact of common group solidarity and corporate self-awareness was still a remote thing.

Throughout **the nineteenth century** the professionals grew out of and belonged to the exclusive middle class. In the first half of the century they were still hardly palpable, difficult to categorize but undoubtedly **gentlemanly and respectable**. When the Victorian era dawned, it was mainly the Anglican clergy and a few hundred physicians and barristers who counted as undisputedly professionals (at this point Army and Naval officers still belonged to the landed interest) and it was only in the latter part of the century when **a far wider range of occupations** was coming into existence. Independent practitioners, qualifying and disciplinary associations, specialized knowledge, self-conscious identity and even legal recognition started characterizing professional life. By the Victorian era professionalism had become an organizing principle of the social structure, which was based on human capital and specialized expertise. Human capital could reach down the social structure and could produce different ranks, **a hierarchy and rivalry both vertically and horizontally** and this reflected profound changes in the mental outlook of the society as a whole. While in the preceding decades generalized information was most in demand, at the end of the century there was a distinct shift towards a desire for **specialization** and specific knowledge. Hence **the rise of expertise** in the modern sense of the word. As **the division of labour** became necessary in the work of professional institutions, **team work** became more and more accepted and appreciated.

⁷⁰ Prest. p.19.

A very important phenomenon in the late Victorian period was **professionalization** itself. It practically means that people like scientists or university dons, who had done their work before but without much social appreciation, finally won status for themselves and from that time on they earned their living on the work as their full-time occupation and even received respect for doing it. The fact that intellectual people increasingly tried to get rid of incompetent and untrained 'colleagues' may have been the cause of the emergence of **registration**, which meant that the qualified representatives of a given profession received general acknowledgement by getting onto the official list of professionals, who had certificate and the adequate amount of knowledge to live up to the expected standard of the public and of fellow experts.

Legitimate organizations, eg. the Inns of Court, the Society of Apothecaries or the Royal College of Surgeons stood up for the interests of their members and **engineers** of various kinds as well as **architects and veterinary surgeons** were gaining more and more ground. When the Census Commissioners did their work in the 1850s and 1860s they found that **schoolmasters, actors, musicians and civil engineers** had to be added to the ranks of the ancient professions. If we examine the data from the period, we shall find that the traditional branches showed no growth at all, while the rest – the newly appearing ones – experienced a sharp rise first and then a period of stable stagnation in the second half of the century.⁷¹ As we can learn from R.A. Buchanan's article it was not likely that the proportion of adult males engaged in what might be called the recognized professions ever exceeded 2 per cent. This made it easy for the few involved to form small tightly knit elites.⁷²

As the word 'professional' became more commonly used, and as Victorians started taking their services for granted, more and more attempts were made to define the essence of their activities (partly by contemporaries, partly by experts of our days). It was increasingly recognized that the rise of the professionals was a social phenomenon, not only cultural, as the

⁷¹ In 1851 William Farr, the G.R.O.'s Superintendent of Statistics invented a new classification system and this was based on six classes: Professional, Domestic, Commercial, Agricultural, Industrial and Indefinite and Non-productive. These major classes were further divided into Orders. Farr remained Senior Statistician until his retirement until 1880. In the late 19th century social scientists posed new questions that Farr's system could not answer satisfactorily and from the 1880s on it was Charles Booth's new classification system that replaced the old one which also distinguished between employers, employees and self-employed people. S.R.S. Szreter from Cambridge University refers to the so-called professional model which was used by the Registrar-General of England and Wales and has been in use ever since the 1910s to provide a linear status scale and to distinguish clearly between manual and non-manual work. In *The Official Representation of Social Classes in Britain, the USA and France: The Professional Model and "Les Cadres"*. in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol.35. No.2. (April, 1993)pp.285-317.

⁷² R.A. Buchanan, 'Gentlemen Engineers: The Making of a Profession', *Victorian Studies*, 26. (1983), p. 428.

rapid growth of the established professions and the emergence of new-styled professional occupations produced **significant changes in the class structure** of industrialized England. Therefore, the importance and validity of this issue can hardly be overrated.

DIVISION AND CATEGORIES WITHIN THE VICTORIAN PROFESSIONS

Segregation within the professions became **manifest in income, status, geographical location**. The **horizontal division** existed between the different layers of wealth and prestige, whereas the **vertical** could be observed between the old and the new elite, that is, the old rentier, landed aristocracy, whose decline remained only partial throughout the age and retained much of its former influence and the newly rising millionaire capitalists. As time passed the gap was ever widening between the business and the professional elite as well as between the petty bourgeoisie and the new white collar segment.

As Perkin observes segregation was manifest in the competition for public resources, too. He calls attention to the division between **public and private sector professions**.⁷³ The ones in **the public sector** were funded by the state, while the ones in **the private sector** practically corresponded to the managers of the private corporations. And, of course, there were a great number of **non-profit organizations** and **non-market professions** like the universities or voluntary charitable organizations. According to this grouping, the differentiating factor was whether to operate with or without state supervision. By the middle of the century it became clear that just because laissez faire worked well in economy, the same principle failed to produce an equitable distribution of resources for the various professional organizations. Thus, people increasingly wished to create a new framework in which the professions could become a lifelong career for thousands, and could provide the individuals with a fix income, status, prestige, power, influence and, above all, security. It was only in the private sector where occasionally money, salary, bonus and other fringe benefits actually became more important than the above mentioned values.

⁷³ Perkin. p.15.

Categorization may be equally dangerous as generalization, still people tend to refer to brainworkers as people who either belong to the prestigious **higher branch professions**, (they might use the term `the privileged ones`), or to the so called **lower branch professions**. The **former group** comprised the representatives of the traditional professions like the Church, the Army, the Navy, the medical and the legal profession and perhaps the public Civil Service. The reason why they were considered as privileged ones was that entrance into them was regulated by law, because this was the only way to defend them against unqualified competition. They took a higher position than all the others because their importance was recognized by the law, the State and the general public and because they excelled the others in number and wealth. The representatives of this group received superior education and were generally drawn from the upper circles of the society, therefore enjoyed the highest level of patronage. They were held together by a rather strict and unanimous code of conduct, which certainly marked them off from everyone else.

Among **the unprivileged professions** people listed the members of the creative group, the architects, painters, sculptors, civil engineers, educators, parliamentary agents, accountants and others. It was a kind of commonly held view of them that although they strove for the title of gentlemen with all might and main, they could never entirely get rid of the old commercial outlook which characterizes most tradesmen. However, owing to the refinement of middle class life and the modernization tendencies they were very much in demand and in the latter part of the century they were actually growing faster in number than the ancient traditional professions. As W.J. Reader points out, the status, in most cases, depended on the degree of the **recognition by the state**. He even mentions that an article in *The Contemporary Review* listed the Church, the Bar, the Army and the Navy among the prestigious professions, while medicine, solicitors, painting and civil engineering were considered as `lower` because they did not lead to the same ultimate reward, the peerage.⁷⁴

(If one should find that there might be some overlapping or confusion as to how to rank certain professions, the answer should be sought in the fact that the system of classification was less refined than later, and there was often a good deal of uncertainty around how to describe the professional merits of various individuals.)

⁷⁴ Reader. p.150.

Segregation and finer distinctions among one another and from the rest of the society were increasingly reflected in the language and became manifest in numerous external features, such as clothing, manner, education, work opportunities, domicile and speech, not to mention a lot more. Professionals had to create **an image** in the public about their own merits and sell their services partly via carefully contrived self-propaganda, which was best created by a general air of `pleasantness`, excellent manners, a kind of aloofness, and an air of dignity and self-importance so that the potential clients could feel confident that they would be served by the right person, in the right place and at the right time. Therefore, the professional person, who even had to be fastidious about how to collect his fee from the clients – directly or indirectly through an assistant, perhaps – had to be increasingly careful about his manners, his speech, the atmosphere he dealt with the clients in and even the district where he received them.

No wonder that amid such circumstances a good deal of snobbery was rife as to what kind of company professionals kept and what kind of people made up their clientele. We ought to bear in mind that the Victorian period was an era when people, especially the upper circles, made a really big fuss about **socializing with their equals** as much as possible, from the cradle to the grave, with particular emphasis on one`s schools and clubs.

From the above passages we can see that the professional sub-class was being formed gradually throughout the first half of the nineteenth century and its formation was more or less complete by the end of the 1860s. In the second half of the century Victorians witnessed **the rise of modern professionals**, who became more and more numerous and distinct, who increasingly proliferated as new demands emerged and who tended to detach themselves from the world of businessmen as soon as they left the public school and organized themselves as a way of self-protection. At the same time **the old professions restructured themselves** and started emphasizing expertise, grew in number and endeavoured to enhance their own prestige. In a number of cases it happened that the younger sons of business families, who could not inherit the family enterprise because an elder brother had already done so, - for want of anything better to do - became professionals and made use of the business mentality that had prevailed in their family and adopted it in their new field. They learnt to manage themselves better than those who had no access to such know-how, could rely on their

parents's business experience, help and sometimes received credit unavailable to others.⁷⁵ In my opinion, it is correct to conclude that by the end of the century the most visible change that signified a major shift in the occupational and social composition of the middle class was the emergence and **the ascendance of clerical and managerial work** as well as the **diversification of non-manual work** in general.

THE RISE OF PROFESSIONAL WOMEN

From F.M.L. Thompson, *The Cambridge Social History of Britain (1750-1950)* Table.3.3

Occupational Structure of Great Britain, females 1851-1911 (in thousands)

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Professional occupations/ subordinate services	103	126	152	203	264	326	383
Domestic offices and personal services	1,135	1,407	1,678	1,756	2,036	2,003	2,127
Agriculture, horticulture and forestry	229	163	135	116	80	67	60
Textiles	635	676	726	745	795	795	870
Clothing	491	596	594	667	759	792	825
Food, drink and tobacco	53	71	78	98	163	216	308
Total in these occupations	2,646	3,039	3,363	3,585	4,097	4,199	4,573
Total occupied	2,819	3,252	3,570	3,887	4,489	4,732	5,356
Total unoccupied	5,192	5,762	6,535	7,567	8,572	10,247	11,432

The question of the separate spheres remained a vital issue for long in the Victorian period. It is a fact that both the Victorians and posterity tended to agree that in the given age gentlewomen could simply not make the private domain of the home square with the increasing communal demands of the outside world, which obviously corresponds to the public sphere. It has frequently been argued that female existence was identical with the

⁷⁵ H.Berghoff and R.Moller. *Tired Pioneers and Dynamic Newcomers? A Comparative Essay on English and German Entrepreneurial History, 1870-1914*, in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol.47, No.2. (May, 1994.) p.267.

private, while male existence practically meant the public sphere of life. For a long time women either had to choose between the two or they were not even offered a choice but were automatically put on the forced path of domesticity. Needless to say, this latter option meant a lifelong captivity and deprivation for most women, who detested the condescending and humiliating title of 'the Angel in the House', or we could say the 'dollhouse' feeling and whose major ambition was to leave boredom, idleness and futile life behind. Instead they endeavoured to establish themselves in the public sphere and to make themselves useful this way. Women in the late Victorian period made desperate attempts to prove to the hostile world that it was possible to create a healthy balance between full-time work and motherhood. An increasingly great number of women tended to carry out this purpose in the sphere of intellectual life.

So as to be able to perform high level intellectual achievement, women needed a good, thorough educational background. They confronted the first difficulty here. Practically throughout the nineteenth century, except perhaps at the very end, female educational opportunities were greatly discriminated against and the elite public school and university education were entirely for men. It took women an infinite amount of effort, pain and grief to struggle themselves up very slowly but persistently to approximately the same level with men.

In 1849 **Harriet Martineau** seemed to be contented with household education, which was the most widespread form of learning for middle-and upper class girls for a long time. Girls were primarily trained to be good companions and wives and although their education mattered, too, it was basically restricted to the 'husband entrapping' accomplishments, such as dancing, drawing, some humanities, like basic knowledge of history and literature complemented by some foreign language skills, just enough to run leisured conversations in fashionable salons, at balls or in the theatre.

However, already in *Household Education* Harriet Martineau voices her conviction that women were mentally just as capable as men and flatly denies the correlation between brain size and intellectual capacity, a frequent topic in male circles and even in prestigious reviews until the end of the century. She is among the first authors who – while admitting that women

have a natural gift for housewifery - declares that they can still handle intellectual tasks and flatly rejects the common conviction that the proper sphere of woman is the home.⁷⁶

In short, **education in the home** remained the main source of learning for middle class and even more so for aristocratic girls. They were taught by their mothers, occasionally by their busy fathers, governesses who brought to the home skills in which the mother's talents were limited, especially the arts, but other female family members also contributed to girls' instruction. All in all, a great number of them turned out to be successful and achieved quite a high level in education. These ladies could boast of being well-read and well-informed in the elegant circles and perhaps even had better chances to get married to high ranked social figures. However, what were their own professional perspectives?

The problem was that although public schools for boys already had a good reputation and sending boys to boarding schools was a relatively often used practice in middle class families, it certainly occurred to parents rarely to expose their daughters to the same harshness, and perhaps dangers, which they were likely to experience many miles from the home shelter. Consequently, girls and young women were not so often sent to boarding schools and their **secondary education** remained rather sparse until they were provided with more opportunities in institutions established particularly for them towards the end of the century. Once the parents made up their minds to send their daughters to official schools, they had two types of schools to choose from. Girls could either go to **private schools** or to state run **public schools**, which tried to get closer and closer to their idealized counterpart for males and even made efforts to adopt the curriculum and the examination system to qualify girls for the same kinds of jobs.

In the **private schools** the girls were trained largely for a leisured role suited to a private setting, where mostly aristocratic and upper-middle class girls could mingle with their own sort, which was a major concern of the parents. In these institutions the main stress fell on teaching the traditional accomplishments to pupils, which were rarely enough for them later on when they were about to occupy prestigious and really meaningful jobs in a world where competition with men was tough anyway. As J.S. Pedersen says "ladies who kept private schools attempted to order their affairs in conformity with the standards of those ladies who

⁷⁶ Linda H. Peterson. Harriet Martineau's Household Education: Revising the Feminine Tradition, in Culture and Education in Victorian England, ed. by Patrick Scott and Pauline Fletcher, London and Toronto: Associated University Press, 1990. p.185.

could afford to live protected, truly leisured lives amidst their families.”...”As one investigator reported to the **Taunton Commission**, private schoolmistresses did not wish to have large schools. They aimed rather to attract a small number of pupils of high social rank whom they could charge high fees.”⁷⁷ In return for the high fees the girls received education in English subjects, history, geography, some arithmetic, needlework, dancing, the piano, vocal music, German and a little bit of the sciences, in short, they were taught subjects that had little value as an intellectual discipline.

The **public schools**, on the other hand, mostly contained professional teachers, who held academic achievement in the highest esteem and stressed the values of expertise and public service. In these schools the work was scrutinized by publicly recognized authorities and tasks were not carried out for the private profit of individuals. Students here were more likely to receive instruction which was liberal and advanced and prepared girls directly for the university with the purpose of enabling them to become competent candidates for prestigious intellectual posts after graduation. With time the headmistresses even assumed a new kind of public role, namely that they started sorting out the academically most able pupils and encouraged them to continue their studies in higher education. Therefore, public schools increasingly had a responsibility in allocating pupils for their future social and professional functions. This latter tendency was especially crucial, since the old patronage system started vanishing, although never disappeared completely, but was gradually suppressed by the Civil Service reforms in the mid-Victorian years and the so-called meritocratic principle came to replace it. As the professions expanded both in size and variety, they also became merit-oriented. In short, the formerly characteristic `status professionalism` was increasingly pushed out by `**occupational professionalism**` and the actual intellectual achievement became the basis for the appointments of candidates for important posts as well as for promotion.

Besides the moral edification, education for ladies was also in close connection with the middle class aspiration to gentility. As Ellen Jordan says: “ One way for a family to demonstrate its status was to have the daughters educated in a manner that imitated, as much as possible the education of aristocratic women. What parents expected of the schools, therefore, was a reproduction of the status and gender order of middle class society. The schools were expected to produce a girl who bore the marks of her middle-class status in her

⁷⁷ J.S. Pedersen. 'Schoolmistresses and Headmistresses: Elites and Education in Nineteenth Century England', in *The Journal of British Studies*, p.142.

manners and deportment, who fulfilled the ideal of femininity defined by the domestic ideology, and who would thus enhance the family's status while she lived at home, and eventually attract a husband of the same social rank as the family.”⁷⁸

This preservation of the purity of the girl's reputation and the support of the respectability of the family may have been the basic expectation of the family but it was hardly enough for the ambitious and reform-minded schoolmistresses or the girls themselves, who increasingly became fed up with limiting their lives to husband-hunting and rearing children. The actual situation was that with more and more demand for female professional work and with more and more openings in the labour market, women had better chances to **conquer higher education**, too.

Supported by a number of diverse groups new types of educational institutions were established for women in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was mainly due to the efforts of **Emily Davies**, headmistress of Girton College, whose deepest concern lay with upper-middle class women's gaining equal opportunities with men, that curriculum was revolutionized and it is mainly her merit that the examination system of male public schools and universities were gradually adopted by the female schools and colleges, too. But there were also a few male academics, like Henry Sidgwick, one of the founders of Newham College, Cambridge, (with whom Emily Davies had numerous arguments to win him over for the support of women's education) who ultimately participated actively in the University Extension Movement and even viewed the creation of new female educational institutions linked to the universities as a desirable phenomenon because they realized that the higher social goals could be accomplished only this way in the long run. As Ellen Jordan describes the situation: “In the 1860s the new women's movement began to make its presence felt. The efforts of Emily Davies and her supporters led to the admission of girls and women to the 'local examinations' supervised by Cambridge, Oxford and Durham, while the efforts of **Henry Sidgwick, Josephine Butler and Jemima Clough** led to the establishment of the Cambridge Higher Locals, originally designed for women but soon opened to men as well.”⁷⁹

As a result of the combined efforts of the above groups and individuals, as well as the greater willingness on the part of the state to bring a more modern and efficient educational system

⁷⁸ Ellen Jordan, 'Making Good Wives and Mothers? The Transformation of Middle Class Girls' Education in Nineteenth Century Britain', *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 31, No.4, Winter 1991, p.449.

⁷⁹ Jordan, pp.440-441.

into being, there were unprecedently great results. In addition to the 200 endowed and proprietary schools which were founded in the late Victorian period, **the first colleges for women** were also established – *Bedford* in 1849, *Girton* in 1869, *Newham* in 1871 – both in Cambridge, *Somerville* and *Lady Margaret Hall* in 1879, *Westfield* in 1882 and *Royal Holloway* in 1886, *St. Hugh's* in 1886 and *St. Hilda's* at Oxford in 1893 – to mention just some of the most prestigious ones.

On graduation women, of course, encountered new difficulties. The main battle middle-class women had to fight to obtain full membership among professionals was a pseudo war against men. One can encounter a whole range of articles in the contemporary press which present the most biased views on **women's infiltration into the labour market** and by doing so their alleged endeavours to get hold of men's posts, which used to belong exclusively to their terrain in the past. People were usually accustomed to the idea that women were supposed to act as **help-meets of their husbands** and serve the interests of the family they were the members of. A new era was dawning and a lot of people had no idea how to handle the new situations or even how to react to them.

It had been customary in the past that ladies stayed in the home, either as spinsters in their fathers' house or, in more desirable cases, as wives and mothers in their husbands' and the only intellectual activity they occupied themselves with was reading the fiction and poetry of the age or reading the newspaper when their home, or perhaps public school education was over. Beyond this, the only acceptable thing for middle or upper class women was to participate in or organize all kinds of **philanthropic activities**, to carry out **missionary work** or to do some **teaching** in the local charity or Sunday school.

A lot of middle class women worked as governess with well-to-do families. Practically it was the most common decent intellectual occupation middle class women could find to support themselves or which meant some kind of escape for them from the boredom they were otherwise doomed to. But since it was the only such occupation, soon there was a surplus of this kind of labourforce, while the other **newly emerging occupations**, especially in the field of **the Civil Service, administration and organizing activities, medicine, law, teaching and the services** remained greatly unsupplied with female professional work. The reason for this was that it was a rather slow process for women to convince men, who were more than anxious to preserve their social and economic hegemony, that integrating well-trained women in the intellectual labour market was actually more to their benefit than to their disadvantage.

The thing is that there were a growing number of professions, where the women clients would have preferred to turn to a woman expert with their problems if they had had a choice. This way it became obvious that it was a kind of economic need to please the female clientele and not risk to lose them by forcing them to seek a male doctor's advice when they insisted on a female one.

At the same time women had to fight a fierce battle to get their equal mental capacities acknowledged by the male contemporaries. I have already mentioned that while no one called women's moral superiority into doubt, the press was full of articles – scientific and pseudo-scientific reasoning – which created theories about whether women would ever be able to meet the same intellectual requirements as men. Even Hamerton, the author of *The Intellectual Life* mentioned the function of women in his book and got to the conclusion that women's major domain was and should remain the home, although he admitted that there were exceptional women, who had exactly the same gifts and capacities as men but this was rare in his opinion. As to the vast majority, Hamerton claims that they might be able to do intellectual work but without the perpetual guidance of men they lose interest and enthusiasm quickly and then sink back to the level of entertaining small-talk.⁸⁰

To sum it all up, we can say that in spite of the obvious injustice and hardships women managed to achieve their main goal. By the end of the end of the century they had got rid of the suffocating doll-house boredom, monotony and what is even more important, their pecuniary subordination to their husbands and fathers. A considerable proportion of them ceased to be the supporters of their husbands in the family enterprise, which also used to be a common form of female intellectual contribution, and by leaving the sheltered home behind they stepped out into the WORLD in capital letters. They went to lodgings, started an independent life of their own, received the necessary qualifications and challenged men intellectually – but hardly ever with hostility – as female doctors, nurses, professional teachers, organizers, office girls, journalists, writers, civil servants and even as lawyers, engineers, scientists and scholars. This way they became gradually swallowed by the growing gulf of the newly emerging professional life. Once this happened, gender distinctions disappeared since it could hardly make a difference whether some medication was made up by a man or a woman or some part of the curriculum was taught by one sex or the other.

⁸⁰ Hamerton. p.89.

There are some historians who raise the question whether the Industrial Revolution turned women's living standards for the better or the worse. I am of the opinion that most women were on forced track by the last third of the century. Naturally there was a great diversity of reasons why women chose an independent life and gave up the comforts of the home. Those who sought employment for economic survival are not really my concern here, although that is likely to have been the most frequent motivating force, especially for women in the lower orders and for spinsters, who lost their supporters. What I am investigating in my dissertation is the innermost vocation, the natural calling of middle-class professional women who had to obey their inner urge to integrate themselves into the great intellectual stream, which amalgamated men and women alike and served as the basis of the future welfare state.

From F.M.L. Thompson, *The Cambridge Social History of Britain (1750-1950)* Table.3.3

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THE CONDITIONS OF PROFESSIONAL EXISTENCE

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

In his *Inaugural Address*, delivered to the University of St. Andrew's in 1867, John Stuart Mill wrote the following about the importance of education: "Of all many-sided subjects, education is the one which has the greatest number of sides. Not only does it include whatever we do for ourselves, and whatever is done, for us by others, for the express purpose of bringing us somewhat nearer to the perfection of our nature; it does more; in its largest acceptation, it comprehends even the indirect effects produced on character and on the human faculties, by things of which the direct purposes are quite different; by laws, by forms of government, by the industrial arts, by modes of social life; nay, even by physical facts not dependent on human will; by climate, soil, and local position. Whatever helps to shape the human being - to make the individual what he is not - is part of his education."⁸¹

From the above quotation it turns out that prominent thinkers, like Mill, and of course many others, increasingly came to realize the true value of education and tended to regard it as a means of social ascendance, advancement, moral edification and as a way to get rid of certain evils, which were poisoning the complacent atmosphere of the second half of the Victorian period. More and more people seemed to discover the redeeming power of education and tended to consider it as **a potential remedy against crime, idleness, bad manners, ignorance** etc. To quote Anne Digby's words: "**an efficient imposition of social control** and

⁸¹ James H. Rigg, *National Education (In Its Social Conditions and Aspects, and Public School Elementary Education)*. (London: Stahan&Co., 1873), p. 1. Quotes the words of John Stuart Mill's *Inaugural Address* of 1867.

of cross-cultural transformation was dependent on the development of compulsory, free elementary education at the end of the nineteenth century."⁸²

F.M.L. Thompson goes further and states in his article '*Social Control in Victorian Britain*', popular education was even meant to operate as **an agency of political socialization** and this way was treated as a form of social control. In his concept this means that one class imposes habits and influence on another and suggests its own notions as suitable ones. Consequently, the aim with popular education is **to produce decent citizens**, to teach the right manners and attitudes as well as obedience to the existing order instead of anarchy, lawlessness and disobedience.⁸³ Later on he adds: "A small minority of active educators, reformers, philanthropists, and other do-gooders perceive their task as a disinterested mission to civilize the ignorant and unruly. What they see as transparently necessary works of socialization to produce a better society for all, which it is self-evident are in the general interest, they propose to conduct by social controls that impose their views on other classes. In the terminology now fashionable, socialization becomes an internal rationalization by a sub-group of self-appointed guardians of society of their desire to impose social controls that would uphold a particular form of social order based on a particular class structure, not some universal social order."⁸⁴

Someone might raise the question what social control has to do with the work of the intellectuals and the professionals, which is a key issue in the present study. It should be borne in mind that the social control theory mainly means the elevation of the working class by the middle class so as to create a more sophisticated and more efficient state and at the same time to ensure its own hegemony by keeping the lower class under control. In my opinion, the pertinence of social control to my investigation is twofold. On the one hand, the **self-appointed guardians**, the minority, whom Thompson is talking about, mainly comprised the intellectuals and the learned middle class, more precisely, **the learned public educators, the ordinary schoolteachers, the university dons, the men-of-letters, the journalists** and, of course, the Philosophic Radicals, who influenced public opinion a good deal.⁸⁵ It was

⁸² Anne Digby.&Peter Searby, *Children, School and Society in Nineteenth Century England*, The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1981. p.28.

⁸³ F.M.L. Thompson, '*Social Control in Victorian Britain*' *Economic History Review* Vol.XXXIII. 1981. pp. 191-192.

⁸⁴ Thompson, p. 193.

⁸⁵ The Philosophic Radicals represented a political wing of intellectuals, who were influential in the latter half of the Victorian era and mostly aimed at getting rid of corruption and

mostly this segment of the society who wished to keep the lower orders under control. The bulk of the work was carried out by **elementary schoolteachers** and, for those who could pursue their studies, by the **headmasters of the growing number of secondary schools**.

On the other hand, just because the idea of social control primarily means middle class regulation of the working class, it does not mean that the notion would be inapplicable elsewhere, for example between the middle class and their social superiors. It is a widely known fact that the public school served as a kind of national institution for the amalgamation of the middle class boys with those from the ranks of the aristocracy. As Professor Wiener pointed out it was exactly the public school which cultivated the new notion of the 'gentleman', so that the aristocracy could keep the middle class under control and through the mingling of the boys it endeavoured to make middle class boys adopt many of the best qualities of the upper classes. So it is easy to realize that the idea of social control is inevitably linked to the intellectuals of the age, as they were mostly formed from the ranks of the middle class and were produced by and were constantly present in the public schools where they were mostly prepared for their future controlling tasks. Public school boys became civil servants, politicians, journalists, high ranked officials who ran the empire bureaucratically or they worked as doctors, lawyers, teachers, architects, artists and served the well-being of their fellow citizens, which is a form of keeping them under control. As the nation became more and more dependent on the services of intellectuals, ordinary people also became increasingly influenced by the learned ones, owing to the fact that their feeling of comfort was greatly concentrated in their hands.

To come back to **the question of national education**, let me point at and summarize the main concerns of James H. Rigg, who, as early as 1873, gave his readers a good idea of how the question of education should be approached and what importance it should be given.⁸⁶

His main argument in his book titled, *National Education* is that education actually means much more than merely having an adequate system of schools. He says that "the nation never will or can be educated, as a whole, until it is understood that schools can only furnish a part, perhaps hardly the most important part, of the education of the people. A nation may have a

excessive aristocratic domination. Leading figures were James Mill, Richard Cobden, John Stuart Mill and others.

⁸⁶ Rigg, p.2.

system of schools as complete as can be organized, and yet be very imperfectly educated.”⁸⁷ Later on he gives the definition of the educated man and the educated nation when says that “An educated man is a man who has the power and the habit of forethought and of self-control, and has also knowledge and mental discipline adequate to his position and opportunities in life. So an **educated nation** is one which, taken collectively, may be said to have the power and the habit of forethought and of self-control, and knowledge and mental discipline adequate to its position and opportunities in life.”⁸⁸ Rigg maintains that school education cannot do more than “furnish only one fractional part of the total sum of a thorough and effective national education.”⁸⁹ If this is the case, there must be other fundamental components which constitute national education. These **components** are basically **the family background, the contemporary press** – more precisely - the cheap penny papers, which are accessible for the masses, but even the street community for boys and places like the shops and the workplace. In Rigg’s opinion all these things have the capacity of shaping national education but he picks out the family as the most decisive of all. He argues that without the adequate support of the family the school is helpless, no matter how good the quality of teaching is. Whether the child has the ambition to learn depends primarily on the family, therefore it is essential that the state should create such welfare conditions even for the poorer layers of the society, so that they will feel like studying. If the immediate need to struggle for mere survival ceases, there is greater hope for the awakening desire in the masses to turn increasingly to self-improvement.

When the author brings up the issue of education outside Britain, he offers different grounds for **comparison between his own country and others**, mainly Germany, France and the United States. His argument here is that, regarding the situation at the beginning of the 1870s, Britain’s educational system is practically superior to all, mainly due to liberal spirit which prevails and has a positive impact on achievement. Rigg says that the German school system might be stronger than the English, whose deficiencies he is willing to admit, but when it comes to individual success and national advancement the Germans turn out to be greatly inferior to the English. Rigg’s explanation for this allegation is that the Germans tend to impose absurd restrictions and limitations on their schoolchildren and by doing so they suffocate their originality and inventive, creative spirit. He says that “Liberty is the spring of

⁸⁷ Ibid., p.2.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p.2.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p.3.

life.”⁹⁰ Somewhat later he adds: “The value of the school education is, that it immediately prepares for the active duties of life in youth and manhood...Whether the school education will prove to be worth much or little, depends as much on what follows in life’s actual work as on what precedes and accompanies in home influences.”⁹¹ According to Rigg, therefore **the practical side of learning and the applicability of knowledge** is just as important as the **theoretical aspect**.

Speaking about the comparison with other nations, let me call attention to another observation, which dates back to 1892, when the *Westminster Review* drew a similar parallel between the level of English elementary education and that of other European nations and got to the conclusion that Britain was lagging behind Germany and even Romania. The article argues that "Britain still acknowledges the claim of the money-maker to have priority over education in the possession of the child."⁹²

Another important component is public concern, which is a basic part of the education of Englishmen. Here Rigg again offers other countries for comparison. Preoccupation with public matters characterizes mostly middle and upper class citizens and undoubtedly plays a key role in the development of the national character. To quote the words of *National Education* “In strong contrast with Germany, perhaps still more to France, a genuine local self-government has schooled the Briton in those elementary lessons of political temper and self-control, of political instinct and principle, which have made it possible to govern our empire stably by the genuine power of public opinion.”⁹³ Rigg speaks with appreciation about the English legal system, the work of the magistracy, which hardly ever betrayed ignorance, prejudice or incapacity. But above all, it was the free and energetic parliamentary life of the nation, which encompassed the whole of the society and provided the most wholesome occupation for patriotic Englishmen. Again the contrast is striking with the social – public concern of the people in France. Rigg considers most Frenchmen much too preoccupied with luxurious life and a bit too hedonistic in disposition to match the sobriety, and therefore, the success of the English in social matters. A profound sense of restraint and moderation can certainly elevate the English above the other European nations.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p.6.

⁹¹ Ibid., p.7.

⁹² Westminster Review, 1892. Vol.CXXXVII. Jan.- June, *Is Compulsory Education a Failure?* by Joseph J. Davies pp.194-195.

⁹³ Ibid., p.8.

Rigg also attributes much significance to **the public press** in matters of education, since he regards this channel of information as the immediate supplement to schools. He argues that without a large supply of cheap and attractive publications the instruction given at school would soon fade away. On the other hand, with good penny papers and cheap but taking little books even an otherwise defecting school education may induce people to turn effectively to self-education. It is also a fact that the cheap and simple press publications had a huge educational force in the United States and in France as well. What is more, a truly national and noble but at the same time free and practical newspaper press in Germany operate as effective educational supplements to the powerful, rigorous and pervasive school system. In Britain, “the cheap press has become, and is becoming more and more, the chief elementary educator of the people, carrying on the great and permanent results the education began in the school.”⁹⁴

Another important idea is that of **the Christian ideal**, which was generally considered as essential in the national education. But even a systematic instruction of the most important Christian doctrines were useless unless it could provoke support from the home. Rigg’s argument here is that both the school and the pulpit have done much in the past and will achieve a lot in the future but even the influence of the Church is not enough by itself for a successful national education. Instead, Sunday schools should be replaced by secular day schools, which become the natural places of Christian education, since it is the place where the children of the majority sit day by day. Last but not least, the ideal aim should be to awaken children to the desire in themselves to find their suitable places in society and to be entirely fit for it.

James H. Rigg was obviously talking about the general interests of the nation without devoting much space and attention to separate class interests and traditions in the field of education. Although his notions are mostly true for the lower class interests, they also reveal a lot about the most urgent needs of the nation as a whole. What is more, his arguments were echoed a few years later when the press described the desirable trend in education as follows:

"At present the education given in our elementary schools is practically limited to the rudiments of arithmetic, outlines of states and names of towns, to grammatical rules, and the series of crimes and accidents which is misnamed history. We should surely endeavour to give the children some information with reference to the beautiful world, in which we live, the

⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 12.

commoner animals and plants of our woods and fields, some explanations as to the common phenomena of nature, the causes of summer and winter, of the phases of the moon....Such information - elementary, but not superficial - would be intensely interesting to children, would make them think and be a valuable addition to the abstract rules of arithmetic, and to the book-learning which now reigns supreme."⁹⁵

REFORMS OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

In the second half of the nineteenth century the nation was increasingly preoccupied with the idea of the creation of the right kind of national educational system, which mainly meant the **extension of the elementary school system to the whole nation**, including the poorest layers. It meant making sure that no one would be left without the opportunity to receive the very basics, which was increasingly considered as an elementary human right and one major pillar of dignified human existence. Let us remember that we are talking about a historical age when it was still not natural that children of 8 or somewhat older should be sitting in benches at school to learn something of the three R-s so as not to remain wholly illiterate. Instead, they were more often to be found in factories fighting for the family's survival. Prominent public figures, politicians and educators had to fight fierce battles in parliament and in other forums to push their reform plans through and, by doing so, to get somewhat closer to the European ideal, which practically corresponded to the German model.

⁹⁵ Contemporary Review, Vol. XXVIII. June-Nov.1876. *On Our Present System of Elementary Education* by John Lubbock p.91.

Numerous review and newspaper articles and the extremely detailed **Royal Commissions` reports** all clearly demonstrate and, perhaps, justify my above statement, namely the fact that besides the so-called woman question, the most important welfare and foreign policy issues, education was perhaps the most acute one, which urgently cried for reform and improvement. The fact that the education question is one of the most dominant and one of the most vital social issues in the second half of the nineteenth century is also proven by **the great number of laws** proposed, turned down and passed in parliament in an ever growing number after **Forster`s Education Act in 1870**. See them later on in this chapter.

In the period in question **the whole scope and role of schooling was fundamentally transformed**. Hierarchically structured groupings of educational institutions were called into existence and were administered by different authorities. The **dual system of voluntary and state provision** remained practically to the end of the era. Some schools were highly formal institutions which played a critical role in the socialization of the young and strove to maintain the prevailing social order. This way they managed to contribute the overall economic development of the country, in spite of the fact that science and technology were neglected too long.

When the reform movement started there was **a diverse cluster of schools** which provided elementary education for lower and lower- middle class children, while the gentry and the aristocracy kept their children at home and taught the basics themselves or employed highly qualified governesses and specialized tutors to do the job until the youngsters could be sent to one of the prestigious public schools, which were mostly boarding schools. Girls were often confined to the home, even when they reached adolescence, but upper- and upper middle class boys were encouraged to leave the sheltered home environment and expose themselves to the rather efficient but harsh character-shaping power of the public schools.

Types of schools and educational opportunities on the elementary level

Up to the Forster Act, the so-called **Ragged Schools** were the forerunners of the national elementary education system. They were meant to provide basic education for the poor children and were mostly run by committees of volunteers who employed the teachers and occasionally taught the children themselves. As far as the heterogeneous modes of teaching were concerned, there were indeed many different schools that provided cheap elementary

education for the children of the lower classes. Depending on their type of organization and funding, elementary schools were called by different names: **board schools, district schools, parish schools, village schools, charity, ragged, voluntary schools** or **national schools** but they did not really differ in function. All of them served the above mentioned noble goal, that is **the elevation of the lower orders and enabling them to lead a more dignified life**. However, not many of them turned out to be successful even in the most basic target, that is, **the alleviation of illiteracy**. A great number of the pauper or labouring children never managed to get beyond the stage of semi-literacy, which was likely to be due to the fact that, in many cases, the family was anxious not to lose a breadwinner and it was the parents themselves who actually discouraged their own children to go to school, as they considered the child's contribution to the struggling family budget more important than the seemingly superfluous ability to read and write. This is exactly what James Rigg emphasized in *National Education* when he said that without the family's support the efforts of the authorities were doomed to failure, no matter how hard they tried. This was so widespread that even law had to be passed to force the parents to let their children occupy themselves with the tasks that should have been most natural at their age.

It is true that going to school cannot have always been a very pleasant or even rewarding experience for the majority of the children. Both **Sunday schools** and the so-called **ragged schools** were extremely overcrowded, unhealthy, suffocating, noisy – hardly bearable for the children. What is more, the teachers did not hesitate to resort to corporal punishment, when it was difficult for them to keep up order amid the harsh circumstances. Sunday schools were meant for children who worked all week and they were supposed to teach children the basic skills at least to enable them to read the Bible. Later some non-conformist Sunday schools developed into vigorous working class institutions which offered classes for adults as well. The ragged schools were funded by charities and it was mainly middle class volunteers or some paid teachers who taught in them with very limited success.

Jeremy Bentham's innovative **Chrestomatic Day School** introduced **a number of initiatives** which were **unique in their own time** and supported Bentham's theory 'the greatest happiness for the greatest number'. Among the new principles we can read about **emulation and competition, the monitor system**, which actually spread in different elementary schools even if Bentham's ideal school was never built, then **the gradual progression principle, the distraction prevention principle, the integration of corporal exercises** to facilitate the maintenance of order and discipline and a lot more. Chrestomatic meant **conductive to**

useful knowledge and was essentially progressive in its own time. Posterity, however, condemned it for numerous reasons but the basic charge against it was its inhuman treatment of the children.⁹⁶

However, for the upper layers of the society **education in the home** remained the major solution practically till the end of the era.

Most middle class children, from whose ranks the predominant proportion of the intellectual subclass originated, spent their early childhood at home and received their basic education, perhaps even pursued more advanced studies, directly from their own parents or other family members. The main conductor of the regular and mostly systematic schedule was **the mother**

⁹⁶ Elissa S. Itzkin, "Bentham's Chrestomatia: Utilitarian Legacy to English Education", (*Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol.39, Issue 2) (April-June, 1978), pp. 303-316.

in most cases. The agenda meant that the children and the mother worked together in the morning. The curriculum included biblical knowledge and subjects that served **the moral-spiritual edification of the young ones**. They were supposed to study **French, geography, history**, and perhaps subjects which in a way prepared the ground for the children's future public school studies. They were likely to be taught some **mathematics, Latin and Greek**. The learning often involved reading a Psalm aloud and spelling skills were mostly improved by making the children copy texts. Their reading was mainly restricted to **the catechism, English history, Bible history** and some **fiction**.

The lessons came on a regular schedule, especially if other female family members or teachers from outside were also involved. It happened that either the mother did not really have the gift for teaching, or she was drawn away from instructing the children by other duties or illness. In such cases sisters, aunts, governesses or even the father may have taken an active part in the teaching. The busier part of the day was the morning; the children mostly worked on their own in the afternoon, doing their homework for the following day independently. The schedule was more or less the same throughout the year and was maintained strictly, allowing few deviations to guarantee discipline and regular work.

For children of some social rank, sometimes **governesses** were hired to give the necessary instruction. On the one hand, they freed the mother from this rather time-consuming obligation, on the other, they brought expertise to the home, especially in teaching subjects which demanded skill, like drawing. Some middle or upper class families even made sure to hire a foreign governess to facilitate the children's foreign language acquisition this way. For developing the children's musical skills, it was usually a paid music teacher who went to the family's house at certain intervals to give the lessons.

Although the instruction mostly concentrated in the hands of females, males also frequently participated. **The father**, busy as he was likely to be, often insisted on taking an active part in the education of the children, especially in that of the boys. Regarding the often extremely busy agenda of the father, in particular, if he was an active social figure, he tried to do the teaching so that it meant edification for the children and a kind of relaxation for himself. He mostly taught a subject which was a favourite of his own, which he himself had a keen interest in and would have studied anyway for his own intellectual satisfaction. In other cases fathers taught a whole range of subjects or even used their own personal letters as instruments of pedagogy. They must have wanted to communicate information to the children that had to

do with the current affairs of the family. There were instances when the father had capacity for no more than supervising the childrens` studies or counselling them when it came to orientation towards future official studies.

This latter factor was extremely important in the case of boys who were likely to go to public schools and, in due course, to take the family enterprise over or at least to follow in the fathers footsteps. As John Tosh says: “Equally traditional was the prejudice in favour of sons. Men looked for an offspring who would continue the family name and transmit the attributes of masculinity to posterity.”⁹⁷ Or later another relevant statement:” the passage of boys to manhood was deeply marked by their parents, but parental roles were different. Fathers exercised much more authority over their sons` s choice of profession or business than they do today, while mothers – often justifiably – were credited with immense moral and emotional influence. And the power of each parent was immeasurably increased by the convention that – unless study or employment took them far afield – sons lived at home for as long as they remained unmarried.”⁹⁸

Education in the home was influential and must have had a lasting influence for most children, but in the case of boys the really great impact was exerted by the official training, which they received in one of the prestigious public schools, as we shall see later.

The professionalization of teachers and the increasing involvement of the State:

A consequence of institutionalization was that by the end of the Victorian age **state administrative bodies** were called into existence with full-time expert staffs and serious efforts were made to invent the framework of **a new system for professional teacher training**. In the elementary schools it was mostly middle class ladies who taught on a voluntary and charitable basis or representatives of the clergy. There were relatively few lay teachers at the beginning of the reforms and, as their number was limited, they had to adopt the pupil teacher system, that is, to work with senior students, who aided them in the crowded classrooms.

⁹⁷ John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle Class Home in Victorian England*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p.80.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

The professionlization of teachers was mostly carried out so as **to create a teaching body** that could do work on a more advanced level both in elementary and in secondary schools. The first really important initiative appeared in 1875 when Kay-Shuttleworth called together a committee of persons with the aim of establishing a training college for secondary masters because it was increasingly accepted that the schoolmasters were the only possible leaders of a united profession in England, therefore they deserved satisfactory training. Among the pioneers of the new movement one can find the names of Dorothea Beale or J.G. Fitch (H.M. Inspector of Training Colleges etc. who all contributed with their own actions to the extension of professional teacher training. For example, Dorothea Beale herself established a training department in Cheltenham Ladies' College and from 1885 this department operated a full course in secondary school teaching for future mistresses. Fitch, who also urged training courses for secondary school teachers, suggested that the universities should assume responsibility for this task.

In spite of the early steps **the establishment of official training institutions** before 1890 made only slow progress. The earliest institutional development was the foundation of **the College of Preceptors** in 1846 when a group of lay teachers in Brighton came together to help one another and to offer their assistance to others in the field of professional practice. The organization moved to London and obtained a charter in 1849. It was essentially designed to the teachers of elementary schools and the major aim was to enhance their prestige by **establishing a register of qualified practitioners**. To obtain this noble goal, the College even organized lectures on various aspects of education.⁹⁹

In the 1870s both **the Endowed Schools Commission** and **the Headmasters' Conference** discussed the question of professional training at their annual meetings. Very surprisingly for many, the headmasters hardly attributed significance to the professional training of their colleagues. Yet, 1877 the Conference involved Oxford and Cambridge Universities in the dispute and tentatively asked them to provide the kind of training required. As a response, schemes were drawn up by both universities and in 1879 a **Teacher Training Syndicate** was appointed and authorized to to deliver certain courses of lectures and for the establishment of

⁹⁹ P.H.J. H. Gosden, *The Evolution of A Profession: A Study of the Contribution of Teachers Associations to the Development of School Teaching as a Professional Organization.*, Barnes & Noble Books, 1998. p.218.

an examination in the theory, history and practice of education, moreover, the Syndicate was given the power to grant certificates of theoretical efficiency.¹⁰⁰

In 1881 the question of teacher training was once again discussed by **the Headmasters' Conference** but the new attempts at further improvement ended up in a dead-end again because the headmasters were very critical of the lack of organized school practice in the Cambridge scheme.

In 1882 **the Finsbury Training College** was set up on the initiative of a small group of heads of middle class schools to provide training for young men who wished to become professional teachers at secondary schools but the scheme did not turn out a great success and had to close its gates in 1886 because of the low attendance of potential candidates. The main reason for the failure was still traced back to the headmasters' lack of support.¹⁰¹

From the above facts it follows that whatever progress was made it was mainly in the field of training women throughout the 1880s and 1890s. In 1885 **the Cambridge Training College for Women** was founded and later became a famous institution under the name of Hughes Hall. It was the first residential secondary training college for women and the first where university lectures on education were given. Another major step forward was when the **Teachers Training and Registration Society**, founded in 1877, moved to larger premises in 1885 and assumed the name of Maria Grey Training College. The institution underwent further extension and the students were ultimately prepared for the teachers' certificate examination, which Cambridge had begun to offer in 1880. The main courses that had prepared the students were **logic, methodology, theory, history of education, physiology and hygiene.**¹⁰²

The last major step in the extension of professional teacher training was carried out by the **Bryce Commission** in the 1890s, which made it plain that it was generally desirable that those who intended to enter secondary teaching should take a course of special preparation for it. The Commission also came to an agreement with others involved in decision making stating that **the professional training should be under the supervision and guidance of the universities.** Arthus Sidgwick, another prestigious reformer of the age in the field of education, divided the training into three distinct parts: the study of the theory and history of

¹⁰⁰ Cambridge University Reporter, June, 1878, p.626.

¹⁰¹ Gosden, p.220.

¹⁰² Board of Education, Pamphlet No.23., 1912, pp.43-45.

education, school practice and finally a lengthy period of apprenticeship when the trainee teacher had to do the teaching by himself but under the supervision of an experienced senior colleague.

The conclusion of the debate and the result of the aforesaid efforts were the following: in 1897 **the Training of Teachers Joint Committee** was appointed, which comprised members of College of Preceptors, the Teachers' Guild, the Preparatory Schools Association as well as of the headmasters and headmistresses. These experts on the education situation claimed that training for future teachers should be continuous and there should be a lengthy practical training period so that candidates could reach the appropriate level of proficiency. They said that **the teaching diploma should certify proficiency both in theory and in practice**. The theoretical part of the education should include elementary psychology, ethics, logic physiology, school hygiene, school administration, history of education and the latest studies in methodology. The practical part was made up of model lessons, criticism lessons and actual classroom teaching. Institutions that undertook the task of training teachers had to be connected with the universities or university colleges and the training department here had to be separately staffed and run.¹⁰³

We can easily realize that all these steps were absolutely indispensable with regard to the fact that in 1902, according to **the Balfour Act**, the growth of municipal schools created an ever growing demand for secondary teachers and also a large number of trained elementary teachers.

As for **the registration of teachers** is concerned, the main idea here was that there should be a Scholastic Council (analogous to the creation of the General Medical Council) that would represent the interests of educators without bias for any of the colleges, without favouring any religious opinions and would give freedom to the teachers in the management of their schools. When the Medical Act was passed in 1858, it served as a model for the Teachers Registration issue and in 1864 the General Committee of **the Association for Promoting Scholastic Registration** was also called into being. The membership here included schoolmasters from all forms and types of schools discussed and defined above in this chapter. In 1879 Lyon Playfair introduced the Teachers' Registration Bill and the idea was, like in the case of doctors and lawyers, that law should not allow the official employment of unqualified teachers to practice and entry to the register should depend on scholarship, professional skill and practical

¹⁰³ Training of Teachers Joint Committee, Summary Report and proceedings, 1897.

experience. The bill became act in 1899 but was abolished in 1902, as many remained unsatisfied with the criteria of registration. The original model act was modified and refined a number of times later in the post-Victorian period.

State involvement in the promotion of education was a rather controversial element in the course of the reform movement. It is a fact that there were ardent opponents, mostly the advocates of free trade in economy, who thought that the same pattern was applicable in other spheres of life, too, for example in educational matters. On the other hand, mostly voluntary associations turned to the state because they expected assistance in the forms of grants. By the end of the era **the strong regulatory role of the state was increasingly accepted**. If one examines the topics or the main concerns of the legislative debates on education in the Parliamentary Papers and the Commissioners' Reports, one will find it striking how many debates were centered on the question of authority – central or local government – and on the financial conditions or consequences of the new steps. Of course, many were outraged by the obvious neglect of science and technology until the last years of Victoria's reign. However, as we can learn from *the Contemporary Review*, the really weighty arguments were not financial but religious; the identification of education with religion remained very strong throughout the era and non-doctrinal religion as offered in some of the schools was unacceptable to many.¹⁰⁴

The role of the state was seen as **a controversial issue** and was **widely debated** in the Victorian press, too. One of the most acute problems was **how to finance education**. It turns out clearly not only from the contemporary publications but historians who specialize in this period and topic also tend to agree that the public was greatly split over the ideal role of the state in finding the acceptable solutions to the education issue.

One opinion we can read in the article titled '*Free Schools*' signed Norton and published in 1885. In the following passage Norton quotes the words of Prime Minister Gladstone: "The rule of our policy is that nothing should be done by the State which can be better, or as well, done by voluntary effort; and neither in its mental nor even its literary aspect has the work of the State for education as yet proved its superiority over the work of the religious bodies or of philanthropic individuals."¹⁰⁵ This viewpoint is, of course, understandable if one takes

¹⁰⁴ *Contemporary Review*. Vol. LXXII. Nov. 1897. *The Position of the Education Question* by E. Lyulph Stanley pp. 649-659.

¹⁰⁵ Norton, p. 27.

Gladstone's liberal convictions into consideration. But not only his government, but most advocates of laissez-faire in economy would have agreed with the same principle. Gladstone's supporters were sure that what worked satisfactorily in economy, should be suitable in other fields as well. History failed to justify them, however.

On the opposite pole, Joseph Chamberlain, for instance, preached rather contrasting views as it turns out from the words of his *Radical Programme*: “the responsibility which the State assumed by the Act of 1870 has not been fully discharged. A great principle was then adopted, to which only partial effect has yet been given. A step was taken in the direction of State Socialism, but only a short step. The Radicals are not satisfied with the present educational arrangements, which are wanting in economy and efficiency.”¹⁰⁶ Norton comments on Chamberlain’s speech by saying that “Mr. Chamberlain’s notion, then, about free schools is that the whole community should pay for all schools, in yearly rates and taxes, a national assurance, extended over all their lives, of an educational provision for those who may want to use it.”

However, in *The Future of Education* Mr. Mahaffy would impose obligations of other nature on the State. For example, he urges **the establishment of a sound free library system**, “where all those who have aspirations beyond the mere daily wants of their material lives, may find spiritual food by contact with great spirits – novelists, poets, historians, essayists.”¹⁰⁷

Another major terrain where the state should interfere, at least in the opinion of certain journalists and educationalists, is **to find an urgent solution for the right form of technical education**, which seems to have got halted and is in need of state interference. Mahaffy’s suggestion is that **there should be a clear distinction between technical and liberal education**, even in the highest forms. The State ought to do away with the current overlap in the material of the public schools, because it only causes confusion and the same should be true in the case of universities. In *Middle Class Education* we can read: “The present Commissioners on Technical Instruction seem to assume that schools for this purpose are in this country to be a part of the State educational undertaking. They say ‘It is clearly the aim of the Government that this superior instruction shall be placed as fully as possible within the reach of the working class.’ But as a special part of the middle class education, the aim of the Government should be to trust those who are interested, and stand out of their way.”¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Norton, p. 29.

¹⁰⁷ Mahaffy, p. 217

¹⁰⁸ Norton, p. 32.

The fact that the State finally assumed responsibility for the national educational situation was only the last phase in a lengthy evolutionary process, the watershed events of which were **the Forster Act of 1870** and **the Balfour Act in 1902**. Apart from these two there was a whole series of legislative reforms, starting from **the Charity Commission' report series in 1818-37**, through the so-called **Kerry Report in 1833**, **the Newcastle Commission of 1858-61**¹⁰⁹, **the Revised Code of 1862**¹¹⁰, **The Elementary Education Amendment Act in 1873**¹¹¹ and then another followed in 1876. Some other amendments were issued almost continually in the 1880s and 1890s, such as **The Elementary Education School Attendance Act (1893)**¹¹², **The Voluntary Schools Act (1897)**¹¹³, **The Elementary School Teachers (Superannuation Act in 1898)**¹¹⁴ until **the Balfour Act** was issued in 1902 and meant the culmination of the legislative reform movement.

¹⁰⁹ It desperately demanded financial help for the voluntary bodies and state aid in the form of block capitation grants and argued that public funds ought to be put to proper use. It also urged the development of the poorer areas but the idea of free elementary schooling was condemned.

¹¹⁰ It advocated measures that produced considerable improvements but these were still far from being sufficient. After the Revised Code there was a marked rise in school attendance, school organizations improved, the religious stress was somewhat eased and secularization became a little more accepted. However, a great number of deficiencies remained, which gave further impetus for the Commissions of later times to come up with their own proposals for reform. The much hated 'payment by results' system, which was introduced by the Revised Code, for example remained in force for another thirty years or so, and left much to be desired.

¹¹¹ It authorized the School Boards to be constituted trustees for any educational endowment or charity for purposes connected with education.

That no child under ten years of age shall be employed and that no child shall be employed who has not obtained a necessary certificate of due attendance or is attending school under the provisions of the Factory Acts for the time being in force.

¹¹² It raised the school leaving age to eleven and later this was further raised to twelve in 1899. The age alteration applied both to the penalties imposed on parents and employers.

¹¹³ came out, whose object was to assist voluntary schools, that is, "public elementary schools not provided by School Boards." In the same year the School Board Conference Act stipulated that representative members and clerks should meet in conference once a year to gather information on education from all parts of the country.

¹¹⁴ It was approved of by Parliament and it dealt with the question of teachers' pensions, which had been a rather troublesome issue since 1846, that is, the Revised Code by Robert Lowe and ever since it had given ground to much disagreement, friction and agitation. The current settlement covered problems, such as the pension age and the sum of the pension due to male and female teachers respectively, which was determined by tables prepared by the Treasury. The Act also contained provisions for cases of permanent breakdown, the so-called 'disablement allowances'.

Forster's Elementary Education Act in 1870 came in a crucial moment, when all the previous efforts were finally rewarded.¹¹⁵ Although a national free elementary education system came into being only in 1891, the main achievement of Forster's act was that **schools became available in every part of the country**. In fact, this statute was only the first of a series which ended in the Acts of 1902 and 1903 and for the first time statutory provision was made for several things which hitherto had never been recognized by the State.

1. Compulsory education was adopted.
2. Schools were to be maintained out of local poor rates.
3. No religious teaching should be given to any child, if objected to by the parents, in any school assisted by the State.

Compulsion even meant that **school attendance had to be enforced**. This was supplied by providing penalties against the parents who allowed their children to be absent from school.

The Education Act of 1902, or also referred to as **The Balfour Act**, which marks the final stage in elementary education. In fact it was the first comprehensive education Bill to reach the Statute Book. The administrative structure which the Bill set up was foreshadowed in the Bryce Report in 1895 and the Balfour act declared **the need for unified control of primary and secondary education** and realized the fact that **the Counties and the County Boroughs were the obvious authorities for the job**. Therefore the authority became unified at the centre through **the new Board of Education** and it was charged with the superintendence of matters relating to education in England and Wales. To see the major points precisely, the Act placed all elementary schools, whether denominational or otherwise, in a position to claim assistance from local rates.

1. It gave Local Authorities power to employ rates for maintaining or assisting schools "other than elementary".
2. It placed the power to train teachers in the hands of Local Authorities.

¹¹⁵ *The Contemporary Review* published statistics about the position of education in the U.K. at the time of the passing of the Forster Act in the article entitled 'The Progress of Education in England' by Francis Peek, Vol. XXXV. April-August, 1879. pp. 862-874. According to this voluntary effort had provided 11000 day and 2000 night schools. The number of children upon the registers was 1,450,000, with an average attendance of about 1,000,000, which meant very irregular attendance. Only two-fifths of the children between the ages of six and ten years, and only one third of those between the ages of ten and twelve, received even the very insufficient amount of education.

3. It enabled Local Authorities to pay for the maintenance of students.
4. It left it to Local Authorities to pay the travelling expenses of both teachers and pupils.

In a separate section it clarifies the constitution of the local educational authority, according to which:

1. In every county or county borough the authority is the Council
2. In every non-county borough with a population of over ten thousand the authority is the Borough Council
3. In every urban district with a population of over twenty thousand the authority is the District Council

In a third part we can read:

1. all the powers of School Boards and School Attendance Committees be transferred to the new Local Education Authorities and that the former bodies be abolished.
2. That every school, provided otherwise, shall have a body of managers and a constitution of its own.

In the last section the chief provisions are:

1. The Council of any county, borough, or urban district having powers under the Act, must appoint an education committee to carry out the work. The committee should contain members of the Council, representatives of educational thought, and women.
2. Powers are given to levy rates for all expenses and to borrow the necessary sums.
3. Councils are allowed to amalgamate or co-operate for the successful accomplishment of the work.
4. The Education Authority may pay for "the provision of vehicles or the payment of reasonable travelling expenses for teachers or children who attend school or college.

As a final evaluation of the Act we may want to quote the thesis of Professor E.G. West, who pointed out that "the government takeover in Britain resulted from pressure by teachers,

administrators, and well meaning intellectuals, rather than parents."¹¹⁶ When the State took

¹¹⁶ H.J. Kiesling, *Nineteenth Century Education According to West: A Comment* The Economic History Review, New Series, Vol.XXXVI. Issue 3. (Aug., 1983.) p.416.

control over the education question ultimately, the quality and the diversity of schooling also diminished and **compulsory education became much more unified and harmonized** than ever before. As a result of the above acts and reforms, gradually **the curriculum expanded, the age for compulsory attendance lengthened** (by the end of the century the school leaving age was raised to twelve) and if it was mostly the moral edification of children that mattered in the first half of the century, by the end of the era there was **a distinct shift in favour of the cultivation of the intellect**. Besides these improvements, the schooling of working and lower-middle class children throughout the country became more uniform by the end of Victoria's reign.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN VICTORIAN ENGLAND

The term secondary education was virtually non-existent till the end of the century, that is, the passing of the Balfour Act in 1902, which officially recognized the need for advanced studies after the elementary level. It was characteristic that throughout the period **there was no clear dividing line between primary and secondary education**, not to mention technical education, which was even more neglected. During the Victorian century secondary education in all forms remained **the privilege of the Middle Class and the class above them**. It worked **on a fee-paying basis**, which automatically excluded the lower layers of the society. **The curriculum** in all types of schools was **limited to the classics**, which was a precondition of one's going on to higher education.

Since the focus of my dissertation is the proliferation and the diversification of the professionals in the late Victorian era, the advance of secondary education is vital to my analysis. Special attention will be paid to the discoveries of the Royal Commissions, namely the Clarendon and the Taunton Commissions, which were carried out in the 1860s and called the attention of the authorities to the deficiencies and, by doing so, made the subsequent reforms possible. I will devote a separate chapter to the analysis of the public school situation, which was the rock bottom of the whole system, and by growing into an acknowledged Monolith by the late Victorian period, turned into a truly national system.

From the point of view of the professionals of the age, **the public school** played a **crucial role** because the students graduating from such institutions either continued their studies and went to the prestigious universities to become doctors, lawyers, engineers, university dons and the like through specialization, or did not go to higher education but were integrated by all kinds of government posts, colonial offices, the military or the Public Service, mainly owing to the special aura they obtained after spending a number of years in the mainly boarding institutions. Here, besides the classics, the main educational influence the students were exposed to was the Christian gentlemanly ideal of Thomas Arnold, the great reforming headmaster of Rugby School in the mid-century. The students may not have received a very profound and pragmatic education but they could mingle with their social equals or create connections with higher circles and they did learn the manners, the public school accent and behavioral patterns which made them the right people to run the Empire in the last years of Victoria's reign.

In a separate chapter I will show how education in two prestigious public schools, namely in Harrow and Merchant Taylors' contributed to the proliferation of the professional subclass and how the changing clientele of these schools reflect social mobility patterns for people who occupied intellectual positions. I will use the article of Edward A. Allen¹¹⁷, which gives a profound analysis of the public school entrance patterns, academic results, and the future career of students in Harrow and Merchant Taylors' between 1825 and 1850 and hot on the heels of these discoveries I will continue the investigation with the aim of showing the pertinence of similar statistical data for the professionals of the last third of the Wonderful Century. I will examine entrance patterns, the duration of studies at the school, academic results and the degree gained there, the profession of the fathers and the future career of the public school boys so as to be able to come up with some general observations as to the multiplication of the professions and also to pour some light on the social role they fulfilled in the maintenance of public institutions at home and abroad.

¹¹⁷ Edward A. Allen: Public School Elites in Early-Victorian England: The Boys at Harrow and Merchant Taylors' School from '825 to 1850. *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 21, Issue 2 (Spring, 1982) pp.87-117

THE EVOLUTION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION AND REFORMS

In the early nineteenth century the system of secondary education was rather unsatisfactory, if it is correct to call it a system at all. There was a rather heterogeneous cluster of schools, the precise definition of which is problematic and obviously the Victorians themselves found it hard to distinguish the various types of schools from one another. The most reliable **sources** the researcher can use are Nicolas Carlisle's *A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales* (1818), the records of Brougham's *Parliamentary Select Committee* (1816-1818) and those of the *Charity Commission* (1818-1837). On the basis of these documents – supplemented by the definitions one can find in Encyclopedias, such as the *Cyclopedia of Education* edited by Paul Monroe, it is possible to distinguish different types of secondary schools, most of which struggled with severe handicaps in the first half of the century.

Types of Secondary Schools

The **Endowed Grammar Schools**: there were about 600 or more of them in the early years of Victoria's reign and they were mostly endowed by private founders for the free education of local inhabitants. They maintained traditional links with the established Church and, in due course, some of them, e.g. Winchester and Eton emerged as national institutions and depended on fee-paying boarders, mainly from the ranks of the aristocracy and the gentry. *The Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission* in 1868 showed both the importance of the grammar school endowments and the numerous abuses which badly needed reform. However, even the **Endowed Schools Act of 1869** restricted itself to administrative problems. It established State interest in what were, by tradition, private institutions and required government approval of each public school's controlling body.

Charity Schools sprang up in England during the latter half of the seventeenth century and flourished throughout the eighteenth. They were available free to the children of the poor and

were supported mainly by private contributions. Most often they were controlled by some ecclesiastical or religious body, mainly dissenters.

The **Private Classical Schools** were mostly run by Anglican clergymen for fee-paying pupils where the focus fell on the instruction of classical languages in a respectable atmosphere and they mostly attracted the support of the gentry and the professionals.

There were **private academies** and schools – also called **proprietary schools** -, which were non-classical institutions and aimed at providing secondary education to the emerging middle class. These private academies intended to provide an encyclopedic range of subjects and practical education for the sons of merchants, manufacturers and top tradesmen. They were run by individuals (or sometimes partnerships) for profit and the dissenter institutions by religious sects. They differed from the endowed grammar school mainly in the sense that they maintained a closer supervision of the pupils and taught non-classical subjects as well. However, the frequent argument against them was that profit-making was more important than educational standards, they lacked equipment and the level was hardly higher than elementary.

In the last third of the century the so-called **higher-grade schools** appeared in three northern cities, namely in Bradford, Sheffield and Manchester and were pioneer institutions. These schools were not planned as central schools, but rather as schools for children of a superior class whose parents could afford an education for their children, which was better than the average. As John Roach says: “Those who attended the higher grade schools were children of the thoughtful and better-to-do working people, the children of clerks, managers, foremen, and artisans, and some of what you would call small tradesmen – the lower middle class.”¹¹⁸

Technical Schools also appeared in the last decade of the era. The 1890s witnessed a steady increase in the number of organized science schools but the most complete system of technical education was developed by the London Technical Education Board and in 1889 the **Technical Instruction Act** did a lot for the promotion of technical secondary education in England and Wales. In these schools mostly tradesmen, skilled workmen, and foremen were well represented, professional parents hardly appeared.

The Public Schools will be discussed separately.

¹¹⁸ John Roach: Secondary Education in England 1870-1902 Public activity and private enterprise, Routledge: London and New York 1991 p.95.

Criticism of secondary education was upheld throughout the period. The main targets of attack were the **too narrow classical curriculum and the low moral tone** in all the schools, but especially in the boarding public schools. Throughout the era, even after the rather inadequate **Grammar Schools Act** of 1840, which aimed at the widening of the narrow classical curriculum, the problems remained. **Teaching** remained **on a low level**, subjects retained their narrow profile, staff mostly lacked the expertise needed, there were serious **financial and organizational deficiencies** and the schools' ethos suffered as a result of the low morale, which originated from the maltreatment of young boys by their elders, including the prefects, the headmasters and the senior students. **Living conditions** were verging on the edge of **torturous** in boarding establishments, meaning scanty food, the constant bullying of older boys, the fagging of the prefects and the sexual insults and harassments the newcomers had to suffer. Most sources written in the first half of the century (the pre-Arnoldian years) complain about shortage of staff, unsupervised dormitories, dull schedules, constant bullying, gambling, homosexuality, drinking and the fact that the only way to maintain order was through intimidation and humiliation by the headmasters.

From the above, it is easy to realize that radical reforms, reorganization and the expansion of the system were needed and these endeavours were most clearly manifest in the Public School reforms in the second half of the century, mainly through the drastic reforms of Thomas Arnold, the headmaster of Rugby School (1828-1842). So as to understand the significance of these radical steps forward, let us examine the public school phenomenon itself and the significance of the new Christian gentlemanly ideal created by Arnold.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE GENTLEMANLY IDEAL OF THOMAS ARNOLD

The first thing to mention in connection with the English Victorian public schools is that there has never been a precise and generally acceptable definition for this typical national institution. John Wakeford in his book titled *The Cloistered Elite* argues that in the second half of the nineteenth century a small number of schools became popularly distinguished from the rest of the educational establishments and the distinction was formally recognized on the

appointment of the two royal commissions, namely the **Clarendon (1861-1864)** and the **Taunton Commissions (1867)**. He maintains that the term **public school** is still in use and today it refers to “**a small number of schools situated in England and Wales whose headmasters receive no direct financial aid from local authorities or from the State**”.¹¹⁹

A.F. Leach in 1899 argued that the public school was an educational institution with high fees which attracted the richer classes and it was entirely or **almost entirely a boarding school**. According to his definition the public school was under the control of a public body and it **drew the pupils from all parts of the country**.¹²⁰ These criteria, however, allowed great variations in fees and both the clientele and the ethos of the school changed a good deal from decade to decade and from school to school. As we observe the last third of the nineteenth century, we cannot help noticing that **new criteria** had to be met so as to gain the title of public school. In my opinion, an adequate definition should consider the product, the academic output of these schools, therefore should contain information on how long the students stayed within the walls of the school, what kind of degree they got, whether they went to university afterwards and what percentage of them melted into the gradually expanding professional class.

Among the criteria we certainly have to mention the membership of **the Headmasters' Conference**, which was founded in 1869 on the initiative of Edward Thring and others. The idea was to protect the headmasters of endowed schools against imminent legislation, which sometimes threatened their independence. The most reliable sources of the membership of the HMC were the **Public Schools Yearbook**, which first appeared in 1889 and the **Whitaker Almanack**, whose editions claimed to identify the HMC schools from 1898. The criteria for representation were not formalized but invitation to the conference was likely to depend on the size of the school, the number of alumni at Oxford and Cambridge and the constitution of the governing body. **The Headmasters' Conference** was a decisive forum in the sense that the leaders of the most prestigious schools came together to share information and exchange opinion on recent tendencies, principles, guidelines, behavioral and moral problems and they inevitably had a great influence on one another and via this they did a good deal for the harmonization of public school standards.

¹¹⁹ John Wakeford: *The Cloistered Elite: A sociological analysis of the English Public Boarding School*, Macmillan, London 1969 p.9.

¹²⁰ Roach, p.119.

Religion may have been an important factor in the sense that one cannot simply find any Roman Catholic schools among the renowned ones. The great schools were predominantly **Anglican** and a very limited number of non-conformist ones (e.g. the Methodist Leys School in Cambridge).

When it comes to the classification of the schools, it is worth noticing what an important distinguishing mark was **how the various schools accepted and acknowledged one another**. Especially when they had to compete, either in academics or in games, it was a good indication of the school's standing who was willing to challenge who and who accepted whom as an opponent. For example, Shrewsbury had to struggle a lot for acknowledgement as it was constantly regarded as a school of dubious standing.

The schools who could surely win recognition were the elite nine schools included in the investigation of the **Clarendon Commission**. Originally there were seven boarding schools examined by the commission, namely Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Westminster, Winchester, Charterhouse and Shrewsbury and two day schools – Merchant Taylors' and St. Paul's. But the number of public schools was ever multiplying. As J.R. de S. Honey says: "By the close of the Victorian period there were 437 such schools in England alone and in 1897, and probably at least 600 in the British Isles as a whole."¹²¹ Later he adds: "by the close of the Victorian period of a main community of some 64 schools who interacted with each other in two or more of a wide range of activities which by then had come to be regarded as characteristic of public schools."¹²²

Harry G. Judge endeavours to come up with a satisfactory definition of the public school in his article titled *The English Public School: History and Society*. His starting point is Edward J. Mack's definition, according to which: "those non-local endowed boarding schools for the upper classes which are termed Public Schools."¹²³ Judge himself highlights the nineteenth century developments in his own analysis. He argues that "The English Public School was the product of particular economic and social circumstances of which enterprising headmasters took proper advantage".¹²⁴ He also points at the fact that the absence of State provision for secondary education also gave an impetus to the expansion in number and size of the public

¹²¹ The Victorian Public School; A symposium edited by Brian Simon and Ian Bradley, Gill and Macmillan, 1975

¹²² Ibid. p.29

¹²³ Harry G. Judge: The English Public School: History and Society, Essay Review V. p. 513.

¹²⁴ Judge p. 516

schools, because this way they had to **become more and more independent and had to grow on their own.**

Rupert Wilkinson's thesis in *Gentlemanly Power* is that **the role of the public school** was predominantly **political**. He points at the many-sided function of the schools when says that in the second half of the century a new and expanding bureaucratic machinery demanded growing middle-class participation in government and the Civil Service. The public schools met this requirement by opening their gates to the commercial and the professional classes and also acted as **social amalgams**. In his words: "They took the fees of the textile magnate and the lawyer, and in return they exposed their sons to the full public service traditions of the aristocrat and the country squire. In this way, the schools really served as an instrument of class power. They perpetuated the political supremacy of the landed classes by 'capturing 'talent from the rising bourgeoisie and moulding that talent into 'synthetic' gentlemen."¹²⁵ At another point he claims: "Not only was there a rapid multiplication of Anglican boarding schools after 1850, but the student population of already well established schools became increasingly cross-regional. A national public school accent emerged, linking social prestige with the hallmark of good education. Both in speech and outlook, the public schools exerted a unifying influence on the country' leadership."¹²⁶

There is one more thing which I have to mention before going on to discuss Thomas Arnold's decisive gentlemanly ideal and reform activity, namely the formation of the public schools into **a system**, or in other words, **the establishment of the Monolith.**

Practically, up to the middle of the nineteenth century, it was not correct to talk about a truly national system, but rather a small number of individual schools, which struggled against the above discussed handicaps. The very fact that the hitherto individual schools endeavored to step into such a close alliance, so that they could be considered as a national institution, is definitely related to the growth of the middle class in the second half of the century and is pertinent to the proliferation of the professional subclass. In my opinion, as the middle class was growing in importance and became more and more influential, they gradually pushed the aristocracy from their leading position. **They started exerting more influence on public taste, conveyed a new religious spirit and increasingly realized their own educational**

¹²⁵ Rupert Wilkinson: *Gentlemanly Power*. British Leadership and the Public School Tradition. Oxford Univ. Press. London and New York. 1964 p.4.

¹²⁶ Wilkinson p. 9.

needs, especially when they recognized what was missing to enhance the quality of their lives. Most historians agree that it was mainly due to the middle class efforts that the public schools could grow into a national institution and could produce the bulk of the professionals, whose mission was to provide the services that could improve the quality of life so much in demand on the eve of the modern era. Edward C. Mack holds the view that by 1870 the middle classes had modified their most extreme views and won the battle against their opponents – meaning the upper classes. They adjusted the public schools to their needs and to the necessities of the mid-Victorian world.¹²⁷

The same view is supported by Brian Simon when he says in the Introduction of *The Victorian Public School*: “Three groups of institutions—the Clarendon schools, the new proprietary schools and some endowed grammar schools—became fused into a single system and impelled to take the same route as a solution to similar problems or as a response to similar circumstances.”¹²⁸

In *The Public School Phenomenon* Gathorne-Hardy writes about the radical public school reforms that took place between 1824 and 1900. He points out that from anarchic and amoral, loosely defined communities **they turned into highly disciplined societies**, which were **preoccupied with duty, religion, social advancement, games, house spirit and competition**. The schools provided a certain **class confidence**, a feeling of **conformity** and developed **self-control**, all assets which were appropriate and indispensable for the future leaders of the Empire, whether at home or abroad. And finally when they evolved **an ethos**, a system of values, which they imposed upon the entire nation, they became the Monolith, that is, a system.¹²⁹

The next point to talk about is the radical reconsideration of the major concept of the public school education, that is, **the creation of a new ideal**, which is related to the work of **Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby between 1828 and 1842**.

I have already mentioned that the public schools were far from being moral institutions in the first half of the century and suffered from all kinds of deficiencies, such as bad living conditions, low morals, lack of discipline in spite of the intimidating, autocratic methods of

¹²⁷ Edward C. Mack: *Public Schools and British Opinion since 1860*. Columbia Univ. Press. New York 1941 p. 104.

¹²⁸ *The Victorian Public School* p. 9.

¹²⁹ Gathorne-Hardy: *The Public School Phenomenon* p.228

the prefects and headmasters, very narrow curriculum and limited life chances. First it was the two royal commissions (Clarendon and Tauton) that drew attention to the malpractice of the public schools but the actual reforms were initiated and carried out by individual headmasters, the greatest and most influential of whom was Thomas Arnold. As he took the beneficial impact of the curriculum for granted and did not take steps to reform this aspect of secondary education, he considered character formation to be his main task and his moral duty. **Religion, discipline, good manners, culture, the community spirit** formed the backbone of his philosophy and he had the personal charisma to persuade the other influential headmasters of his time to follow suit as soon as possible. However, it was mainly the subsequent generation who used **the Arnoldian gentlemanly ideal** as a model and by doing so the second half of the century enjoyed an upheaval in the English public school. As Gathorne Hardy puts it in the Public School Phenomenon: "School as a place to train character - a totally new concept so far - was what came to distinguish the English public school from all other Western school systems."¹³⁰ Wilkinson carries the idea of character-building further when says about the **Arnoldian ideal of the Christian gentleman** that, on the one hand, the schools' exultation of Chapel suited the Philistine respectability of the bourgeoisie, on the other hand, the schools tended to inculcate gentlemanly manners and this met the aesthetic requirements of the landed classes. Therefore, through the reformed public schools "the concept of 'character' wedded middle-class morality to gentry-class style."¹³¹

From the above observation as to **the social amalgamation of the schools' clientele**, we can see that the great public schools also acted as the creators of **the country's potential leadership** for the late Victorian period, mainly due to the Arnoldian reforms. T.W. Bamford even argues that Arnold's lasting reforms were crucial in the sense that they bred the major political force in the last decade of the century. In his words: "After him (Arnold) came great expansions in industry, commerce, empire, invention, social welfare, professional growth, all needing increasing numbers of so-called leaders. Parallel with this went the explosive growth in the number and size of schools and a widening of their area of social catchment. The schools offered more and more the expectation to parents that they were concerned with leadership and its active promotion."¹³²

¹³⁰ Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy: The Public School Phenomenon 1877-1977, London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1977. p. 75.

¹³¹ Wilkinson. p.10

¹³² T. W. Bamford is quoted in The Victorian Public School by Simon and Bradley ed. pp.63-64.

So as to become leaders in any of the above mentioned areas, the students had to learn to conform, to live up to the expectations of the school but at the same time to retain some of their individual independence of thought, otherwise how could they have produced original ideas. In fact, the most obvious change in the public school system during the post-Arnoldian decades was the attitude towards personal freedom. Formerly there was a whole range of rituals which aimed at the mental integration of all newcomers into the prevailing hierarchic system of the older boys and to make him conform to the 'house spirit' as fully as possible. It was widely maintained that the sooner the freshmen learnt the uttered and unuttered rules, the better they could serve the public interests – first only in games, later when they had to serve the nation. The idea was to make the pupils *want to serve the community* and through its clearly defined ladder of ranks and privileges, the public schools could equate love of the community with love of the authorities and later with national interests. To quote Wilkinson, “the public schools assisted nationalism by bringing together classes which enjoyed most influence over the country's opinions – the taste-setters. During the early nineteen-hundreds, many middle-class liberals were already showing national sympathies, and their nationalism grew nearer to the conservative version of the gentry as the century wore on. It was in this trend that the public schools played their part, opening their gates to members of the middle classes and teaching them to identify love of the community with love of its traditions. As well as merely inculcating nationalism, the public schools helped to create a fusion between **the nationalist spirit and the motive of imperial philanthropy.**”¹³³ What brought a spectacular change in conformism was that it was increasingly recognized that a man could only grow into a creative inventor if he experienced freedom in his youth. The headmasters accepted the idea of Arnold and, although they still maintained discipline in every possible way, left more space for private initiative than before.

The willingness to conform to the house spirit leads us on to the issue of **class solidarity**. I have mentioned the social amalgam that the schools produced but class distinctions remained anyway. The schoolboys were youngsters who were bound together by the same experiences and this very fact made them very much alike but different from everyone else. This typical public school boy consciousness was manifest in the so-called 'Old Boys system', which means that, even many years after graduation, old pupils of the same school tended to stick together, assisted in each other through patronage, maintained business connections and sent their own children to the school they themselves had attended. They did so to uphold

¹³³ Wilkinson p.101.

continuity and because they knew from personal experience what kind of standards to live up to and what kind of life chances to expect. The old public school was a status symbol and had an impact on the pupils' lives forever.

Patronage among the old schoolboys was clearly present in the Army. In his article titled '*Militarism and the Victorian Public School*', Geoffrey Best writes that by the later Victorian period the public schools educated the "top echelons of the country's governing elite".¹³⁴ Therefore, it was inevitable for them to have connections, directly or indirectly, with the formulation of government policy and the cultivation of the British national ideology.

Regarding the fact that the focus of my analysis is how the education (in this chapter secondary education) served the diversification of the professional subclass, it is essential to point out that **the government offices, the public service and the military** were major terrains that integrated public schoolboys who were contented with their secondary education and did not continue their studies at universities for specialized knowledge. In this part of my paper my argument is that serving the national interest with knowledge or military force was part of the gentlemanly ideal (a chivalric aspect of the new gentlemanly ideal) and I will write about professionals in the military, in the Civil Service and the Government in a later part of the dissertation.

THE REFORMS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN GENERAL

As we have seen, the reforms were initiated by Thomas Arnold in the 1830s and 1840s and his new public school ideal was taken over by many of the later headmasters, such as by C.J. Vaughan of Harrow (1844-1859), by Frederick Temple of Rugby (1857-1869), by John Percival of Rugby (1887-1895), just to mention some. Apart from Arnold's personal merit, the reforms were also due to the conscientious and superhuman efforts of the two royal commissions I have mentioned before. State supervision of secondary education was practically non-existent until the very end of the century when **the Balfour Act of 1902**

¹³⁴ Geoffrey Best, 'Militarism and the Victorian Public School' in ?

finally allowed radical steps to be taken for the institutionalization of state run secondary education and created the right conditions for it. However, in the middle of the century it was only a very limited number of steps that can be considered as real steps forward. Edward C. Mack argues that if reforms happened in the mid-century they were generated by the middle class because by that time they found themselves securely in power, they were optimistic about the future and wished to bring their institutions into line with modern conditions.¹³⁵ As education is always a key to social changes, certain reforms were clearly needed in that field. Hence the observations and recognitions of the Clarendon and the Taunton Commissions.

THE CLARENDON COMMISSION 1861-1864

When on April 23, 1861, Grant Duff asked in the House of Commons whether the government intended to grant an inquiry into the public schools' situation, George Cornwall Lewis, the home secretary of the Palmerston government gave an affirmative answer, saying that the public schools had already been brought under the jurisdiction of the Charity Commissioners in 1818.¹³⁶ It was Lord Clarendon, a non-public-school man, who was appointed to the head of the commission, which was clearly set up to examine and not to attack the public schools. Everybody concerned seemed to wish to preserve the traditional profile of these unique institutions and to bring about changes which were absolutely necessary to their successful and efficient operation. As it turned out during the thorough investigation of the commission, Lord Clarendon and his colleagues were demanding political reformers whose ideal was modern business efficiency. They were not particularly lenient towards traditional privileges when they conflicted with commonsense. They were determined to modify rigid rules when either the original objectives of the founders were not fulfilled, or when modern society demanded new aims.¹³⁷

The commissioners recommended a persistent and complete transformation of the governing bodies into trustees with no pecuniary interest and urged the headmasters to get money matters into their own hands as well as the disciplinary and educational power.

While examining the seven traditional elite boarding schools and the two elite day schools (listed earlier) **they proposed an extensive, though moderate series of changes in the**

¹³⁵ Edward C. Mack: *Public Schools and British Opinion since 1860*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press. 1941. p.5.

¹³⁶ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd Series, Vol. 162, p. 983 (April 23, 1861).

¹³⁷ Report of the Public School Commission, I.7.

curriculum and in educational methods. As to the curriculum, they proved to be conservative and **kept the hegemonic role of the classics.** They argued that it was a long standing practice to teach them and they sounded convinced that teaching the classics and divinity provided the best possible mental training for the elite of the future. At the same time **the commissioners were ardent supporters of modern studies and urged including mathematics, music, history, geography, English composition, natural science and foreign languages in the curriculum, but without endangering its classical backbone.**¹³⁸

As far as entrance criteria were concerned, the commissioners recommended that admission should be based on **competitive examinations** and by this, they practically attacked the entirely upper-class character of the schools.¹³⁹

All in all, it is possible to conclude that the Clarendon Commission represented a kind of compromise between the Conservative and the Liberal viewpoints of the age. Unfortunately, while they endeavored to retain the Conservative values, they lagged behind in the Liberal ones and ultimately both remained unsatisfactory. Lord Clarendon and his associates were not blind to the still existing deficiencies but simply could not surpass the standards imposed on them by their own age. They may have disagreed with the cruel system of flogging, for instance, but at that time other forms of maintaining discipline was unimaginable. Therefore, the system outlived the commission.

As a result of the Clarendon Commission, the Public School Bill was first introduced to the House of Lords in 1865 but after numerous amendments it got to the Commons only in 1867 and became act in 1868.

In 1867 another commission, **the Schools Inquiry or Taunton Commission**, dealt with the endowed schools and problems in secondary education not considered by the Duke of Newcastle's Commission of 1858 and the Clarendon Commission in 1861. It was supposed to inquire into the management of the endowed schools and as they took all endowed secondary schools into consideration, they attempted to redistribute endowments as well as create uniform statutes in order to maintain the standards of teaching, discipline and organization. The report itself was issued in **1867** and is of the greatest value in the history of English secondary education. It contained a number of important suggestions for the improvement of

¹³⁸ Report of the Public School Commission, I. 28-37.

¹³⁹ Ibid. p.10. 172, 178, 209, 271.

the educational and administrative systems, which were not adopted until the end of the century. The commission specially dealt with secondary education for girls and ultimately the report led to the passing of **the Endowed Schools Act in 1869**¹⁴⁰ and the rapid multiplication of secondary schools for girls as well as boys created out of old endowments.

Lastly, yet another commission was appointed in **1875** under the presidency of **the Duke of Devonshire** to inquire into the state of scientific instruction in England and the experts of the issue found that "in a large number of the endowed schools science is entirely ignored, while even where it is taught at all, not more than one to two hours a week are devoted to it. The commissioners published returns from more than 120 of the larger endowed schools; in more than half of these no science whatever is taught, only thirteen have a laboratory, and only eighteen possess any scientific apparatus. Out of the whole number, less than twenty schools devote as much as four hours a week to science; and only thirteen attach any weight at all to scientific subjects in the examinations."¹⁴¹

From the above passages it turns out that the changes in the public schools between 1800 and 1870 were the results of **fierce struggle in Parliament**. The battle was mainly going on between the representatives of the old ruling classes, who represented rigidly conservative views and the newly rising middle class, whose ambition was to make the schools the reflection of their new needs. In the days of Arnold, the struggle was predominantly of moral nature and in the 1860s it shifted to intellectual matters.

During the subsequent years of the Victorian period the pace of modernization accelerated and the middle class won its battle. Mack considers the year **1870 a kind of watershed year**, in his words "the moment of equilibrium between the two great revolutionary movements that give shape and pattern to public school history".¹⁴² He maintains that after 1870 new forces began to operate and there emerged a general realignment of old forces. By the mid-seventies a whole range of influences were at work, that slowly undermined the basis of complacent Victorian British society both economically and spiritually. I mean **the rapid acceptance of science teaching** in various institutions, the dying of the evangelical fervour or the growing demand for services that could improve the quality of life and which gave enormous impetus

¹⁴⁰ From A Bill For the Organization of Secondary Education, Ordered by The House of Commons, to be Printed, 15 June, 1898. Bill 255.

¹⁴¹ *On the Present System of Public School Education* by John Lubbock in the Contemporary Review, Feb. Vol. XXVII., 1876. p.165.

¹⁴² Mack, p.105.

to the rise of the professional subclass. The new competition from abroad necessitated all kinds of alternatives in the education (e.g. the Progressive Movement) or **the creation of more and more girls' schools**, but we could mention the growing recognition of the need for **technical education** and **more specialization** both on the secondary and the university level. Therefore, in the course of the roughly forty years between 1870 and 1914, the movement to reform the public schools experienced a great revival. Plenty of old ideas were either modified or dismissed altogether and it was obvious that **Conservative forces struggled to keep up with the Liberal ones**, who gained more and more ground in education, especially by advocating **the need to teach modern subjects** and science at schools. In the 1870s and 1880s the upper classes were reacting against the tendencies of the 1860s and the contrast between their desires and those of the classes beneath them became more perceptible. The lower classes demanded state recognition of secondary education and **emphasis on practical knowledge against the classics**, while the Conservative upper classes stubbornly stuck to their traditional views.

But besides this traditional two-tiered struggle, there was another one between the ideas of liberals and those of the other groups of reformers, like the Progressives and reactionaries, who demanded too drastic reforms. Arnoldianism, reaction and progressivism were specifically upper-class doctrines, supported by the aristocracy, the upper-middle classes and by public school masters but they did not exert too much influence as none of them belonged to the mainstream reformers.

The public school reforms, from the 1870s to the end of the Victorian era, affected different areas and became manifest in different aspects of life. The most obvious changes took place in the **clientele of the pupils**, the **number of the schools** and the **quality of life** in them (public boarding schools became much more comfortable and humane place to live in), the **curriculum** and in the field of **women's education**.

Clientele: The period between 1850 and 1875 was a time of great industrial prosperity and it was then that the basis of agriculture weakened radically. As a result, a new section of the middle class – which contained shareholders – was now rich enough to afford the public schools and the aristocracy had no choice but to lower somewhat its prestige and give allowances in its isolation to the other social layers.¹⁴³ This fact enhanced the significance of

¹⁴³ Statistics on Higher Grade Board Schools and Public Secondary Schools by the Education Department, 29 June, 1898, G.W. Kekewich, Secretary, London, 1898.

the upper-middle class in the public schools and it was mainly this group who produced the high ranking professionals of the future decades. As Gathorne-Hardy notes: “There was a steady growth in the number of the middle class, these for a number of reasons (not least because political power still resided there) sought to assimilate the manners and customs of the classes above them, and the public schools increasingly became the avenue of this assimilation. It will come as no surprise to learn that during the remainder of the century all these processes became very much more widespread, more intense and more complicated.”¹⁴⁴ Herbert Branston Gray claims in *The Public Schools and the Empire*: “Their pupils (meaning the more modern institutions founded in the second half of the century) for the most part come from a somewhat composite section of the British public. Such sons are generally the sons of what are called in the characteristic language of English society the Upper Middle Classes – professional men and wholesale traders, together with a goodly number of the smaller landed gentry, and here and there a leaven of the younger sons of the less wealthy noblesse.”¹⁴⁵ The argument of W.L. Guttsman is worth noting about the fresh tendencies of the student population structure in the late Victorian period. He says: “In the England of the later nineteenth century, when the public school system was in the making, it could possibly be argued that the recruitment of educational institutions on the basis of wealth, was not out of tune with the temper of the day. In their subservience to money and social position, and the tranquil, unsophisticated class-consciousness which that subservience bred, the public boarding schools did not rise above the standards of their generation, but neither did they fall below them. Their virtues were genuine and their own; their vices were of a piece with those of the society about them.”¹⁴⁶

Guttsman’s argument in a later part of his book, according to which the predominantly one-class school was not favourable, is in contrast with Wakeford’s views, who claims that the **public schools fostered homogeneity of socio-economic background** among the recruits, which he proves with the prevailing system of Old Boys, that is, the fact that the past graduates of elite schools tended to send their children to their old schools exactly to be sure that they mingle with their social equals. Fathers knew from personal experience the children of which layer their sons were likely to meet in the old school and they craved for steadiness

¹⁴⁴ Gathorne-Hardy p. 124.

¹⁴⁵ Herbert Branston Gray, D.D.: *The Public Schools and the Empire*, London: Williams and Norgate, 1913. p.130.

¹⁴⁶ W.L. Guttsman: *The English Ruling Class*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. London 1969. p. 218.

and continuity. He mentions the example of Harrow: “in most major schools the parents are interviewed before their son is placed on the waiting list, and at Harrow, for instance, the school demands that each applicant name a referee who is an old Harrowian, or is connected with the school in some other way.”¹⁴⁷ My opinion is that both statements may be correct if we add that Guttsman` opinion is valid considering future tendencies, namely that the public schools, especially those of the new foundation, were gradually made more and more public, whereas the old elite ones did their best – as they do even today - to keep their clientele within a relatively narrow social circle to please the fathers, who send their children to their old school with the `backthought` of keeping them among their social equals. This kind of class snobbery was handed down from generation to generation and directly led to the sharp social distinction that prevailed in the adult lives of the pupils whose social existence depended a good deal on whom they got into contact with during their school days. **Patronage** is still not alien to English upper-middle class life and may still be the key to prestigious positions, though **meritocracy** and selection on the basis of **competitive examinations** also spread in the last third of the century.

From the above observations it is easy to realize that the social class that had practically no chance to infiltrate into the public schools was the working class. As Wilkinson points out “Admittedly, the Victorian public schools did their bit to create unequal opportunity: by helping to crystallize an `Establishment` style and accent, they made it all the harder for a working class person without that style and accent to be accepted in the top circles of power. Likewise, the emphasis on classics, however nobly viewed, provided the schools with a neat formula for offering free and reduced-fee scholarships and still excluding the lower class boy.”¹⁴⁸ In fact, lower-middle class representation was rife only in some of the day schools and mostly in the new foundation schools, who could afford the relatively low fees, as some schools offered reductions for specific groups, such as the sons of clergy, doctors and soldiers. However, the fact remained that the boarding schools were virtually closed to the children of manual workers till **the Balfour Act in 1902.**

W. D. Rubinstein writes about the social and cultural gap between the sons of the traditional professionals, that is, the truly intellectual segment of the society, and those of the newly rising entrepreneurs, who lacked the cultural background but had the money. On the basis of Martin J. Wiener`s thesis, outlined in *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit*,

¹⁴⁷ Wakeford, p.45.

¹⁴⁸ Wilkinson p. 95.

Rubinstein voices the anti-entrepreneurial spirit advocated by the public schools but refutes the accusations which claim that the public schools actually contributed to the economic decline Britain suffered in certain sectors of its economy in the late Victorian era. He maintains that it is not true that because of the public school spirit or the narrow curriculum few students went to business and this way endangered the social-economic balance that was needed for the country's well-being. He argues that undoubtedly there was an intergenerational shift into the professions but it affected only a small percentage of the businessmen's sons as the majority followed the family pattern in their choice of occupation. In his essay titled *'Education, the 'Gentleman', and Entrepreneurship* Rubinstein says that, the public schools were willing to provide only general classical education, and, in fact, they urged the pupils to follow in their fathers' footsteps as that was the most simple solution to existential dilemmas.¹⁴⁹ Hartmut Berghoff supports Rubinstein when says: "the hypothesis of the negative influence of public schools on late nineteenth-century economic growth must be rejected in toto. They did not educate more than a small fraction of the country's business community, nor were they likely to alienate any students from the principles of profit maximization. The existence of this theory is mainly to be explained through the wish to find a scapegoat for the alleged failure of the late Victorian business class. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the curricular and socio-cultural characteristics of public schools did nothing to guide significant numbers of boys from non-business families into entrepreneurial careers."¹⁵⁰

Let me mention here that the public schools were also, in a sense, **agents of social mobility** but they did not cease to discriminate classwise. While they tended to exclude the lower layers of the society by imposing high fees on the parents, they aimed at a kind of harmonization and unification of the student population, once they were admitted to the school. Most historians agree that the boarding school, as opposed to day schools, had a unique role in this social amalgamation of the clientele. The very fact that the children were separated from their home environment and were deprived of the affection of their parents for years meant that they had no choice but to seek friendship among their classmates and to try to integrate into the community as completely as possible. It is not difficult to realize that the

¹⁴⁹ Rubinstein p. 122.

¹⁵⁰ Hartmut Berghoff: *'Public Schools and the Decline of the British Economy 1870-1914'*, Past and Present, No.129. (Nov., 1990), p.167.

core or root of the patronage system, which often determined the career of the students in their adult lives, can be traced back to this factor.

As early as 1897 T.H. Escott said declared that “the genius of every great English school was that the system was **essentially democratic**. Boys are valued by their fellows for what they have, but for what in themselves they are; not for the antiquity of their family descent, not for the depth of their father’s purse. The boy who dazzled his mates with the glitter of sovereigns fresh from the Mint would be suppressed as promptly by the public opinion of the place as the toady or the parasite.” Later on he says about the school’s endeavours to create a homogeneous clientele: “The son of the new man of one generation as to his tastes, his prejudices, his politics, his pursuits, the performance of his duties, the choice of his pleasures, becomes, in the next, socially indistinguishable from the scion of the oldest nobility.”¹⁵¹ Decades later Wilkinson summarizes the essence of the standardization/unification of the schools’ clientele as follows: “By indoctrinating the nouveau riche as a gentleman, the public schools really acted as an escapevalve in the social system. They helped avert a class conflict which might have ended the reign of the landed gentry.”¹⁵²

There have been critics of the harmonization tendencies, though. In *The Public School Phenomenon*, Gawthorne-Hardy does not seem to be so contented with the uniformity that the public schools endeavoured to create. He claims that the schools were designed to reward conformity, obedience to authority, and to crush originality and rebellion. In his opinion, it was rather negative that the spontaneity and the diverse, individual feature of the old, aristocratic clientele tended to disappear as “the uncompetitive crowd of ‘leaders’ was brought up on a games ethic where the point was not to win but to ‘play the game’.”¹⁵³

Curricular reforms

We have seen that one major target of the secondary school reform movement was the alteration of the curriculum in the various types of schools. I have mentioned earlier that one problem was that the boundary between primary and secondary education was hardly

¹⁵¹ T.H.S. Escott: *Social Transformations of the Victorian Age*, London: Seeley and Co. Limited. 1897. pp.174-175.

¹⁵² Wilkinson p. 24.

¹⁵³ Gathorne-Hardy pp.202-203.

perceivable in some of the grammar schools and charity schools and, in general, the level of teaching was rather low and the staff was often inadequate or poorly qualified.

One finding of the royal commissions was that reform was essential in the range of subjects taught in the public schools, which is important as these schools were the ones that produced the bulk of the professional and intellectuals of the future decades.

The Clarendon Commission demanded that the curriculum at the public schools should remain **primarily classical**, though they were also anxious to attribute significance to the teaching of more useful subjects, such as mathematics, science and modern languages. The classical training was still favoured in many schools because the possession of general culture was a traditional status-symbol, a natural feature of the English gentleman and signified that a man could afford to pursue learning for its own sake. Moreover, it cultivated a detached and orderly approach to problems, which proved to be applicable in all fields of life, especially where **general education and good gentlemanly manners** were needed, for example in diplomacy or in the Civil Service. In certain jobs, like the before mentioned ones, a readiness to master detail and to do precise, meticulous work were often essential.

During the 1860s all kinds of attempts were made for the widening of the curriculum, especially because the universities accepted the idea of specialization more and more and public schools were increasingly looked upon as places that were supposed to prepare the students for their future academic careers in higher education. Consequently, a closer collaboration started between public schools and the prestigious universities.

As early as 1857 a statute of Oxford University was passed, which instituted the Oxford local examinations. The senate of Cambridge adopted a similar measure in 1858. The idea was to “hold annual examinations of persons, not members of the Universities.” A Memorandum, issued by the Cambridge Syndicate in 1899 declared that “The main object of those who promoted such a scheme was to improve the state of education in the schools lying between the elementary schools and the great public schools.”¹⁵⁴ Later on Gray argues that “the examinations did good work at first by destroying the rank weeds of idleness... and it was considered an honour to be connected, however remotely, with the time-honoured

¹⁵⁴ Gray, p.265-266.

Universities". Finally, all the professional societies, almost without exception, recognized the certificates of the University Local Examination Boards.¹⁵⁵

Which subjects should be taught in the public schools remained the key issue throughout the last third of the century and it is not easy to form a balanced judgement of how successful the reforms proved to be in the long run.

First, the spread of natural science teaching was slow.¹⁵⁶ The classics had been taught for such a long time that they were taken for granted and it hardly occurred to anyone that he or she could study other things as well. Moreover, there were a large number of entrance scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge colleges and both Greek and Latin were needed for entry to both universities.

Science teaching had had a long tradition only at the City of London¹⁵⁷ and at Clifton, which even opened a science laboratory in 1867. Of the public schools of the new foundation, Tonbridge opened a science building in 1887. Applied science started when F.W. Sanderson was made head of a new engineering department in Dulwich in 1887 and he developed the new concept of public school education based on the scientific method and on cooperation rather than competition.¹⁵⁸

Besides natural sciences, **mathematics** made its way because it had been part of the curriculum of the traditional public schools for a longer time and it was not so difficult to get good teachers, which was a problem in teaching modern languages. In some schools French and German were taught, especially where the candidates orientated towards the Army or foreign Civil Service in their future career. By the late 1860s the modernized curriculum included mathematics, Latin, English, history, geography, arts, natural sciences, design, French, German and Hindustani.

What we can learn from John Lubbock, a great educational reformer of the age, about the curriculum in 1876 is that "the boys coming from public schools will almost all take as three of

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. p.273.

¹⁵⁶ Meadows, A.J. and Brock, W.H.(1975): 'Topics Fit for Gentlemen: the problem of science in the public school curriculum', in B.Simon and I. Bradley (eds.) *The Victorian Public School* Gill and Macmillan, 95-114.

¹⁵⁷ Douglas-Smith, A.E. (1937): *The City of London School*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell pp.104-105.

¹⁵⁸ Roach p.152.

the subjects, **Latin, Greek** and Arithmetic, while for the fourth a great number will choose either **Scripture knowledge, English or History**. Moreover, it is observable that the Board has laid down that French and German can only be offered as a subject by those candidates who have satisfied the examiners in Latin or Greek, and also that every candidate will be required to show that he has an adequate knowledge of **English grammar and orthography.**"¹⁵⁹ About language teaching and the general workload he says: "Nor need the **study of modern languages** and science interfere with the acquirement of Latin and Greek. The usual number of hours of study in English schools is not less than thirty-eight a week; so that six hours devoted to science, and a similar number to arithmetic, would still leave ample time for the study of a language."¹⁶⁰

When discussing the curriculum of public schools in the latter half of the Victorian period, we ought to mention the amateur ideal (clearly present in the legal profession even today), which prevailed in general life. It was clear that the British parliamentary government had a special need for versatile leaders towards the end of the era. As H. M. Stout claims in the Introduction of his book titled *The Spirit of British Administration*: "The very qualities which made the civil servant flexible and versatile made him distrust expert theory, especially when

¹⁵⁹ *On the Present System of Public School Education* by John Lubbock in the Contemporary Review, Vol.XXVII. Feb., 1876. p.167-168.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. p.166.

it was applied to matters of organization. Like public school authority, like the Constitution itself, he saw leadership in terms of men and honour and common sense. He was not generally interested in method for its own sake, in institutional engineering. Being brought up to lead, he found it difficult to view leadership as a science. He tended to shy away from academic studies of administrative technique, and this inhibited organizational improvements.”¹⁶¹

Before I move on to discuss the various job perspectives and career options for public schoolboys in the late Victorian period, let me mention Joseph Schumpeter’s thesis about the **special magic aura** of the young men who were trained in the traditional public schools and for whom this very asset may have proved even more valuable than the factual knowledge they could obtain from the subject taught. Wilkinson quotes the words of Schumpeter in *Gentlemanly Power* as follows: “the public schoolboy’s political bent was inseparable from a gentleman ideal which the schools promoted. There were three components to the gentleman ideal, and the first of these was the attainment of magic. By magic, I refer to the mysterious aura of different-ness which distinguishes certain leaders and makes them respected for what they are rather than what they do. The property of magic, so Schumpeter argued, was more vital to political leadership than to industrial leadership, and it was more easily attained by the medieval lord than it was by the businessmen.”¹⁶²

T.H. Pear talks about the fact that the aforesaid magic aura is/was guaranteed by special way of speaking (public school accent), and the good manners the public schools were supposed to inculcate. What is more, to possess manners that appeals to the various social strata of the society required wide social experience. Consequently, up to the 1940s public schoolboys usually traveled more than the average boys in England and often received friends from abroad.¹⁶³

Once the magic aura was obtained, the schoolboys had a wide range of **career options** to choose from in the late Victorian period, almost exclusively intellectual and representative jobs, which I will analyse in the following subchapter.

¹⁶¹ H.M. Stout, op. cit., Introduction by W.Y. Elliott. C.H. Sisson, *The Spirit of British Administration, Introduction*.

¹⁶² Wilkinson p. 13.

¹⁶³ T.H. Pear: *English Social Differences*. London: George Allen&Unwin Ltd. 1955 p.204.

Career options for Public Schoolboys:

When public schoolboys left the school, they had different options to choose from. In most cases they went to **higher education**, that is, one of the old traditional universities and cherished high aspirations about important government posts for the future, or wanted to receive specialization so as to become the leading professionals of their days. Others took over **the family enterprise or business** and followed in their fathers' footsteps. For this, they did not necessarily need university education but were contented with the general knowledge the public school provided for them. A third group left the public school, did not receive specialized training but went to seek work among **the lower rank professions**, or became clerks, public administrators, **white collar workers** etc. What I find most intriguing here, and the area I wish to examine in depth, is how the graduates of the public schools contributed to the diversification of the newly rising professional segment of late Victorian England.

The group that received no specialized training was most likely to find employment in **Civil Service**, the **Army** or in the **Government**. This was the group which could make most use of the above explained public school 'magic aura', which made them fit for occupying leading positions without any special training. It is worth noting the words of the Clarendon Commission in 1864, which defined the foremost aim of the public school education as "the development of the capacity to govern others and control themselves".¹⁶⁴

Also this was the area where patronage was rife and created a separate network throughout the realm. Roach says the following about the most obvious tendencies: "Though many public schools men came from families that had made their money in business and industry, the ethos of the schools tended to lead them away from such occupations towards public service, the army and the empire. The schools had few links with science and technology, and it has been argued that the anti-business culture which they propagated was positively harmful to a country that depended on trade and industry for its prosperity and that faced increasingly keen competition from Germany and the United States."¹⁶⁵ It is a generally accepted view that the money-grabbing, rational, unsophisticated entrepreneurial ideal was diametrically opposed to the public school ethos, which subordinated the individual to the group. Money making was

¹⁶⁴ *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Revenues and Management of Certain Colleges and Schools and the Studies Pursued and the Instruction Given Therein*, Parliamentary Papers, 1864 (3288), XX, p.56.

¹⁶⁵ Roach p.154.

acceptable only as long as it served the national interests and trade was considered vulgar and slightly selfish pursuit till the very end of the century.

According to Wilkinson, the public school system encouraged attitudes that saw the greatest prestige and pleasure in the public service.¹⁶⁶ The public schools nurtured the desire in boys to obey authority, to win rewards for serving the community and to be one with the others. The athletic spirit and the games were the grounds for this communal spirit and what happened on the tracks and fields in small happened later, on grand when the public schoolboy stepped out into life and ¹⁶⁷ the national interests had to be served. Let me quote Gathorne-Hardy's words: "Letter after letter from the front (Boer Wars and World War I) say how glad the writers are not to have let school or house down, how if they are to die they are proud to die for school and country. And these themes are echoed again in the school obituaries. The public school ethos had gone beyond the grave...To play well for your school meant to die well for your country."¹⁶⁸ The same principle becomes manifest when we read Wilkinson's point: "When one thinks of the public school monasticism, hierarchy, and hardship, of barrackroom living and discipline, of teamwork rewarded by decoration, of the reverence paid to community tradition – when one parades the factors together, it is not difficult to understand why public schools gentlemen became military officers."

The 'house spirit' can be regarded both as a positive or a negative feature of public school life. It is a fact that the public schools have often been criticized as crude agents of British Imperialism as they considered it their role to produce leaders.¹⁶⁹ However, the fact remains that patriotism was consciously advocated and the key to Britain's national character was the public schools.

As I mentioned before, this kind of **incentive to serve one's country** was manifest most typically in three fields, namely in the civil service, in the government and in the army, none of which required specialized knowledge but personal charm, talent, diplomatic skills and the above mentioned magic aura instead. Joyce Senders Pedersen comments on the words of David Newsome in *Godliness and Good Learning* when in her own book she says: "Manliness, says Newsome, encompassed certain qualities of character – straightforwardness, honesty, loyalty – and also masculinity. As the century progressed, the ideal took on an

¹⁶⁶ Wilkinson p.12.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. p.17.

¹⁶⁸ Gathorne-Hardy p.199-200

¹⁶⁹ Ibid p. 192.

increasingly militant and patriotic tone. More emphasis was given to the corporate virtues. The headmaster's aim was not so much to produce godly individuals as to foster a loyal team spirit, which would enable his boys creditably to perform their work in the world and serve the state. Although Newsome does not say so, the role adopted by the schoolmasters of this persuasion might be interpreted as being in a sense that of a public servant."¹⁷⁰

The other thing which the candidate could hardly survive without was **patronage, family connections** and **a starting sum of money**, which was especially important in the purchasing of army positions.

Patronage was crucial in these social circles and occupational groups because they were guarantees that people belonging to the same layer could uphold or enhance their own importance and could gain more and more acknowledgement from the general public. On the other hand, it was essential that men of the highest abilities should be selected for the highest posts and in many cases this could be worked out only through a subtle system of recommendation and delegation of the candidates. As it turns out from the writings of Edward Romilly, chairman of the Board of Accounts: "It should be borne in mind that moral qualities and social position are often as important elements in the character of the public servant as great facility and intellectual power. Good sense and judgment, good manners and moral courage, energy and perseverance, a high sense of honour and integrity, a wholesome fear of public opinion and the desire to be well thought of by a circle of friends, are more important qualities and motives in the public officers, for the practical business of official life, than familiarity with classical and modern literature, science and history. The latter may be tested by examination, the former cannot; and the lower you descend in the scale of society the less the guarantee that candidates for the Civil Service will possess those moral and social qualifications, which are so indispensable for the practical business of official life."¹⁷¹

Patronage prevailed in **the Army** as well. From the writings of Sir Charles Trevelyan it turns out that the large and important class of well-educated young men, who depended for their advancement upon their own resources and not upon wealth and connections, were excluded from the army and had to seek employment in the professions, in the Church and the Civil Service. At the same time idle young men, who disliked the restraints of school and sought a

¹⁷⁰ Joyce Senders Pedersen: *The Reform of Girls' Secondary and Higher Education in Victorian England*. New York and London. Garland Publishing Inc. 1987. p.253.

¹⁷¹ Guttsman. P. *The English Ruling Class* p.233.

more enjoyable life, were attracted to the army as it was the only profession in which advancement depended on a certain command of money and not so much on personal qualifications.¹⁷² The basis of the system was that the original commission was purchased by an advance of family property, which had to be secured by a life insurance. The young officer had to contribute further sums so as to get promoted and if he failed to do so, that could mean the end of his military career. Therefore, the whole system was based on the continual flow of capital into the system and made personal performance almost superfluous. Later on in the same essay we learn that “A general desire exists to raise the army in the scale of professions; to make its ranks attractive to a better class of men, and to increase the inducements to self-improvement and good conduct; but these natural and wholesome aspirations are repelled by the purchase system, which has built up a wall of separation between the officers and privates.”¹⁷³

Ian Worthington, who speaks about the transformation of the purchase system into a more competitive and fair system, also quotes the words of Trevelyan in his article when argues that under the purchase system the middle classes – perhaps the most energetic and spirited class – was kept out of the army as this privilege had belonged to the titled and propertied classes before. According Trevelyan in his report sent to the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the purchase system (around the Crimean War), as long as this remained the case, the Army lacked the drive and ambition that characterized the middle classes and thus lacked the energy which was needed for improvement.¹⁷⁴

The system of buying and selling commissions was abolished in 1871 and changes took place in the mode of officer recruitment. At the Royal Military Academy a competitive entry system, which had been adapted to what the Crimean conflict had required earlier, continued in existence until the end of the 1850s and finally became replaced by a fully competitive exam system. As Worthington says a link was gradually created between the public schools and the Army and this resulted from the decision to base the Army entrance examinations on the kind of syllabus which was taught in the public schools. General education and gentlemanly manners in the Army became a requirement and in the next thirty years the

¹⁷² Sir Charles Trevelyan: *The Purchase System of the British Army* pp,2-7 in W.L.

Guttsman: *The English Ruling Class*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London. 1969. p.276.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* p.277.

¹⁷⁴ Ian Worthington: ‘Antecedent Education and Officer Recruitment: the Origins and Early Development of the Public School – Army Relationship’ in *Military Affairs* Vol.41. No.4 (Dec., 1977) pp.183-189.

number of schools supplying Army officers expanded considerably. The schools that produced the greatest number were Cheltenham, Marlborough and Wellington College. These schools mostly began as small private schools, then grew into larger establishments and finally became accepted as schools specializing in the preparation of prospective Army officers. Worthington points out that in the upper reaches of officer corps a predominant percentage of officers appear to have been alumni of the major boarding schools and many of them went on to higher education as well.¹⁷⁵ These facts clearly show that the general educational-intellectual level within the ranks of the army grew substantially by the last third of the century and this outcome, in a great percentage, can be attributed to the public schools.

With the rise of the laissez-faire state of the nineteenth century there was a marked increase in administration and the size of **the Civil Service**. This career option was an appropriate choice for numerous public school graduates because, with its refined hierarchy and the great number of steps, it actually became a promising job opportunity for a diverse cluster of students. In *Public Service in Great Britain*, Hiram Miller Stout writes that in 1870 open competition for most positions was adopted and complex hierarchies came into being. According to him, in the last third of the century the clerk was still the typical civil servant but he became surrounded by specialized groups of other employees. Above the clerk, one could find the intermediate class, which was entitled to perform a more responsible kind of work. Below the clerk were the ones who carried out routine functions, such as filing, recording and typing. On all sides there were specialists, technical officers, inspectors and manipulative employees doing work of a nonclerical nature.¹⁷⁶ In fact, the system was somewhat chaotic and simplification of the organization to increase efficiency was done just before the World War I.

The Civil Service had always been one of the fields that young men of the upper classes could go to without leaving their 'caste'. The public school elite clientele strengthened this tendency by asserting the idea of duty that the future intellectual generation owed to the nation and to the empire. As Stout says: "The public schools and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge have played important roles in directing exceptional young men to the Civil Service. For generations they have been the educators of the boys and young men of these upper classes, and the traditions of these ancient institutions of learning have impressed upon the scions of the old families their responsibilities to the state. The emphasis the schools and universities

¹⁷⁵ Worthington p.188.

¹⁷⁶ Hiram Miller Stout: *Public Service in Great Britain*. The University of North Carolina Press. New York. 1938. p.116.

place upon the classical learning has probably played its part. A young mind cannot be steeped in Plato, Aristotle and Cicero without feeling that public life of some sort is necessary to the realization of personality.”¹⁷⁷ Competitive examinations made sure in the late Victorian period that talented young people occupied prestigious, leading positions, but patronage prevailed to a lesser degree as well.

In *Gentlemanly Power* Rupert Wilkinson investigates how the public schools produced leaders, especially for government and diplomatic posts for the last decades of the nineteenth century. He claims that the public school loyalty cultivated a sense of obligation to inferior social ranks as well as deference to those in senior office and cooperation with colleagues.¹⁷⁸ It is not difficult to realize that, besides fostering the desire for prestige and honour, the public schools cultivated a strong sense of nationalism, which, in the late period, was combined with a sort of imperial philanthropy. The young educated generation of the age increasingly sought national glory and wished to do good to other underdeveloped races. From this, the notion of **the `imperial guardian`** came into being and as Wilkinson puts it: “This psychological fusion between prestige and philanthropy was as familiar process to the public school gentleman, who showed much the same attitude to his place in British class society.”¹⁷⁹

It is also a fact that the public schools promoted personal attributes that were the requirements of the job of **the colonial administrator**. The competitive instinct was often combined with the sense of community to satisfy the imperial needs and self-reliance was often accompanied by close cooperation. The previously outlined magic aura, good manners and articulate speech were similarly essential for this kind of representative work. Moreover, public schoolboys had a good chance to get accustomed to obeying a single governing elite during their stay in the school. **This governing elite** was fairly uniform but was different from everyone else who stood outside their circle. Wilkinson calls his readers attention to the “policy of indirect rule”, which was a public school kind of balance between custom and efficiency. In his opinion, the essence of indirect rule was that it respected traditional communities and their traditional authorities and admits that it was an efficient and flexible way of running the empire in the late Victorian era. Furthermore, the indirect rule was highly suited to the public school concept of leadership, which respected the guardian more than the

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.83.

¹⁷⁸ Wilkinson p.46.

¹⁷⁹ Wilkinson. P.102.

innovator. However, Wilkinson also claims that this kind of rule gave inadequate preparation for self-government.¹⁸⁰

Finally, we can conclude that the public school education of ideals and manners produced the most **outstanding leaders of the country in the national government** as well. The emphasis on harmony, moderation, self-restraint, the willingness to compromise and devotion to community interests seemed to be the essentials for running an efficient government at home. As we can learn from Alice Zimmern's writing the essence of a public school was that the pupils there could learn to govern themselves as well as others. And this way the public schools were those places in which the pupils administered the government to some degree.¹⁸¹

Some critics of the public schools accuse the schools of not displaying more intellectual enlightenment than other schools but most historians seem to agree that late nineteenth century public figures, politicians (former public school graduates) may not have been very innovative but they served their country to the best of their abilities and talent. In Wilkinson's opinion, what counts for political education is the number of leaders it produces who are willing and able to implement the ideas of the truly inventive few.¹⁸² The great number of reforms proposed and carried out in the last thirty years clearly show that of such leaders there were plenty. There is a whole list of prime ministers and leading government figures who attended public schools (Gladstone, Chamberlain or Lord Clarendon)eg. Berghoff says: "In fact, several elite groups were nearly exclusively recruited from public schools. More than 60 percent of cabinet ministers holding office between 1886 and 1916 had a public school education, Eton alone accounting for 34.7 per cent and Harrow for 12.9 per cent."¹⁸³ According to Guttsman's findings: 90 per cent of big landowners in 1880 had attended one of the major public schools, 75 per cent Eton and Harrow. The corresponding figures for top civil servants were 71 per cent and 48 per cent respectively. Newly created peers (69 per cent and 49 per cent) had a similar educational background, whereas only 42 per cent of millionaires had been to one of the most important public schools (all public schools 63 per cent).¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. p.108.

¹⁸¹ Alice Zimmern: 'The Renaissance of Girls' Education in England. A Record of Fifty Years Progress.' London 1898. Chapter 8.

¹⁸² Wilkinson p. 76.

¹⁸³ Berghoff, p.148.

¹⁸⁴ W.L. Guttsman, *The British Political Elite*, London: 1968. pp.102-103.

A direct consequence of the public school revolution was **the proliferation of lower rank professions** in the last quarter or third of the nineteenth century. High value specialization, which produced the experts of the age, that is, the representatives of the old traditional professions, was concentrated in the hands of the universities but some white collar intellectual jobs could be performed by those public school graduates, who either did not want to, or could not afford to continue their studies in higher education. It was clear that in the hierarchy of careers, the middle ground of prestige between **Trade and government service** was occupied by **the private professions**. The public schools willingly admitted the sons of professional men and we have data from the school registers of the time to support the thesis according to which numerous public schools possessed special relations with the professions. According to Wilkinson one can find provisions in the charter of the institutions that the school undertakes the training of boys for the professions or that it takes the sons of men already in them. For example, Marlborough had close connections with the Church, Epsom with Medicine and Wellington with the Army.

The professionals, like the representatives of other occupations, also came from the ranks of the middle class. The educational reforms and the chance for them to attend the prestigious public schools aided them in their attempts to win recognition for their social claims and to distinguish themselves from the masses of their class. By sending their children to the more and more respected schools, professional people hoped to guarantee the elite status for their own children and by doing so they hoped to facilitate their ascendance on the social ladder, which in many cases meant higher positions than their own.

Another aspect why the public school was a perfect place of education for the professional of the future generation was that the old Arnoldian concept of culture corresponded to their own highest aspirations, that is, the fact that, besides the perfection of the individual, it was also a kind of moral duty to serve the well-being of others. And this is the essence of professional existence – to gain knowledge so as to provide disinterested services which improve the life quality of other human beings (in medicine, law, the arts, teaching, organizational work etc.) and, while doing so, to win social recognition and respect from the public.

In *Gentlemanly Power* Wilkinson talks about the marked group spirit of the Victorian professionals and compares their advancement to that of the civil servants. To quote him: “The Victorian professions portrayed a marked group spirit. In this respect they were fairly similar to branches of the government. Like a bureaucratic civil service, a profession derives

some of its most *elite esprit de corps* from formal methods of recruitment. These, in fact, form an integral part of what constitutes a profession.”¹⁸⁵

For this recruitment **the professional examination system** was introduced but a certain degree of patronage worked in their system as well, mainly through providing apprenticeship to each other’s children. The professional examination stressed specialized and theoretical expertise alike and this was in contrast with the amateur concept of the generally educated man, which dominated both the public school education and the government. Therefore, the future representative of the traditional elite professions increasingly had to go to higher education to receive the **specialization indispensable** for their work. Still it was a tendency in the last third of the century to look upon public schools as the nurturing places of the professions, since their attendance became the precondition of one’s advanced studies on the university level and they were the places where the professionals of the oncoming decades learnt the right kind of moral approach to serving the community, rather than pursuing selfish interests.

Secondary Education for Women

As Gathorne-Hardy states in *The Public School Phenomenon* very correctly “one of the most important and formative facts about girls’ education is that until the middle of the nineteenth century it virtually did not exist.”¹⁸⁶ Throughout the centuries only the daughters of scholars and nobles, the relatives of high ranked clergymen could receive some minimal education, if any at all. What is more, even in the period that preceded Victoria’s reign the education of girls was concentrated **in the hands of governesses**, whose educational standing itself was often ambiguous. Historians seem to agree that between 1750 and 1890 the governesses were the largest strand in women’s education but because of the lack of sources and owing to their often humiliating half-servant, half-equal standing in the family they served, their work could hardly be considered efficient and adequate.

From the 1720s onward the so-called **Ladies’ Academies** came into being and these were mostly boarding establishments that admitted about fifty or sixty students, provided education in the accomplishments (dancing, singing, embroidery, some foreign languages

¹⁸⁵ Wilkinson. P.19.

¹⁸⁶ Gathorne-Hardy p.230.

etc.) And these continued well into the mid-nineteenth century but began to decline in efficiency and popularity as the new public schools sprang up.

The new public schools were mostly modeled after the boys' schools and the underlying idea was more or less the same, that is, to prepare the girls for higher education and to win the right for them to go to the universities. For this, however, very **drastic reforms were needed**.

Although there had been some attempts during the preceding century to launch a movement for women's educational reform, it was not until **the middle decades of the nineteenth century** that **the real expansion of girls' public schools and women's colleges** occurred. The reasons why this kind of extension became possible was manifold indeed.

Perhaps, at first sight, there was no obvious need for educated women in the period in question but, on second consideration, one can discover a number of social, demographic and economic factors that facilitated the movement for reform. As I mentioned before, it was mostly well-to-do middle class men, mostly professionals, who sent their daughters to the new schools. On the one hand, because it was a kind of status symbol for middle class fathers to show off their daughters' schooling, on the other hand, it was a widely known fact that adequate education improved the marriage perspective of girls considerably as it became a tendency in the second half of the century that men of higher social position sought well educated wives. In addition to the palpable practical aspects, there was a distinct moral tone as well, which emphasized the importance of elevating womankind onto the same intellectual level that men had enjoyed for some time.

The reforms also offered a means to ladies of uncertain status to avoid sinking on the social ladder in case of family distress and to get better chances for dignified employment. In the 1860s public attention was drawn to the excess of single women and articles began to appear discussing '*Why Are Women Redundant?*' And '*How To Provide For Superfluous Women?*'¹⁸⁷ Spinsters were increasingly regarded as a problematic social group, who were found primarily among the genteel orders of the society and could be found in the greatest number among the professionals. It was generally maintained that improved education might be the solution to their economic survival.

¹⁸⁷ Jessie Boucherett, '*How to Provide for Superfluous Women?*' in Josephine E. Butler, ed. *Woman's Work and Woman's Culture*.

In the second half of the century more and more articles appeared in the press about the unfavourable situation of the over-leisured middle class maiden ladies, who suffered from and complained about not having the life chances they thought they deserved. However, it was seemingly a contradiction that a good level of education was needed for making a good match, but at the same time, a great number of job openings were not available for married women, or if they were not married at the time of employment, they were dismissed from their jobs when they announced the change in their marital status.

The demand for reform ultimately launched the movement itself and “for the first time women’s education was organized in a clearly defined way around academic as well as social criteria.”¹⁸⁸ The daughters of middle class parents could attend different educational

¹⁸⁸ Joyce Senders Pederson: *The Reform of Girls’ Secondary and Higher Education in Victorian England. A Study of Elites and Educational Change.* Garland Publishing Inc. New York and London. 1987. p.34.

institutions, but besides the private proprietary schools, the most frequent and most efficient type of school was the endowed public school. As we can learn from ms. Pedersen`s book the **Charity Commissioners** reported in 1894 that, under the authority of **the Endowed Schools Act of 1869**, schemes for some eighty endowed girls` schools had been approved. In 1864 the **Taunton Commission** reported only about 12 such schools but the Girls` Public Day School Company, founded in 1872, had established 36 schools with more than seven thousand pupils by 1894.¹⁸⁹ In the same year **the Bryce Commission on Secondary Education** declared that “No change had been more conspicuous in the thirty years since the Schools Inquiry Commission than the improvement in girls` secondary education and the creation of colleges for women.”¹⁹⁰ Among the major steps forward one should note the establishment of the **Girls` Public Day School Company** in 1874, which was mainly due to the efforts of mrs. William Grey, her sister Miss Shirreff and Miss Mary Gurney, as a result of which by 1890 the company had 35 flourishing schools of its own, with some 7000 pupils.¹⁹¹

Among the most famous and prestigious colleges we can mention: **Bedford** (1849) and **Westfield** (1882) in London, **Girton** (1869) and **Newnham** (1871) in Cambridge, **Lady Margaret Hall** (1879), **St. Hugh`s Hall** (1886) and **St. Hilda`s** (1893) at Oxford.

By 1894 more than 218 endowed and proprietary schools existed for girls and most of these institutions were established in the second half of the century. In fact, the vast majority dated from the period after 1870.¹⁹² However, as we can learn from **the Bryce Report**, few of these schools were analogous to the great boys` public schools. In fact, somewhat less than half were first-grade schools, that is, schools that continued the students` education till age 18 or 19 and prepared some students for the university. Many of the schools remained privately run day schools, which were replaced by the big boarding establishments only towards the end of the century.

It also has to be mentioned that the first girls` schools struggled with **severe handicaps**. In the first half of the century the required academic level was too vague, the curriculum too narrow, focusing almost exclusively on the accomplishments, and there was no recognized examinations and degrees to indicate where the student was in the hierarchy of her studies.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. 35.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. 35.

¹⁹¹ `Women and the Universities` by J.G. Fitch in the Contemporary Review, Vol. VIII. July-December, 1890. p.245.

¹⁹² Royal Commission on Secondary Education (9 vols.; London, 1895) I., 15.

In the elevation of the academic level, the acceptance and the introduction of the local examinations played a vital role, which was the merit of **Emily Davies**, the headmistress of **Girton College**. She was the one who organized a committee in 1862 to press for the admission of women to university examinations. The main accomplishment of the committee was that it first gained admission for girls to the so-called Cambridge Local Examinations in 1863 – officially in 1865 - and Oxford followed suit in 1870. The significance of these exams was that they made the system of women`s education increasingly self-sufficient. Soon scholarships were attached to different examinations and thus created the link to different levels of institutions. Gradually the distinction between girls` and boys` school degrees started to vanish and Emily Davies` dream came true: **the same career options and intellectual fields became available for women as for men**. This step was undoubtedly vital in the multiplication of the number of professionals in the last third of the century.

In the late Victorian period, parallel with the changes in formal setting and the subject-matter of girls` education, there appeared a distinct shift in the values and roles which the various institutions transmitted. Just like Arnold in the 1830s, the schoolmistresses of the newly rising girls` schools also advocated the importance of shaping the girls` character. To quote the words of Miss Beale: “the final cause of education must be the development of right character.” Pederson comments on this saying that the reforms represented a shift away from a system which was dominated by ascriptive social characteristics, private concerns and private interests to more focus on academic achievement and serving the public good.¹⁹³ This principle practically corresponded to the professional ideal of the age.

However, while the public schools in general cultivated the amateur ideal (explained above) and the lack of specialized skills, the headmistresses of the girls` schools often found themselves in a situation when they had no choice but to transform themselves into professional women, if they wanted to raise the status of their occupational group. The **inclination towards specialization** became increasingly manifest in the curricular changes as well. For example, it was not rare that the girls` public schools gave such a good education in natural sciences and mathematics that they prepared the girls for the university and all kinds of professional work after graduation. In middle- and second grade schools girls took up clerical work or did work in the post office or in teaching. In fact, the last third of the century was the time when **teaching** itself became highly professionalized and the colleges and public

¹⁹³ Pedersen p.5.

schools became the major training grounds for women teachers. Unlike the lady-teachers in earlier decades, the newly appearing headmistresses were utterly devoted to their mission and often carried on their work when their economic needs were satisfied. The most decisive factor in their advancement was their undergraduate university training. During the first experimental years of the reform movement a number of public school headmistresses actively supported innovative projects, which aimed especially at training secondary teachers for their work. Some of these experiments proved to be successful and were integrated into the reforms, others were abandoned but these endeavours certainly played an active role in the professionalization of the headmistresses.

The question may arise in what way the girls' public schools promoted orientation towards the professions, if they did at all. So as to see this clearly, it would be wise to examine the clientele of the girls' schools and see whether the fathers' occupation exerted any influence on the choice of the daughters.

From the samples taken of the clientele of different schools we can learn that the social composition of the clientele was quite varied. The heterogeneity can certainly be explained by several factors. In some schools, e.g. **Cheltenham**, the clientele was limited by a social bar.¹⁹⁴ Another thing to notice is that most of the schools were day schools, which meant that the locale itself determined the social composition of the clientele – eg. Many doctors' daughters attended **Queen's College**. Incidental factors may have played a part in the choice of school for certain groups, such as the reputation of the school in the region or the availability of another school not far from the home. In addition, fees also varied from school to school, which may have been a decisive factor.

Joyce Senders Pedersen claims in her comprehensive work that there is the fact that new public schools were more socially heterogeneous than the old fashioned private schools had been. Amid the new conditions some parents attributed less significance to social considerations in selecting their daughter's school than traditionally was the case. Pederson finds this odd saying that the patrons- mostly professional fathers - were sometimes not happy if their daughters mingled with their social inferiors. But her argument is that "It is quite possible that the professional people, who patronized the new schools, were as a group less well-to-do than the businessmen and tradesmen who did so. In this sense she voices the same

¹⁹⁴ Emily Davies: *Special Systems of Education for Women's Thoughts on Some Questions Relating to Women*, 1860-1908 Cambridge, 1910, p.125.

opinion as Rubinstein, who says that the sons of prominent tradesmen and businessmen did create a big percentage of the clientele of the public schools in the last decades of the century partly because this social group needed the general knowledge and the prestige only these schools could provide, partly because they were the ones who could afford them relatively easily.¹⁹⁵

However, what interests me most here is not so much the heterogeneous student population, but rather the fact that, in **the orientation of the students to the professions**, an important factor may have been that the fathers became increasingly interested in the academic level the schools could offer to their daughters because they knew that towards the end of the century objective school results counted as much as good connections, which they may or may not have had.

During the years spent at the new schools the girls often acquired the intellectual skills that were required in the various public pursuits, e.g. the civil service, in local government or the professions. Through the new examination system they also had the chance to get accustomed to working and functioning in a sometimes hostile, competitive environment. Schoolgirls were encouraged to become self-reliant, disciplined and to serve the well-being of the community. These modes of behaviour proved to be of immense help to them in their future professional careers.

At the same time, I also have to point at the fact that **paving the way for women into the public sphere** was not the only aim of the new schools. The first commitment of the girls' institutions was **to produce representatives of the new cultural ideal of the age**. The woman who was excellent in the accomplishments, and practically nothing more, was going out of fashion. Men belonging to the upper stratum of the middle class wanted to have wives who had an insight into and understanding of their own increasingly intellectual work and who could also prove to be **the ideal help-meet** when running small family enterprises in the professions (eg. Running a small chemist's shop). Consequently, it is correct to say that both the profit and the non-profit oriented values were important in the career choice of women whose intellect was mostly shaped by the reformed public schools at the end of the Victorian era.

The Culmination of the Reforms

¹⁹⁵ Rubinstein. p. 285.

The Balfour Act of 1902 is generally considered as the culmination of the reforms that were carried out in the field of secondary education in the latter half of the Victorian period. It reflected most of accomplishments that the previous legislative measures and Commission reports had produced but also contained new elements. Among the most immediate antecedents of the act one should consider **the Bryce Report of 1895**,¹⁹⁶ which recommended the creation of a unified central authority, which was actually carried out in 1899 when **the Board of Education** was set up and took over the educational work of the Charity Commission and from then on collaborated with the existing **Education Department** and the **Science and Art Department**. According to the recommendations of the Bryce Report a consultative committee was established corresponding to the Council.

As demand for reform grew, it was no longer possible to deal with the problem of secondary education separately from those of education as a whole and the Bryce Report made this clear. **The Cockerton Judgement** was the decision of the courts which disallowed expenditure by the London School Board on the North London School of Art on the grounds that this was not elementary education, and therefore was outside its legal scope. An emergency bill had to be passed to legalize the illegality. This task was carried out in 1901 and the following year Balfour pushed through his Education Act.

The main driving force behind the legislation was **Mr. Robert Morant**, who called attention to the dubious nature of legal situation of higher elementary education. Morant was Private Secretary to major commissioners, like John Gorst and the Duke of Devonshire and in 1903 became Permanent Secretary of the Board of Education. According to Correlli Barnett, the major merit of Morant was that he created the "the new state secondary system in the image of the public school and grammar school" at the expense of science and technology. To quote Barnett's exact words: "Sanderson presents fairly the argument of Morant's defenders, that he promoted 'liberal' education in the new state secondary schools in order to offer the bright lower-middle class bookish the opportunity of upward social mobility via university entrance. Yet the fact still remains that **Morant created a state secondary system** which has served to

¹⁹⁶ Royal Commission on Secondary Education, Report, XXVI. by Bryce and A Bill to Make further provision for Education in England and Wales, |62&63 Vict, 1899.

perpetuate the antitechnological ethos and intellectual snobberies of the Victorian public school and Oxbridge."¹⁹⁷

The Education Act of 1902, that is, **the Balfour Act** made the nationwide need for unified control of primary and secondary education manifest and granted the local education authority with the right to consider the educational needs of their area. It was also supposed to supply or aid education other than elementary and to coordinate the general condition of all forms of education. The Board of Education was authorized to inspect what was going on in the school and Mr. Balfour hoped to increase the quantity and quality of county secondary schools and teacher training colleges. It was also clear that the Education Act of 1902 excluded the children of the working classes from secondary education, which resulted in the fact that the bulk of the population remained spectacularly ill-educated in comparison with other nations in Europe even on the eve of the twentieth century. A great number of public figures and experts of the Victorian era thought that it was not fair to put all the blame on higher education for this as secondary education was clearly responsible, too.

¹⁹⁷ Correlli Barnett: *'Could do better: The failure to educate Britons to compete'*, Times Literary Supplement. pp.4-5. [Review Sanderson, *Education and Economic Decline in Britain*, Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999.]

HARROW AND MERCHANT TAYLOR'S AS EXAMPLES OF THE NATIONAL PUBLIC SCHOOL PHENOMENON

Harrow: one of the seven great public schools of England which were included in the Public Schools Act of 1868, was the sixth of these in the date of legal foundation and ranked in general estimation as third or second by virtue of its record as a resort of the rich and a producer of statesmen and prominent men in the world, especially in the political world of England. According to Paul Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education* (New York, MacMillan, 1914) Harrow has traditionally been a school for the aristocratic and the wealthy class but unlike Eton, Winchester and Westminster, which had been designed originally to furnish men to serve in high stations in Church and State, Harrow has developed in a way which shows that it had not been meant for a prestigious national establishment from the start but had space for the poorer orders in the beginning. The founder was John Lyon, who lived at Preston, Middlesex, some twelve miles from London and the foundation of Harrow school was an indication of the growth to independence and moderate wealth of a new middle class. The foundation itself took place on February 19, 1571 and the intention of **John Lyon of Preston** in Harrow, a yeoman, were recited as "a newly found grammar school for the perpetual education, teaching and instruction of the boys and youths of the parish, and to maintain two scholars at Cambridge and two at Oxford University" and it took an additional fifteen years to draw up the ordinances and statutes for the school.

Lyon himself died in 1592 and soon after the governors of the school began building and from this period there is no evidence that the school was more than a small parish school until after the Restoration. In 1669 William Horne, an Eton scholar and fellow of King's College, Cambridge was appointed master of Harrow. From that time dates the development of Harrow as a great public school on the same lines as Eton, and the school owes its real creation to its succession of Etonian masters. Throughout the eighteenth century the number of boys admitted to the school grew and during these years, like Westminster, Harrow became an aristocratic school for the Whigs, as Eton and Winchester had fallen under Tory influence.

From 1785 to 1805 the school under the mastership of Joseph Drury again achieved considerable success and enhanced its fame. Under Drury the school educated five future

prime ministers, Lord Byron and many members of aristocratic families. The appointment of Dr. Charles Butler (1805-1829) led to a revolt among the students, in which Byron took part, mainly because of the extremely harsh discipline and bad living conditions but the students were soon won over by the new headmaster. As the school increased in numbers and popularity on the national scale, the local connections grew weaker and the poor boys disappeared completely from the ranks of the students.

The fifteen years following Butler's administration, despite the ability and scholarship of the headmasters, were years of rapid decline, partly because of financial difficulties, partly through the general distrust of the public schools.

In 1844 **Charles J. Vaughan**, one of the favourite pupils of Thomas Arnold became headmaster, and there began a brilliant period in the history of the school. The numbers rose from 69 in 1844 to 315 in 1847, the moral tone of the school was raised and the monitorial system was improved. Every now and then there appeared voices who criticized the leadership for not observing the founder's original intentions but Vaughan reacted in a wise way by establishing an English form in 1853 in which modern subjects suitable to the needs of the sons of farmers and tradespeople were taught. Out of this initiative developed the Lower School of John Lyon. On the retirement of Vaughan in 1859 **Dr. H. Montague Butler** became headmaster, and established the school on its present basis. According to the Public Schools Act of 1868 new statutes were drawn up for the government of the school, donations continued pouring in and new buildings were added to the existing ones. What is more, land was purchased around the school to secure the exclusion and retreat from the suburban growth of London. As far as the curriculum was concerned, it was no longer monopolized by the classical studies and by 1882 the broader relations of the school with the world were emphasized by the founding of a mission among the poor in London. The major tradition of Harrow Public School by the end of the Victorian era meant that through the distinguished alumni the school exerted influence on the State as well as on the Church and former students found employment in the army, the professions and in commercial life in an ever increasing number.

Merchant Taylor's: one of the nine public schools examined by the Clarendon Commission in 1868 but as it was a day school it stood somewhat apart from the other seven boarding

establishments. It was founded in 1560-61 by **the Merchant Taylor's Company of London** "for the better education and bringing up of children in good manners and literature." The school was located in the parish of St. Lawrence Poultney. The statutes were framed on the model of those of St. Paul's School. The first headmaster was **Richard Mulcaster** and owing to him the school immediately sprang into popular favour after its opening its gates in September, 1561.

The school under Mulcaster was highly successful and one of the most famous alumni was Edmund Spenser. In addition to the general classical and religious curriculum, music and acting enriched the profile of the school and this feature remained dominant throughout the eighteenth century.

With the development of the school we could mention that in 1828 mathematics began to be taught regularly and in 1845 French was introduced as an extra subject. In the following year modern history was added and in 1856 drawing appeared. The school has always encouraged the study of Hebrew and in the second half of the century the school could afford to move to more spacious quarters when the Charterhouse buildings were purchased. The significance of this move is that the increased accommodation permitted a doubling of the number of the students. Soon the school was divided into classical, modern and special (mathematical and science) sides and facilities were established for the study of chemistry, physics and biology, which promoted medical studies among the students.¹⁹⁸

The following analysis will be made on the basis of Edward A. Allen's article titled '*Public School Elites in Early Victorian England: The Boys at Harrow and Merchant Taylor's from 1825 to 1850*'. The article was published in *the Journal of British Studies* (Vol. 21, No. 2, Spring 1982, pp. 87-117) and for data relies on the school registers (*Harrow Register 1800-1901*) and other Victorian primary sources such as *The Public Schools Calendar of 1866* or *the Harrow Calendar of 1845-52* with a History of Harrow School and A Register of the

¹⁹⁸ The information that appears in this chapter was taken from Paul Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education*, from *Our Public Schools: Their Influence on English History* by J.G. Cotton Minchin. London. Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd. 1901., from *The Great Public Schools* by various authors, London, Edward Arnold, from *Great English Schools* by Harold T. Wilkins, London, 1925., *Merchant Taylor's School: Its Origin, History and Present Surroundings*. Edited by William Charles Farr. Oxford. 1929. and from *The Public Schools and the Nation* by A.B. Badger. London. 1940.

Scholars admitted into Merchant Taylor's School from 1562 to 1874 as well as *the Merchant Taylor's Register, 1561-1934*. London, 1936.

Edward Allen's analysis follows the early Victorian clientele of the above mentioned two schools and traces the progress of the boys from their entrance until their deaths near the end of the century. By examining major points, such as the occupation and social position of the fathers, the duration of the boys' stay within the walls of the schools, the future profession of the boys themselves, patterns of admissions and their future academic degrees and an examination of the occupational relationships between fathers and sons, the author provides a substantial insight into the nature and essence of public school education in the given period. Although I realize the obvious limitations of a study like this (acknowledging the fact that it is only a little slice of secondary school life and it would be a mistake to come to any kind of generalization on the national level from this limited amount of information) I consider it worthwhile to carry the same examination pattern on and to prepare its equivalent for the last third of the century, which is the subject of my own analysis. What I hope to show is that throughout the nineteenth century the ethos and profile of the various schools may have influenced the career choice of their alumni and what happened in small on the school level may indicate something about the major movements that were going on on the national level, with the strong provision that it was not necessarily so in every case, as certain differences might very well be explained with the unique features of the schools, with certain demographic or regional changes in a given period. In spite of the limitations of such a study, I consider making the analysis worthwhile, because if I add the data collected by myself to the findings of the more extensive investigation by W.D. Rubinstein published in 'Education, the 'gentleman', and British Entrepreneurship' in the volume titled *Capitalism, Culture & Decline in Britain*, we can get a fairly encompassing picture of how the alumni composition changed in the latter half of the nineteenth century and therefore, the combined data is pertinent to the much quoted debate between the two blocks of historians, where one party claims that the public schools exerted a negative influence on the business sphere, (they sucked students away from it and drew them to the professions instead) and the other party refuting this view.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ The allegation originates from David Ward, who argued that the public schools had caused a "haemorrhage of talent" away from industry because the traditional classical curriculum was impracticable in business careers and, this way, did not provide a reservoir for managerial and technological talent. D.C. Coleman thought that the public schoolboys not going into industry was beneficial, while Ward thought it bad but neither of them could

Since it is a widely acknowledged fact that the public schools nurtured the future generations of the professions (a great percentage of the pupils coming from this social background, especially in the case of Harrow) I find it worth making a comparison of the data found by Edward A. Allen and the data I myself gathered from the same school registers. My expectation is to show tendencies, major directions of progress by following the same pattern and by drawing up parallels on the basis of the data gathered by Allen about the school clientele in the 1820s, '30s and '40s and the data gathered by myself from the 1870s, '80s and '90s.

I would like to emphasize at this point that the current analysis contains information on two schools only, therefore it would be a mistake to come to any kind of unquestioned generalization on the basis of these data only. However, as this study examines two schools with a clientele of relatively different social background (Harrow being the school of the aristocracy and the upper circles of the society and representing conservative values, while Merchant Taylor's being the school of rich tradesmen and having a more commercial background) my idea was to provide my readers with an insight into the tendencies as to the career expectations that ran throughout the nineteenth century in two well-known schools, which - in a way - can be seen as ones that stand for all the other prestigious public schools of the age.

From Allen's article it turns out that in the second quarter of the century both Harrow and Merchant Taylor's admitted about 1500 students, while in the period of my analysis this number grew roughly to 2300. On the national level "the `universe of boys` from which the public schools could potentially draw would probably have numbered 200 thousand in the mid-late 1860s and 300 thousand at the end of the nineteenth century. But fewer than 4 per

justify their own arguments with statistics. Hartmut Berghoff maintained that what mattered in this issue was not so much the proportion of public schoolboys going into industry, but the proportion of businessmen who had received their secondary education at public schools. W.D. Rubinstein, in the above mentioned chapter of his book, examined the school records of eight public schools and claimed that his findings do not justify Ward's "haemorrhage of talent" theory. By use of probate records he found that the parents of public schoolboys were predominantly professional middle class people. His firm conclusion is that the public schools were mainly for the professional sub-class and the boys educated here tended to enter the professions. Likewise businessmen's sons followed in their fathers' footsteps and often joined the business sphere. Consequently, it is not true that a change in the occupational structure - generated by the public schools - caused the regional recession in British economy in the closing years of the century, or even if it had some marginal negative effect, it certainly could not carry the whole blame.

cent of this possible figure attended any public school - much less Eton or Harrow - in the 1860s, and fewer than 7 per cent at the end of the nineteenth century."²⁰⁰

As for the length of education, Allen points out that M.T. was likely to exert a more profound influence because it kept the boys longer but also because it gave the boys what was probably their entire formal education. From my examination we can learn that in the last third of the century a greater percentage of the Harrow students finished school early and this meant no change in comparison with former decades. This part of the investigation is important from the point of view that some historians, like Martin J. Wiener tends to blame the Victorian public school spirit for the relative decline in the economic sphere at the end of the century, therefore it might be of importance to know how long the various students were exposed to the influence of the public school. (see the hemorrhage of talent from the business sphere theory which Rubinstein refutes).

Table 1. The Duration of Studies in Merchant Taylor's and Harrow (1870-1901)²⁰¹

Years Spent at School	Merchant Taylor's 1870-1901 %	Harrow 1870-1901 %
1	9.9	11.9
2	11.6	22.9
3	14.3	29.9
4	14.5	22.1
5	16.6	10.8
6 or more	33.0	2.3

As regards academic results, Allen concludes that both Oxford and Cambridge experienced similar rates of matriculation from both groups – 87.1 per cent from M.T. and 89.5 from Harrow. He maintains that this high rate of attendance must have been due to the special relations the schools had with specific universities, however, what interests me here is the very fact that a predominant number of students from both schools did go to higher education, which I consider as a conscious preparation for their future professional life. It is clear that the professions held in high esteem at the end of the century demanded university education, what

²⁰⁰ Rubinstein. p.113.

²⁰¹ The Harrow Register 1800-1901

is more, this became increasingly true of the military career, which was far from being a negligible profession in the late Victorian era. It is especially spectacular in the case of Harrow students in what great number they joined the military in the decades under analysis.

About earning a degree, it turns out that in both periods the Harrovians could produce better results and the degrees demonstrated higher level of knowledge in most cases. This was essential for them if they wanted to carry on with their studies at the university or seek prestigious posts through their social connections. From M. T. fewer boys earned academic degrees both in the first and in the second half of the century, mainly because they chose to seek professional degrees and licences and this at a much higher rate than their fellows at Harrow.

The main reason why Allen`s article is pertinent to my own investigation is that he concludes that in the eventual choice of occupation both groups exceeded their fathers in entering the professions. What is more, in the case of both schools, this happened by abandoning the status of leisured gentleman, which clearly shows to me the strengthening of the utilitarian principle in the second half of the century but obviously the process reaches back to Allen`s period. He says: “Of the Taylorians, for whom occupation is known, 90.4 per cent entered the professions, compared to 45 per cent of their fathers. Similarly, 77.4 per cent of the Harrovians became professionals, while only 57.5 per cent of their fathers had done so. I would like to call attention to Rubinstein`s survey at this point, because the leading historian also carried out a thorough investigation of the growth and diversification of the professions in the period of my scrutiny and in his research included similar data on public school attendance through several generations. As he examined the occupational categories of public school entrants, that is, the future career of fathers and sons who had gone to the same schools, - just like Allen and myself - , it may be worth taking a look at his findings, too. Rubinstein examined eight prestigious public schools in his essay entitled *Education, the Gentleman and Entrepreneurship*` and among these we can find Harrow as well (unfortunately not Merchant Taylor`s). Consequently, I will include the data from his research here because it is pertinent to that of my own. Rubinstein says that on the basis of the school registers and other documents in 1870 in Harrow school 36 fathers were professionals (37.1 % of the total number of entrants), while, of their sons, 42 found jobs in the same occupational area (45.6%), which clearly shows growth through the generations. At the end of the century (1895/1900) 35 fathers (38 %) had a professional background and 48 (59.3%) of the sons

carried on the family tradition, from which we can see that the tendency continued till the end of the Victorian era.²⁰²

²⁰² Rubinstein p.116.

Table 2. The Changes that took place in the occupational structure in M.T. and H. in the first and in the second half of the 19th century²⁰³

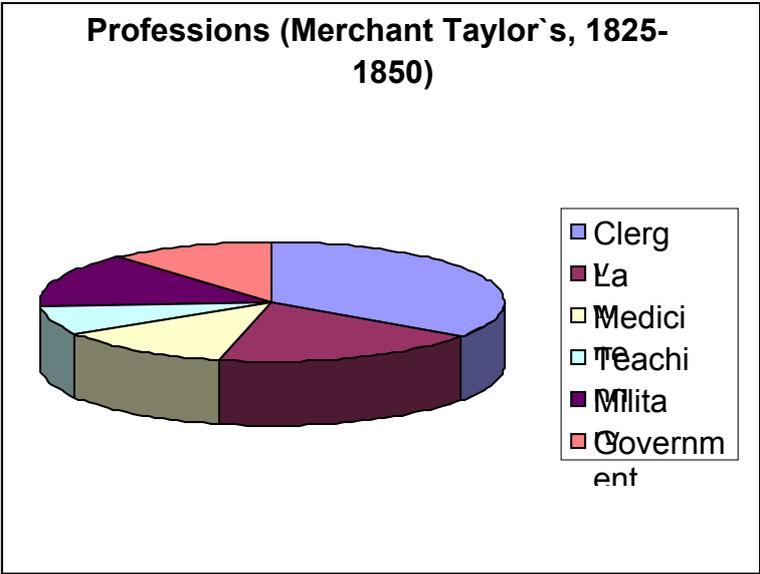
General Professional/Occupational Category	Merchant Taylors' (1825-1850) Number / %	Merchant Taylors' (1870-1901) Number / %	Harrow (1825-1850) Number / %	Harrow (1870-1901) Number/
Professional	490 (90.4)	622 (55.9)	922 (77.4)	631 (67.0)
Business	31 (5.7)	158 (14.2)	70 (5.8)	151 (16.0)
Skilled Craft	9 (1.6)	23 (2.1)	1 (0.8)	20 (2.2)
Tradesman	1 (0.2)	15 (1.3)	2 (1.6)	13 (1.4)
Gentleman	4 (0.7)	13 (1.2)	146 (12.2)	2 (0.3)
Workman	–	2 (0.2)	–	–
Clerk	3 (0.5)	150 (13.5)	–	7 (0.7)
MP	1 (0.2)	–	49 (4.1)	16 (1.7)
Other Occupations	2 (0.2)	57 (5.1)	–	57 (6.0)
Other Professions	1 (0.3)	71 (6.3)	–	44 (4.7)
Total Known	542	1111	1190	941

As **Table 2.** shows this happened mostly at the expense of leisured status. ”I wish to add two things here. In the latter half of the century, surprisingly at first sight, one notices a minor decline in the number of those who went to work in the professional sphere, although statistics on the national scale undoubtedly show growth, if not a major one in number. I am of the opinion that two things are responsible for this. From the combined table of the examined period it turns out that the sphere which showed spectacular growth was the business sphere, which supports Rubinstein against Wiener, that is, shows that there is no numerical justification of the allegation that students were “sucked away” from the business sphere. The other thing is that one can observe a spectacular growth in the field of other occupations and other professions than the traditional ones, which is of vital importance because it provides evidence for my thesis, according to which the professions, and of course the whole occupational structure became more diversified and the newly appearing sub-

²⁰³ Allan's article, the Harrow and Merchant Taylor's Register

categories drew numbers away from the traditional, ancient branches of the professions. Rubinstein's explanation seems to be logical when he says: "the growth in the number of professionals across the generations was a rational response to the fact that the professions, and professional opportunities, were almost certainly growing more rapidly than the population as a whole."²⁰⁴

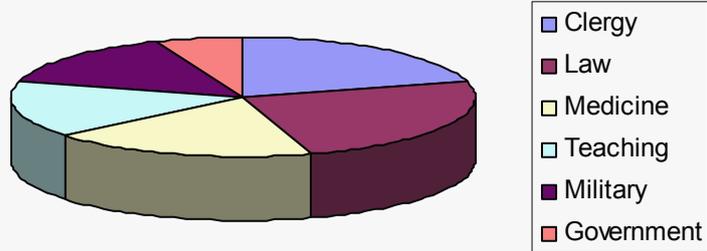
Chart 1. Occupational changes within the professions in Merchant Taylor's and Harrow throughout two generations²⁰⁵



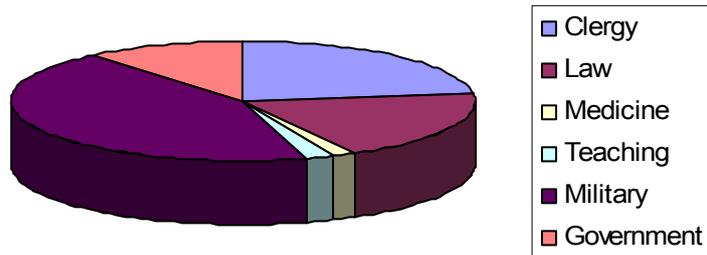
²⁰⁴ Rubinstein. p.121.

²⁰⁵ The Harrow and Merchant Taylor's Registers

Professions (Merchant Taylors', 1870-1901)



Professions (Harrow, 1825-50)



Professions (Harrow, 1870-1901)

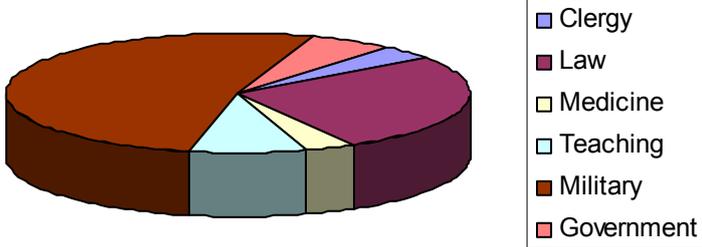


Table 3. Occupational structural changes in the two schools in the first half of the century²⁰⁶

Professional Category	Merchant Taylors' (1825-1850) Number/Percent	Harrow (1825-1850) Number/Percent
Clergy	155 (34.9)	204 (22.7)
Law	82 (18.6)	173 (19.2)
Medicine	56 (12.6)	16 (1.8)
Teaching	34 (7.8)	16 (1.8)
Military	64 (14.4)	389 (43.3)
Government	52 (11.7)	101 (11.2)
Total Known	443	899

Table 4. Occupational structural changes in the two schools in the second half of the century²⁰⁷

Professional Category	Merchant Taylors' (1870-1901) Number/Percent	Harrow (1870-1901) Number/Percent
Clergy	132 (21.2)	25 (3.9)
Law	150 (24.1)	167 (26.4)
Medicine	116 (18.6)	24 (3.8)
Teaching	94 (15.1)	51 (8.1)
Military	92 (14.8)	327 (51.8)
Government	38 (6.1)	37 (5.9)
Total Known	622	631

Chart 1. shows the division of the professions into sub-categories and the ratio of the students seeking occupation in the various fields respectively. The most obvious developments here

²⁰⁶ Allen's article

²⁰⁷ Harrow and Merchant Taylor's Registers

are that the number of clerical students declined radically in both schools, law and medicine showed moderate, linear growth and the same is true of the military career with the remark that among the Harrovian students I found an amazingly high percentage of students who chose to become professional soldiers, officers in the late Victorian decades. The teaching career also became more attractive to students. The number of future teachers practically doubled in the case of M.T. students and among the Harrow students became about five times as much as before. One may be somewhat surprised that there was a minor decline in the number of those who sought work in the government sphere but let me repeat my previously stated point that we are examining the data of two schools randomly chosen, not national figures.

Table 5. A detailed subdivision of the professions which shows the refinement of the occupational structure during the first and the second half of the 19th century²⁰⁸

Profession	Merchant Taylors' (1825-1850)	Merchant Taylors' (1870-1901)	Harrow (1825-1850)	Harrow (1870-1901)
Clergy/ Anglican	150 (33.8)	127 (20.4)	195 (21.1)	20 (3.2)
Missionary	1 (0.2)	4 (0.6)	2 (0.2)	5 (0.8)
Non-Conf. Min.	–	–	–	–
R.Cath.Priest	4 (0.9)	1 (0.1)	7 (0.8)	–
Law/ Barrister	40 (9.0)	66 (10.6)	134 (14.5)	91 (14.4)
Solicitor	38 (8.6)	84 (13.5)	38 (3.0)	76 (12.0)
Cursitor	–	–	–	–
Notary Public	2 (0.4)	–	–	–
Proctor	2 (0.4)	–	1 (0.1)	–
Medicine/Surgeon	48 (10.8)	43 (6.9)	8 (0.9)	1 (0.1)
MD	7 (1.6)	68 (10.9)	8 (0.9)	23 (3.6)
Dentist	1 (0.2)	3 (0.5)	–	–
Vet.Surgeon	–	2 (0.3)	–	–
Teaching/Professor	3 (0.7)	10 (1.6)	5 (0.5)	3 (0.4)
Princ./H.Master	11 (2.5)	15 (2.4)	3 (0.3)	19 (3.0)

²⁰⁸ Allen's article, Harrow and Merchant Taylor's Registers

Master	3 (0.7)	27 (4.3)	1 (0.1)	13 (2.0)
Ass. Master	9 (2.0)	30 (4.8)	4 (0.4)	10 (1.5)
Tutor	–	7 (1.1)	2 (0.2)	1 (0.1)
Lecturer	4 (0.9)	5 (0.8)	–	5 (0.7)
Librarian	4 (0.9)	–	1 (0.1)	–
Military/Militia	2 (0.4)	5 (0.8)	18 (2.0)	74 (11.7)
Colonial Army	20 (4.5)	16 (2.5)	71 (7.7)	20 (3.1)
Royal Army	30 (6.8)	48 (7.7)	278 (30.2)	231 (36.6)
Royal Navy	10 (2.2)	21 (3.3)	19 (2.1)	2 (0.3)
Colonial Navy	1 (0.2)	2 (0.3)	2 (0.2)	–
Foreign Military	1 (0.2)	–	1 (0.2)	–
Government Service/ “Civil Service”	–	14 (2.2)	–	4 (0.6)
Foreign Service	4 (0.9)	9 (1.4)	23 (2.5)	17 (2.7)
Imperial C.S.	21 (4.7)	1 (0.1)	60 (6.5)	1 (0.1)
Home C.S.	19 (4.3)	–	16 (1.7)	–
Local Gov./Police	3 (0.7)	9 (1.4)	–	15 (2.3)
Admiralty	4 (0.9)	1 (0.1)	–	–
Parliament(clerk)	1 (0.2)	4 (0.6)	2 (0.2)	1 (0.1)
Business/ Merchant	17 (54.8)	64 (40.5)	10 (14.3)	60 (39.7)
Wholesaler	–	1 (0.1)	–	–
Manufacturer	1 (3.2)	19 (12.0)	2 (2.9)	20 (13.2)
Banker	–	18 (11.4)	27 (38.6)	8 (5.3)
Stockbroker	2 (6.5)	54 (34.2)	2 (2.9)	55 (36.4)
Broker	–	2 (0.1)	–	8 (5.3)

Table 5. provides an even more detailed subdivision of the main branches of the professions and gives us an opportunity to see the major shifts within the bigger categories. From Table 5. one can realize that in M.T.'s and Harrow which occupational groups became more popular by the last three decades and which ones became less sought after. Allen's article contains no such table but I wanted to include it in my own analysis because it definitely indicates tendencies concerning the proliferation and diversification of the professions.

I have concluded earlier in this study that **the clergy** declined in importance on the national level and this shows in the case of the two schools under scrutiny. The number of those students who joined the Anglican clergy is considerably higher than any other denomination. It is possible to say that missionaries and Roman Catholics represent negligible numbers, what is more, Roman Catholics disappear from Harrow by the 1870s and the Non-Conformists are entirely missing throughout the whole period.

As for the **legal profession**, it is mostly stagnation or very minimal growth that we can point out. What is eye-catching is that the ratio of solicitors is considerably higher in both schools, which may indicate the development of the professions that did not demand a very high level of qualification as legal advisors may have been more sought after in the late Victorian period. Solicitors were entitled to give assistance at minor transactions and provide the clients with legal advice and in the post-Industrial Revolution period this is understandable. The growth in number is especially spectacular in the case of Harrow.

Within the **medical profession**, it fits well into the national trend that the surgeons sank somewhat on the level of social appreciation and their profession was more rarely chosen than that of the more highly qualified MD. This tendency seems to be in contrast with the dilution of the above discussed legal profession (we saw that there was a growing demand for the less qualified solicitors) but, on second thought, it is easy to realize that the nature of the medical profession required the opposite tendency. Surgeons were far from being a new phenomenon. In fact, they had always been the members of the branch which had been taken for granted and had always been able to take care of emergency cases. With the growing demand of the public for more feeling of comfort and a safe life, it can be seen as normal that people wanted longer and healthier lives and for this they needed better educated doctors. The growth of the number of MDs is especially spectacular in the case of M.T. but is high among Harrow students as well.

As regards **teaching**, one can find no revolution in the profession, though a certain linear growth is detectable, especially on the secondary level. The greatest increase we can find is in the number of schoolmasters and their assistants. In his own article Edward A. Allen highlights the fact that the relative upward mobility of Taylorian sons was fairly apparent in the teaching professions. He maintains that the students often made excellent principals, headmasters and exceeded their fathers in combining the professions of clergyman and

schoolmaster. On the higher level (dons, university professors) it is more correct to talk about stagnation or minimal growth.

As I said before, the **military profession** was chosen by a surprisingly great number of Harrow students throughout the era and the number continued increasing in the last three decades, which can be explained by numerous factors. The purchase of military commissions had disappeared by then and by the introduction of competitive examinations this profession offered fairer chances for many young men. The worse-to-do no longer felt excluded from this elite circles and, of course, the Boer wars and the gradual preparation for World War I. created an ever increasing demand for highly trained officers. In the last third of the Victorian century more and more candidates for the military profession went to university. The Colonial Army is the only sector where one can notice decline but this is also understandable if we come to consider that the colonial bureaucracy was really difficult to maintain as the colonies grew in number and the empire was hard to keep together because of the huge territories scattered in different parts of the world. The falling number within the Colonial Army coincides with the falling number in the Imperial Civil Service (see the next section). Membership within the Royal Army, the Militia and the Royal Navy are all in harmony with the national tendencies.

The **government service** or **civil service** had been virtually non-existent in the first half of the century, but showed both multiplication and diversification in the period of my investigation, though these particular two schools lag behind the national tendency. Growth is most obvious in the local government and the police as well as the foreign service. As I mentioned above, decline is clear in the field of the Colonial Service. The number of parliamentary clerks show stagnation.

I also have data about the proliferation of the **business sector** within the schools. This is relevant information in the sense that – as I said before - leading historians conduct debates even today about the role of the public schools in the `haemorrhage of talent` from the business sphere to the professions. Although the data of my analysis is very limited in scope, it is worth noting that neither decline in number, nor in types of business activity can be pointed out. It is true that there is some fall in the number of future merchants in M.T. (a bizarre contrast with what the name of the school suggests) but there is huge growth among the Harrovians. Manufacturers show considerable growth in both schools and the same is true for future bankers at M.T. but there is an enormous fall among the Harrow students in this category.

The most spectacular soaring number we can find in the profession of stockbrokers and brokers in both schools.

Table 6. Different branches of the professions in which the members of two generations found employment after graduating from M.T.²⁰⁹

Professional Category	Merchant Taylors' (1825-50) Fathers	Merchant Taylors' (1825-50) Sons	Merchant Taylors' (1870-1901) Fathers	Merchant Taylors' (1870-1901) Sons
Clergy	169 (24.5)	155 (34.9)	287 (37.1)	132 (21.2)
Law	141 (20.5)	82 (18.6)	139 (18.0)	150 (24.1)
Medicine	181 (26.3)	56 (12.6)	167 (21.6)	116 (18.6)
Teaching	31 (4.5)	34 (7.8)	58 (7.5)	94 (15.1)
Military	48 (6.9)	64 (14.4)	57 (7.3)	92 (14.8)
Government	50 (7.2)	52 (11.7)	64 (8.3)	38 (6.1)
Total Known	687	443	772	622

Table 6. carries Allen's analysis further in the sense that while the prominent historian compared the occupational shifts between fathers and sons and compared the tendencies of the two schools in the period 1825-1850 only, I extended the same examination to the closing three decades of the century but had to restrict my analysis to M.T. school only as I had no access to the profession of the fathers in Harrow.²¹⁰ But even so, by comparing all the data about the choice of profession of three generations, one can gain a very intriguing comprehensive view of the major shifts in the occupational structure throughout the century.

If we examine the occupational relationships between fathers and sons at Harrow and M.T. in the first half of the century we can realize that Harrow boys were more inclined to follow in

²⁰⁹ Allen's article and the Merchant Taylor's Register

²¹⁰ Rubinstein provides data on Harrovian fathers, but no so detailed as the primary information I got from the Merchant Taylor's Register. He says that in 1840 34% of the fathers were landowners, 39.6% professionals and 20.8% from the business sphere. In the year 1870 the same division changed for 18.6% landowners, 37.1% professionals, 37.1% business, and in the interval between 1895-1900: 13.0% landowners, 38.0% professionals and 44.6% in the business sphere, which clearly shows that there was **no** mass defection from the business sphere in Harrow School in favour of the professions, which is the main thesis of Rubinstein.

their fathers' footsteps and adopted a vocation in the general category of their fathers more easily than did Taylorians. According to Allen the only exception was the sons of professionals. They entered the professions in 85.9 percent of cases, whereas comparable Taylorians succeeded their fathers as professionals 97.4 percent of the time. From the figures gathered by myself the same pattern seemed to continue in the closing decades of the century. There is relatively little gap between the ratio of the fathers and the sons in the various professions in the 1880s and '90s as well.

In the first half of the century the Taylorians were more likely to become clergymen and seemed to be more inclined than their fathers to become priests, teachers, soldiers and government servants. The same was not true, however, of the medical and the legal professions. According to Allen, "This pattern and the extent to which Taylorians bested their fathers in entering the Church and the Inns of Court denotes a good deal of upward mobility through the professions." He adds that the examination of the changing ratio between barristers and solicitors can only support this allegation. Obviously the sons tended to concentrate more in these primary professions than their fathers, some of whom were only quasi-professional, such as cursitors, proctors, solicitors' clerks. It is worth noting that a higher proportion of Taylorian sons than of the fathers entered the more prestigious profession of the barrister. The fathers were still more likely to be solicitors. According to my data, the struggle for higher qualification and more acknowledged expertise continued in the case of the late Victorian generation, too.

In medicine one can notice relative stagnation throughout the century, though within the subcategories (as we have seen before) the tendency was in the same direction as in the field of law. The students of the late period were not satisfied with the predominantly manual tasks of the surgeon but strove for knowledge and genuine expertise.

The number of those working in the professions showed a spectacular growth from generation to generation, which clearly demonstrates the fact that the nation attributed more and more significance to the job of those who were responsible for the creation of a continuous supply of professionals in the Victorian era. From the previously dominating patronage system there was a remarkable shift in the direction of social ascendance through education and this appeared in the great number of regulations that served the purpose of elevating the education system to the level it deserved. It was increasingly recognized that quality education could

only be provided by employing better trained teachers and there was a soaring demand for the work of those who did their job enthusiastically and with reliable knowledge.

Employment of Taylorians in the military was not so striking throughout the period as it was in the case of Harrow students but shows a clear growth even so. Above I have already mentioned the causes I find likely to have played a crucial role in the shaping of this tendency.

Participation in government service is relatively even in the three major parts of the nineteenth century. In my opinion, this hardly reflects the national tendency, instead I am inclined to explain the lack of growth with the profile of the school. It might be incidental that Taylorians lagged behind other schools in this respect but encouraged certain occupations in the business sphere instead. However, Allen, who informs us about movement in the first half of the century only, points at the fact that far fewer Taylorians followed their fathers into business than the school's ideal would have suggested. Again it is a kind of surprise that Harrovians usually surpassed their fathers in entering business, especially as bankers and merchants. In the case of M.T. the most fabulous growth one can detect among stockbrokers.

From various census occupation data (*The Census and Social Structure: An Interpretative Guide to Nineteenth Century Censuses from England and Wales*) edited by Richard Lawton. Frank Cass, 1978. we have information on the newly emerging subcategories of the professions in the last third of the Glorious Century. These census charts about the newly emerging professions I will add later.

HIGHER EDUCATION

In the emergence of highly qualified professionals higher education inevitably played a key role. In certain cases - as we have seen in the previous chapter - public school education and some practical training proved to be sufficient, but for those who intended to get onto a really high level, specialization became an absolute necessity. For the obtaining of the right kind of knowledge and skill, future professionals with soaring aspirations had to go to the universities.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF OXBRIDGE:

In medieval Oxford there had been **Halls** before there were Colleges. The Halls were licensed by the Chancellor and were controlled by Masters. The students lived in boarding houses on the territory of the university and the word 'Hall' clearly has the connotation of living besides learning there. A **College**, as it appeared later, was an endowed self-governing body, independent under a royal charter. Its purpose was to provide free accommodation and education at Oxford for a specified number of years to a specified number of scholars of specified origin. Exeter, for example, was originally founded for the education of twelve scholars from the diocese of Exeter. The scholars of a College were self-governing, which meant that they controlled their own accounts, managed their own affairs and lived at their own expense. From the beginning there were two categories of students who attended colleges. The **Scholars** or **Fellows**, who were supported by the Foundation, that is, from the income which the Founder gave to the College and the so-called **commoners**, had to cover their own expenses.

To understand the evolution of higher education, one ought to see the difference and relation between the university and the colleges. To use the definition that Sir William Hamilton, the Scottish philosopher and lawyer came up with for the university in the 1830s when he published a number of articles on higher education in *the Edinburgh Review*: "A **university** is

a trust confided by the state to certain hands for the common interest of the nation...²¹¹

Hamilton thought that the task of the university was to give instruction in all major subjects and to provide the learners with **profound general knowledge** and developed **a national character** in the course of time. Consequently, the universities can be regarded as national institutions, which were created by the public for the benefit of the public, whereas the colleges had a private profile for private advantage and the interests of the two establishments have frequently been in confrontation ever since their creation. In the 1830s Hamilton was of the opinion that the colleges actually usurped the functions and privileges of the universities, bearing their own interests too much in mind. He went as far as to say that the system in his own days meant that the collegiate domination over the universities was a breach of trust by college officials, which subverted the original sphere of authority of the university. One way to do this was that the colleges, in fact, reduced the originally broad instruction to a single dominant subject – the classics at Oxford and mathematics at Cambridge.

A frequently voiced accusation, and perhaps the major one, which launched the whole **University Reform Movement**, was that the old English universities in the early and mid-Victorian period remained part of the Church and retained their originally prevailing religious functions, that is, the training of the clergy and the education of the nation's social elite according to the much cherished Christian principles. As they continued reflecting the old medieval social order, they failed to produce secular men-of-letters, scientists, scholars who would have been able to serve the needs of the urban industrial world. Instead Oxford and Cambridge could be blamed for numerous backward traits – idle studies, not pragmatic, discriminating against Dissenters, religious tests, students' selection too much based on patronage instead of merit, too traditional curricula, no career for teachers, no adequate science teaching etc.

In the eighteenth century liberal education was supported because this served the gentleman ideal of the age: a person who was independent, well behaved, sociable and generous towards his family and other fellow beings. In the early nineteenth century, with the advent of Evangelicalism and the fear of the French Revolution, a strong moralizing tendency was added to the Augustan ideal of breadth. As W.T. Heyck says: "The defenders of Oxbridge reasoned that classics or mathematics did not prepare a student for any trade or profession but

²¹¹ The Universities in the Nineteenth Century. (Ed. Michael Sanderson) (London and Boston: Routledge&Kegan Paul, 1975), p.66

gave a mental and moral discipline which served as the foundation for any vocation, indeed for life as a whole.”²¹²

The nineteenth century certainly carried the old traditions on and unfortunately the handicaps prevailed, too until the late period when reforms became essential and inevitable. In the mid-Victorian age liberal education was increasingly put into direct contrast with the ‘servile’ world of trade and industry. People praised the ennobling capacity of the classics and did not really mind the absence of utilitarian considerations. The major elements which still caused problems and delayed progress were religion, celibacy, high costs, the lack of scholarships and the insistence of teaching Greek, which was increasingly a nuisance for everyone. In more detail:

1. **Dissenters were not allowed to matriculate at Oxford until 1854** or graduate at Cambridge until 1856 and the presence of the nonconformist element prevented the sons of manufacturing families in the Midland from gaining any worthwhile qualifications and forced them to go to London or Scotland instead. What put an end to this unjust practice was **the Test Act of 1871**.
2. Another restriction on the teachers at the ancient universities was that they were supposed to be celibate and in Holy Orders, which meant that the teaching body suffered from **an unhealthy inward-looking character** and could not really be expected to be open to new influences. Bachelor clergymen had little contact with business circles and it is little wonder that they did not encourage their students to seek employment in the money oriented world, which was so alien to them and which they even despised.
3. **The high boarding costs and charges** for the courses prevented the admission of a larger class and this situation remained until 1868 when Oxford colleges allowed undergraduates to live cheaply in lodgings.
4. At Oxford there were **no scholarships for proficiency in the physical sciences**, which caused trouble for those who came from a more humble background and were likely to choose careers in these new openings as they had no family connections that could have launched them in careers in Church, law or politics.
5. **Having to learn Greek** was becoming more and **more troublesome** both at Oxford and Cambridge as it was no longer useful and many students wished to learn science

²¹² J.W. Heyck, *The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England*. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1982)

subjects instead. However, Greek was continued in the ancient universities until 1920.

In the late period of the nineteenth century, when the public and the governing leadership was very much preoccupied with the problem of national education on the elementary and on the secondary level, the reform of higher education was increasingly recognized as a desirable one. As Richmond says quoting the ideas of George Jardine: "True, they (the universities) had their occasional genius, a rare Newton emerging from the scum of mediocrity; but in the main they were utterly bankrupt of ideas and sunk into a condition of cultural uselessness. Metaphysics and deductive logic were all very well in their way but, but 'intelligent persons could not fail to observe that subjects to which their attention was directed had no relation to any profession or employment whatever, that the discussions connected with them had no analogy to those traits of thinking which prevailed in the ordinary intercourse of the society.'"²¹³

Reforms came gradually, varied from university to university, and Oxbridge alone no longer proved to be an adequate source of remedy to a nationwide problem. **The University of London** had a major contribution to the teaching of industrial science from the 1880s on and a number of **civic universities** were established all over the country, eg. in **Birmingham, Southampton, Liverpool** and **Leeds** etc. that took some of the load over from Oxbridge.

The Situation Before the University Reform Movement and the Links with the Public Schools

Having seen the situation in the past, let us glimpse at the nature and the most important functions of the university in Queen Victoria's century. According to the *Macmillan Magazine* in 1881: "A university is an association of the most intelligent and most highly-educated men of a country, set apart by the nation for the pursuit of truth, the preservation, increase, and communication of knowledge, and the general elevation of the intellectual character of the people. So far its character and scope is identical with that of a royal academy or museum, after the model of the Ptolemies in Alexandria. But it is something more; it has also an educational function; and in this capacity, as distinguished from a secondary or upper

²¹³ Richmond, p.50

school, its special business is to stimulate the highest intellectual energy of the nation, by developing under wise guidance the peculiar intellectual spontaneity of each intelligent individual who comes within the range of its stimulating action."²¹⁴

In the first half of the nineteenth century the universities had a direct link with the public schools which were regarded as the next logical step for those who wished to engage themselves in an intellectual or professional career and wanted to pursue it with genuine expertise. However, the public school very often meant the end of the students' academic preparation for their future career, especially if it was in the secular professions or if it meant taking over their fathers' business. The university was not a general requirement for those who wanted to work in the learned professions, in fact the apprenticeship or other practical training supplemented by the public school certificate often proved more than enough for a good start, not to mention patronage, recommendations and a certain deposit that fathers often paid to the master or an established professional who launched their sons in the chosen field.

But the links between the public schools and the universities did exist and were significant. The ancient universities dominated the classical curricula at the public schools and older grammar schools, they provided the schoolmasters and often admitted the pupils by granting them scholarships, which established a privileged connection between individual colleges and the schools. In the 1850s new examinations, called '**locals**' were introduced, which can be considered as the forerunners of today's 'O' level and 'A' level school leaving exams and the universities started exerting a kind of revitalizing effect on the academic standards of the public schools. The reports of the Taunton Commission in the 1860s assert the positive outcome of the close ties between secondary and higher education. Among the major changes the Commissioners observed **the gradual integration of natural sciences in the curriculum**, which followed the same tendency on the higher education level. Another major development was **the growth of specialization**, which became widespread in the second half of the century and reflected the conscious preparation of the students for the university, where specialization was increasingly a requirement.

The universities also benefitted from the collaboration because working together with the public schools meant that more capable and better prepared candidates applied to their colleges than before. As a result of the new policies, higher education clearly experienced an

²¹⁴ '*Thoughts of English University Reform*' in Macmillan's Magazine, Vol. XLV. Nov.-Apr. p.126.

upheaval in the last third of the century. Throughout the period **the public school** remained **the major reservoir** from which the universities drew the best brains and cultivated them further. In his article published in the *Nineteenth Century* in 1898, George C. Broderick summarized the essence of the collaboration as follows: “Every school of reputation still professes, above all, to prepare the boys for the Universities, however liberally it may provide for the requirements of non-academical careers, such as the Army and Civil Service. On the other hand, the Universities, by wisely extending their old narrow curriculum, are rapidly bringing the new studies within the range of their control; while, by undertaking the office of examining boards on a very large scale, they have strengthened to an extraordinary degree their former hold on secondary education. It had long been the habit of the more eminent public schools and grammar schools to invite the aid of University examiners in awarding exhibitions or testing the results of school work in the higher forms.”²¹⁵

Of course, with the progress of reforms, the above mentioned cooperation became increasingly true of the newly emerging girls' schools and the universities, what is more, with the establishment of the civic universities from the mid-century on, the municipal secondary grammar schools also became better supplied by well-qualified teaching force and a more serious check on them so as to promote their desirable functioning.

The most important questions that are likely to occur to anyone interested in the topic of higher education in the Victorian period are: who had gone to higher education and why before the reforms and what kind of experience had awaited the students in Oxford and Cambridge, since there had been no real alternative before the radical reforms of the second half, or rather, the last third of the century. If the public schools gave a thorough preparation for almost any intellectual occupation, what motivated those who insisted on continuing their studies on a higher level and from whose ranks did they come at all? What could they expect from the existing system and why did they find reforms increasingly desirable?

As far as the first question is concerned, that is, the one which asks who went to higher education, one may notice that **the social composition of the student bodies did not change** radically throughout the examined period. Statistics show that Oxbridge education had always been **the privilege of the elite** and this hardly changed with the advancement of the reforms. The old universities started accepting middle and lower-middle class students in the second

²¹⁵ George Broderick, "The University of Oxford in 1898", *The Nineteenth Century* (XLIV. II.) p. 218.

half of the century but the bulk of the student body remained **young men from the ranks of the aristocracy, the clergy, the gentry and the professions**. The civic universities satisfied the demands of the bulk of the middle class and the lower-middle class. As T. W. Heyck says: “What did change at Oxford and Cambridge were two things: 1. The mixture of the upper class backgrounds of the students and 2. The graduates choices of occupations. Both factors reflected **the secularization and professionalization of the universities**- and of English society generally. In the first half of the century, the vast majority of students at Oxbridge came from land-owning and clerical backgrounds, and a large proportion of them channelled by the universities into clerical careers: more than 60 per cent of all Oxford students and 50 per cent of Cambridge graduates went into the clergy. But, at Oxford, for example, the proportion of students coming from clerical homes had declined to 28 per cent in 1870, and further declined to 17 per cent in 1910. (Stone 103) The proportion of the graduates going into orders fell precipitously: at Balliol, nearly half of all Bas in 1845 were ordained, but in the years from 1845-55, only one of three took orders; only one of ten did so in the years of Jowett’s mastership (1870-1893); and one in 25 in the 1890s. (Richter 69). Hence it can be said of both ancient universities in the late-Victorian period that the proportion of students from landed and clerical families went down, the proportion from professional and rich business families increased; and the graduates increasingly chose careers in the secular professions – including academic life.”²¹⁶

In his *Nineteenth Century* article George C. Broderick talks about the students who graduated either at Oxford or Cambridge and were to occupy the most prestigious positions in the running of the empire. He says that “It was Oxford and Cambridge men who originated and shaped the open competitions for the Civil Service of India, and the head masters of the great public schools, all Oxford and Cambridge men, have been consulted at every turn in constructing the scheme of Army examinations.”²¹⁷ Moreover, he goes on to argue that of the last nine Prime Ministers five were educated at Oxford and one at Cambridge. **Secretaries of State, prominent diplomats, commissioners, secretaries and examiners** were selected **from one of the two ancient universities** and the same was true for the key figures of the Press.

As regards the evolution of the reforms, it is worth noting that in the eighteenth century higher education in England found itself in a nadir and only slowly did it start recovering at the

²¹⁶ Heyck, p.183

²¹⁷ Broderick, p. 220

beginning of the new century. But even in the early years of the Wonderful Century knowledge was static, not creative and for a good while hardly anyone dared to question the **monopoly of the liberal education**, which determined and dominated the curriculum in the

ancient universities. It was a gradual and slow process that some theoreticians, like R.L. Edgeworth, the author of *Essays on Professional Education* (1809), **Sir William Hamilton, William Whewell, Edward Copleston, J.S. Mill, John Henry Newman, Herbert Spencer, T.H. Huxley, Mark Pattison and Benjamin Jowett** started investigating the right courses of action, got engaged in the nationwide debate on the function of university education and endeavoured to find the desirable path to pursue.

The main components of the debate were the following:

1. **Liberal education** prevailed throughout the Victorian period but its hegemonic position was increasingly **challenged by the utilitarians** who demanded education to be useful. Those who defended liberal education argued with ennobling effect of the classics and said that `liberality` was associated with moral qualities like openness, generosity of spirit and were essential for the shaping of the gentlemanly ideal, which was held in such a high esteem throughout the era. It was mostly acknowledged that liberal education did not prepare the students for any particular vocation or profession but, through its training of the mind, it did create a kind of mentality which ultimately helped the student to approach and solve problems in almost any field later in his future career no matter what it happens to be. The utilitarians, on the other hand, rejected this cultivation of the mind for its own sake and denied that knowledge could or should be an intellectual end in itself. They mostly followed Newman`s assertion, who said that if liberal education was good then it was supposed to be useful, too. Consequently it should be only a means to the goal and not an end in itself.²¹⁸
2. From the previous dilemma a second one arose, however similar in nature. In the first half of the century **liberal education** and **professional education** were treated as opposites of each other, as the first one was contented with transmitting **general information** and knowledge and the latter one required **specialized training** from the beginning. Even J.S. Mill said that “a university was not a place of professional education”.²¹⁹ It is true that liberal education could be transmuted into a professional

²¹⁸ Sanderson, p.122

²¹⁹ Ibid., p.127

one, but in the early nineteenth century, this happened only in the case of the Church and the Civil Service. In other cases the tendency was to juxtapose the liberal and the professional careers as opposites. The ancient universities, therefore continued teaching their classical curriculum, which was the same as liberal education and the students who attended them were satisfied as they came from the upper stratum of the society and were rarely in need of a more pragmatic training. For the introduction of specialized and more practical education the authorities founded **the University of London** and later the civic universities, most of which were located in the Midland and the northern regions of the country. Universities like **Durham** or **Manchester** asserted the vocational, professional and technological nature of their education and were suspicious and hostile to the seemingly superfluous and idle studies pursued by the elite at Oxbridge. As Michael Sanderson says: “This **juxtaposition of liberal versus vocational, elite versus middle class** also threw into sharper relief the arts versus science element in the controversy.”²²⁰ This statement points in the direction of the next problematic point in the debate.

3. **Science and technology** had long been neglected in the curriculum of Oxford and Cambridge as existing scholarship and fellowship funds catered for the traditional subjects. Victorians did not see science opposed to theology or religion, some kind of science consciousness did exist in the form of ‘**natural theology**’, which means that a benevolent deity designed the world for the benefit its highest creation, humanity and this field provided the first impetus for scientific study and even for applied science later. However, the ancient universities simply did not have the equipment and the staff to get seriously engaged in science teaching, what is more, these subjects were associated with serving the interest of the industrial and commercial layer and was stigmatized as instruments for more money-grabbing. The ancient universities knew that they had to build laboratories and even new buildings for them, they had to provide science scholarships and expand their existing libraries and to do all this on the grand scale so as to make science teaching efficient and spectacular. Furthermore, as there was no institutional network or career patterns for scientists for a long time, it took science decades to become part of the Victorian High Culture. It is also true that neither the government, nor Oxbridge was willing to give support to science teaching and, even if certain voluntary organizations did so,

²²⁰ Sanderson, p.

the general impression was that science teaching was in crisis in England, especially in comparison with the much idealized German system.

These disadvantageous circumstances created further ground for the arguments of those who defended liberal education and slowed down the process of integrating science into the curriculum. The financial considerations also played a serious part as it was common knowledge that the necessary sums could come only from the colleges and led to the creation of a supra-college university, which was against the general tendency to create a balance between the power of the two.

The new civic universities, on the other hand, had no such things to worry about as they were non-collegiate central institutions and their whole existence was largely called into being so as to create places where science and technology teaching could enjoy the freedom it deserved. These establishments were financed by industry and had no vested interest in the liberal arts. Quite the contrary, their main attracting force was **the usefulness of the knowledge** they provided and if someone applied to these kinds of universities, he or she could take it for sure that the knowledge gained here would come in handy in their future practical work.

4. While part of the dilemma was concentrated on what to teach, the other part of the question was **how to do the instruction**, what **form and methods** to choose for sake of greater efficiency. The main competition was going on between putting the emphasis on **teaching** or **research**; or even to cut out either function altogether. If both were to be retained, what should be the healthy balance and ratio between them. Once it came to the teaching function of the university, questions came up about the positive and negative impacts of the professorial or the tutorial system of instruction. And third, it was not clear whether the nation benefitted more from continuing generalism in the long run or perhaps time had come for turning towards specialization in higher education.

As for **teaching versus research**, the traditional teaching function of Oxbridge came increasingly into contrast with the developing and increasingly popular German model of the university, which functioned as a centre of scholarship and research but also retained its teaching role. In England the advocates of the old liberal education, like Whewell, Copleston and Jowett disliked the idea that research should be elevated above teaching and praised the old system, in which the curriculum did not change, the same information was passed on from generation to generation and even had a kind of

timeless quality. The above theoreticians feared that if research enjoyed more prestige and was to gain more ground it would give a chance to people to challenge the old established truth, the solid curriculum and the old feeling of security would vanish, what is more, would be replaced by new uncertainties that no one has the power to alleviate. They disliked the prospective that speculation and constant questioning could undermine the prestige of the system, which had brought a sense of comfort and satisfaction for so many generations before. They also feared that with research new subject areas would arise, which may surpass or push out the classics in the long run. Especially with science teaching demanding more space at the universities, it was clear that the old system could not be maintained in an unreformed state and some curricular changes would be necessary even in Oxford and Cambridge.

As **the teaching function of the university** was likely to remain, only **complemented with compulsory research** on the part of university dons, new patterns in teaching became necessary. As science was gaining ground, the professorial system, which meant auditing lectures for the students rather than consulting their private coach or tutor became widespread. There were counterarguments, though, for example by the Tractarian leader, Pusey, who said that the lecture system worked with passive students only, who could not do more but imitate the ideas of the professor; while the tutorial system strengthened the moral resilience of the students.²²¹

There was a constant question also whether to create **career patterns for tutors and Fellows** and how to make them interested in pursuing their academic work and how to enable them to earn their living by continuing their intellectual activity. As science was integrated into the curriculum it became obvious that specialization and even team teaching would become necessary. The great initiators of this step were Mark Pattison and Benjamin Jowett.

The third dubious area in the debate was whether to opt for keeping the university curriculum **general** or to move in the direction of **specialization**. It is easy to realize that, by making science-teaching compulsory, a certain degree of specialization became essential or simply could not be avoided. It was also clear that the various kin subjects, such as history, sociology and political studies would relate to each other and their instruction would require specialized knowledge from the instructors. And yet in

²²¹ Heyck, p. 166

the Oxford and Cambridge of the Victorian era, liberal education remained rather narrow and specialization became rife only at the civic universities, which emerged in the second half of the century.

5. Connection with the Church, the State and Commercial, Industrial Circles:

In spite of the centuries long Church hegemony in higher education, the nineteenth century witnessed **a distinct shift towards secularization**, what is more, the new universities became closely involved in different secular areas of national life. In fact, even Cambridge and Oxford contemplated getting into closer touch with industry, whose rich financial resources were all poured into the development of the newly rising civic universities, while Oxbridge often found itself short of funds.

Naturally the new universities were even more dependent on the sources of the industrial economy and a kind of collaboration and mutual support activity started between the big corporations and higher education, in which industry provided funds and the universities emerged as major suppliers of new industrial technology. Specialized centres were developed where expertise served first the local and later the whole national economy. A lot of branches of industry drew experts from Sheffield, Birmingham, Leeds, Newcastle and Liverpool. Consequently, the formerly typical private character of higher education gradually shifted towards a national, public one and by the end of the century the universities were recognized as utterly secular, national institutions on which the country's economic well-being partly rested and which deserved the attention and the support of the State as well as those of private benefactors.

As far as **the involvement of the State** in the regulation of higher education was concerned, the generally accepted position was that the State might try to control elementary and, to some extent, secondary education and might even attempt to **impose a kind of uniform minimum standard at the universities, but overall it should have no influence on the autonomous operation of the intellectual aristocracy of the nation** and it would be better if it set up its own rules and supervised their maintenance. To convey a sense of this solid conviction, let me quote the words of George Broderick again: "Not only the possession of unique libraries, collections, and architectural treasures, but the sacred memories of 700 years, the prestige of an influence which has so deeply moulded both English thought and

English character, the recent and manifold extension of that influence through new associations with the industrial classes – these are attributes which no revolutionary decree can either destroy or create, and which true statesmanship will know how to cherish, as a regulating force of higher value than ever in a democratic and utilitarian age.”²²²

Theoreticians with Clashing and Coinciding Views in the Debate on the Future of Higher Education

Different theoreticians, public educators, university dons, social thinkers and even philosophers contributed to the debate on higher education in many different ways, all voicing their own convictions and thus tried to promote the cause of learning on the highest level. The main participants of the debate were **J.H. Newman**, the leader of the High Church Oxford Movement, **Sir William Hamilton**, a Scottish philosopher, who became famous for his 1831 attack on Oxford, **William Whewell**, one of the foremost figures at Cambridge, **Herbert Spencer**, the inventor and advocate of Social Darwinism, philosopher and early sociologist, **John Stuart Mill**, radical social thinker, philosopher - economist, **T.H. Huxley**, a leading scientist, **Mark Pattison**, the Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, **Edward Copleston**, the Provost of Oriel, defender of the liberal educational ideal and **Benjamin Jowett**, a leading university don. It is easy to realize that most of the issues in questions stirred a good deal of controversy from time to time and it was not rare that certain theoreticians agreed in one thing but not in another or they even reevaluated their former convictions. All this was natural and human regarding the complexity of the education question. Still, so as to facilitate the understanding of the nature of the lengthy debate on the ideal state of English higher education and the clashing views that emerged in the course of it, it makes sense to group the above mentioned participants of the harmonization tendency. Although it is possible to group the theoreticians according to their chronological involvement in the debate, I have decided to categorize them on the basis of their standpoint because this serves my thesis better.

The two clearly opposing groups were the ones who were mostly **for a conservative approach**, which virtually meant **stagnation** and the maintenance of the status quo,

²²² Broderick, p. 223

especially when it came to the reformation of the curriculum and those who stood up for drastic reforms and innovation. To the conservative group belonged **Hamilton, Copleston, J.S. Mill, Whewell** and **Pusey**. These people advocated the maintenance of the traditional liberal education with no ambition for usefulness and the applicability of knowledge. They were the ones who refrained from elevating research above tutoring or at least to put it on the same level with teaching. They wanted to keep the tutorial, rather than the professorial system and thought that abstract reasoning was even more important than practical. Of course, their personal views differed slightly, but the overall standpoint was this. In the mid century, **Newman, J.S. Mill** and **Mark Pattison** took their stance as the most stubborn defenders of the traditional liberal education ideal. Sanderson sums up their main ideas with the following statements: "Newman pointed out that great discoveries in chemistry and electricity had not been made in the universities. On the contrary, for him the purpose of universities should be a liberal education which he defined as knowledge `which stands on its own pretensions, which is independent of sequel, expects no complement, refuses to be informed by any end, or absorbed into any art.` For Newman it was to produce a `cultivated intellect, a delicate taste, a candid equitable, dispassionate mind, a noble and courteous bearing` in the individual, while in society at large `it aims at raising the intellectual tone of society, at cultivating the public mind, at purifying the national taste, at supplying true principles to popular enthusiasm and fixed aims to popular aspiration, at giving enlargement and sobriety to the ideas of the age, at facilitating the exercise of political power and refining the intercourse of private life."²²³ It is worth noting why J.S. Mill belonged to the conservative group. To quote his words through Sanderson again: "There is a tolerably general agreement about what a university is not. It is not a place of professional education. Universities are not intended to teach the knowledge required to fit men for some special mode of gaining a livelihood. Their object is not to make skilful lawyers and physicians and engineers, but capable and cultivated human beings."²²⁴

What I consider as clearly **progressive** is when some theoreticians, such as **H. Spencer, T.H. Huxley, B. Jowett, Sir H. Roscoe, B. Samuelson** or **Philip Magnus** raised their voices for the acceptance of **practical, utilitarian** and **applicable knowledge**, which can be made use of in different areas of life. From the mid-century on the attitude to vocational subjects started changing when the sciences developed a subject matter which was both intellectually testing

²²³ Michael Sanderson, *The Universities of British Industry 1850- 1970*, London: Kegan&Paul, 1972. p. 4-5.

²²⁴ J.S. Mill, *Inaugural Address delivered to the University of St. Andrews*, Feb., 1867. London in Sanderson, *The Universities of British Industry*. 1972.

and practically applicable. Spencer, for example, "claimed that knowledge could be graded in order of importance from that which was conducive to self-preservation down to that what which gratifies taste and feelings, a possible hit at Newman`s `delicate taste` as the object of

university study. He deplored that there was too much stress on education for pure culture and leisure and that thereby the educational system `neglected the plant for the sake of the flower`."²²⁵ With the advance of the Civil Service and with the creation of careers in the public service higher education in classics became increasingly a vocational education and thus more acceptable to its former critics. However, the fact that devoted reformers were so few in number definitely slowed the reform tendency down considerably and what was recognized as necessary at an early stage was applied only in the late phase of the century.

The **third group** was made up of those who were somehow **mediating between the two extreme wings** and either advocated **moderate reforms** in various areas, or drastic reforms but only selectively. They may have found a radical reform necessary at one point but in all the other questions remained conservative and old-fashioned. Such were **Pattison, Jowett** and **M. Arnold**, for example. (Let me once again call attention to the fact that the same person may belong to different groups because he may have voiced different views in different periods of his life.)

The flood of criticism of the current university system started with **R.L. Edgeworth**'s *Essays on Professional Education* (1809) with the assertion that the value of education was to be measured by its utility. From the publication, which was clearly an attack on Oxbridge and the purely classical curriculum, it turned out that criticism multiplied on utilitarian grounds and, with the advance of the century, only new viewpoints were added.

In the years 1809-1811 the fundamental issue was **the confrontation of liberal classics and practical vocationalism**. In the 1830s attention of the critics shifted towards mathematics teaching in Cambridge. **William Whewell** strongly advocated the necessity of thorough math teaching at his university because, in his opinion, this was the best way to develop the skill for abstract reasoning, which is of vital importance in almost any field of life. Whewell's ideal was contradicted by **Sir William Hamilton**, author of *On the State of the English Universities*, which was published in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1831. This time he attacked Whewell's ideal, claiming that it was not only mathematics that could teach abstract reasoning but logic could do so as well and doubted whether this skill was really of so much value in practical affairs. **Copleston** joined the debate of Whewell and Hamilton on the purposes and methods of Oxbridge in the early nineteenth century. What the three men found

²²⁵ Herbert Spencer, *What Knowledge is of Most Worth?* (1859) in Sanderson, *The Universities of British Industry*. 1972.

general agreement on was that the end of education was not practical training for careers but the cultivation of the intellect. What remained an area of disagreement was how each of them valued the merits of the classics, mathematics and philosophy.

In the 1830s and 1840s the **Oxford Movement**, also called Tractarianism emerged, mainly among the dons of Oriel College, Oxford. The tutors, namely Pusey, Keble, Newman and Froude became the main spokesmen and leaders of the movement, which fiercely asserted the rights of the Anglican Church. Tractarians were clearly against the admission of Dissenters to the ancient universities, rejected State interference in education and secularism. At Cambridge there was a similar movement, the major force of which was the so-called **Cambridge Campden Society** in the 1840s, which proved to be short-lived, however.

The 1850s witnessed the investigation of a Royal Commission, which explored questions like the relations of the colleges and the universities, of tutors and professors and the problems that arose from the lack of balance of power between them.

The main period of the debate was the third quarter of the century, when **decisions** had to be made **about the future of higher education**. This is a period when **most civic universities** came into being or the ones that had already been established exerted a constant challenge on the hitherto omnipotent and glorified ancient universities.

This is also the period when **Newman** stood up for the old liberal education as he obviously felt that so many attacks had been launched at it that it needed defence. In his address given in Dublin he voiced his dislike and disapproval of London University because he thought it was a gathering place for utilitarians and political economists.²²⁶ Newman was also suspicious of science because he feared the possible social changes its spread might facilitate. He argued that knowledge did not have to be useful, but could be the end of the intellectual activity, as the real end was the creation of the gentleman, the much cherished ideal of the age.

Herbert Spencer did not share Newman's view, according to which learning was an ideal end in itself. His thesis was that we learn so as to acquire knowledge and skills that will help us survive and serve our self-preservation. Consequently, for Spencer vocational and professional training were of prime importance and he also welcomed natural sciences in the

²²⁶ Sanderson, p.

curriculum, realizing that their teaching was crucial for practical purposes and formed a fundamental part of the general mental cultivation.

The next point in the debate was when **John Stuart Mill** joined the ranks of those who would gladly have banned professional education from the universities. His rather unconvincing argument was that medicine, law or engineering did not belong to the essential studies of the ideal intellectual of the age, but asserted the necessity for the cultivation of the studies of the classical languages instead. His point was that learning them provided stimulation for the mind and imposed a kind of discipline for the 'inquiring intellect'. Mill said that the classical languages were means of learning to think and speculate and this he considered as the main task of the university.²²⁷ Consequently, when it came to choosing between the arts and sciences, he naturally voted for the first and never the latter, although he tended to acknowledge a certain degree of their necessity, too.

T.H. Huxley attributed more significance to science teaching at the universities and even urged their integration into the curriculum. **Mark Pattison**, the Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford shared Mill's ideal of the university when asserted its liberal-educational role and rejected professional training but did join Huxley's viewpoint as far as favouring sciences was concerned. As Michael Sanderson says: "Indeed he called for the spending of university endowments for this purpose, though not for the benefit of the money-making professional man but for the 'professed student' who must study all knowledge and its interrelationships, within which science plays a part."²²⁸

I should point at the fluctuation of **Pattison** in certain crucial issues before getting on to the next point. In religion, for instance, he started as an evangelical, continued as a Tractarian and ended up as an agnostic. As far as professional education was concerned, in 1868 Pattison spoke about the dual function of the university, namely that it should provide both specialized knowledge for professions and general or human education. He increasingly rejected the sham of the old liberal curriculum at Oxbridge and welcomed the shift to specialized studies in which science-teaching also played a vital part. Therefore, Pattison acted as a chief reformer of Oxford education and concluded that the university should be a place of scholarship, learning and original research.

²²⁷ Ibid., p.

²²⁸ Ibid., p. 118

The advocates of research gathered around **the Association for the Organization of Academic Study** and from 1869 around the journal *The Academy*, which was edited by Charles Appleton of St. John's College, Oxford - both enterprises backed by Pattison.²²⁹

Benjamin Jowett stepped into the arena of the debate as the main rival of Pattison as he rejected the idea that research belonged to the key functions of the university as teaching and education did. So the fundamental difference between him and Pattison lay in the questions of university politics. The main question to be settled was whether the university should be a place of truly high level academic achievement (Pattison's dream) or should become a simple super public school (Jowett's ideal).

The question of integrating science into the curriculum remained a much debated point till the end of the Victorian era. Huxley asserted that science should be a fundamental part of liberal education. Whewell supported mathematics teaching as he regarded it as the core of the traditional system but failed to include the natural sciences. Mill and Pattison accepted science teaching but either subordinated it to the classics or regarded it as exercising other mental functions. By the 1880s Huxley's support for science-teaching seemed to have gained the upper hand over the concept of the others and it was increasingly accepted that a literary education alone was not sufficient for the attainment of culture and one could no longer be regarded as a many-sided, thoroughly cultured person without a fair understanding of the operation of natural laws.

Matthew Arnold, 'the chief apostle of culture' naturally had to contribute to the debate. He had the reputation for supporting the acceptance of science in the curriculum, following the increasingly adopted German model. Much as he did for the popularization of science-teaching, he maintained that it was not the kind of knowledge which shaped one's aesthetic or moral sense and this way did not serve the edification of the human nature directly.²³⁰ From this it is easy to realize that while Matthew Arnold recognized the pressure of his own time for the fuller acceptance of science as a fundamental part of human existence, he felt obliged to stand up for the old liberal education system and preserved his emotional commitment to the traditional mode of operation in Oxford.

²²⁹ Diderik Roll-Hansen, *The Academy, 1869-1879, in Victorian Intellectuals in Revolt*, Copenhagen, 1957.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

As a **conclusion of the debate** on higher education, it is correct to state that the desire of Huxley, Spencer, Mill, Pattison and Arnold was fulfilled when **science was finally integrated into the university curriculum** and Pattison's ideal came true when, by the end of the century, **the university had become a place of scholarship and learning** and no one questioned the dual function any more. The losers of the debate were mostly Mill and Newman, because it was them who most stubbornly resisted the idea that the universities

should prepare students for the professions, which obviously became an elementary requirement of the age. In Sanderson's words: "In the 1890s and 1900s the rise of the large company and also the rapid revival of business activity were powerful forces drawing the graduate into the firm while the overcrowding of the professions created a surplus more willing to consider this relatively new graduate career. Finally, financial difficulties and a feeling of isolation pushed universities not hitherto involved with industry more in that direction as a condition of vitality if not survival."²³¹ By the end of the period it was increasingly taken for granted that higher education fulfilled **a multitude of functions** and even became **a major channel for social advancement and promotion**.

So what was **the ideal university** like in the late Victorian age?

According to the article of T.H. Huxley published in the *Contemporary Review* in 1874, the ideal university is a place where "a man should be able to obtain instruction in all forms of knowledge, and discipline in the use of all the methods by which knowledge is obtained. In such a University, the force of living example should fire the student with a noble ambition to emulate the learning of learned men, and to follow in the footsteps of the explorers of new fields of knowledge."²³² Huxley also spoke about the moral content valuable knowledge is capable of conveying and hurried to add that the ideal form of education was not exempt from a certain kind of aesthetic element either. In his words: "in the mass of mankind, the aesthetic faculty, like the reasoning power and the moral sense, needs to be roused, directed and cultivated; and I know not why the development of that side of his nature, through which man has access to a perennial spring of ennobling pleasure, should be omitted from any comprehensive scheme of University education."²³³

THE RESULTS OF THE REFORMS

The reforms of higher education denoted a number of things, but mainly the fact that the shortcomings of the prevailing system were increasingly recognized throughout the period. The words and the warnings of the main educationalists, theoreticians were more and more heeded and remedies were consciously sought to overcome the difficulties. The reforms came

²³¹ Sanderson, *The Universities of British Industry 1850-1914*, p.30.

²³² *Ibid.*, p. 136.

²³³ *Ibid.*, p. 665.

in various phases and the whole movement mainly meant the process which we today call **the University Extension Movement** and **the University Settlement Movement**. The university extension process was started by James Stuart from Cambridge in the late 1860s and early 1870s and it meant that working class boys were also given access to higher education, although it mainly meant entrance into one of the newly established civic universities in the provinces. According to the new scheme, tutors and professors went from Oxbridge to give lectures at the provincial universities, most characteristically in Sheffield, Nottingham and Reading.

The Settlement Movement served as a kind of supplementary step to the **Extension Movement**. The basic idea here was that the universities set up missions in the poorer districts of their own cities or in London where college men could live with the most needy. So practically both movements served the purpose of bringing higher education within reach of the labouring classes but it also affected the cause of emancipation in a beneficial way. By the last third of the century it became clear that owing to the drastic increase in the number of women on the national scale that is, the fact that women started outnumbering men, their chances for marriage diminished markedly. Consequently, it became an acknowledged necessity on the part of the state to offer an alternative way for them to make ends meet, and the solution was to be found in better educational opportunities for women, including higher education.

From the above observation it can be realized that reforms became necessary on different grounds and came in different phases, each fulfilling their own special function in the modernization process.

According to Michael Sanderson, **the first phase of reformation** took place between **1845 – 1870** when the investigation of the Royal Commission of the 1850s was more or less complete and the first organized attempts were made to find remedy for the shortcomings of the existing system. As Sanderson himself says: “The defects of the college tutors as well as the need to widen the curriculum and take professional education more seriously prompted the commissioners to stress the importance of the professors. For a group of Oxford reformer led by **H.H. Vaughan** this was almost the main issue. They wished to see the creation of a body of professors as in German universities, providing an ample range of teaching and also

engaging in research.”²³⁴ Among the things the commissioners urged one can find the wish that there should be more non-celibate professors to manage a broadened curriculum and they also demanded that more senior posts should be provided for Fellows to encourage them to remain in teaching at the universities. As a response to the Commissioners’ demand, more professorships were created in the given period and a number of specialized faculties enjoyed support, eg. the chairs of Chemistry, Mineralogy, or Physical Geography were called into existence. During this first phase of the Reform Movement the power struggle between the colleges and the universities developed somewhat in favour of the latter, in contrast with former tendencies. A new development was that Dissenters were gradually accepted in Cambridge and from the mid-1850s on Oxford also admitted Dissenters among its students, an unprecedented thing earlier. From these years on Dissenters were allowed to matriculate, hold scholarships and even to graduate but they could not be elected to fellowships until 1871. In this period one could observe growing social consciousness and an enhanced sense of responsibility towards the world outside the walls of the university but this growth of respect was a mutual, bilateral thing, because society also started acknowledging the academic worth of the universities and was even willing to support them.

At the same time Oxford and Cambridge became increasingly involved in schools examinations as the middle-class secondary schools badly needed uniform standards while preparing their pupils for higher education. The collaboration proved to be fruitful both for the secondary schools and the universities. The latter gave scholarships and impartiality to pupils and, while doing so, they gained an insight into their future clientele. So the schools examinations were mostly responsible for the fact that more and more students felt like continuing their studies after grammar school and the reputation of Oxbridge improved in the public school circles after 1870. However, there is no doubt that the majority of the parents still did not send their children to universities for the academic merits of the institution but rather to give their children a chance to mix with their social equals and to make connections as well as to prevent them from sinking into idleness.

As far as the status of the university was concerned, in the years between 1845 and 1870, it was mainly the name of Professor **Sir Henry Roscoe** which deserves attention. Owing to his activities the early languid civic colleges, which were merely the feeble imitations of Oxbridge, gradually were replaced by the powerful, regionally supported and technology-

²³⁴ Ibid., 76-77.

oriented colleges that emerged in the last third of the century. It was especially **the University of London** which changed into an examining and degree-giving institution, open to all candidates in these reform years. It goes without saying that this development facilitated the closer involvement of the universities with professional bodies and in the 1850s and 1860s it became clear that the colleges created closer ties with the professions of medicine, law, engineering and the Civil Service.

A major step forward was the development of medical science, which became manifest in the **Select Committee on Medical Registration** in 1847, which paved the way to the Medical Act of 1858. This act called the **General Medical Council** into being, which was entitled to control qualifications and meant protection for registered doctors against quacks. Similar to the development of medical studies, there were improvements in the field of law as well. On the basis of the **Examination Statute of 1850** the **School of Law and Modern History** was established at Oxford and Law became a separate specialized school in 1872. Engineering was the third area where major development occurred. In 1865 engineering also became a degree subject at Cambridge and the instruction became increasingly scientific.

Last but not least, there were growing concerns in the mid-century about the quality of the training of those who worked in the Civil Service or occupied important posts in the State or the Government. Up to this point, it had not really been questioned or called into doubt whether the old, traditional patronage system was the adequate basis for the selection of those who were supposed to run the empire. But by the given period it was increasingly thought that selection on the basis of healthy competition and merit would serve everyone's interests better but, even in spite of this realization, patronage was never be eliminated entirely.

The second phase of the reforms came between the 1850s and the 1870s and the effects lasted until the end of the Victorian era. The major reforms that took place in this period started when the Commission of 1850 was appointed by Lord John Russell's Government and the university authorities started to set their house in order in Oxford, what is more, they created great changes in the examination system. The report of the commission urged largescale reforms and these were subsequently embodied in the Act of Parliament in 1854. Before the reforms sanctioned here could fully get into force, another Commission was issued in 1872 to inquire into the financial resources of Oxford University and the Colleges. The

Parliament intervened and abolished the University Tests, which meant the end of religious discrimination at the prestigious universities. In 1877 again a new Commission effected a sweeping confiscation of college revenues for university purposes and remodelled the whole academical system in important respects. For example, the power of self-government diminished in the colleges and the university became endowed with a representative constitution and thus could become more innovative in its methods.²³⁵

The heads of the colleges could no longer monopolize the administration of the university but the largest share of the teaching continued to be carried on by college tutors. Furthermore, it was increasingly realized that **specialism and the subdivision of labour** were highly desirable and became a major principle in the teaching at Oxford.

A hitherto never experienced opening up was experienced in this period and the loss of the semi-monastic appearance also date back to these years. Oxford started receiving a steady inflow of visitors from London and elsewhere, the tutors and professors were no longer expected to remain unmarried and even balls and parties were not rare in the **more secular, mundane** world of Oxford. More freedom was experienced in clothing and leisure pursuits and much more toleration towards the presence of women in a world which had so long been dominated by men only.

As for the social background of the students, it was observed that **the university became much less aristocratic** than in the early part of the century and the new elements which nearly doubled the number of undergraduates were mostly drawn from the middle and lower-middle classes. As George C. Broderick observed in his article: "Upon the whole, it may be said with confidence that Oxford undergraduates, as a class, are more virtuous, better conducted, and better informed than their predecessors in the reign of George the Third, though it must be added in justice that they get their virtue and knowledge on easier terms."

²³⁶

Speaking about the developments in Oxford, one should emphasize the influence the elite university exerted on **the strengthening of the national unity** in the decades in question. Through the common basis of the training, the increasing commonness of the ideas, through the sharing of moral sentiments and the similar attitude to culture, the University rendered its

²³⁵ 'Thoughts on English University Reform' in Macmillan's Magazine, Vol.XLV. Nov.-April, 1881-82. pp.125-134.

²³⁶ Broderick, p. 215.

services to national unity and the elevation of the national character played an ever growing role in academic spheres. It was widely acknowledged that the old institutions and traditions of the Colleges could infuse a healthy and loyal spirit into the oncoming generations and, by

doing so, they could fulfil a patriotic function, which was increasingly important in the prewar decades.

Cambridge also experienced radical reforms in the 1850s, 1860s and beyond. According to experts the changes were carried out in three distinct phases. In the first, the University stood alone and the colleges became essential elements of the University. The masters, the fellows and the scholars of a college were for centuries a body of monastic students who enjoyed the advantages and assisted in the work of the university, but they were bound by conditions of celibacy and, to some extent, of poverty. They were even required to take Holy Orders in due course. They received small amounts of stipend and were students themselves, rather than teachers. Gradually it became routine to receive and instruct students from outside, who did not actually live in Halls and it became the rule for every undergraduate who matriculated in the University to enter at one or other of the colleges, for the sake of the instruction and discipline that they could obtain there. This was already the second stage of the development when **the colleges and the university were more or less associated on equal terms**, or we could say, that the university came to be regarded as an associated part of a common institution with the colleges, rather than an independent and self-sustaining body. The granting of degrees remained its exclusive right and the examinations were conducted by its officers. The professors still read lectures but they increasingly found rivals in college tutors and later in private tutors. The university officials became mostly members of the College Foundations and felt the college tie closer than the one that bound them to the university.

The third stage of progress developed quite spontaneously and resulted in **the college predominance over a rather subordinate university**, at least in Cambridge. As time went on, the college revenues grew separate and owing to wealthy benefactors, after covering the basic needs, usually there remained a vast surplus of income without specific appropriation in the hands of the colleges. Soon the distribution of negligible amounts of money became a practice among Fellows, who started competing for these sums and the university examinations were only regarded as stepping stones to college advancement. As a result of this, the college became the dominating power and the university proper remained a mere adjunct of the collegiate system.²³⁷

²³⁷ 'Modern Ideas of Education' by William Hill in the Contemporary Review, Vol. LXX. July-December, 1896. pp.568-581.

By the period in question the opinions differed on the question whether it was desirable or feasible to restore to the university a portion of the vitality which it had lost for lack of sustenance. The controversy was brought to a definite point in 1850 when the above mentioned Royal Commission was formed to inquire into the state, discipline, studies and revenues of Cambridge University and the same in the colleges. The Commissioners' Report, also called the *Report of the Peacock Commission*, named after George Peacock, Dean of Ely, marked the fourth stage in the development of Cambridge. Although the functions of the Commission of 1850 were purely consultative, without any executive power, the Report marked a new epoch in university politics and prepared the ground for the **Universities Act of 1877.**²³⁸

First of all, it called attention to the defects of college instruction and to the lack of funds to pay a sufficient staff. One recommendation of the Commission was the grouping together of the smaller colleges for educational purposes, which led to the establishing of the useful system of intercollegiate lectures and also solved the problem of the effective classification of the students, which the university leadership found more and more necessary.

In fact, Dr. Peacock's whole scheme of reform was gradually accepted in one particular after the other, with the sole exception of the financial proposals. The recommendations of the Commission as to the subject of college contributions were not favourably received and most of the colleges refused to give even a certain percentage of their income over to the university, and this fact inevitably affected all the other proposals in a negative way. Consequently, the university had to budget with its narrow resources to raise the incomes of the poorer professorships to 500 pounds a year, which was still not a big sum. But the colleges at least accepted the idea of combining together for educational purposes and the system of inter-collegiate lectureships was launched successfully.

However, the overall evaluation of the achievements of Dr. Peacock's Commission is rather controversial. The main failure is seen in the fact that with all the proposals considered and some of them realized, the professorial system remained an ornamental adjunct and it could scarcely be said that it supplied an efficient teaching power in the University. The main lesson of the failed reforms was that the university was powerless without financial help and the task to put new spirit into the old institution proved to be a much harder task than previously hoped.

²³⁸ T.L.Humberstone, *University Reform in London*, London, 1926. p.96.

The **Universities Act of 1877** also contained important plans for reform. The new University statutes aimed at facilitating the transition from the old regime to the future. The proposals were directed mainly to three ends:

1. the increase of the university staff of teachers
2. its organization in three grades under a central control
3. the supply of funds to effect these purposes

The first head meant that the addition to the staff would offer to scientists **a definite career** with regular promotion, and it was hoped that this would stop the waste of zeal and talent from which the University had suffered for a long time.

According to the second head, **the teachers** were to be **classified into three grades** – professors, readers and lecturers and a central body would be put in charge of the administrative apparatus. The efficiency of work would be guaranteed by the classification of students and division of labour among the staff members.

Under the third head, **the University would ultimately be enriched from college resources** by 30.000 pounds a year, partly in the form of money contributions, partly in fellowships attached to most of the professorships as an increase to their endowment.

There were other Royal Commissions towards the end of the century, all of which contributed to the improvement of the existing old system and added new elements to it. In fact, the task of these commissions was to establish the patterns for the organization and the functions of the ancient universities amid the changing social and economic conditions of the era. The main tendency was to get closer to the German professorial model while the two old universities retained their colleges and the tradition to educate their students in the liberal arts for public service. In both old and new universities, the teachers won for themselves secular careers as educators and specialized researchers. This practically corresponded to the professionalization of the academic staff.

The Royal Commission of 1878 advocated the need for more specialized studies, mainly in the field of science. In 1889 another **Act of Parliament** called for a new commission who were to carry out the former suggestions of the Royal Commission. Their task was to draw up ordinances for each of the universities. These integrated a wide range of science subjects into

the old arts degree, made it easier to graduate in specialist honours and called science faculties into being in the big cities of Scotland. The commissioners also introduced matriculation exams at the Scottish universities and in general brought Scottish higher education closer to the English concept.

In spite of the great steps forward, many of the **inadequacies** remained.

In the last two decades of the century there was more and more concern around the economic situation of Britain. Experts observed symptoms of decline in the industrial output of the country, especially in certain branches and part of the explanation was sought in the system of higher education. If we examine the following critical observations, it will be easy to realize that the main ground for criticism still was **the unpractical, non-utilitarian nature of the subjects** taught and the small number of students involved in higher education in comparison with other nations in the world. William Garnett in "*The Contemporary Review* said the following in 1887: "It is the almost complete separation of our universities, our training colleges, and public schools, from the world of commerce and manufacture that constitutes one of the weakest points in our educational system, and makes it so difficult for our schools and colleges to provide the kind of education which the artisan, the manufacturer, or the merchant considers most valuable. The language of the schools is different from that of real life, and our textbooks, and too often our tools drawn from the workshop instead of introducing all sorts of imaginary and impossible combinations which lead the artisan mind to suppose what the science taught exists only on paper, and has no practical bearings?"²³⁹

It is interesting to see some observations that made comparisons with other countries: "What is the lesson we have learnt from the band of educational experts who, last year, published the results of their visit to the United States? Was it not this - that the American people believe in education? It is true they found greater facilities for university and higher technical instruction, and that secondary education was more general and better organized; but almost with one voice they told us that our real inferiority lay in the fact, that the citizens of the United States had more width in the possibilities of education than we have, that their whole heart was in their work as ours has never yet been. This belief, this ardour of faith in the efficiency of

²³⁹ 'University Education for the People' by William Garnett in the *Contemporary Review*, Vol. LII. 1887. pp.652-653.

training, that the Germans and Swiss - and we may now say the Japanese, too - owe largely the measure of success which has crowned their efforts."²⁴⁰

Another comparison by the same author: "In the German Empire there are twenty separate universities, in addition to eleven technical high-schools, besides schools of forestry and other institutions of university rank. These schools are attended by nearly 45.000 day students. In England and Wales the number of day students in attendance at the medical schools, does not exceed 13.000; and comparing the entire population of Germany with that of England, it would seem that the proportion of male students in Germany receiving university education is about twice as large as in England."²⁴¹

The **British Association Report** issued in **1894**, also pointed at **the backwardness in technical education and the deficiencies in commercial education** and said that these could seriously endanger British economic success in the ever growing competition with the other European powers. (Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1894, pp.365-91).

However, the most bitter criticism came from Eric Hobsbawm, who criticized both the English public school and higher education for their harmful effect on the country's economy. He said: "There is no reason why British technical and scientific education should have remained negligible, in a period when a wealth of rich amateur scientists and privately endowed research laboratories or practical experience in production clearly no longer compensated for virtual absence of university education and the feebleness of formal technological training. There was no compelling reason why Britain in 1913 had only 9000 university students compared to almost 60.000 in Germany, or only five day students per 10.000 (1900) compared to almost 13 in the USA; why Germany produced 3000 graduate engineers per year while in England and Wales only 350 graduated in all branches of science, technology and mathematics with first- and second - class honours, and few of these were qualified for research. There were plenty of people throughout the nineteenth century to warn the country of the dangers of its educational backwardness; there was no shortage of funds, and certainly no lack of suitable candidates for technical and higher training."²⁴²

²⁴⁰ Sir Philip Magnus, *Educational Aims and Efforts (1880-1910)*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1910. pp. 218-219.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.* p.234.

²⁴² Eric Hobsbawm. *Industry and Empire: The Birth of the Industrial Revolution*. rev.ed. New York: New Press, 1999. p.160.

After confronting the criticism, it was widely hoped that specialization at the universities would enhance the industrial achievement and the emphasis on science and technology became a generally accepted attitude by the closing years of Victoria's reign. By the 1890s more attention was paid to economics and commercial education in general than ever before. **The University of London** was to be given more influence, was encouraged to break away from the old traditions and to adapt itself to coming needs. (Although **the University of London** had existed since 1836, first it worked only as a teaching institution but gradually it was turned into an examining body, as well and then from 1858 on it became a university entirely devoted to examining other institutions. In the 1880s and 1890s there was again growing need for a teaching university in London and the examining role was given over to **Victoria University** and **Durham**. After much debate the University of London once again became a teaching as well as an examining institution and the colleges became its constituent parts. Within a few years, the civic university colleges, which used to belong under the supervision of London University before, became independent by obtaining charters of their own and became entitled to give examinations and grant degrees.) Apart from the modern universities the idea was that the old universities should provide knowledge which was applicable to the practice of theology, medicine and law so that the new university would be able to expand in all directions of science and liberalize all professional careers. This way the interests of the Empire could be served to the utmost.

Among **the new tendencies** we can point at the fact that need for more **highly educated management** was increasingly recognized and the development of accountancy created new non-scientific expertise in economy. The **London School of Economics** opened its gates in 1895 and it was closely followed by the creation of the **Faculty of Commerce** in Birmingham in 1902. So as to overcome the losses caused by the Agricultural Depression, agricultural studies became part of the university studies at **Reading University**. According to Magnus, the advance of university education was most marked in the engineering faculty because the application to industrial purposes of new chemical discoveries was largely the work of the engineer.²⁴³

By the 1890s the universities made great progress in teaching the routine technologies of various industries, such as coal mining, ship building, engineering and great developments could be observed in physics and in electrical science. The work and experiments conducted

²⁴³ Magnus. p.240.

in **the Cavendish Laboratory** in Cambridge became world famous and in 1894 Sir Joseph Thomson began the so-called Cavendish tradition of atomic studies, which gave a great impetus to British physics in the twentieth century.²⁴⁴

From the above mentioned tendencies one can see that in the closing years of the century Britain made giant steps **in the direction of becoming a scientific nation** but the great dream of scientists to push their own field into the number one place failed. As Heyck says: “Educated people in 1900 accepted that science would provide the best understanding of the world and of a wide range of a wide range of human experience, but they did not have access to the latest scientific knowledge themselves. They had to accept that the scientists possessed the knowledge. The efforts of the scientists to elevate themselves professionally grew out of a sense of community among the scientists and that effort propagated an image of the community for the general public. One aspect of the public image was the desire by scientists to isolate themselves from the economic and social demands of the public – the opting for endowment rather than for support by the market place. To the extent that this condition of separateness rubbed off on other producers of ideas, they too would become part of an isolate stratum of society.”²⁴⁵

Finally, what Garnett says in *the Contemporary Review* in 1887 gives the most complete summary of the desirable new direction in Victorian higher education: “In conclusion, it cannot be too strongly enforced that it is the special feature of university training to provide education as distinguished from mere information. Those who desire that students should simply be taught facts and methods, who wish to make the college a mere technical school even in its departments of pure science, will be able to find sufficiently good teachers without drawing on the resources of the universities. It is indeed seldom that the university man is an encyclopedia of facts and figures; rather, he is one who has thought deeply on his special branch of study and made it his own from its very foundations. He has acquired the truly scientific spirit, and regards all things from the standpoint thus gained. It is the raising of the student to the same platform as the teacher, the placing him in a position to acquire further knowledge by himself in the best possible way - in fact, nothing short of his intellectual

²⁴⁴ Roy M. Macleod. 'Resources of Science in Victorian England: The Endowment of the Science Movement, 1868-1900' in *Science and Society, 1600-1900* ed. by Peter Mathias, Cambridge, 1972.

²⁴⁵ Heyck, pp. 114-115

regeneration - that constitutes the essential characteristic of university teaching, and, if this is absent, call the institution what you will, but not a university college.’²⁴⁶

Higher Education for Women

For a long time it was doubtful whether a homeloving girl, with promising prospects for a good match should go to secondary school, let alone a boarding institution, which kept her away from home for years. Little wonder then that the necessity of opening up universities and colleges for women was an even more controversial issue and took women headmasters and progressive minded male educationalists a lot of efforts to push the reforms through the schools themselves and through legislation in Parliament. The core of the contradiction was that, on the one hand, it was desirable that middle-class women should obtain a certain degree of classical knowledge besides the accomplishments so as to prove a satisfactory partner for their future husbands. On the other hand, it was argued that a really well informed, knowledgeable woman was in contrast with the feminine ideal of the Victorian age. Consequently, it was rather difficult to find the optimal balance between keeping women in relative ignorance of world affairs and thus keeping them in their traditional role and teaching them, and by doing so, enabling them to become independent and earn their own living, which was in sharp contrast with the traditional concept of womanhood.

The debate was more or less settled owing to the ardent efforts of the famous schoolmistresses, like **Emily Davies** or **Dorothea Beale**, and finally it was accepted that education opportunities should be granted for middle class girls outside the home. Therefore, in the second half of the century an ever growing number of young ladies started attending either the private schools or the public schools established for them and which were more or less the equivalents of boys' schools. Once this was accomplished and became a generally accepted routine, educationalists and social reformers could start racking their brains how initiate the extension of higher education for the sake of women.

Up to the 1860s the prevailing concept was (in fact, it originated from **Dorothea Beale of Cheltenham Ladies' College**) that “ if woman has been endowed with mental and moral capacities, it was intended that these should be cultivated and improved for the glory of the

²⁴⁶ ‘*Universal Education for the People*’ by William Garnett in the *Contemporary Review*, Vol. LII. July-December, 1887 p.657.

Creator and the relief of man`s estate.²⁴⁷ The ideal also meant that femininity was expressed through the activities of wives and mothers and education actually enhanced their achievements in the home, therefore intellectual education became accepted as a fundamental and essential component of true femininity. However, by the second half of the century **the emerging women`s movement started challenging this rather old-fashioned and still discriminative ideal** and brought up the question of **women`s integration into the male-dominated labour market**. It was clear that, if women wanted to hold the same jobs like men, more precisely, if they wanted to become doctors, lawyers, accountants, civil servants etc. they needed the same kind of qualification and the same degrees from universities. The great pioneer of female education, **Emily Davies of Girton College**, thought that if women were to pursue the standard upper-middle class careers, like the above mentioned ones, they had to be admitted to higher education and so as to fit them for the university training, they had to learn the same secondary curriculum as boys did. Most of her efforts were devoted to extending university education for women but it was far from being a smooth process. Her main achievement was that she set up a committee whose task was to gain acceptance for girls into the so-called **`local examinations`** for boys run by **Cambridge University**. In due course **Oxford** and **Durham** followed suit and the practice was soon adopted to prepare girls for these tests by using the same syllabuses that were used for boys. First, the female colleges had no ties with the universities, although a kind of collaboration existed between the college and the university staff in teaching courses. It was not rare that the instructors of the male universities were **`borrowed`** by the female colleges so as to fill gaps in the occasionally lacking qualification of the staff there or simply to increase the standard of the education. Only gradually and owing to the continual self-sacrificing work of the leadership of the female institutions did the universities open their research facilities and did they extend their own examination system to women students. A great step forward was when ladies were admitted to the degrees of **the University of London in 1878** and later to all the other degree courses, except the medical school of **Victoria University in 1884**. **Oxbridge** reacted to the changes most slowly, since by the end of the century women had been admitted to the honours degree examinations everywhere but at the ancient universities.

The 1870s continued with the increasing acceptance of some talented women going to universities to audit lectures there but still without getting a degree. The difficulty was caused by the fact that women were still supposed to live up to two distinct ideals at the same time.

²⁴⁷ Maurice p.74.

On the one hand, they studied according to the male syllabus, but, on the other hand, there were still worries about their losing their femininity through growing emancipation.

It was in 1874 that the first women students were admitted, informally, to a **Tripes Examination**, (high level exam in the classics) and during the following six years thirty three more were examined in the same informal way and obtained honours. As it turns out from an article published in the *Nineteenth Century Review* in 1887: “Their success, (meaning students at **Newham College**) and of the Girton students, resulted in 1881 in the passing by the University of certain Graces which gave to women the right of admission to the Tripes Examinations after keeping the same number of terms at Newham or Girton as is required of men at their colleges, and after passing either the Previous Examination or certain groups in the Higher Local Examination.”²⁴⁸

As far as the granting of degrees was concerned, it was first the **University of London** which conferred degrees upon the women students, to whom a certificate was awarded which stated the place obtained in the Tripes. They could obtain honours in mathematics, classics, natural science, moral science, history and medieval and modern languages in the 1880s. However, **getting a certificate remained difficult and troublesome for a long time**. As an example we could mention the official recognition of medical women, which clearly illustrates the complex and controversial nature of the professionalization of women, even when their qualification left nothing to be desired. For example, in 1877 an article written by James Stansfeld for *The Nineteenth Century Review* gave a lengthy description of the ardent battle a female medical student, a certain Miss Jex-Blake, had to fight with the authorities to be granted the right to undergo the same examination procedure as men and to obtain the necessary qualification for her to become a registered doctor. The following passage gives the readers a good sense of the oddity of the situation. “The Medical Council met on the 24th of June. The discussion lasted three days; it was able, exhaustive, and full of the evidences of a marked faculty of debate; and it ended by the adoption of a report to the Privy Council that the Medical Council are of opinion that the study and practice of medicine and surgery, instead of affording a field of exertion well fitted for women, do, on the contrary, present special difficulties which cannot be safely disregarded; *but the Council are not prepared to say that women ought to be excluded from the profession.*”²⁴⁹

²⁴⁸ Ibid., (Knatchbull-Hugessen 845)

²⁴⁹ ‘Medical Women’ by H.M. Stanley, in *The Nineteenth Century*, Vol. XXII./1. July, 1877. p.893.

It was also widely discussed in the press in the decades in question what kind of reforms were mostly needed, once the authorities and the public had been convinced that some **reforms were definitely essential** to make the newly emerging extended system as efficient as possible. As the author of the article '*Girls' Schools, Past and Present*' says (a schoolmistress of Cheltenham herself in the 1860s) she had to be tentative and careful with introducing reforms in different areas of life. She agreed with the idea that it was good for

girls to learn more or less the same subjects that boys did but not exactly the same way. Her idea was that the education of both sexes ought to run on parallel lines and a wide curriculum was of greater importance to women than for men. She regretted the great degree of specialization which the system of her days preferred for both men and women. However, as it turns out from the article, she wished to add science and geometry teaching to the existing modern language courses. She herself taught physical geography and the school received lectures from a distinguished geologist. When it came to teaching history, she insisted on picking out a short period and going into it thoroughly, instead of the former practice of zooming through the material. She thought that teaching one or two periods in depth and illuminating different aspects of it was more beneficial and thought provoking than sheer cramming for details. Hostile as she may have been to growing specialization at schools, she realized that it was the general tendency to invite specialists and lecturers from outside, who gradually became responsible for the various branches and this enhanced the quality of the teaching. During the years of her leadership, testing became regular at the college, for the simple reason that it was good for both the girls and the teachers to get some feedback and these noncompetitive tests prepared the girls for a rapid review and gave to the previous teaching definiteness and coherency. She did a lot to change the atmosphere, living and learning conditions at Cheltenham and the success encouraged other colleges to follow suit.

Among the most spectacular reforms one could mention the initiation of the **first mixed university**, about which *the Macmillan Magazine* gave the following report in 1887: "Our university has now granted to women the opportunity of trying an education on the same lines as men, but in refusing to admit them to membership, it has distinctly refused to pledge itself to an expression of opinion that such education is for them the highest. They are still free to use our system or such parts of it as they may approve; but we have a right to ask that women as a body, and not merely that section represented by the present agitation, shall decide without dictation from us, what shall be the lines of female culture; and as they have proved their equality on the narrower examination ground, that they shall show a like ability to direct the course of woman`s education in the future with especial reference to her abilities and needs."²⁵⁰

²⁵⁰ `A Mixed University` by H.R. Tottenham in *Macmillan Magazine*, Vol.LVII. Nov.-Apr. 1887-88. p.464.

THE CONDITIONS OF PROFESSIONAL EXISTENCE

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

In his *Inaugural Address*, delivered to the University of St. Andrew's in 1867, John Stuart Mill wrote the following about the importance of education: "Of all many-sided subjects, education is the one which has the greatest number of sides. Not only does it include whatever we do for ourselves, and whatever is done, for us by others, for the express purpose of bringing us somewhat nearer to the perfection of our nature; it does more; in its largest acceptation, it comprehends even the indirect effects produced on character and on the human faculties, by things of which the direct purposes are quite different; by laws, by forms of government, by the industrial arts, by modes of social life; nay, even by physical facts not dependent on human will; by climate, soil, and local position. Whatever helps to shape the human being - to make the individual what he is not - is part of his education."²⁵¹

From the above quotation it turns out that prominent thinkers, like Mill, and of course many others, increasingly came to realize the true value of education and tended to regard it as a means of social ascendance, advancement, moral edification and as a way to get rid of certain evils, which were poisoning the complacent atmosphere of the second half of the Victorian period. More and more people seemed to discover the redeeming power of education and tended to consider it as **a potential remedy against crime, idleness, bad manners, ignorance** etc. To quote Anne Digby's words: "**an efficient imposition of social control** and

²⁵¹ James H. Rigg, *National Education (In Its Social Conditions and Aspects, and Public School Elementary Education)*. (London: Stahan&Co., 1873), p. 1. Quotes the words of John Stuart Mill's *Inaugural Address* of 1867.

of cross-cultural transformation was dependent on the development of compulsory, free elementary education at the end of the nineteenth century."²⁵²

F.M.L. Thompson goes further and states in his article '*Social Control in Victorian Britain*', popular education was even meant to operate as **an agency of political socialization** and this way was treated as a form of social control. In his concept this means that one class imposes habits and influence on another and suggests its own notions as suitable ones. Consequently, the aim with popular education is **to produce decent citizens**, to teach the right manners and attitudes as well as obedience to the existing order instead of anarchy, lawlessness and disobedience.²⁵³ Later on he adds: "A small minority of active educators, reformers, philanthropists, and other do-gooders perceive their task as a disinterested mission to civilize the ignorant and unruly. What they see as transparently necessary works of socialization to produce a better society for all, which it is self-evident are in the general interest, they propose to conduct by social controls that impose their views on other classes. In the terminology now fashionable, socialization becomes an internal rationalization by a sub-group of self-appointed guardians of society of their desire to impose social controls that would uphold a particular form of social order based on a particular class structure, not some universal social order."²⁵⁴

Someone might raise the question what social control has to do with the work of the intellectuals and the professionals, which is a key issue in the present study. It should be borne in mind that the social control theory mainly means the elevation of the working class by the middle class so as to create a more sophisticated and more efficient state and at the same time to ensure its own hegemony by keeping the lower class under control. In my opinion, the pertinence of social control to my investigation is twofold. On the one hand, the **self-appointed guardians**, the minority, whom Thompson is talking about, mainly comprised the intellectuals and the learned middle class, more precisely, **the learned public educators, the ordinary schoolteachers, the university dons, the men-of-letters, the journalists** and, of course, the Philosophic Radicals, who influenced public opinion a good deal.²⁵⁵ It was

²⁵² Anne Digby.&Peter Searby, *Children, School and Society in Nineteenth Century England*, The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1981. p.28.

²⁵³ F.M.L. Thompson, '*Social Control in Victorian Britain*' *Economic History Review* Vol.XXXIII. 1981. pp. 191-192.

²⁵⁴ Thompson, p. 193.

²⁵⁵ The Philosophic Radicals represented a political wing of intellectuals, who were influential in the latter half of the Victorian era and mostly aimed at getting rid of corruption and

mostly this segment of the society who wished to keep the lower orders under control. The bulk of the work was carried out by **elementary schoolteachers** and, for those who could pursue their studies, by the **headmasters of the growing number of secondary schools**.

On the other hand, just because the idea of social control primarily means middle class regulation of the working class, it does not mean that the notion would be inapplicable elsewhere, for example between the middle class and their social superiors. It is a widely known fact that the public school served as a kind of national institution for the amalgamation of the middle class boys with those from the ranks of the aristocracy. As Professor Wiener pointed out it was exactly the public school which cultivated the new notion of the 'gentleman', so that the aristocracy could keep the middle class under control and through the mingling of the boys it endeavoured to make middle class boys adopt many of the best qualities of the upper classes. So it is easy to realize that the idea of social control is inevitably linked to the intellectuals of the age, as they were mostly formed from the ranks of the middle class and were produced by and were constantly present in the public schools where they were mostly prepared for their future controlling tasks. Public school boys became civil servants, politicians, journalists, high ranked officials who ran the empire bureaucratically or they worked as doctors, lawyers, teachers, architects, artists and served the well-being of their fellow citizens, which is a form of keeping them under control. As the nation became more and more dependent on the services of intellectuals, ordinary people also became increasingly influenced by the learned ones, owing to the fact that their feeling of comfort was greatly concentrated in their hands.

To come back to **the question of national education**, let me point at and summarize the main concerns of James H. Rigg, who, as early as 1873, gave his readers a good idea of how the question of education should be approached and what importance it should be given.²⁵⁶

His main argument in his book titled, *National Education* is that education actually means much more than merely having an adequate system of schools. He says that "the nation never will or can be educated, as a whole, until it is understood that schools can only furnish a part, perhaps hardly the most important part, of the education of the people. A nation may have a

excessive aristocratic domination. Leading figures were James Mill, Richard Cobden, John Stuart Mill and others.

²⁵⁶ Rigg, p.2.

system of schools as complete as can be organized, and yet be very imperfectly educated.”²⁵⁷ Later on he gives the definition of the educated man and the educated nation when says that “An educated man is a man who has the power and the habit of forethought and of self-control, and has also knowledge and mental discipline adequate to his position and opportunities in life. So an **educated nation** is one which, taken collectively, may be said to have the power and the habit of forethought and of self-control, and knowledge and mental discipline adequate to its position and opportunities in life.”²⁵⁸ Rigg maintains that school education cannot do more than “furnish only one fractional part of the total sum of a thorough and effective national education.”²⁵⁹ If this is the case, there must be other fundamental components which constitute national education. These **components** are basically **the family background, the contemporary press** – more precisely - the cheap penny papers, which are accessible for the masses, but even the street community for boys and places like the shops and the workplace. In Rigg’s opinion all these things have the capacity of shaping national education but he picks out the family as the most decisive of all. He argues that without the adequate support of the family the school is helpless, no matter how good the quality of teaching is. Whether the child has the ambition to learn depends primarily on the family, therefore it is essential that the state should create such welfare conditions even for the poorer layers of the society, so that they will feel like studying. If the immediate need to struggle for mere survival ceases, there is greater hope for the awakening desire in the masses to turn increasingly to self-improvement.

When the author brings up the issue of education outside Britain, he offers different grounds for **comparison between his own country and others**, mainly Germany, France and the United States. His argument here is that, regarding the situation at the beginning of the 1870s, Britain’s educational system is practically superior to all, mainly due to liberal spirit which prevails and has a positive impact on achievement. Rigg says that the German school system might be stronger than the English, whose deficiencies he is willing to admit, but when it comes to individual success and national advancement the Germans turn out to be greatly inferior to the English. Rigg’s explanation for this allegation is that the Germans tend to impose absurd restrictions and limitations on their schoolchildren and by doing so they suffocate their originality and inventive, creative spirit. He says that “Liberty is the spring of

²⁵⁷ Ibid., p.2.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., p.2.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., p.3.

life.”²⁶⁰ Somewhat later he adds: “The value of the school education is, that it immediately prepares for the active duties of life in youth and manhood...Whether the school education will prove to be worth much or little, depends as much on what follows in life’s actual work as on what precedes and accompanies in home influences.”²⁶¹ According to Rigg, therefore **the practical side of learning and the applicability of knowledge** is just as important as the **theoretical aspect**.

Speaking about the comparison with other nations, let me call attention to another observation, which dates back to 1892, when the *Westminster Review* drew a similar parallel between the level of English elementary education and that of other European nations and got to the conclusion that Britain was lagging behind Germany and even Romania. The article argues that "Britain still acknowledges the claim of the money-maker to have priority over education in the possession of the child."²⁶²

Another important component is public concern, which is a basic part of the education of Englishmen. Here Rigg again offers other countries for comparison. Preoccupation with public matters characterizes mostly middle and upper class citizens and undoubtedly plays a key role in the development of the national character. To quote the words of *National Education* “In strong contrast with Germany, perhaps still more to France, a genuine local self-government has schooled the Briton in those elementary lessons of political temper and self-control, of political instinct and principle, which have made it possible to govern our empire stably by the genuine power of public opinion.”²⁶³ Rigg speaks with appreciation about the English legal system, the work of the magistracy, which hardly ever betrayed ignorance, prejudice or incapacity. But above all, it was the free and energetic parliamentary life of the nation, which encompassed the whole of the society and provided the most wholesome occupation for patriotic Englishmen. Again the contrast is striking with the social – public concern of the people in France. Rigg considers most Frenchmen much too preoccupied with luxurious life and a bit too hedonistic in disposition to match the sobriety, and therefore, the success of the English in social matters. A profound sense of restraint and moderation can certainly elevate the English above the other European nations.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., p.6.

²⁶¹ Ibid., p.7.

²⁶² Westminster Review, 1892. Vol.CXXXVII. Jan.- June, *Is Compulsory Education a Failure?* by Joseph J. Davies pp.194-195.

²⁶³ Ibid., p.8.

Rigg also attributes much significance to **the public press** in matters of education, since he regards this channel of information as the immediate supplement to schools. He argues that without a large supply of cheap and attractive publications the instruction given at school would soon fade away. On the other hand, with good penny papers and cheap but taking little books even an otherwise defecting school education may induce people to turn effectively to self-education. It is also a fact that the cheap and simple press publications had a huge educational force in the United States and in France as well. What is more, a truly national and noble but at the same time free and practical newspaper press in Germany operate as effective educational supplements to the powerful, rigorous and pervasive school system. In Britain, "the cheap press has become, and is becoming more and more, the chief elementary educator of the people, carrying on the great and permanent results the education began in the school."²⁶⁴

Another important idea is that of **the Christian ideal**, which was generally considered as essential in the national education. But even a systematic instruction of the most important Christian doctrines were useless unless it could provoke support from the home. Rigg's argument here is that both the school and the pulpit have done much in the past and will achieve a lot in the future but even the influence of the Church is not enough by itself for a successful national education. Instead, Sunday schools should be replaced by secular day schools, which become the natural places of Christian education, since it is the place where the children of the majority sit day by day. Last but not least, the ideal aim should be to awaken children to the desire in themselves to find their suitable places in society and to be entirely fit for it.

James H. Rigg was obviously talking about the general interests of the nation without devoting much space and attention to separate class interests and traditions in the field of education. Although his notions are mostly true for the lower class interests, they also reveal a lot about the most urgent needs of the nation as a whole. What is more, his arguments were echoed a few years later when the press described the desirable trend in education as follows:

"At present the education given in our elementary schools is practically limited to the rudiments of arithmetic, outlines of states and names of towns, to grammatical rules, and the series of crimes and accidents which is misnamed history. We should surely endeavour to give the children some information with reference to the beautiful world, in which we live, the

²⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 12.

commoner animals and plants of our woods and fields, some explanations as to the common phenomena of nature, the causes of summer and winter, of the phases of the moon....Such information - elementary, but not superficial - would be intensely interesting to children, would make them think and be a valuable addition to the abstract rules of arithmetic, and to the book-learning which now reigns supreme."²⁶⁵

REFORMS OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

In the second half of the nineteenth century the nation was increasingly preoccupied with the idea of the creation of the right kind of national educational system, which mainly meant the **extension of the elementary school system to the whole nation**, including the poorest layers. It meant making sure that no one would be left without the opportunity to receive the very basics, which was increasingly considered as an elementary human right and one major pillar of dignified human existence. Let us remember that we are talking about a historical age when it was still not natural that children of 8 or somewhat older should be sitting in benches at school to learn something of the three R-s so as not to remain wholly illiterate. Instead, they were more often to be found in factories fighting for the family's survival. Prominent public figures, politicians and educators had to fight fierce battles in parliament and in other forums to push their reform plans through and, by doing so, to get somewhat closer to the European ideal, which practically corresponded to the German model.

²⁶⁵ Contemporary Review, Vol. XXVIII. June-Nov.1876. *On Our Present System of Elementary Education* by John Lubbock p.91.

Numerous review and newspaper articles and the extremely detailed **Royal Commissions` reports** all clearly demonstrate and, perhaps, justify my above statement, namely the fact that besides the so-called woman question, the most important welfare and foreign policy issues, education was perhaps the most acute one, which urgently cried for reform and improvement. The fact that the education question is one of the most dominant and one of the most vital social issues in the second half of the nineteenth century is also proven by **the great number of laws** proposed, turned down and passed in parliament in an ever growing number after **Forster`s Education Act in 1870**. See them later on in this chapter.

In the period in question **the whole scope and role of schooling was fundamentally transformed**. Hierarchically structured groupings of educational institutions were called into existence and were administered by different authorities. The **dual system of voluntary and state provision** remained practically to the end of the era. Some schools were highly formal institutions which played a critical role in the socialization of the young and strove to maintain the prevailing social order. This way they managed to contribute the overall economic development of the country, in spite of the fact that science and technology were neglected too long.

When the reform movement started there was **a diverse cluster of schools** which provided elementary education for lower and lower- middle class children, while the gentry and the aristocracy kept their children at home and taught the basics themselves or employed highly qualified governesses and specialized tutors to do the job until the youngsters could be sent to one of the prestigious public schools, which were mostly boarding schools. Girls were often confined to the home, even when they reached adolescence, but upper- and upper middle class boys were encouraged to leave the sheltered home environment and expose themselves to the rather efficient but harsh character-shaping power of the public schools.

Types of schools and educational opportunities on the elementary level

Up to the Forster Act, the so-called **Ragged Schools** were the forerunners of the national elementary education system. They were meant to provide basic education for the poor children and were mostly run by committees of volunteers who employed the teachers and occasionally taught the children themselves. As far as the heterogeneous modes of teaching were concerned, there were indeed many different schools that provided cheap elementary

education for the children of the lower classes. Depending on their type of organization and funding, elementary schools were called by different names: **board schools, district schools, parish schools, village schools, charity, ragged, voluntary schools** or **national schools** but they did not really differ in function. All of them served the above mentioned noble goal, that is **the elevation of the lower orders and enabling them to lead a more dignified life**. However, not many of them turned out to be successful even in the most basic target, that is, **the alleviation of illiteracy**. A great number of the pauper or labouring children never managed to get beyond the stage of semi-literacy, which was likely to be due to the fact that, in many cases, the family was anxious not to lose a breadwinner and it was the parents themselves who actually discouraged their own children to go to school, as they considered the child's contribution to the struggling family budget more important than the seemingly superfluous ability to read and write. This is exactly what James Rigg emphasized in *National Education* when he said that without the family's support the efforts of the authorities were doomed to failure, no matter how hard they tried. This was so widespread that even law had to be passed to force the parents to let their children occupy themselves with the tasks that should have been most natural at their age.

It is true that going to school cannot have always been a very pleasant or even rewarding experience for the majority of the children. Both **Sunday schools** and the so-called **ragged schools** were extremely overcrowded, unhealthy, suffocating, noisy – hardly bearable for the children. What is more, the teachers did not hesitate to resort to corporal punishment, when it was difficult for them to keep up order amid the harsh circumstances. Sunday schools were meant for children who worked all week and they were supposed to teach children the basic skills at least to enable them to read the Bible. Later some non-conformist Sunday schools developed into vigorous working class institutions which offered classes for adults as well. The ragged schools were funded by charities and it was mainly middle class volunteers or some paid teachers who taught in them with very limited success.

Jeremy Bentham's innovative **Chrestomatic Day School** introduced **a number of initiatives** which were **unique in their own time** and supported Bentham's theory 'the greatest happiness for the greatest number'. Among the new principles we can read about **emulation and competition, the monitor system**, which actually spread in different elementary schools even if Bentham's ideal school was never built, then **the gradual progression principle, the distraction prevention principle, the integration of corporal exercises** to facilitate the maintenance of order and discipline and a lot more. Chrestomatic meant **conductive to**

useful knowledge and was essentially progressive in its own time. Posterity, however, condemned it for numerous reasons but the basic charge against it was its inhuman treatment of the children.²⁶⁶

However, for the upper layers of the society **education in the home** remained the major solution practically till the end of the era.

Most middle class children, from whose ranks the predominant proportion of the intellectual subclass originated, spent their early childhood at home and received their basic education, perhaps even pursued more advanced studies, directly from their own parents or other family members. The main conductor of the regular and mostly systematic schedule was **the mother**

²⁶⁶ Elissa S. Itzkin, "Bentham's Chrestomatia: Utilitarian Legacy to English Education", (*Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol.39, Issue 2) (April-June, 1978), pp. 303-316.

in most cases. The agenda meant that the children and the mother worked together in the morning. The curriculum included biblical knowledge and subjects that served **the moral-spiritual edification of the young ones**. They were supposed to study **French, geography, history**, and perhaps subjects which in a way prepared the ground for the children's future public school studies. They were likely to be taught some **mathematics, Latin and Greek**. The learning often involved reading a Psalm aloud and spelling skills were mostly improved by making the children copy texts. Their reading was mainly restricted to **the catechism, English history, Bible history** and some **fiction**.

The lessons came on a regular schedule, especially if other female family members or teachers from outside were also involved. It happened that either the mother did not really have the gift for teaching, or she was drawn away from instructing the children by other duties or illness. In such cases sisters, aunts, governesses or even the father may have taken an active part in the teaching. The busier part of the day was the morning; the children mostly worked on their own in the afternoon, doing their homework for the following day independently. The schedule was more or less the same throughout the year and was maintained strictly, allowing few deviations to guarantee discipline and regular work.

For children of some social rank, sometimes **governesses** were hired to give the necessary instruction. On the one hand, they freed the mother from this rather time-consuming obligation, on the other, they brought expertise to the home, especially in teaching subjects which demanded skill, like drawing. Some middle or upper class families even made sure to hire a foreign governess to facilitate the children's foreign language acquisition this way. For developing the children's musical skills, it was usually a paid music teacher who went to the family's house at certain intervals to give the lessons.

Although the instruction mostly concentrated in the hands of females, males also frequently participated. **The father**, busy as he was likely to be, often insisted on taking an active part in the education of the children, especially in that of the boys. Regarding the often extremely busy agenda of the father, in particular, if he was an active social figure, he tried to do the teaching so that it meant edification for the children and a kind of relaxation for himself. He mostly taught a subject which was a favourite of his own, which he himself had a keen interest in and would have studied anyway for his own intellectual satisfaction. In other cases fathers taught a whole range of subjects or even used their own personal letters as instruments of pedagogy. They must have wanted to communicate information to the children that had to

do with the current affairs of the family. There were instances when the father had capacity for no more than supervising the childrens` studies or counselling them when it came to orientation towards future official studies.

This latter factor was extremely important in the case of boys who were likely to go to public schools and, in due course, to take the family enterprise over or at least to follow in the fathers footsteps. As John Tosh says: “Equally traditional was the prejudice in favour of sons. Men looked for an offspring who would continue the family name and transmit the attributes of masculinity to posterity.”²⁶⁷ Or later another relevant statement:” the passage of boys to manhood was deeply marked by their parents, but parental roles were different. Fathers exercised much more authority over their sons` s choice of profession or business than they do today, while mothers – often justifiably – were credited with immense moral and emotional influence. And the power of each parent was immeasurably increased by the convention that – unless study or employment took them far afield – sons lived at home for as long as they remained unmarried.”²⁶⁸

Education in the home was influential and must have had a lasting influence for most children, but in the case of boys the really great impact was exerted by the official training, which they received in one of the prestigious public schools, as we shall see later.

The professionalization of teachers and the increasing involvement of the State:

A consequence of institutionalization was that by the end of the Victorian age **state administrative bodies** were called into existence with full-time expert staffs and serious efforts were made to invent the framework of **a new system for professional teacher training**. In the elementary schools it was mostly middle class ladies who taught on a voluntary and charitable basis or representatives of the clergy. There were relatively few lay teachers at the beginning of the reforms and, as their number was limited, they had to adopt the pupil teacher system, that is, to work with senior students, who aided them in the crowded classrooms.

²⁶⁷ John Tosh, *A Man`s Place: Masculinity and the Middle Class Home in Victorian England*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p.80.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

The professionalization of teachers was mostly carried out so as **to create a teaching body** that could do work on a more advanced level both in elementary and in secondary schools. The first really important initiative appeared in 1875 when Kay-Shuttleworth called together a committee of persons with the aim of establishing a training college for secondary masters because it was increasingly accepted that the schoolmasters were the only possible leaders of a united profession in England, therefore they deserved satisfactory training. Among the pioneers of the new movement one can find the names of Dorothea Beale or J.G. Fitch (H.M. Inspector of Training Colleges etc. who all contributed with their own actions to the extension of professional teacher training. For example, Dorothea Beale herself established a training department in Cheltenham Ladies' College and from 1885 this department operated a full course in secondary school teaching for future mistresses. Fitch, who also urged training courses for secondary school teachers, suggested that the universities should assume responsibility for this task.

In spite of the early steps **the establishment of official training institutions** before 1890 made only slow progress. The earliest institutional development was the foundation of **the College of Preceptors** in 1846 when a group of lay teachers in Brighton came together to help one another and to offer their assistance to others in the field of professional practice. The organization moved to London and obtained a charter in 1849. It was essentially designed to the teachers of elementary schools and the major aim was to enhance their prestige by **establishing a register of qualified practitioners**. To obtain this noble goal, the College even organized lectures on various aspects of education.²⁶⁹

In the 1870s both **the Endowed Schools Commission** and **the Headmasters' Conference** discussed the question of professional training at their annual meetings. Very surprisingly for many, the headmasters hardly attributed significance to the professional training of their colleagues. Yet, 1877 the Conference involved Oxford and Cambridge Universities in the dispute and tentatively asked them to provide the kind of training required. As a response, schemes were drawn up by both universities and in 1879 a **Teacher Training Syndicate** was appointed and authorized to deliver certain courses of lectures and for the establishment of

²⁶⁹ P.H.J. H. Gosden, *The Evolution of A Profession: A Study of the Contribution of Teachers Associations to the Development of School Teaching as a Professional Organization.*, Barnes & Noble Books, 1998. p.218.

an examination in the theory, history and practice of education, moreover, the Syndicate was given the power to grant certificates of theoretical efficiency.²⁷⁰

In 1881 the question of teacher training was once again discussed by **the Headmasters' Conference** but the new attempts at further improvement ended up in a dead-end again because the headmasters were very critical of the lack of organized school practice in the Cambridge scheme.

In 1882 **the Finsbury Training College** was set up on the initiative of a small group of heads of middle class schools to provide training for young men who wished to become professional teachers at secondary schools but the scheme did not turn out a great success and had to close its gates in 1886 because of the low attendance of potential candidates. The main reason for the failure was still traced back to the headmasters' lack of support.²⁷¹

From the above facts it follows that whatever progress was made it was mainly in the field of training women throughout the 1880s and 1890s. In 1885 **the Cambridge Training College for Women** was founded and later became a famous institution under the name of Hughes Hall. It was the first residential secondary training college for women and the first where university lectures on education were given. Another major step forward was when the **Teachers Training and Registration Society**, founded in 1877, moved to larger premises in 1885 and assumed the name of Maria Grey Training College. The institution underwent further extension and the students were ultimately prepared for the teachers' certificate examination, which Cambridge had begun to offer in 1880. The main courses that had prepared the students were **logic, methodology, theory, history of education, physiology and hygiene.**²⁷²

The last major step in the extension of professional teacher training was carried out by the **Bryce Commission** in the 1890s, which made it plain that it was generally desirable that those who intended to enter secondary teaching should take a course of special preparation for it. The Commission also came to an agreement with others involved in decision making stating that **the professional training should be under the supervision and guidance of the universities.** Arthur Sidgwick, another prestigious reformer of the age in the field of education, divided the training into three distinct parts: the study of the theory and history of

²⁷⁰ Cambridge University Reporter, June, 1878, p.626.

²⁷¹ Gosden, p.220.

²⁷² Board of Education, Pamphlet No.23., 1912, pp.43-45.

education, school practice and finally a lengthy period of apprenticeship when the trainee teacher had to do the teaching by himself but under the supervision of an experienced senior colleague.

The conclusion of the debate and the result of the aforesaid efforts were the following: in 1897 **the Training of Teachers Joint Committee** was appointed, which comprised members of College of Preceptors, the Teachers' Guild, the Preparatory Schools Association as well as of the headmasters and headmistresses. These experts on the education situation claimed that training for future teachers should be continuous and there should be a lengthy practical training period so that candidates could reach the appropriate level of proficiency. They said that **the teaching diploma should certify proficiency both in theory and in practice**. The theoretical part of the education should include elementary psychology, ethics, logic physiology, school hygiene, school administration, history of education and the latest studies in methodology. The practical part was made up of model lessons, criticism lessons and actual classroom teaching. Institutions that undertook the task of training teachers had to be connected with the universities or university colleges and the training department here had to be separately staffed and run.²⁷³

We can easily realize that all these steps were absolutely indispensable with regard to the fact that in 1902, according to **the Balfour Act**, the growth of municipal schools created an ever growing demand for secondary teachers and also a large number of trained elementary teachers.

As for **the registration of teachers** is concerned, the main idea here was that there should be a Scholastic Council (analogous to the creation of the General Medical Council) that would represent the interests of educators without bias for any of the colleges, without favouring any religious opinions and would give freedom to the teachers in the management of their schools. When the Medical Act was passed in 1858, it served as a model for the Teachers Registration issue and in 1864 the General Committee of **the Association for Promoting Scholastic Registration** was also called into being. The membership here included schoolmasters from all forms and types of schools discussed and defined above in this chapter. In 1879 Lyon Playfair introduced the Teachers' Registration Bill and the idea was, like in the case of doctors and lawyers, that law should not allow the official employment of unqualified teachers to practice and entry to the register should depend on scholarship, professional skill and practical

²⁷³ Training of Teachers Joint Committee, Summary Report and proceedings, 1897.

experience. The bill became act in 1899 but was abolished in 1902, as many remained unsatisfied with the criteria of registration. The original model act was modified and refined a number of times later in the post-Victorian period.

State involvement in the promotion of education was a rather controversial element in the course of the reform movement. It is a fact that there were ardent opponents, mostly the advocates of free trade in economy, who thought that the same pattern was applicable in other spheres of life, too, for example in educational matters. On the other hand, mostly voluntary associations turned to the state because they expected assistance in the forms of grants. By the end of the era **the strong regulatory role of the state was increasingly accepted**. If one examines the topics or the main concerns of the legislative debates on education in the Parliamentary Papers and the Commissioners' Reports, one will find it striking how many debates were centered on the question of authority – central or local government – and on the financial conditions or consequences of the new steps. Of course, many were outraged by the obvious neglect of science and technology until the last years of Victoria's reign. However, as we can learn from *the Contemporary Review*, the really weighty arguments were not financial but religious; the identification of education with religion remained very strong throughout the era and non-doctrinal religion as offered in some of the schools was unacceptable to many.²⁷⁴

The role of the state was seen as **a controversial issue** and was **widely debated** in the Victorian press, too. One of the most acute problems was **how to finance education**. It turns out clearly not only from the contemporary publications but historians who specialize in this period and topic also tend to agree that the public was greatly split over the ideal role of the state in finding the acceptable solutions to the education issue.

One opinion we can read in the article titled '*Free Schools*' signed Norton and published in 1885. In the following passage Norton quotes the words of Prime Minister Gladstone: "The rule of our policy is that nothing should be done by the State which can be better, or as well, done by voluntary effort; and neither in its mental nor even its literary aspect has the work of the State for education as yet proved its superiority over the work of the religious bodies or of philanthropic individuals."²⁷⁵ This viewpoint is, of course, understandable if one takes

²⁷⁴ *Contemporary Review*. Vol. LXXII. Nov. 1897. *The Position of the Education Question* by E. Lyulph Stanley pp. 649-659.

²⁷⁵ Norton, p. 27.

Gladstone's liberal convictions into consideration. But not only his government, but most advocates of laissez-faire in economy would have agreed with the same principle. Gladstone's supporters were sure that what worked satisfactorily in economy, should be suitable in other fields as well. History failed to justify them, however.

On the opposite pole, Joseph Chamberlain, for instance, preached rather contrasting views as it turns out from the words of his *Radical Programme*: “the responsibility which the State assumed by the Act of 1870 has not been fully discharged. A great principle was then adopted, to which only partial effect has yet been given. A step was taken in the direction of State Socialism, but only a short step. The Radicals are not satisfied with the present educational arrangements, which are wanting in economy and efficiency.”²⁷⁶ Norton comments on Chamberlain’s speech by saying that “Mr. Chamberlain’s notion, then, about free schools is that the whole community should pay for all schools, in yearly rates and taxes, a national assurance, extended over all their lives, of an educational provision for those who may want to use it.”

However, in *The Future of Education* Mr. Mahaffy would impose obligations of other nature on the State. For example, he urges **the establishment of a sound free library system**, “where all those who have aspirations beyond the mere daily wants of their material lives, may find spiritual food by contact with great spirits – novelists, poets, historians, essayists.”²⁷⁷

Another major terrain where the state should interfere, at least in the opinion of certain journalists and educationalists, is **to find an urgent solution for the right form of technical education**, which seems to have got halted and is in need of state interference. Mahaffy’s suggestion is that **there should be a clear distinction between technical and liberal education**, even in the highest forms. The State ought to do away with the current overlap in the material of the public schools, because it only causes confusion and the same should be true in the case of universities. In *Middle Class Education* we can read: “The present Commissioners on Technical Instruction seem to assume that schools for this purpose are in this country to be a part of the State educational undertaking. They say ‘It is clearly the aim of the Government that this superior instruction shall be placed as fully as possible within the reach of the working class.’ But as a special part of the middle class education, the aim of the Government should be to trust those who are interested, and stand out of their way.”²⁷⁸

²⁷⁶ Norton, p. 29.

²⁷⁷ Mahaffy, p. 217

²⁷⁸ Norton, p. 32.

The fact that the State finally assumed responsibility for the national educational situation was only the last phase in a lengthy evolutionary process, the watershed events of which were **the Forster Act of 1870** and **the Balfour Act in 1902**. Apart from these two there was a whole series of legislative reforms, starting from **the Charity Commission' report series in 1818-37**, through the so-called **Kerry Report in 1833**, **the Newcastle Commission of 1858-61**²⁷⁹, **the Revised Code of 1862**²⁸⁰, **The Elementary Education Amendment Act in 1873**²⁸¹ and then another followed in 1876. Some other amendments were issued almost continually in the 1880s and 1890s, such as **The Elementary Education School Attendance Act (1893)**²⁸², **The Voluntary Schools Act (1897)**²⁸³, **The Elementary School Teachers (Superannuation Act in 1898)**²⁸⁴ until **the Balfour Act** was issued in 1902 and meant the culmination of the legislative reform movement.

²⁷⁹ It desperately demanded financial help for the voluntary bodies and state aid in the form of block capitation grants and argued that public funds ought to be put to proper use. It also urged the development of the poorer areas but the idea of free elementary schooling was condemned.

²⁸⁰ It advocated measures that produced considerable improvements but these were still far from being sufficient. After the Revised Code there was a marked rise in school attendance, school organizations improved, the religious stress was somewhat eased and secularization became a little more accepted. However, a great number of deficiencies remained, which gave further impetus for the Commissions of later times to come up with their own proposals for reform. The much hated 'payment by results' system, which was introduced by the Revised Code, for example remained in force for another thirty years or so, and left much to be desired.

²⁸¹ It authorized the School Boards to be constituted trustees for any educational endowment or charity for purposes connected with education.

That no child under ten years of age shall be employed and that no child shall be employed who has not obtained a necessary certificate of due attendance or is attending school under the provisions of the Factory Acts for the time being in force.

²⁸² It raised the school leaving age to eleven and later this was further raised to twelve in 1899. The age alteration applied both to the penalties imposed on parents and employers.

²⁸³ came out, whose object was to assist voluntary schools, that is, "public elementary schools not provided by School Boards." In the same year the School Board Conference Act stipulated that representative members and clerks should meet in conference once a year to gather information on education from all parts of the country.

²⁸⁴ It was approved of by Parliament and it dealt with the question of teachers' pensions, which had been a rather troublesome issue since 1846, that is, the Revised Code by Robert Lowe and ever since it had given ground to much disagreement, friction and agitation. The current settlement covered problems, such as the pension age and the sum of the pension due to male and female teachers respectively, which was determined by tables prepared by the Treasury. The Act also contained provisions for cases of permanent breakdown, the so-called 'disablement allowances'.

Forster's Elementary Education Act in 1870 came in a crucial moment, when all the previous efforts were finally rewarded.²⁸⁵ Although a national free elementary education system came into being only in 1891, the main achievement of Forster's act was that **schools became available in every part of the country**. In fact, this statute was only the first of a series which ended in the Acts of 1902 and 1903 and for the first time statutory provision was made for several things which hitherto had never been recognized by the State.

4. Compulsory education was adopted.
5. Schools were to be maintained out of local poor rates.
6. No religious teaching should be given to any child, if objected to by the parents, in any school assisted by the State.

Compulsion even meant that **school attendance had to be enforced**. This was supplied by providing penalties against the parents who allowed their children to be absent from school.

The Education Act of 1902, or also referred to as **The Balfour Act**, which marks the final stage in elementary education. In fact it was the first comprehensive education Bill to reach the Statute Book. The administrative structure which the Bill set up was foreshadowed in the Bryce Report in 1895 and the Balfour act declared **the need for unified control of primary and secondary education** and realized the fact that **the Counties and the County Boroughs were the obvious authorities for the job**. Therefore the authority became unified at the centre through **the new Board of Education** and it was charged with the superintendence of matters relating to education in England and Wales. To see the major points precisely, the Act placed all elementary schools, whether denominational or otherwise, in a position to claim assistance from local rates.

5. It gave Local Authorities power to employ rates for maintaining or assisting schools "other than elementary".
6. It placed the power to train teachers in the hands of Local Authorities.

²⁸⁵ *The Contemporary Review* published statistics about the position of education in the U.K. at the time of the passing of the Forster Act in the article entitled 'The Progress of Education in England' by Francis Peek, Vol. XXXV. April-August, 1879. pp. 862-874. According to this voluntary effort had provided 11000 day and 2000 night schools. The number of children upon the registers was 1,450,000, with an average attendance of about 1,000,000, which meant very irregular attendance. Only two-fifths of the children between the ages of six and ten years, and only one third of those between the ages of ten and twelve, received even the very insufficient amount of education.

7. It enabled Local Authorities to pay for the maintenance of students.
8. It left it to Local Authorities to pay the travelling expenses of both teachers and pupils.

In a separate section it clarifies the constitution of the local educational authority, according to which:

4. In every county or county borough the authority is the Council
5. In every non-county borough with a population of over ten thousand the authority is the Borough Council
6. In every urban district with a population of over twenty thousand the authority is the District Council

In a third part we can read:

3. all the powers of School Boards and School Attendance Committees be transferred to the new Local Education Authorities and that the former bodies be abolished.
4. That every school, provided otherwise, shall have a body of managers and a constitution of its own.

In the last section the chief provisions are:

5. The Council of any county, borough, or urban district having powers under the Act, must appoint an education committee to carry out the work. The committee should contain members of the Council, representatives of educational thought, and women.
6. Powers are given to levy rates for all expenses and to borrow the necessary sums.
7. Councils are allowed to amalgamate or co-operate for the successful accomplishment of the work.
8. The Education Authority may pay for "the provision of vehicles or the payment of reasonable travelling expenses for teachers or children who attend school or college.

As a final evaluation of the Act we may want to quote the thesis of Professor E.G. West, who pointed out that "the government takeover in Britain resulted from pressure by teachers,

administrators, and well meaning intellectuals, rather than parents."²⁸⁶ When the State took

²⁸⁶ H.J. Kiesling, *Nineteenth Century Education According to West: A Comment* The Economic History Review, New Series, Vol.XXXVI. Issue 3. (Aug., 1983.) p.416.

control over the education question ultimately, the quality and the diversity of schooling also diminished and **compulsory education became much more unified and harmonized** than ever before. As a result of the above acts and reforms, gradually **the curriculum expanded, the age for compulsory attendance lengthened** (by the end of the century the school leaving age was raised to twelve) and if it was mostly the moral edification of children that mattered in the first half of the century, by the end of the era there was **a distinct shift in favour of the cultivation of the intellect**. Besides these improvements, the schooling of working and lower-middle class children throughout the country became more uniform by the end of Victoria's reign.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN VICTORIAN ENGLAND

The term secondary education was virtually non-existent till the end of the century, that is, the passing of the Balfour Act in 1902, which officially recognized the need for advanced studies after the elementary level. It was characteristic that throughout the period **there was no clear dividing line between primary and secondary education**, not to mention technical education, which was even more neglected. During the Victorian century secondary education in all forms remained **the privilege of the Middle Class and the class above them**. It worked **on a fee-paying basis**, which automatically excluded the lower layers of the society. **The curriculum** in all types of schools was **limited to the classics**, which was a precondition of one's going on to higher education.

Since the focus of my dissertation is the proliferation and the diversification of the professionals in the late Victorian era, the advance of secondary education is vital to my analysis. Special attention will be paid to the discoveries of the Royal Commissions, namely the Clarendon and the Taunton Commissions, which were carried out in the 1860s and called the attention of the authorities to the deficiencies and, by doing so, made the subsequent reforms possible. I will devote a separate chapter to the analysis of the public school situation, which was the rock bottom of the whole system, and by growing into an acknowledged Monolith by the late Victorian period, turned into a truly national system.

From the point of view of the professionals of the age, **the public school** played a **crucial role** because the students graduating from such institutions either continued their studies and went to the prestigious universities to become doctors, lawyers, engineers, university dons and the like through specialization, or did not go to higher education but were integrated by all kinds of government posts, colonial offices, the military or the Public Service, mainly owing to the special aura they obtained after spending a number of years in the mainly boarding institutions. Here, besides the classics, the main educational influence the students were exposed to was the Christian gentlemanly ideal of Thomas Arnold, the great reforming headmaster of Rugby School in the mid-century. The students may not have received a very profound and pragmatic education but they could mingle with their social equals or create connections with higher circles and they did learn the manners, the public school accent and behavioral patterns which made them the right people to run the Empire in the last years of Victoria's reign.

In a separate chapter I will show how education in two prestigious public schools, namely in Harrow and Merchant Taylors' contributed to the proliferation of the professional subclass and how the changing clientele of these schools reflect social mobility patterns for people who occupied intellectual positions. I will use the article of Edward A. Allen²⁸⁷, which gives a profound analysis of the public school entrance patterns, academic results, and the future career of students in Harrow and Merchant Taylors' between 1825 and 1850 and hot on the heels of these discoveries I will continue the investigation with the aim of showing the pertinence of similar statistical data for the professionals of the last third of the Wonderful Century. I will examine entrance patterns, the duration of studies at the school, academic results and the degree gained there, the profession of the fathers and the future career of the public school boys so as to be able to come up with some general observations as to the multiplication of the professions and also to pour some light on the social role they fulfilled in the maintenance of public institutions at home and abroad.

²⁸⁷ Edward A. Allen: Public School Elites in Early-Victorian England: The Boys at Harrow and Merchant Taylors' School from '825 to 1850. *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 21, Issue 2 (Spring, 1982) pp.87-117

THE EVOLUTION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION AND REFORMS

In the early nineteenth century the system of secondary education was rather unsatisfactory, if it is correct to call it a system at all. There was a rather heterogeneous cluster of schools, the precise definition of which is problematic and obviously the Victorians themselves found it hard to distinguish the various types of schools from one another. The most reliable **sources** the researcher can use are Nicolas Carlisle's *A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales* (1818), the records of Brougham's *Parliamentary Select Committee* (1816-1818) and those of the *Charity Commission* (1818-1837). On the basis of these documents – supplemented by the definitions one can find in Encyclopedias, such as the *Cyclopedia of Education* edited by Paul Monroe, it is possible to distinguish different types of secondary schools, most of which struggled with severe handicaps in the first half of the century.

Types of Secondary Schools

The **Endowed Grammar Schools**: there were about 600 or more of them in the early years of Victoria's reign and they were mostly endowed by private founders for the free education of local inhabitants. They maintained traditional links with the established Church and, in due course, some of them, e.g. Winchester and Eton emerged as national institutions and depended on fee-paying boarders, mainly from the ranks of the aristocracy and the gentry. *The Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission* in 1868 showed both the importance of the grammar school endowments and the numerous abuses which badly needed reform. However, even the **Endowed Schools Act of 1869** restricted itself to administrative problems. It established State interest in what were, by tradition, private institutions and required government approval of each public school's controlling body.

Charity Schools sprang up in England during the latter half of the seventeenth century and flourished throughout the eighteenth. They were available free to the children of the poor and

were supported mainly by private contributions. Most often they were controlled by some ecclesiastical or religious body, mainly dissenters.

The **Private Classical Schools** were mostly run by Anglican clergymen for fee-paying pupils where the focus fell on the instruction of classical languages in a respectable atmosphere and they mostly attracted the support of the gentry and the professionals.

There were **private academies** and schools – also called **proprietary schools** -, which were non-classical institutions and aimed at providing secondary education to the emerging middle class. These private academies intended to provide an encyclopedic range of subjects and practical education for the sons of merchants, manufacturers and top tradesmen. They were run by individuals (or sometimes partnerships) for profit and the dissenter institutions by religious sects. They differed from the endowed grammar school mainly in the sense that they maintained a closer supervision of the pupils and taught non-classical subjects as well. However, the frequent argument against them was that profit-making was more important than educational standards, they lacked equipment and the level was hardly higher than elementary.

In the last third of the century the so-called **higher-grade schools** appeared in three northern cities, namely in Bradford, Sheffield and Manchester and were pioneer institutions. These schools were not planned as central schools, but rather as schools for children of a superior class whose parents could afford an education for their children, which was better than the average. As John Roach says: “Those who attended the higher grade schools were children of the thoughtful and better-to-do working people, the children of clerks, managers, foremen, and artisans, and some of what you would call small tradesmen – the lower middle class.”²⁸⁸

Technical Schools also appeared in the last decade of the era. The 1890s witnessed a steady increase in the number of organized science schools but the most complete system of technical education was developed by the London Technical Education Board and in 1889 the **Technical Instruction Act** did a lot for the promotion of technical secondary education in England and Wales. In these schools mostly tradesmen, skilled workmen, and foremen were well represented, professional parents hardly appeared.

The Public Schools will be discussed separately.

²⁸⁸ John Roach: Secondary Education in England 1870-1902 Public activity and private enterprise, Routledge: London and New York 1991 p.95.

Criticism of secondary education was upheld throughout the period. The main targets of attack were the **too narrow classical curriculum and the low moral tone** in all the schools, but especially in the boarding public schools. Throughout the era, even after the rather inadequate **Grammar Schools Act** of 1840, which aimed at the widening of the narrow classical curriculum, the problems remained. **Teaching** remained **on a low level**, subjects retained their narrow profile, staff mostly lacked the expertise needed, there were serious **financial and organizational deficiencies** and the schools' ethos suffered as a result of the low morale, which originated from the maltreatment of young boys by their elders, including the prefects, the headmasters and the senior students. **Living conditions** were verging on the edge of **torturous** in boarding establishments, meaning scanty food, the constant bullying of older boys, the fagging of the prefects and the sexual insults and harassments the newcomers had to suffer. Most sources written in the first half of the century (the pre-Arnoldian years) complain about shortage of staff, unsupervised dormitories, dull schedules, constant bullying, gambling, homosexuality, drinking and the fact that the only way to maintain order was through intimidation and humiliation by the headmasters.

From the above, it is easy to realize that radical reforms, reorganization and the expansion of the system were needed and these endeavours were most clearly manifest in the Public School reforms in the second half of the century, mainly through the drastic reforms of Thomas Arnold, the headmaster of Rugby School (1828-1842). So as to understand the significance of these radical steps forward, let us examine the public school phenomenon itself and the significance of the new Christian gentlemanly ideal created by Arnold.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE GENTLEMANLY IDEAL OF THOMAS ARNOLD

The first thing to mention in connection with the English Victorian public schools is that there has never been a precise and generally acceptable definition for this typical national institution. John Wakeford in his book titled *The Cloistered Elite* argues that in the second half of the nineteenth century a small number of schools became popularly distinguished from the rest of the educational establishments and the distinction was formally recognized on the

appointment of the two royal commissions, namely the **Clarendon (1861-1864)** and the **Taunton Commissions (1867)**. He maintains that the term **public school** is still in use and today it refers to “**a small number of schools situated in England and Wales whose headmasters receive no direct financial aid from local authorities or from the State**”.²⁸⁹

A.F. Leach in 1899 argued that the public school was an educational institution with high fees which attracted the richer classes and it was entirely or **almost entirely a boarding school**. According to his definition the public school was under the control of a public body and it **drew the pupils from all parts of the country**.²⁹⁰ These criteria, however, allowed great variations in fees and both the clientele and the ethos of the school changed a good deal from decade to decade and from school to school. As we observe the last third of the nineteenth century, we cannot help noticing that **new criteria** had to be met so as to gain the title of public school. In my opinion, an adequate definition should consider the product, the academic output of these schools, therefore should contain information on how long the students stayed within the walls of the school, what kind of degree they got, whether they went to university afterwards and what percentage of them melted into the gradually expanding professional class.

Among the criteria we certainly have to mention the membership of **the Headmasters' Conference**, which was founded in 1869 on the initiative of Edward Thring and others. The idea was to protect the headmasters of endowed schools against imminent legislation, which sometimes threatened their independence. The most reliable sources of the membership of the HMC were the **Public Schools Yearbook**, which first appeared in 1889 and the **Whitaker Almanack**, whose editions claimed to identify the HMC schools from 1898. The criteria for representation were not formalized but invitation to the conference was likely to depend on the size of the school, the number of alumni at Oxford and Cambridge and the constitution of the governing body. **The Headmasters' Conference** was a decisive forum in the sense that the leaders of the most prestigious schools came together to share information and exchange opinion on recent tendencies, principles, guidelines, behavioral and moral problems and they inevitably had a great influence on one another and via this they did a good deal for the harmonization of public school standards.

²⁸⁹ John Wakeford: *The Cloistered Elite: A sociological analysis of the English Public Boarding School*, Macmillan, London 1969 p.9.

²⁹⁰ Roach, p.119.

Religion may have been an important factor in the sense that one cannot simply find any Roman Catholic schools among the renowned ones. The great schools were predominantly **Anglican** and a very limited number of non-conformist ones (e.g. the Methodist Leys School in Cambridge).

When it comes to the classification of the schools, it is worth noticing what an important distinguishing mark was **how the various schools accepted and acknowledged one another**. Especially when they had to compete, either in academics or in games, it was a good indication of the school's standing who was willing to challenge who and who accepted whom as an opponent. For example, Shrewsbury had to struggle a lot for acknowledgement as it was constantly regarded as a school of dubious standing.

The schools who could surely win recognition were the elite nine schools included in the investigation of the **Clarendon Commission**. Originally there were seven boarding schools examined by the commission, namely Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Westminster, Winchester, Charterhouse and Shrewsbury and two day schools – Merchant Taylors' and St. Paul's. But the number of public schools was ever multiplying. As J.R. de S. Honey says: "By the close of the Victorian period there were 437 such schools in England alone and in 1897, and probably at least 600 in the British Isles as a whole."²⁹¹ Later he adds: "by the close of the Victorian period of a main community of some 64 schools who interacted with each other in two or more of a wide range of activities which by then had come to be regarded as characteristic of public schools."²⁹²

Harry G. Judge endeavours to come up with a satisfactory definition of the public school in his article titled *The English Public School: History and Society*. His starting point is Edward J. Mack's definition, according to which: "those non-local endowed boarding schools for the upper classes which are termed Public Schools."²⁹³ Judge himself highlights the nineteenth century developments in his own analysis. He argues that "The English Public School was the product of particular economic and social circumstances of which enterprising headmasters took proper advantage".²⁹⁴ He also points at the fact that the absence of State provision for secondary education also gave an impetus to the expansion in number and size of the public

²⁹¹ The Victorian Public School; A symposium edited by Brian Simon and Ian Bradley, Gill and Macmillan, 1975

²⁹² Ibid. p.29

²⁹³ Harry G. Judge: The English Public School: History and Society, Essay Review V. p. 513.

²⁹⁴ Judge p. 516

schools, because this way they had to **become more and more independent and had to grow on their own.**

Rupert Wilkinson's thesis in *Gentlemanly Power* is that **the role of the public school** was predominantly **political**. He points at the many-sided function of the schools when says that in the second half of the century a new and expanding bureaucratic machinery demanded growing middle-class participation in government and the Civil Service. The public schools met this requirement by opening their gates to the commercial and the professional classes and also acted as **social amalgams**. In his words: "They took the fees of the textile magnate and the lawyer, and in return they exposed their sons to the full public service traditions of the aristocrat and the country squire. In this way, the schools really served as an instrument of class power. They perpetuated the political supremacy of the landed classes by 'capturing 'talent from the rising bourgeoisie and moulding that talent into 'synthetic' gentlemen."²⁹⁵ At another point he claims: "Not only was there a rapid multiplication of Anglican boarding schools after 1850, but the student population of already well established schools became increasingly cross-regional. A national public school accent emerged, linking social prestige with the hallmark of good education. Both in speech and outlook, the public schools exerted a unifying influence on the country' leadership."²⁹⁶

There is one more thing which I have to mention before going on to discuss Thomas Arnold's decisive gentlemanly ideal and reform activity, namely the formation of the public schools into **a system**, or in other words, **the establishment of the Monolith.**

Practically, up to the middle of the nineteenth century, it was not correct to talk about a truly national system, but rather a small number of individual schools, which struggled against the above discussed handicaps. The very fact that the hitherto individual schools endeavored to step into such a close alliance, so that they could be considered as a national institution, is definitely related to the growth of the middle class in the second half of the century and is pertinent to the proliferation of the professional subclass. In my opinion, as the middle class was growing in importance and became more and more influential, they gradually pushed the aristocracy from their leading position. **They started exerting more influence on public taste, conveyed a new religious spirit and increasingly realized their own educational**

²⁹⁵ Rupert Wilkinson: *Gentlemanly Power*. British Leadership and the Public School Tradition. Oxford Univ. Press. London and New York. 1964 p.4.

²⁹⁶ Wilkinson p. 9.

needs, especially when they recognized what was missing to enhance the quality of their lives. Most historians agree that it was mainly due to the middle class efforts that the public schools could grow into a national institution and could produce the bulk of the professionals, whose mission was to provide the services that could improve the quality of life so much in demand on the eve of the modern era. Edward C. Mack holds the view that by 1870 the middle classes had modified their most extreme views and won the battle against their opponents – meaning the upper classes. They adjusted the public schools to their needs and to the necessities of the mid-Victorian world.²⁹⁷

The same view is supported by Brian Simon when he says in the Introduction of *The Victorian Public School*: “Three groups of institutions—the Clarendon schools, the new proprietary schools and some endowed grammar schools—became fused into a single system and impelled to take the same route as a solution to similar problems or as a response to similar circumstances.”²⁹⁸

In *The Public School Phenomenon* Gathorne-Hardy writes about the radical public school reforms that took place between 1824 and 1900. He points out that from anarchic and amoral, loosely defined communities **they turned into highly disciplined societies**, which were **preoccupied with duty, religion, social advancement, games, house spirit and competition**. The schools provided a certain **class confidence**, a feeling of **conformity** and developed **self-control**, all assets which were appropriate and indispensable for the future leaders of the Empire, whether at home or abroad. And finally when they evolved **an ethos**, a system of values, which they imposed upon the entire nation, they became the Monolith, that is, a system.²⁹⁹

The next point to talk about is the radical reconsideration of the major concept of the public school education, that is, **the creation of a new ideal**, which is related to the work of **Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby between 1828 and 1842**.

I have already mentioned that the public schools were far from being moral institutions in the first half of the century and suffered from all kinds of deficiencies, such as bad living conditions, low morals, lack of discipline in spite of the intimidating, autocratic methods of

²⁹⁷ Edward C. Mack: *Public Schools and British Opinion since 1860*. Columbia Univ. Press. New York 1941 p. 104.

²⁹⁸ *The Victorian Public School* p. 9.

²⁹⁹ Gathorne-Hardy: *The Public School Phenomenon* p.228

the prefects and headmasters, very narrow curriculum and limited life chances. First it was the two royal commissions (Clarendon and Tauton) that drew attention to the malpractice of the public schools but the actual reforms were initiated and carried out by individual headmasters, the greatest and most influential of whom was Thomas Arnold. As he took the beneficial impact of the curriculum for granted and did not take steps to reform this aspect of secondary education, he considered character formation to be his main task and his moral duty. **Religion, discipline, good manners, culture, the community spirit** formed the backbone of his philosophy and he had the personal charisma to persuade the other influential headmasters of his time to follow suit as soon as possible. However, it was mainly the subsequent generation who used **the Arnoldian gentlemanly ideal** as a model and by doing so the second half of the century enjoyed an upheaval in the English public school. As Gathorne Hardy puts it in the Public School Phenomenon: "School as a place to train character - a totally new concept so far - was what came to distinguish the English public school from all other Western school systems."³⁰⁰ Wilkinson carries the idea of character-building further when says about the **Arnoldian ideal of the Christian gentleman** that, on the one hand, the schools' exultation of Chapel suited the Philistine respectability of the bourgeoisie, on the other hand, the schools tended to inculcate gentlemanly manners and this met the aesthetic requirements of the landed classes. Therefore, through the reformed public schools "the concept of 'character' wedded middle-class morality to gentry-class style."³⁰¹

From the above observation as to **the social amalgamation of the schools' clientele**, we can see that the great public schools also acted as the creators of **the country's potential leadership** for the late Victorian period, mainly due to the Arnoldian reforms. T.W. Bamford even argues that Arnold's lasting reforms were crucial in the sense that they bred the major political force in the last decade of the century. In his words: "After him (Arnold) came great expansions in industry, commerce, empire, invention, social welfare, professional growth, all needing increasing numbers of so-called leaders. Parallel with this went the explosive growth in the number and size of schools and a widening of their area of social catchment. The schools offered more and more the expectation to parents that they were concerned with leadership and its active promotion."³⁰²

³⁰⁰ Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy: The Public School Phenomenon 1877-1977, London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1977. p. 75.

³⁰¹ Wilkinson. p.10

³⁰² T. W. Bamford is quoted in The Victorian Public School by Simon and Bradley ed. pp.63-64.

So as to become leaders in any of the above mentioned areas, the students had to learn to conform, to live up to the expectations of the school but at the same time to retain some of their individual independence of thought, otherwise how could they have produced original ideas. In fact, the most obvious change in the public school system during the post-Arnoldian decades was the attitude towards personal freedom. Formerly there was a whole range of rituals which aimed at the mental integration of all newcomers into the prevailing hierarchic system of the older boys and to make him conform to the 'house spirit' as fully as possible. It was widely maintained that the sooner the freshmen learnt the uttered and unuttered rules, the better they could serve the public interests – first only in games, later when they had to serve the nation. The idea was to make the pupils *want to serve the community* and through its clearly defined ladder of ranks and privileges, the public schools could equate love of the community with love of the authorities and later with national interests. To quote Wilkinson, "the public schools assisted nationalism by bringing together classes which enjoyed most influence over the country's opinions – the taste-setters. During the early nineteen-hundreds, many middle-class liberals were already showing national sympathies, and their nationalism grew nearer to the conservative version of the gentry as the century wore on. It was in this trend that the public schools played their part, opening their gates to members of the middle classes and teaching them to identify love of the community with love of its traditions. As well as merely inculcating nationalism, the public schools helped to create a fusion between **the nationalist spirit and the motive of imperial philanthropy.**"³⁰³ What brought a spectacular change in conformism was that it was increasingly recognized that a man could only grow into a creative inventor if he experienced freedom in his youth. The headmasters accepted the idea of Arnold and, although they still maintained discipline in every possible way, left more space for private initiative than before.

The willingness to conform to the house spirit leads us on to the issue of **class solidarity**. I have mentioned the social amalgam that the schools produced but class distinctions remained anyway. The schoolboys were youngsters who were bound together by the same experiences and this very fact made them very much alike but different from everyone else. This typical public school boy consciousness was manifest in the so-called 'Old Boys system', which means that, even many years after graduation, old pupils of the same school tended to stick together, assisted in each other through patronage, maintained business connections and sent their own children to the school they themselves had attended. They did so to uphold

³⁰³ Wilkinson p.101.

continuity and because they knew from personal experience what kind of standards to live up to and what kind of life chances to expect. The old public school was a status symbol and had an impact on the pupils' lives forever.

Patronage among the old schoolboys was clearly present in the Army. In his article titled '*Militarism and the Victorian Public School*', Geoffrey Best writes that by the later Victorian period the public schools educated the "top echelons of the country's governing elite".³⁰⁴ Therefore, it was inevitable for them to have connections, directly or indirectly, with the formulation of government policy and the cultivation of the British national ideology.

Regarding the fact that the focus of my analysis is how the education (in this chapter secondary education) served the diversification of the professional subclass, it is essential to point out that **the government offices, the public service and the military** were major terrains that integrated public schoolboys who were contented with their secondary education and did not continue their studies at universities for specialized knowledge. In this part of my paper my argument is that serving the national interest with knowledge or military force was part of the gentlemanly ideal (a chivalric aspect of the new gentlemanly ideal) and I will write about professionals in the military, in the Civil Service and the Government in a later part of the dissertation.

THE REFORMS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN GENERAL

As we have seen, the reforms were initiated by Thomas Arnold in the 1830s and 1840s and his new public school ideal was taken over by many of the later headmasters, such as by C.J. Vaughan of Harrow (1844-1859), by Frederick Temple of Rugby (1857-1869), by John Percival of Rugby (1887-1895), just to mention some. Apart from Arnold's personal merit, the reforms were also due to the conscientious and superhuman efforts of the two royal commissions I have mentioned before. State supervision of secondary education was practically non-existent until the very end of the century when **the Balfour Act of 1902**

³⁰⁴ Geoffrey Best, 'Militarism and the Victorian Public School' in ?

finally allowed radical steps to be taken for the institutionalization of state run secondary education and created the right conditions for it. However, in the middle of the century it was only a very limited number of steps that can be considered as real steps forward. Edward C. Mack argues that if reforms happened in the mid-century they were generated by the middle class because by that time they found themselves securely in power, they were optimistic about the future and wished to bring their institutions into line with modern conditions.³⁰⁵ As education is always a key to social changes, certain reforms were clearly needed in that field. Hence the observations and recognitions of the Clarendon and the Taunton Commissions.

THE CLARENDON COMMISSION 1861-1864

When on April 23, 1861, Grant Duff asked in the House of Commons whether the government intended to grant an inquiry into the public schools' situation, George Cornwall Lewis, the home secretary of the Palmerston government gave an affirmative answer, saying that the public schools had already been brought under the jurisdiction of the Charity Commissioners in 1818.³⁰⁶ It was Lord Clarendon, a non-public-school man, who was appointed to the head of the commission, which was clearly set up to examine and not to attack the public schools. Everybody concerned seemed to wish to preserve the traditional profile of these unique institutions and to bring about changes which were absolutely necessary to their successful and efficient operation. As it turned out during the thorough investigation of the commission, Lord Clarendon and his colleagues were demanding political reformers whose ideal was modern business efficiency. They were not particularly lenient towards traditional privileges when they conflicted with commonsense. They were determined to modify rigid rules when either the original objectives of the founders were not fulfilled, or when modern society demanded new aims.³⁰⁷

The commissioners recommended a persistent and complete transformation of the governing bodies into trustees with no pecuniary interest and urged the headmasters to get money matters into their own hands as well as the disciplinary and educational power.

While examining the seven traditional elite boarding schools and the two elite day schools (listed earlier) **they proposed an extensive, though moderate series of changes in the**

³⁰⁵ Edward C. Mack: *Public Schools and British Opinion since 1860*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press. 1941. p.5.

³⁰⁶ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd Series, Vol. 162, p. 983 (April 23, 1861).

³⁰⁷ Report of the Public School Commission, I.7.

curriculum and in educational methods. As to the curriculum, they proved to be conservative and **kept the hegemonic role of the classics.** They argued that it was a long standing practice to teach them and they sounded convinced that teaching the classics and divinity provided the best possible mental training for the elite of the future. At the same time **the commissioners were ardent supporters of modern studies and urged including mathematics, music, history, geography, English composition, natural science and foreign languages in the curriculum, but without endangering its classical backbone.**³⁰⁸

As far as entrance criteria were concerned, the commissioners recommended that admission should be based on **competitive examinations** and by this, they practically attacked the entirely upper-class character of the schools.³⁰⁹

All in all, it is possible to conclude that the Clarendon Commission represented a kind of compromise between the Conservative and the Liberal viewpoints of the age. Unfortunately, while they endeavored to retain the Conservative values, they lagged behind in the Liberal ones and ultimately both remained unsatisfactory. Lord Clarendon and his associates were not blind to the still existing deficiencies but simply could not surpass the standards imposed on them by their own age. They may have disagreed with the cruel system of flogging, for instance, but at that time other forms of maintaining discipline was unimaginable. Therefore, the system outlived the commission.

As a result of the Clarendon Commission, the Public School Bill was first introduced to the House of Lords in 1865 but after numerous amendments it got to the Commons only in 1867 and became act in 1868.

In 1867 another commission, **the Schools Inquiry or Taunton Commission**, dealt with the endowed schools and problems in secondary education not considered by the Duke of Newcastle's Commission of 1858 and the Clarendon Commission in 1861. It was supposed to inquire into the management of the endowed schools and as they took all endowed secondary schools into consideration, they attempted to redistribute endowments as well as create uniform statutes in order to maintain the standards of teaching, discipline and organization. The report itself was issued in **1867** and is of the greatest value in the history of English secondary education. It contained a number of important suggestions for the improvement of

³⁰⁸ Report of the Public School Commission, I. 28-37.

³⁰⁹ Ibid. p.10. 172, 178, 209, 271.

the educational and administrative systems, which were not adopted until the end of the century. The commission specially dealt with secondary education for girls and ultimately the report led to the passing of **the Endowed Schools Act in 1869**³¹⁰ and the rapid multiplication of secondary schools for girls as well as boys created out of old endowments.

Lastly, yet another commission was appointed in **1875** under the presidency of **the Duke of Devonshire** to inquire into the state of scientific instruction in England and the experts of the issue found that "in a large number of the endowed schools science is entirely ignored, while even where it is taught at all, not more than one to two hours a week are devoted to it. The commissioners published returns from more than 120 of the larger endowed schools; in more than half of these no science whatever is taught, only thirteen have a laboratory, and only eighteen possess any scientific apparatus. Out of the whole number, less than twenty schools devote as much as four hours a week to science; and only thirteen attach any weight at all to scientific subjects in the examinations."³¹¹

From the above passages it turns out that the changes in the public schools between 1800 and 1870 were the results of **fierce struggle in Parliament**. The battle was mainly going on between the representatives of the old ruling classes, who represented rigidly conservative views and the newly rising middle class, whose ambition was to make the schools the reflection of their new needs. In the days of Arnold, the struggle was predominantly of moral nature and in the 1860s it shifted to intellectual matters.

During the subsequent years of the Victorian period the pace of modernization accelerated and the middle class won its battle. Mack considers the year **1870 a kind of watershed year**, in his words "the moment of equilibrium between the two great revolutionary movements that give shape and pattern to public school history".³¹² He maintains that after 1870 new forces began to operate and there emerged a general realignment of old forces. By the mid-seventies a whole range of influences were at work, that slowly undermined the basis of complacent Victorian British society both economically and spiritually. I mean **the rapid acceptance of science teaching** in various institutions, the dying of the evangelical fervour or the growing demand for services that could improve the quality of life and which gave enormous impetus

³¹⁰ From A Bill For the Organization of Secondary Education, Ordered by The House of Commons, to be Printed, 15 June, 1898. Bill 255.

³¹¹ *On the Present System of Public School Education* by John Lubbock in the Contemporary Review, Feb. Vol. XXVII., 1876. p.165.

³¹² Mack, p.105.

to the rise of the professional subclass. The new competition from abroad necessitated all kinds of alternatives in the education (e.g. the Progressive Movement) or **the creation of more and more girls' schools**, but we could mention the growing recognition of the need for **technical education** and **more specialization** both on the secondary and the university level. Therefore, in the course of the roughly forty years between 1870 and 1914, the movement to reform the public schools experienced a great revival. Plenty of old ideas were either modified or dismissed altogether and it was obvious that **Conservative forces struggled to keep up with the Liberal ones**, who gained more and more ground in education, especially by advocating **the need to teach modern subjects** and science at schools. In the 1870s and 1880s the upper classes were reacting against the tendencies of the 1860s and the contrast between their desires and those of the classes beneath them became more perceptible. The lower classes demanded state recognition of secondary education and **emphasis on practical knowledge against the classics**, while the Conservative upper classes stubbornly stuck to their traditional views.

But besides this traditional two-tiered struggle, there was another one between the ideas of liberals and those of the other groups of reformers, like the Progressives and reactionaries, who demanded too drastic reforms. Arnoldianism, reaction and progressivism were specifically upper-class doctrines, supported by the aristocracy, the upper-middle classes and by public school masters but they did not exert too much influence as none of them belonged to the mainstream reformers.

The public school reforms, from the 1870s to the end of the Victorian era, affected different areas and became manifest in different aspects of life. The most obvious changes took place in the **clientele of the pupils**, the **number of the schools** and the **quality of life** in them (public boarding schools became much more comfortable and humane place to live in), the **curriculum** and in the field of **women's education**.

Clientele: The period between 1850 and 1875 was a time of great industrial prosperity and it was then that the basis of agriculture weakened radically. As a result, a new section of the middle class – which contained shareholders – was now rich enough to afford the public schools and the aristocracy had no choice but to lower somewhat its prestige and give allowances in its isolation to the other social layers.³¹³ This fact enhanced the significance of

³¹³ Statistics on Higher Grade Board Schools and Public Secondary Schools by the Education Department, 29 June, 1898, G.W. Kekewich, Secretary, London, 1898.

the upper-middle class in the public schools and it was mainly this group who produced the high ranking professionals of the future decades. As Gathorne-Hardy notes: “There was a steady growth in the number of the middle class, these for a number of reasons (not least because political power still resided there) sought to assimilate the manners and customs of the classes above them, and the public schools increasingly became the avenue of this assimilation. It will come as no surprise to learn that during the remainder of the century all these processes became very much more widespread, more intense and more complicated.”³¹⁴ Herbert Branston Gray claims in *The Public Schools and the Empire*: “Their pupils (meaning the more modern institutions founded in the second half of the century) for the most part come from a somewhat composite section of the British public. Such sons are generally the sons of what are called in the characteristic language of English society the Upper Middle Classes – professional men and wholesale traders, together with a goodly number of the smaller landed gentry, and here and there a leaven of the younger sons of the less wealthy noblesse.”³¹⁵ The argument of W.L. Guttsman is worth noting about the fresh tendencies of the student population structure in the late Victorian period. He says: “In the England of the later nineteenth century, when the public school system was in the making, it could possibly be argued that the recruitment of educational institutions on the basis of wealth, was not out of tune with the temper of the day. In their subservience to money and social position, and the tranquil, unsophisticated class-consciousness which that subservience bred, the public boarding schools did not rise above the standards of their generation, but neither did they fall below them. Their virtues were genuine and their own; their vices were of a piece with those of the society about them.”³¹⁶

Guttsman’s argument in a later part of his book, according to which the predominantly one-class school was not favourable, is in contrast with Wakeford’s views, who claims that the **public schools fostered homogeneity of socio-economic background** among the recruits, which he proves with the prevailing system of Old Boys, that is, the fact that the past graduates of elite schools tended to send their children to their old schools exactly to be sure that they mingle with their social equals. Fathers knew from personal experience the children of which layer their sons were likely to meet in the old school and they craved for steadiness

³¹⁴ Gathorne-Hardy p. 124.

³¹⁵ Herbert Branston Gray, D.D.: *The Public Schools and the Empire*, London: Williams and Norgate, 1913. p.130.

³¹⁶ W.L. Guttsman: *The English Ruling Class*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. London 1969. p. 218.

and continuity. He mentions the example of Harrow: “in most major schools the parents are interviewed before their son is placed on the waiting list, and at Harrow, for instance, the school demands that each applicant name a referee who is an old Harrowian, or is connected with the school in some other way.”³¹⁷ My opinion is that both statements may be correct if we add that Guttsman` opinion is valid considering future tendencies, namely that the public schools, especially those of the new foundation, were gradually made more and more public, whereas the old elite ones did their best – as they do even today - to keep their clientele within a relatively narrow social circle to please the fathers, who send their children to their old school with the `backthought` of keeping them among their social equals. This kind of class snobbery was handed down from generation to generation and directly led to the sharp social distinction that prevailed in the adult lives of the pupils whose social existence depended a good deal on whom they got into contact with during their school days. **Patronage** is still not alien to English upper-middle class life and may still be the key to prestigious positions, though **meritocracy** and selection on the basis of **competitive examinations** also spread in the last third of the century.

From the above observations it is easy to realize that the social class that had practically no chance to infiltrate into the public schools was the working class. As Wilkinson points out “Admittedly, the Victorian public schools did their bit to create unequal opportunity: by helping to crystallize an `Establishment` style and accent, they made it all the harder for a working class person without that style and accent to be accepted in the top circles of power. Likewise, the emphasis on classics, however nobly viewed, provided the schools with a neat formula for offering free and reduced-fee scholarships and still excluding the lower class boy.”³¹⁸ In fact, lower-middle class representation was rife only in some of the day schools and mostly in the new foundation schools, who could afford the relatively low fees, as some schools offered reductions for specific groups, such as the sons of clergy, doctors and soldiers. However, the fact remained that the boarding schools were virtually closed to the children of manual workers till **the Balfour Act in 1902.**

W. D. Rubinstein writes about the social and cultural gap between the sons of the traditional professionals, that is, the truly intellectual segment of the society, and those of the newly rising entrepreneurs, who lacked the cultural background but had the money. On the basis of Martin J. Wiener`s thesis, outlined in *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit*,

³¹⁷ Wakeford, p.45.

³¹⁸ Wilkinson p. 95.

Rubinstein voices the anti-entrepreneurial spirit advocated by the public schools but refutes the accusations which claim that the public schools actually contributed to the economic decline Britain suffered in certain sectors of its economy in the late Victorian era. He maintains that it is not true that because of the public school spirit or the narrow curriculum few students went to business and this way endangered the social-economic balance that was needed for the country's well-being. He argues that undoubtedly there was an intergenerational shift into the professions but it affected only a small percentage of the businessmen's sons as the majority followed the family pattern in their choice of occupation. In his essay titled *'Education, the 'Gentleman', and Entrepreneurship* Rubinstein says that, the public schools were willing to provide only general classical education, and, in fact, they urged the pupils to follow in their fathers' footsteps as that was the most simple solution to existential dilemmas.³¹⁹ Hartmut Berghoff supports Rubinstein when says: "the hypothesis of the negative influence of public schools on late nineteenth-century economic growth must be rejected in toto. They did not educate more than a small fraction of the country's business community, nor were they likely to alienate any students from the principles of profit maximization. The existence of this theory is mainly to be explained through the wish to find a scapegoat for the alleged failure of the late Victorian business class. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the curricular and socio-cultural characteristics of public schools did nothing to guide significant numbers of boys from non-business families into entrepreneurial careers."³²⁰

Let me mention here that the public schools were also, in a sense, **agents of social mobility** but they did not cease to discriminate classwise. While they tended to exclude the lower layers of the society by imposing high fees on the parents, they aimed at a kind of harmonization and unification of the student population, once they were admitted to the school. Most historians agree that the boarding school, as opposed to day schools, had a unique role in this social amalgamation of the clientele. The very fact that the children were separated from their home environment and were deprived of the affection of their parents for years meant that they had no choice but to seek friendship among their classmates and to try to integrate into the community as completely as possible. It is not difficult to realize that the

³¹⁹ Rubinstein p. 122.

³²⁰ Hartmut Berghoff: *'Public Schools and the Decline of the British Economy 1870-1914'*, Past and Present, No.129. (Nov., 1990), p.167.

core or root of the patronage system, which often determined the career of the students in their adult lives, can be traced back to this factor.

As early as 1897 T.H. Escott said declared that “the genius of every great English school was that the system was **essentially democratic**. Boys are valued by their fellows for what they have, but for what in themselves they are; not for the antiquity of their family descent, not for the depth of their father’s purse. The boy who dazzled his mates with the glitter of sovereigns fresh from the Mint would be suppressed as promptly by the public opinion of the place as the toady or the parasite.” Later on he says about the school’s endeavours to create a homogeneous clientele: “The son of the new man of one generation as to his tastes, his prejudices, his politics, his pursuits, the performance of his duties, the choice of his pleasures, becomes, in the next, socially indistinguishable from the scion of the oldest nobility.”³²¹ Decades later Wilkinson summarizes the essence of the standardization/unification of the schools’ clientele as follows: “By indoctrinating the nouveau riche as a gentleman, the public schools really acted as an escapevalve in the social system. They helped avert a class conflict which might have ended the reign of the landed gentry.”³²²

There have been critics of the harmonization tendencies, though. In *The Public School Phenomenon*, Gawthorne-Hardy does not seem to be so contented with the uniformity that the public schools endeavoured to create. He claims that the schools were designed to reward conformity, obedience to authority, and to crush originality and rebellion. In his opinion, it was rather negative that the spontaneity and the diverse, individual feature of the old, aristocratic clientele tended to disappear as “the uncompetitive crowd of ‘leaders’ was brought up on a games ethic where the point was not to win but to ‘play the game’.”³²³

Curricular reforms

We have seen that one major target of the secondary school reform movement was the alteration of the curriculum in the various types of schools. I have mentioned earlier that one problem was that the boundary between primary and secondary education was hardly

³²¹ T.H.S. Escott: *Social Transformations of the Victorian Age*, London: Seeley and Co. Limited. 1897. pp.174-175.

³²² Wilkinson p. 24.

³²³ Gathorne-Hardy pp.202-203.

perceivable in some of the grammar schools and charity schools and, in general, the level of teaching was rather low and the staff was often inadequate or poorly qualified.

One finding of the royal commissions was that reform was essential in the range of subjects taught in the public schools, which is important as these schools were the ones that produced the bulk of the professional and intellectuals of the future decades.

The Clarendon Commission demanded that the curriculum at the public schools should remain **primarily classical**, though they were also anxious to attribute significance to the teaching of more useful subjects, such as mathematics, science and modern languages. The classical training was still favoured in many schools because the possession of general culture was a traditional status-symbol, a natural feature of the English gentleman and signified that a man could afford to pursue learning for its own sake. Moreover, it cultivated a detached and orderly approach to problems, which proved to be applicable in all fields of life, especially where **general education and good gentlemanly manners** were needed, for example in diplomacy or in the Civil Service. In certain jobs, like the before mentioned ones, a readiness to master detail and to do precise, meticulous work were often essential.

During the 1860s all kinds of attempts were made for the widening of the curriculum, especially because the universities accepted the idea of specialization more and more and public schools were increasingly looked upon as places that were supposed to prepare the students for their future academic careers in higher education. Consequently, a closer collaboration started between public schools and the prestigious universities.

As early as 1857 a statute of Oxford University was passed, which instituted the Oxford local examinations. The senate of Cambridge adopted a similar measure in 1858. The idea was to “hold annual examinations of persons, not members of the Universities.” A Memorandum, issued by the Cambridge Syndicate in 1899 declared that “The main object of those who promoted such a scheme was to improve the state of education in the schools lying between the elementary schools and the great public schools.”³²⁴ Later on Gray argues that “the examinations did good work at first by destroying the rank weeds of idleness... and it was considered an honour to be connected, however remotely, with the time-honoured

³²⁴ Gray, p.265-266.

Universities". Finally, all the professional societies, almost without exception, recognized the certificates of the University Local Examination Boards.³²⁵

Which subjects should be taught in the public schools remained the key issue throughout the last third of the century and it is not easy to form a balanced judgement of how successful the reforms proved to be in the long run.

First, the spread of natural science teaching was slow.³²⁶ The classics had been taught for such a long time that they were taken for granted and it hardly occurred to anyone that he or she could study other things as well. Moreover, there were a large number of entrance scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge colleges and both Greek and Latin were needed for entry to both universities.

Science teaching had had a long tradition only at the City of London³²⁷ and at Clifton, which even opened a science laboratory in 1867. Of the public schools of the new foundation, Tonbridge opened a science building in 1887. Applied science started when F.W. Sanderson was made head of a new engineering department in Dulwich in 1887 and he developed the new concept of public school education based on the scientific method and on cooperation rather than competition.³²⁸

Besides natural sciences, **mathematics** made its way because it had been part of the curriculum of the traditional public schools for a longer time and it was not so difficult to get good teachers, which was a problem in teaching modern languages. In some schools French and German were taught, especially where the candidates orientated towards the Army or foreign Civil Service in their future career. By the late 1860s the modernized curriculum included mathematics, Latin, English, history, geography, arts, natural sciences, design, French, German and Hindustani.

What we can learn from John Lubbock, a great educational reformer of the age, about the curriculum in 1876 is that "the boys coming from public schools will almost all take as three of

³²⁵ Ibid. p.273.

³²⁶ Meadows, A.J. and Brock, W.H.(1975): 'Topics Fit for Gentlemen: the problem of science in the public school curriculum', in B.Simon and I. Bradley (eds.) *The Victorian Public School* Gill and Macmillan, 95-114.

³²⁷ Douglas-Smith, A.E. (1937): *The City of London School*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell pp.104-105.

³²⁸ Roach p.152.

the subjects, **Latin, Greek** and Arithmetic, while for the fourth a great number will choose either **Scripture knowledge, English or History**. Moreover, it is observable that the Board has laid down that French and German can only be offered as a subject by those candidates who have satisfied the examiners in Latin or Greek, and also that every candidate will be required to show that he has an adequate knowledge of **English grammar and orthography.**"³²⁹ About language teaching and the general workload he says: "Nor need the **study of modern languages** and science interfere with the acquirement of Latin and Greek. The usual number of hours of study in English schools is not less than thirty-eight a week; so that six hours devoted to science, and a similar number to arithmetic, would still leave ample time for the study of a language."³³⁰

When discussing the curriculum of public schools in the latter half of the Victorian period, we ought to mention the amateur ideal (clearly present in the legal profession even today), which prevailed in general life. It was clear that the British parliamentary government had a special need for versatile leaders towards the end of the era. As H. M. Stout claims in the Introduction of his book titled *The Spirit of British Administration*: "The very qualities which made the civil servant flexible and versatile made him distrust expert theory, especially when

³²⁹ *On the Present System of Public School Education* by John Lubbock in the Contemporary Review, Vol. XXVII. Feb., 1876. p.167-168.

³³⁰ Ibid. p.166.

it was applied to matters of organization. Like public school authority, like the Constitution itself, he saw leadership in terms of men and honour and common sense. He was not generally interested in method for its own sake, in institutional engineering. Being brought up to lead, he found it difficult to view leadership as a science. He tended to shy away from academic studies of administrative technique, and this inhibited organizational improvements.”³³¹

Before I move on to discuss the various job perspectives and career options for public schoolboys in the late Victorian period, let me mention Joseph Schumpeter’s thesis about the **special magic aura** of the young men who were trained in the traditional public schools and for whom this very asset may have proved even more valuable than the factual knowledge they could obtain from the subject taught. Wilkinson quotes the words of Schumpeter in *Gentlemanly Power* as follows: “the public schoolboy’s political bent was inseparable from a gentleman ideal which the schools promoted. There were three components to the gentleman ideal, and the first of these was the attainment of magic. By magic, I refer to the mysterious aura of different-ness which distinguishes certain leaders and makes them respected for what they are rather than what they do. The property of magic, so Schumpeter argued, was more vital to political leadership than to industrial leadership, and it was more easily attained by the medieval lord than it was by the businessmen.”³³²

T.H. Pear talks about the fact that the aforesaid magic aura is/was guaranteed by special way of speaking (public school accent), and the good manners the public schools were supposed to inculcate. What is more, to possess manners that appeals to the various social strata of the society required wide social experience. Consequently, up to the 1940s public schoolboys usually traveled more than the average boys in England and often received friends from abroad.³³³

Once the magic aura was obtained, the schoolboys had a wide range of **career options** to choose from in the late Victorian period, almost exclusively intellectual and representative jobs, which I will analyse in the following subchapter.

³³¹ H.M. Stout, op. cit., Introduction by W.Y. Elliott. C.H. Sisson, *The Spirit of British Administration, Introduction*.

³³² Wilkinson p. 13.

³³³ T.H. Pear: *English Social Differences*. London: George Allen&Unwin Ltd. 1955 p.204.

Career options for Public Schoolboys:

When public schoolboys left the school, they had different options to choose from. In most cases they went to **higher education**, that is, one of the old traditional universities and cherished high aspirations about important government posts for the future, or wanted to receive specialization so as to become the leading professionals of their days. Others took over **the family enterprise or business** and followed in their fathers' footsteps. For this, they did not necessarily need university education but were contented with the general knowledge the public school provided for them. A third group left the public school, did not receive specialized training but went to seek work among **the lower rank professions**, or became clerks, public administrators, **white collar workers** etc. What I find most intriguing here, and the area I wish to examine in depth, is how the graduates of the public schools contributed to the diversification of the newly rising professional segment of late Victorian England.

The group that received no specialized training was most likely to find employment in **Civil Service**, the **Army** or in the **Government**. This was the group which could make most use of the above explained public school 'magic aura', which made them fit for occupying leading positions without any special training. It is worth noting the words of the Clarendon Commission in 1864, which defined the foremost aim of the public school education as "the development of the capacity to govern others and control themselves".³³⁴

Also this was the area where patronage was rife and created a separate network throughout the realm. Roach says the following about the most obvious tendencies: "Though many public schools men came from families that had made their money in business and industry, the ethos of the schools tended to lead them away from such occupations towards public service, the army and the empire. The schools had few links with science and technology, and it has been argued that the anti-business culture which they propagated was positively harmful to a country that depended on trade and industry for its prosperity and that faced increasingly keen competition from Germany and the United States."³³⁵ It is a generally accepted view that the money-grabbing, rational, unsophisticated entrepreneurial ideal was diametrically opposed to the public school ethos, which subordinated the individual to the group. Money making was

³³⁴ *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Revenues and Management of Certain Colleges and Schools and the Studies Pursued and the Instruction Given Therein*, Parliamentary Papers, 1864 (3288), XX, p.56.

³³⁵ Roach p.154.

acceptable only as long as it served the national interests and trade was considered vulgar and slightly selfish pursuit till the very end of the century.

According to Wilkinson, the public school system encouraged attitudes that saw the greatest prestige and pleasure in the public service.³³⁶ The public schools nurtured the desire in boys to obey authority, to win rewards for serving the community and to be one with the others. The athletic spirit and the games were the grounds for this communal spirit and what happened on the tracks and fields in small happened later, on grand when the public schoolboy stepped out into life and³³⁷ the national interests had to be served. Let me quote Gathorne-Hardy's words: "Letter after letter from the front (Boer Wars and World War I) say how glad the writers are not to have let school or house down, how if they are to die they are proud to die for school and country. And these themes are echoed again in the school obituaries. The public school ethos had gone beyond the grave...To play well for your school meant to die well for your country."³³⁸ The same principle becomes manifest when we read Wilkinson's point: "When one thinks of the public school monasticism, hierarchy, and hardship, of barrackroom living and discipline, of teamwork rewarded by decoration, of the reverence paid to community tradition – when one parades the factors together, it is not difficult to understand why public schools gentlemen became military officers."

The 'house spirit' can be regarded both as a positive or a negative feature of public school life. It is a fact that the public schools have often been criticized as crude agents of British Imperialism as they considered it their role to produce leaders.³³⁹ However, the fact remains that patriotism was consciously advocated and the key to Britain's national character was the public schools.

As I mentioned before, this kind of **incentive to serve one's country** was manifest most typically in three fields, namely in the civil service, in the government and in the army, none of which required specialized knowledge but personal charm, talent, diplomatic skills and the above mentioned magic aura instead. Joyce Senders Pedersen comments on the words of David Newsome in *Godliness and Good Learning* when in her own book she says: "Manliness, says Newsome, encompassed certain qualities of character – straightforwardness, honesty, loyalty – and also masculinity. As the century progressed, the ideal took on an

³³⁶ Wilkinson p.12.

³³⁷ Ibid. p.17.

³³⁸ Gathorne-Hardy p.199-200

³³⁹ Ibid p. 192.

increasingly militant and patriotic tone. More emphasis was given to the corporate virtues. The headmaster's aim was not so much to produce godly individuals as to foster a loyal team spirit, which would enable his boys creditably to perform their work in the world and serve the state. Although Newsome does not say so, the role adopted by the schoolmasters of this persuasion might be interpreted as being in a sense that of a public servant."³⁴⁰

The other thing which the candidate could hardly survive without was **patronage, family connections and a starting sum of money**, which was especially important in the purchasing of army positions.

Patronage was crucial in these social circles and occupational groups because they were guarantees that people belonging to the same layer could uphold or enhance their own importance and could gain more and more acknowledgement from the general public. On the other hand, it was essential that men of the highest abilities should be selected for the highest posts and in many cases this could be worked out only through a subtle system of recommendation and delegation of the candidates. As it turns out from the writings of Edward Romilly, chairman of the Board of Accounts: "It should be borne in mind that moral qualities and social position are often as important elements in the character of the public servant as great facility and intellectual power. Good sense and judgment, good manners and moral courage, energy and perseverance, a high sense of honour and integrity, a wholesome fear of public opinion and the desire to be well thought of by a circle of friends, are more important qualities and motives in the public officers, for the practical business of official life, than familiarity with classical and modern literature, science and history. The latter may be tested by examination, the former cannot; and the lower you descend in the scale of society the less the guarantee that candidates for the Civil Service will possess those moral and social qualifications, which are so indispensable for the practical business of official life."³⁴¹

Patronage prevailed in **the Army** as well. From the writings of Sir Charles Trevelyan it turns out that the large and important class of well-educated young men, who depended for their advancement upon their own resources and not upon wealth and connections, were excluded from the army and had to seek employment in the professions, in the Church and the Civil Service. At the same time idle young men, who disliked the restraints of school and sought a

³⁴⁰ Joyce Senders Pedersen: *The Reform of Girls' Secondary and Higher Education in Victorian England*. New York and London. Garland Publishing Inc. 1987. p.253.

³⁴¹ Guttsman. P. *The English Ruling Class* p.233.

more enjoyable life, were attracted to the army as it was the only profession in which advancement depended on a certain command of money and not so much on personal qualifications.³⁴² The basis of the system was that the original commission was purchased by an advance of family property, which had to be secured by a life insurance. The young officer had to contribute further sums so as to get promoted and if he failed to do so, that could mean the end of his military career. Therefore, the whole system was based on the continual flow of capital into the system and made personal performance almost superfluous. Later on in the same essay we learn that “A general desire exists to raise the army in the scale of professions; to make its ranks attractive to a better class of men, and to increase the inducements to self-improvement and good conduct; but these natural and wholesome aspirations are repelled by the purchase system, which has built up a wall of separation between the officers and privates.”³⁴³

Ian Worthington, who speaks about the transformation of the purchase system into a more competitive and fair system, also quotes the words of Trevelyan in his article when argues that under the purchase system the middle classes – perhaps the most energetic and spirited class – was kept out of the army as this privilege had belonged to the titled and propertied classes before. According Trevelyan in his report sent to the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the purchase system (around the Crimean War), as long as this remained the case, the Army lacked the drive and ambition that characterized the middle classes and thus lacked the energy which was needed for improvement.³⁴⁴

The system of buying and selling commissions was abolished in 1871 and changes took place in the mode of officer recruitment. At the Royal Military Academy a competitive entry system, which had been adapted to what the Crimean conflict had required earlier, continued in existence until the end of the 1850s and finally became replaced by a fully competitive exam system. As Worthington says a link was gradually created between the public schools and the Army and this resulted from the decision to base the Army entrance examinations on the kind of syllabus which was taught in the public schools. General education and gentlemanly manners in the Army became a requirement and in the next thirty years the

³⁴² Sir Charles Trevelyan: *The Purchase System of the British Army* pp,2-7 in W.L.

Guttsman: *The English Ruling Class*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London. 1969. p.276.

³⁴³ *Ibid.* p.277.

³⁴⁴ Ian Worthington: ‘Antecedent Education and Officer Recruitment: the Origins and Early Development of the Public School – Army Relationship’ in *Military Affairs* Vol.41. No.4 (Dec., 1977) pp.183-189.

number of schools supplying Army officers expanded considerably. The schools that produced the greatest number were Cheltenham, Marlborough and Wellington College. These schools mostly began as small private schools, then grew into larger establishments and finally became accepted as schools specializing in the preparation of prospective Army officers. Worthington points out that in the upper reaches of officer corps a predominant percentage of officers appear to have been alumni of the major boarding schools and many of them went on to higher education as well.³⁴⁵ These facts clearly show that the general educational-intellectual level within the ranks of the army grew substantially by the last third of the century and this outcome, in a great percentage, can be attributed to the public schools.

With the rise of the laissez-faire state of the nineteenth century there was a marked increase in administration and the size of **the Civil Service**. This career option was an appropriate choice for numerous public school graduates because, with its refined hierarchy and the great number of steps, it actually became a promising job opportunity for a diverse cluster of students. In *Public Service in Great Britain*, Hiram Miller Stout writes that in 1870 open competition for most positions was adopted and complex hierarchies came into being. According to him, in the last third of the century the clerk was still the typical civil servant but he became surrounded by specialized groups of other employees. Above the clerk, one could find the intermediate class, which was entitled to perform a more responsible kind of work. Below the clerk were the ones who carried out routine functions, such as filing, recording and typing. On all sides there were specialists, technical officers, inspectors and manipulative employees doing work of a nonclerical nature.³⁴⁶ In fact, the system was somewhat chaotic and simplification of the organization to increase efficiency was done just before the World War I.

The Civil Service had always been one of the fields that young men of the upper classes could go to without leaving their 'caste'. The public school elite clientele strengthened this tendency by asserting the idea of duty that the future intellectual generation owed to the nation and to the empire. As Stout says: "The public schools and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge have played important roles in directing exceptional young men to the Civil Service. For generations they have been the educators of the boys and young men of these upper classes, and the traditions of these ancient institutions of learning have impressed upon the scions of the old families their responsibilities to the state. The emphasis the schools and universities

³⁴⁵ Worthington p.188.

³⁴⁶ Hiram Miller Stout: *Public Service in Great Britain*. The University of North Carolina Press. New York. 1938. p.116.

place upon the classical learning has probably played its part. A young mind cannot be steeped in Plato, Aristotle and Cicero without feeling that public life of some sort is necessary to the realization of personality.”³⁴⁷ Competitive examinations made sure in the late Victorian period that talented young people occupied prestigious, leading positions, but patronage prevailed to a lesser degree as well.

In *Gentlemanly Power* Rupert Wilkinson investigates how the public schools produced leaders, especially for government and diplomatic posts for the last decades of the nineteenth century. He claims that the public school loyalty cultivated a sense of obligation to inferior social ranks as well as deference to those in senior office and cooperation with colleagues.³⁴⁸ It is not difficult to realize that, besides fostering the desire for prestige and honour, the public schools cultivated a strong sense of nationalism, which, in the late period, was combined with a sort of imperial philanthropy. The young educated generation of the age increasingly sought national glory and wished to do good to other underdeveloped races. From this, the notion of **the `imperial guardian`** came into being and as Wilkinson puts it: “This psychological fusion between prestige and philanthropy was as familiar process to the public school gentleman, who showed much the same attitude to his place in British class society.”³⁴⁹

It is also a fact that the public schools promoted personal attributes that were the requirements of the job of **the colonial administrator**. The competitive instinct was often combined with the sense of community to satisfy the imperial needs and self-reliance was often accompanied by close cooperation. The previously outlined magic aura, good manners and articulate speech were similarly essential for this kind of representative work. Moreover, public schoolboys had a good chance to get accustomed to obeying a single governing elite during their stay in the school. **This governing elite** was fairly uniform but was different from everyone else who stood outside their circle. Wilkinson calls his readers attention to the “policy of indirect rule”, which was a public school kind of balance between custom and efficiency. In his opinion, the essence of indirect rule was that it respected traditional communities and their traditional authorities and admits that it was an efficient and flexible way of running the empire in the late Victorian era. Furthermore, the indirect rule was highly suited to the public school concept of leadership, which respected the guardian more than the

³⁴⁷ Ibid.83.

³⁴⁸ Wilkinson p.46.

³⁴⁹ Wilkinson. P.102.

innovator. However, Wilkinson also claims that this kind of rule gave inadequate preparation for self-government.³⁵⁰

Finally, we can conclude that the public school education of ideals and manners produced the most **outstanding leaders of the country in the national government** as well. The emphasis on harmony, moderation, self-restraint, the willingness to compromise and devotion to community interests seemed to be the essentials for running an efficient government at home. As we can learn from Alice Zimmern's writing the essence of a public school was that the pupils there could learn to govern themselves as well as others. And this way the public schools were those places in which the pupils administered the government to some degree.³⁵¹

Some critics of the public schools accuse the schools of not displaying more intellectual enlightenment than other schools but most historians seem to agree that late nineteenth century public figures, politicians (former public school graduates) may not have been very innovative but they served their country to the best of their abilities and talent. In Wilkinson's opinion, what counts for political education is the number of leaders it produces who are willing and able to implement the ideas of the truly inventive few.³⁵² The great number of reforms proposed and carried out in the last thirty years clearly show that of such leaders there were plenty. There is a whole list of prime ministers and leading government figures who attended public schools (Gladstone, Chamberlain or Lord Clarendon)eg. Berghoff says: "In fact, several elite groups were nearly exclusively recruited from public schools. More than 60 percent of cabinet ministers holding office between 1886 and 1916 had a public school education, Eton alone accounting for 34.7 per cent and Harrow for 12.9 per cent."³⁵³ According to Guttsman's findings: 90 per cent of big landowners in 1880 had attended one of the major public schools, 75 per cent Eton and Harrow. The corresponding figures for top civil servants were 71 per cent and 48 per cent respectively. Newly created peers (69 per cent and 49 per cent) had a similar educational background, whereas only 42 per cent of millionaires had been to one of the most important public schools (all public schools 63 per cent).³⁵⁴

³⁵⁰ Ibid. p.108.

³⁵¹ Alice Zimmern: 'The Renaissance of Girls' Education in England. A Record of Fifty Years Progress.' London 1898. Chapter 8.

³⁵² Wilkinson p. 76.

³⁵³ Berghoff, p.148.

³⁵⁴ W.L. Guttsman, *The British Political Elite*, London: 1968. pp.102-103.

A direct consequence of the public school revolution was **the proliferation of lower rank professions** in the last quarter or third of the nineteenth century. High value specialization, which produced the experts of the age, that is, the representatives of the old traditional professions, was concentrated in the hands of the universities but some white collar intellectual jobs could be performed by those public school graduates, who either did not want to, or could not afford to continue their studies in higher education. It was clear that in the hierarchy of careers, the middle ground of prestige between **Trade and government service** was occupied by **the private professions**. The public schools willingly admitted the sons of professional men and we have data from the school registers of the time to support the thesis according to which numerous public schools possessed special relations with the professions. According to Wilkinson one can find provisions in the charter of the institutions that the school undertakes the training of boys for the professions or that it takes the sons of men already in them. For example, Marlborough had close connections with the Church, Epsom with Medicine and Wellington with the Army.

The professionals, like the representatives of other occupations, also came from the ranks of the middle class. The educational reforms and the chance for them to attend the prestigious public schools aided them in their attempts to win recognition for their social claims and to distinguish themselves from the masses of their class. By sending their children to the more and more respected schools, professional people hoped to guarantee the elite status for their own children and by doing so they hoped to facilitate their ascendance on the social ladder, which in many cases meant higher positions than their own.

Another aspect why the public school was a perfect place of education for the professional of the future generation was that the old Arnoldian concept of culture corresponded to their own highest aspirations, that is, the fact that, besides the perfection of the individual, it was also a kind of moral duty to serve the well-being of others. And this is the essence of professional existence – to gain knowledge so as to provide disinterested services which improve the life quality of other human beings (in medicine, law, the arts, teaching, organizational work etc.) and, while doing so, to win social recognition and respect from the public.

In *Gentlemanly Power* Wilkinson talks about the marked group spirit of the Victorian professionals and compares their advancement to that of the civil servants. To quote him: “The Victorian professions portrayed a marked group spirit. In this respect they were fairly similar to branches of the government. Like a bureaucratic civil service, a profession derives

some of its most *elite esprit de corps* from formal methods of recruitment. These, in fact, form an integral part of what constitutes a profession.”³⁵⁵

For this recruitment **the professional examination system** was introduced but a certain degree of patronage worked in their system as well, mainly through providing apprenticeship to each other’s children. The professional examination stressed specialized and theoretical expertise alike and this was in contrast with the amateur concept of the generally educated man, which dominated both the public school education and the government. Therefore, the future representative of the traditional elite professions increasingly had to go to higher education to receive the **specialization indispensable** for their work. Still it was a tendency in the last third of the century to look upon public schools as the nurturing places of the professions, since their attendance became the precondition of one’s advanced studies on the university level and they were the places where the professionals of the oncoming decades learnt the right kind of moral approach to serving the community, rather than pursuing selfish interests.

Secondary Education for Women

As Gathorne-Hardy states in *The Public School Phenomenon* very correctly “one of the most important and formative facts about girls’ education is that until the middle of the nineteenth century it virtually did not exist.”³⁵⁶ Throughout the centuries only the daughters of scholars and nobles, the relatives of high ranked clergymen could receive some minimal education, if any at all. What is more, even in the period that preceded Victoria’s reign the education of girls was concentrated **in the hands of governesses**, whose educational standing itself was often ambiguous. Historians seem to agree that between 1750 and 1890 the governesses were the largest strand in women’s education but because of the lack of sources and owing to their often humiliating half-servant, half-equal standing in the family they served, their work could hardly be considered efficient and adequate.

From the 1720s onward the so-called **Ladies’ Academies** came into being and these were mostly boarding establishments that admitted about fifty or sixty students, provided education in the accomplishments (dancing, singing, embroidery, some foreign languages

³⁵⁵ Wilkinson. P.19.

³⁵⁶ Gathorne-Hardy p.230.

etc.) And these continued well into the mid-nineteenth century but began to decline in efficiency and popularity as the new public schools sprang up.

The new public schools were mostly modeled after the boys' schools and the underlying idea was more or less the same, that is, to prepare the girls for higher education and to win the right for them to go to the universities. For this, however, very **drastic reforms were needed**.

Although there had been some attempts during the preceding century to launch a movement for women's educational reform, it was not until **the middle decades of the nineteenth century** that **the real expansion of girls' public schools and women's colleges** occurred. The reasons why this kind of extension became possible was manifold indeed.

Perhaps, at first sight, there was no obvious need for educated women in the period in question but, on second consideration, one can discover a number of social, demographic and economic factors that facilitated the movement for reform. As I mentioned before, it was mostly well-to-do middle class men, mostly professionals, who sent their daughters to the new schools. On the one hand, because it was a kind of status symbol for middle class fathers to show off their daughters' schooling, on the other hand, it was a widely known fact that adequate education improved the marriage perspective of girls considerably as it became a tendency in the second half of the century that men of higher social position sought well educated wives. In addition to the palpable practical aspects, there was a distinct moral tone as well, which emphasized the importance of elevating womankind onto the same intellectual level that men had enjoyed for some time.

The reforms also offered a means to ladies of uncertain status to avoid sinking on the social ladder in case of family distress and to get better chances for dignified employment. In the 1860s public attention was drawn to the excess of single women and articles began to appear discussing *'Why Are Women Redundant?'* And *'How To Provide For Superfluous Women?'*³⁵⁷ Spinsters were increasingly regarded as a problematic social group, who were found primarily among the genteel orders of the society and could be found in the greatest number among the professionals. It was generally maintained that improved education might be the solution to their economic survival.

³⁵⁷ Jessie Boucherett, *'How to Provide for Superfluous Women?'* in Josephine E. Butler, ed. *Woman's Work and Woman's Culture*.

In the second half of the century more and more articles appeared in the press about the unfavourable situation of the over-leisured middle class maiden ladies, who suffered from and complained about not having the life chances they thought they deserved. However, it was seemingly a contradiction that a good level of education was needed for making a good match, but at the same time, a great number of job openings were not available for married women, or if they were not married at the time of employment, they were dismissed from their jobs when they announced the change in their marital status.

The demand for reform ultimately launched the movement itself and “for the first time women’s education was organized in a clearly defined way around academic as well as social criteria.”³⁵⁸ The daughters of middle class parents could attend different educational

³⁵⁸ Joyce Senders Pederson: *The Reform of Girls’ Secondary and Higher Education in Victorian England. A Study of Elites and Educational Change.* Garland Publishing Inc. New York and London. 1987. p.34.

institutions, but besides the private proprietary schools, the most frequent and most efficient type of school was the endowed public school. As we can learn from ms. Pedersen`s book the **Charity Commissioners** reported in 1894 that, under the authority of **the Endowed Schools Act of 1869**, schemes for some eighty endowed girls` schools had been approved. In 1864 the **Taunton Commission** reported only about 12 such schools but the Girls` Public Day School Company, founded in 1872, had established 36 schools with more than seven thousand pupils by 1894.³⁵⁹ In the same year **the Bryce Commission on Secondary Education** declared that “No change had been more conspicuous in the thirty years since the Schools Inquiry Commission than the improvement in girls` secondary education and the creation of colleges for women.”³⁶⁰ Among the major steps forward one should note the establishment of the **Girls` Public Day School Company** in 1874, which was mainly due to the efforts of mrs. William Grey, her sister Miss Shirreff and Miss Mary Gurney, as a result of which by 1890 the company had 35 flourishing schools of its own, with some 7000 pupils.³⁶¹

Among the most famous and prestigious colleges we can mention: **Bedford** (1849) and **Westfield** (1882) in London, **Girton** (1869) and **Newnham** (1871) in Cambridge, **Lady Margaret Hall** (1879), **St. Hugh`s Hall** (1886) and **St. Hilda`s** (1893) at Oxford.

By 1894 more than 218 endowed and proprietary schools existed for girls and most of these institutions were established in the second half of the century. In fact, the vast majority dated from the period after 1870.³⁶² However, as we can learn from **the Bryce Report**, few of these schools were analogous to the great boys` public schools. In fact, somewhat less than half were first-grade schools, that is, schools that continued the students` education till age 18 or 19 and prepared some students for the university. Many of the schools remained privately run day schools, which were replaced by the big boarding establishments only towards the end of the century.

It also has to be mentioned that the first girls` schools struggled with **severe handicaps**. In the first half of the century the required academic level was too vague, the curriculum too narrow, focusing almost exclusively on the accomplishments, and there was no recognized examinations and degrees to indicate where the student was in the hierarchy of her studies.

³⁵⁹ Ibid. 35.

³⁶⁰ Ibid. 35.

³⁶¹ *Women and the Universities`* by J.G. Fitch in the Contemporary Review, Vol. VIII. July-December, 1890. p.245.

³⁶² Royal Commission on Secondary Education (9 vols.; London, 1895) I., 15.

In the elevation of the academic level, the acceptance and the introduction of the local examinations played a vital role, which was the merit of **Emily Davies**, the headmistress of **Girton College**. She was the one who organized a committee in 1862 to press for the admission of women to university examinations. The main accomplishment of the committee was that it first gained admission for girls to the so-called Cambridge Local Examinations in 1863 – officially in 1865 - and Oxford followed suit in 1870. The significance of these exams was that they made the system of women`s education increasingly self-sufficient. Soon scholarships were attached to different examinations and thus created the link to different levels of institutions. Gradually the distinction between girls` and boys` school degrees started to vanish and Emily Davies` dream came true: **the same career options and intellectual fields became available for women as for men**. This step was undoubtedly vital in the multiplication of the number of professionals in the last third of the century.

In the late Victorian period, parallel with the changes in formal setting and the subject-matter of girls` education, there appeared a distinct shift in the values and roles which the various institutions transmitted. Just like Arnold in the 1830s, the schoolmistresses of the newly rising girls` schools also advocated the importance of shaping the girls` character. To quote the words of Miss Beale: “the final cause of education must be the development of right character.” Pederson comments on this saying that the reforms represented a shift away from a system which was dominated by ascriptive social characteristics, private concerns and private interests to more focus on academic achievement and serving the public good.³⁶³ This principle practically corresponded to the professional ideal of the age.

However, while the public schools in general cultivated the amateur ideal (explained above) and the lack of specialized skills, the headmistresses of the girls` schools often found themselves in a situation when they had no choice but to transform themselves into professional women, if they wanted to raise the status of their occupational group. The **inclination towards specialization** became increasingly manifest in the curricular changes as well. For example, it was not rare that the girls` public schools gave such a good education in natural sciences and mathematics that they prepared the girls for the university and all kinds of professional work after graduation. In middle- and second grade schools girls took up clerical work or did work in the post office or in teaching. In fact, the last third of the century was the time when **teaching** itself became highly professionalized and the colleges and public

³⁶³ Pedersen p.5.

schools became the major training grounds for women teachers. Unlike the lady-teachers in earlier decades, the newly appearing headmistresses were utterly devoted to their mission and often carried on their work when their economic needs were satisfied. The most decisive factor in their advancement was their undergraduate university training. During the first experimental years of the reform movement a number of public school headmistresses actively supported innovative projects, which aimed especially at training secondary teachers for their work. Some of these experiments proved to be successful and were integrated into the reforms, others were abandoned but these endeavours certainly played an active role in the professionalization of the headmistresses.

The question may arise in what way the girls' public schools promoted orientation towards the professions, if they did at all. So as to see this clearly, it would be wise to examine the clientele of the girls' schools and see whether the fathers' occupation exerted any influence on the choice of the daughters.

From the samples taken of the clientele of different schools we can learn that the social composition of the clientele was quite varied. The heterogeneity can certainly be explained by several factors. In some schools, e.g. **Cheltenham**, the clientele was limited by a social bar.³⁶⁴ Another thing to notice is that most of the schools were day schools, which meant that the locale itself determined the social composition of the clientele – eg. Many doctors' daughters attended **Queen's College**. Incidental factors may have played a part in the choice of school for certain groups, such as the reputation of the school in the region or the availability of another school not far from the home. In addition, fees also varied from school to school, which may have been a decisive factor.

Joyce Senders Pedersen claims in her comprehensive work that there is the fact that new public schools were more socially heterogeneous than the old fashioned private schools had been. Amid the new conditions some parents attributed less significance to social considerations in selecting their daughter's school than traditionally was the case. Pederson finds this odd saying that the patrons- mostly professional fathers - were sometimes not happy if their daughters mingled with their social inferiors. But her argument is that "It is quite possible that the professional people, who patronized the new schools, were as a group less well-to-do than the businessmen and tradesmen who did so. In this sense she voices the same

³⁶⁴ Emily Davies: *Special Systems of Education for Women's Thoughts on Some Questions Relating to Women*, 1860-1908 Cambridge, 1910, p.125.

opinion as Rubinstein, who says that the sons of prominent tradesmen and businessmen did create a big percentage of the clientele of the public schools in the last decades of the century partly because this social group needed the general knowledge and the prestige only these schools could provide, partly because they were the ones who could afford them relatively easily.³⁶⁵

However, what interests me most here is not so much the heterogeneous student population, but rather the fact that, in **the orientation of the students to the professions**, an important factor may have been that the fathers became increasingly interested in the academic level the schools could offer to their daughters because they knew that towards the end of the century objective school results counted as much as good connections, which they may or may not have had.

During the years spent at the new schools the girls often acquired the intellectual skills that were required in the various public pursuits, e.g. the civil service, in local government or the professions. Through the new examination system they also had the chance to get accustomed to working and functioning in a sometimes hostile, competitive environment. Schoolgirls were encouraged to become self-reliant, disciplined and to serve the well-being of the community. These modes of behaviour proved to be of immense help to them in their future professional careers.

At the same time, I also have to point at the fact that **paving the way for women into the public sphere** was not the only aim of the new schools. The first commitment of the girls' institutions was **to produce representatives of the new cultural ideal of the age**. The woman who was excellent in the accomplishments, and practically nothing more, was going out of fashion. Men belonging to the upper stratum of the middle class wanted to have wives who had an insight into and understanding of their own increasingly intellectual work and who could also prove to be **the ideal help-meet** when running small family enterprises in the professions (eg. Running a small chemist's shop). Consequently, it is correct to say that both the profit and the non-profit oriented values were important in the career choice of women whose intellect was mostly shaped by the reformed public schools at the end of the Victorian era.

The Culmination of the Reforms

³⁶⁵ Rubinstein. p. 285.

The Balfour Act of 1902 is generally considered as the culmination of the reforms that were carried out in the field of secondary education in the latter half of the Victorian period. It reflected most of accomplishments that the previous legislative measures and Commission reports had produced but also contained new elements. Among the most immediate antecedents of the act one should consider **the Bryce Report of 1895**,³⁶⁶ which recommended the creation of a unified central authority, which was actually carried out in 1899 when **the Board of Education** was set up and took over the educational work of the Charity Commission and from then on collaborated with the existing **Education Department** and the **Science and Art Department**. According to the recommendations of the Bryce Report a consultative committee was established corresponding to the Council.

As demand for reform grew, it was no longer possible to deal with the problem of secondary education separately from those of education as a whole and the Bryce Report made this clear. **The Cockerton Judgement** was the decision of the courts which disallowed expenditure by the London School Board on the North London School of Art on the grounds that this was not elementary education, and therefore was outside its legal scope. An emergency bill had to be passed to legalize the illegality. This task was carried out in 1901 and the following year Balfour pushed through his Education Act.

The main driving force behind the legislation was **Mr. Robert Morant**, who called attention to the dubious nature of legal situation of higher elementary education. Morant was Private Secretary to major commissioners, like John Gorst and the Duke of Devonshire and in 1903 became Permanent Secretary of the Board of Education. According to Correlli Barnett, the major merit of Morant was that he created the "the new state secondary system in the image of the public school and grammar school" at the expense of science and technology. To quote Barnett's exact words: "Sanderson presents fairly the argument of Morant's defenders, that he promoted 'liberal' education in the new state secondary schools in order to offer the bright lower-middle class bookish the opportunity of upward social mobility via university entrance. Yet the fact still remains that **Morant created a state secondary system** which has served to

³⁶⁶ Royal Commission on Secondary Education, Report, XXVI. by Bryce and A Bill to Make further provision for Education in England and Wales, |62&63 Vict, 1899.

perpetuate the antitechnological ethos and intellectual snobberies of the Victorian public school and Oxbridge."³⁶⁷

The Education Act of 1902, that is, **the Balfour Act** made the nationwide need for unified control of primary and secondary education manifest and granted the local education authority with the right to consider the educational needs of their area. It was also supposed to supply or aid education other than elementary and to coordinate the general condition of all forms of education. The Board of Education was authorized to inspect what was going on in the school and Mr. Balfour hoped to increase the quantity and quality of county secondary schools and teacher training colleges. It was also clear that the Education Act of 1902 excluded the children of the working classes from secondary education, which resulted in the fact that the bulk of the population remained spectacularly ill-educated in comparison with other nations in Europe even on the eve of the twentieth century. A great number of public figures and experts of the Victorian era thought that it was not fair to put all the blame on higher education for this as secondary education was clearly responsible, too.

³⁶⁷ Correlli Barnett: *'Could do better: The failure to educate Britons to compete'*, Times Literary Supplement. pp.4-5. [Review Sanderson, *Education and Economic Decline in Britain*, Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999.]

HARROW AND MERCHANT TAYLOR'S AS EXAMPLES OF THE NATIONAL PUBLIC SCHOOL PHENOMENON

Harrow: one of the seven great public schools of England which were included in the Public Schools Act of 1868, was the sixth of these in the date of legal foundation and ranked in general estimation as third or second by virtue of its record as a resort of the rich and a producer of statesmen and prominent men in the world, especially in the political world of England. According to Paul Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education* (New York, MacMillan, 1914) Harrow has traditionally been a school for the aristocratic and the wealthy class but unlike Eton, Winchester and Westminster, which had been designed originally to furnish men to serve in high stations in Church and State, Harrow has developed in a way which shows that it had not been meant for a prestigious national establishment from the start but had space for the poorer orders in the beginning. The founder was John Lyon, who lived at Preston, Middlesex, some twelve miles from London and the foundation of Harrow school was an indication of the growth to independence and moderate wealth of a new middle class. The foundation itself took place on February 19, 1571 and the intention of **John Lyon of Preston** in Harrow, a yeoman, were recited as "a newly found grammar school for the perpetual education, teaching and instruction of the boys and youths of the parish, and to maintain two scholars at Cambridge and two at Oxford University" and it took an additional fifteen years to draw up the ordinances and statutes for the school.

Lyon himself died in 1592 and soon after the governors of the school began building and from this period there is no evidence that the school was more than a small parish school until after the Restoration. In 1669 William Horne, an Eton scholar and fellow of King's College, Cambridge was appointed master of Harrow. From that time dates the development of Harrow as a great public school on the same lines as Eton, and the school owes its real creation to its succession of Etonian masters. Throughout the eighteenth century the number of boys admitted to the school grew and during these years, like Westminster, Harrow became an aristocratic school for the Whigs, as Eton and Winchester had fallen under Tory influence.

From 1785 to 1805 the school under the mastership of Joseph Drury again achieved considerable success and enhanced its fame. Under Drury the school educated five future

prime ministers, Lord Byron and many members of aristocratic families. The appointment of Dr. Charles Butler (1805-1829) led to a revolt among the students, in which Byron took part, mainly because of the extremely harsh discipline and bad living conditions but the students were soon won over by the new headmaster. As the school increased in numbers and popularity on the national scale, the local connections grew weaker and the poor boys disappeared completely from the ranks of the students.

The fifteen years following Butler's administration, despite the ability and scholarship of the headmasters, were years of rapid decline, partly because of financial difficulties, partly through the general distrust of the public schools.

In 1844 **Charles J. Vaughan**, one of the favourite pupils of Thomas Arnold became headmaster, and there began a brilliant period in the history of the school. The numbers rose from 69 in 1844 to 315 in 1847, the moral tone of the school was raised and the monitorial system was improved. Every now and then there appeared voices who criticized the leadership for not observing the founder's original intentions but Vaughan reacted in a wise way by establishing an English form in 1853 in which modern subjects suitable to the needs of the sons of farmers and tradespeople were taught. Out of this initiative developed the Lower School of John Lyon. On the retirement of Vaughan in 1859 **Dr. H. Montague Butler** became headmaster, and established the school on its present basis. According to the Public Schools Act of 1868 new statutes were drawn up for the government of the school, donations continued pouring in and new buildings were added to the existing ones. What is more, land was purchased around the school to secure the exclusion and retreat from the suburban growth of London. As far as the curriculum was concerned, it was no longer monopolized by the classical studies and by 1882 the broader relations of the school with the world were emphasized by the founding of a mission among the poor in London. The major tradition of Harrow Public School by the end of the Victorian era meant that through the distinguished alumni the school exerted influence on the State as well as on the Church and former students found employment in the army, the professions and in commercial life in an ever increasing number.

Merchant Taylor's: one of the nine public schools examined by the Clarendon Commission in 1868 but as it was a day school it stood somewhat apart from the other seven boarding

establishments. It was founded in 1560-61 by **the Merchant Taylor's Company of London** "for the better education and bringing up of children in good manners and literature." The school was located in the parish of St. Lawrence Poultney. The statutes were framed on the model of those of St. Paul's School. The first headmaster was **Richard Mulcaster** and owing to him the school immediately sprang into popular favour after its opening its gates in September, 1561.

The school under Mulcaster was highly successful and one of the most famous alumni was Edmund Spenser. In addition to the general classical and religious curriculum, music and acting enriched the profile of the school and this feature remained dominant throughout the eighteenth century.

With the development of the school we could mention that in 1828 mathematics began to be taught regularly and in 1845 French was introduced as an extra subject. In the following year modern history was added and in 1856 drawing appeared. The school has always encouraged the study of Hebrew and in the second half of the century the school could afford to move to more spacious quarters when the Charterhouse buildings were purchased. The significance of this move is that the increased accommodation permitted a doubling of the number of the students. Soon the school was divided into classical, modern and special (mathematical and science) sides and facilities were established for the study of chemistry, physics and biology, which promoted medical studies among the students.³⁶⁸

The following analysis will be made on the basis of Edward A. Allen's article titled '*Public School Elites in Early Victorian England: The Boys at Harrow and Merchant Taylor's from 1825 to 1850*'. The article was published in *the Journal of British Studies* (Vol. 21, No. 2, Spring 1982, pp. 87-117) and for data relies on the school registers (*Harrow Register 1800-1901*) and other Victorian primary sources such as *The Public Schools Calendar of 1866* or *the Harrow Calendar of 1845-52* with a History of Harrow School and A Register of the

³⁶⁸ The information that appears in this chapter was taken from Paul Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education*, from *Our Public Schools: Their Influence on English History* by J.G. Cotton Minchin. London. Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd. 1901., from *The Great Public Schools* by various authors, London, Edward Arnold, from *Great English Schools* by Harold T. Wilkins, London, 1925., *Merchant Taylor's School: Its Origin, History and Present Surroundings*. Edited by William Charles Farr. Oxford. 1929. and from *The Public Schools and the Nation* by A.B. Badger. London. 1940.

Scholars admitted into Merchant Taylor's School from 1562 to 1874 as well as *the Merchant Taylor's Register, 1561-1934*. London, 1936.

Edward Allen's analysis follows the early Victorian clientele of the above mentioned two schools and traces the progress of the boys from their entrance until their deaths near the end of the century. By examining major points, such as the occupation and social position of the fathers, the duration of the boys' stay within the walls of the schools, the future profession of the boys themselves, patterns of admissions and their future academic degrees and an examination of the occupational relationships between fathers and sons, the author provides a substantial insight into the nature and essence of public school education in the given period. Although I realize the obvious limitations of a study like this (acknowledging the fact that it is only a little slice of secondary school life and it would be a mistake to come to any kind of generalization on the national level from this limited amount of information) I consider it worthwhile to carry the same examination pattern on and to prepare its equivalent for the last third of the century, which is the subject of my own analysis. What I hope to show is that throughout the nineteenth century the ethos and profile of the various schools may have influenced the career choice of their alumni and what happened in small on the school level may indicate something about the major movements that were going on on the national level, with the strong provision that it was not necessarily so in every case, as certain differences might very well be explained with the unique features of the schools, with certain demographic or regional changes in a given period. In spite of the limitations of such a study, I consider making the analysis worthwhile, because if I add the data collected by myself to the findings of the more extensive investigation by W.D. Rubinstein published in 'Education, the 'gentleman', and British Entrepreneurship' in the volume titled *Capitalism, Culture & Decline in Britain*, we can get a fairly encompassing picture of how the alumni composition changed in the latter half of the nineteenth century and therefore, the combined data is pertinent to the much quoted debate between the two blocks of historians, where one party claims that the public schools exerted a negative influence on the business sphere, (they sucked students away from it and drew them to the professions instead) and the other party refuting this view.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁹ The allegation originates from David Ward, who argued that the public schools had caused a "haemorrhage of talent" away from industry because the traditional classical curriculum was impracticable in business careers and, this way, did not provide a reservoir for managerial and technological talent. D.C. Coleman thought that the public schoolboys not going into industry was beneficial, while Ward thought it bad but neither of them could

Since it is a widely acknowledged fact that the public schools nurtured the future generations of the professions (a great percentage of the pupils coming from this social background, especially in the case of Harrow) I find it worth making a comparison of the data found by Edward A. Allen and the data I myself gathered from the same school registers. My expectation is to show tendencies, major directions of progress by following the same pattern and by drawing up parallels on the basis of the data gathered by Allen about the school clientele in the 1820s, '30s and '40s and the data gathered by myself from the 1870s, '80s and '90s.

I would like to emphasize at this point that the current analysis contains information on two schools only, therefore it would be a mistake to come to any kind of unquestioned generalization on the basis of these data only. However, as this study examines two schools with a clientele of relatively different social background (Harrow being the school of the aristocracy and the upper circles of the society and representing conservative values, while Merchant Taylor's being the school of rich tradesmen and having a more commercial background) my idea was to provide my readers with an insight into the tendencies as to the career expectations that ran throughout the nineteenth century in two well-known schools, which - in a way - can be seen as ones that stand for all the other prestigious public schools of the age.

From Allen's article it turns out that in the second quarter of the century both Harrow and Merchant Taylor's admitted about 1500 students, while in the period of my analysis this number grew roughly to 2300. On the national level "the `universe of boys` from which the public schools could potentially draw would probably have numbered 200 thousand in the mid-late 1860s and 300 thousand at the end of the nineteenth century. But fewer than 4 per

justify their own arguments with statistics. Hartmut Berghoff maintained that what mattered in this issue was not so much the proportion of public schoolboys going into industry, but the proportion of businessmen who had received their secondary education at public schools. W.D. Rubinstein, in the above mentioned chapter of his book, examined the school records of eight public schools and claimed that his findings do not justify Ward's "haemorrhage of talent" theory. By use of probate records he found that the parents of public schoolboys were predominantly professional middle class people. His firm conclusion is that the public schools were mainly for the professional sub-class and the boys educated here tended to enter the professions. Likewise businessmen's sons followed in their fathers' footsteps and often joined the business sphere. Consequently, it is not true that a change in the occupational structure - generated by the public schools - caused the regional recession in British economy in the closing years of the century, or even if it had some marginal negative effect, it certainly could not carry the whole blame.

cent of this possible figure attended any public school - much less Eton or Harrow - in the 1860s, and fewer than 7 per cent at the end of the nineteenth century."³⁷⁰

As for the length of education, Allen points out that M.T. was likely to exert a more profound influence because it kept the boys longer but also because it gave the boys what was probably their entire formal education. From my examination we can learn that in the last third of the century a greater percentage of the Harrow students finished school early and this meant no change in comparison with former decades. This part of the investigation is important from the point of view that some historians, like Martin J. Wiener tends to blame the Victorian public school spirit for the relative decline in the economic sphere at the end of the century, therefore it might be of importance to know how long the various students were exposed to the influence of the public school. (see the hemorrhage of talent from the business sphere theory which Rubinstein refutes).

Table 1. The Duration of Studies in Merchant Taylor's and Harrow (1870-1901)³⁷¹

Years Spent at School	Merchant Taylor's 1870-1901 %	Harrow 1870-1901 %
1	9.9	11.9
2	11.6	22.9
3	14.3	29.9
4	14.5	22.1
5	16.6	10.8
6 or more	33.0	2.3

As regards academic results, Allen concludes that both Oxford and Cambridge experienced similar rates of matriculation from both groups – 87.1 per cent from M.T. and 89.5 from Harrow. He maintains that this high rate of attendance must have been due to the special relations the schools had with specific universities, however, what interests me here is the very fact that a predominant number of students from both schools did go to higher education, which I consider as a conscious preparation for their future professional life. It is clear that the professions held in high esteem at the end of the century demanded university education, what

³⁷⁰ Rubinstein. p.113.

³⁷¹ The Harrow Register 1800-1901

is more, this became increasingly true of the military career, which was far from being a negligible profession in the late Victorian era. It is especially spectacular in the case of Harrow students in what great number they joined the military in the decades under analysis.

About earning a degree, it turns out that in both periods the Harrovians could produce better results and the degrees demonstrated higher level of knowledge in most cases. This was essential for them if they wanted to carry on with their studies at the university or seek prestigious posts through their social connections. From M. T. fewer boys earned academic degrees both in the first and in the second half of the century, mainly because they chose to seek professional degrees and licences and this at a much higher rate than their fellows at Harrow.

The main reason why Allen`s article is pertinent to my own investigation is that he concludes that in the eventual choice of occupation both groups exceeded their fathers in entering the professions. What is more, in the case of both schools, this happened by abandoning the status of leisured gentleman, which clearly shows to me the strengthening of the utilitarian principle in the second half of the century but obviously the process reaches back to Allen`s period. He says: “Of the Taylorians, for whom occupation is known, 90.4 per cent entered the professions, compared to 45 per cent of their fathers. Similarly, 77.4 per cent of the Harrovians became professionals, while only 57.5 per cent of their fathers had done so. I would like to call attention to Rubinstein`s survey at this point, because the leading historian also carried out a thorough investigation of the growth and diversification of the professions in the period of my scrutiny and in his research included similar data on public school attendance through several generations. As he examined the occupational categories of public school entrants, that is, the future career of fathers and sons who had gone to the same schools, - just like Allen and myself - , it may be worth taking a look at his findings, too. Rubinstein examined eight prestigious public schools in his essay entitled *Education, the Gentleman and Entrepreneurship*` and among these we can find Harrow as well (unfortunately not Merchant Taylor`s). Consequently, I will include the data from his research here because it is pertinent to that of my own. Rubinstein says that on the basis of the school registers and other documents in 1870 in Harrow school 36 fathers were professionals (37.1 % of the total number of entrants), while, of their sons, 42 found jobs in the same occupational area (45.6%), which clearly shows growth through the generations. At the end of the century (1895/1900) 35 fathers (38 %) had a professional background and 48 (59.3%) of the sons

carried on the family tradition, from which we can see that the tendency continued till the end of the Victorian era.³⁷²

³⁷² Rubinstein p.116.

Table 2. The Changes that took place in the occupational structure in M.T. and H. in the first and in the second half of the 19th century³⁷³

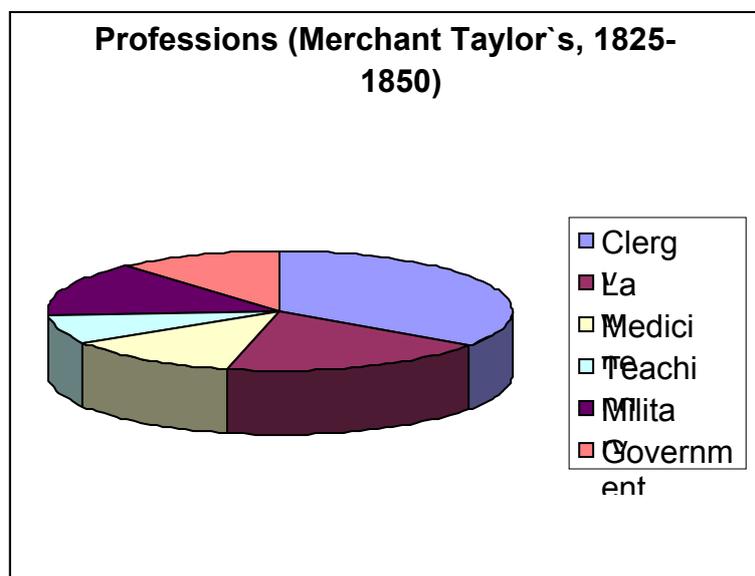
General Professional/Occupational Category	Merchant Taylors' (1825-1850) Number / %	Merchant Taylors' (1870-1901) Number / %	Harrow (1825-1850) Number / %	Harrow (1870-1901) Number/
Professional	490 (90.4)	622 (55.9)	922 (77.4)	631 (67.0)
Business	31 (5.7)	158 (14.2)	70 (5.8)	151 (16.0)
Skilled Craft	9 (1.6)	23 (2.1)	1 (0.8)	20 (2.2)
Tradesman	1 (0.2)	15 (1.3)	2 (1.6)	13 (1.4)
Gentleman	4 (0.7)	13 (1.2)	146 (12.2)	2 (0.3)
Workman	–	2 (0.2)	–	–
Clerk	3 (0.5)	150 (13.5)	–	7 (0.7)
MP	1 (0.2)	–	49 (4.1)	16 (1.7)
Other Occupations	2 (0.2)	57 (5.1)	–	57 (6.0)
Other Professions	1 (0.3)	71 (6.3)	–	44 (4.7)
Total Known	542	1111	1190	941

As **Table 2.** shows this happened mostly at the expense of leisured status. ”I wish to add two things here. In the latter half of the century, surprisingly at first sight, one notices a minor decline in the number of those who went to work in the professional sphere, although statistics on the national scale undoubtedly show growth, if not a major one in number. I am of the opinion that two things are responsible for this. From the combined table of the examined period it turns out that the sphere which showed spectacular growth was the business sphere, which supports Rubinstein against Wiener, that is, shows that there is no numerical justification of the allegation that students were “sucked away” from the business sphere. The other thing is that one can observe a spectacular growth in the field of other occupations and other professions than the traditional ones, which is of vital importance because it provides evidence for my thesis, according to which the professions, and of course the whole occupational structure became more diversified and the newly appearing sub-

³⁷³ Allan's article, the Harrow and Merchant Taylor's Register

categories drew numbers away from the traditional, ancient branches of the professions. Rubinstein's explanation seems to be logical when he says: "the growth in the number of professionals across the generations was a rational response to the fact that the professions, and professional opportunities, were almost certainly growing more rapidly than the population as a whole."³⁷⁴

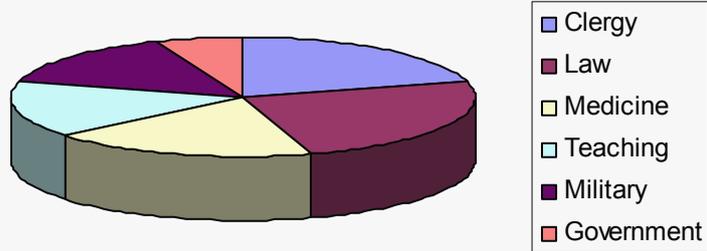
Chart 1. Occupational changes within the professions in Merchant Taylor's and Harrow throughout two generations³⁷⁵



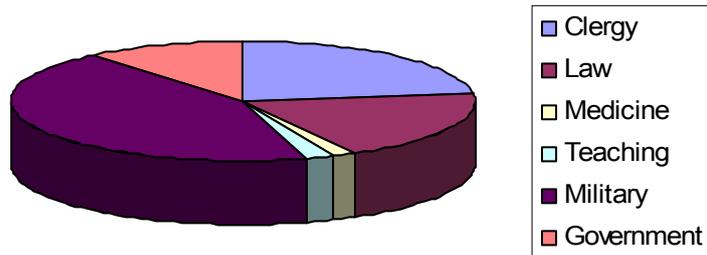
³⁷⁴ Rubinstein. p.121.

³⁷⁵ The Harrow and Merchant Taylor's Registers

Professions (Merchant Taylors', 1870-1901)



Professions (Harrow, 1825-50)



Professions (Harrow, 1870-1901)

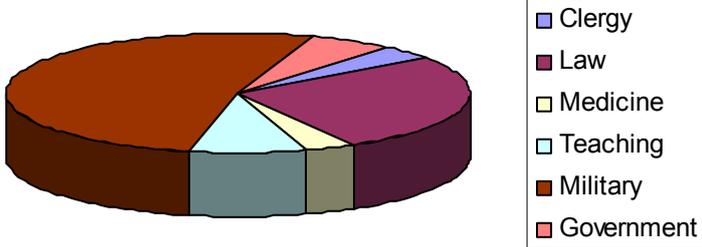


Table 3. Occupational structural changes in the two schools in the first half of the century³⁷⁶

Professional Category	Merchant Taylors' (1825-1850) Number/Percent	Harrow (1825-1850) Number/Percent
Clergy	155 (34.9)	204 (22.7)
Law	82 (18.6)	173 (19.2)
Medicine	56 (12.6)	16 (1.8)
Teaching	34 (7.8)	16 (1.8)
Military	64 (14.4)	389 (43.3)
Government	52 (11.7)	101 (11.2)
Total Known	443	899

Table 4. Occupational structural changes in the two schools in the second half of the century³⁷⁷

Professional Category	Merchant Taylors' (1870-1901) Number/Percent	Harrow (1870-1901) Number/Percent
Clergy	132 (21.2)	25 (3.9)
Law	150 (24.1)	167 (26.4)
Medicine	116 (18.6)	24 (3.8)
Teaching	94 (15.1)	51 (8.1)
Military	92 (14.8)	327 (51.8)
Government	38 (6.1)	37 (5.9)
Total Known	622	631

Chart 1. shows the division of the professions into sub-categories and the ratio of the students seeking occupation in the various fields respectively. The most obvious developments here

³⁷⁶ Allen's article

³⁷⁷ Harrow and Merchant Taylor's Registers

are that the number of clerical students declined radically in both schools, law and medicine showed moderate, linear growth and the same is true of the military career with the remark that among the Harrovian students I found an amazingly high percentage of students who chose to become professional soldiers, officers in the late Victorian decades. The teaching career also became more attractive to students. The number of future teachers practically doubled in the case of M.T. students and among the Harrow students became about five times as much as before. One may be somewhat surprised that there was a minor decline in the number of those who sought work in the government sphere but let me repeat my previously stated point that we are examining the data of two schools randomly chosen, not national figures.

Table 5. A detailed subdivision of the professions which shows the refinement of the occupational structure during the first and the second half of the 19th century³⁷⁸

Profession	Merchant Taylors' (1825-1850)	Merchant Taylors' (1870-1901)	Harrow (1825-1850)	Harrow (1870-1901)
Clergy/ Anglican	150 (33.8)	127 (20.4)	195 (21.1)	20 (3.2)
Missionary	1 (0.2)	4 (0.6)	2 (0.2)	5 (0.8)
Non-Conf. Min.	–	–	–	–
R.Cath.Priest	4 (0.9)	1 (0.1)	7 (0.8)	–
Law/ Barrister	40 (9.0)	66 (10.6)	134 (14.5)	91 (14.4)
Solicitor	38 (8.6)	84 (13.5)	38 (3.0)	76 (12.0)
Cursitor	–	–	–	–
Notary Public	2 (0.4)	–	–	–
Proctor	2 (0.4)	–	1 (0.1)	–
Medicine/Surgeon	48 (10.8)	43 (6.9)	8 (0.9)	1 (0.1)
MD	7 (1.6)	68 (10.9)	8 (0.9)	23 (3.6)
Dentist	1 (0.2)	3 (0.5)	–	–
Vet.Surgeon	–	2 (0.3)	–	–
Teaching/Professor	3 (0.7)	10 (1.6)	5 (0.5)	3 (0.4)
Princ./H.Master	11 (2.5)	15 (2.4)	3 (0.3)	19 (3.0)

³⁷⁸ Allen's article, Harrow and Merchant Taylor's Registers

Master	3 (0.7)	27 (4.3)	1 (0.1)	13 (2.0)
Ass. Master	9 (2.0)	30 (4.8)	4 (0.4)	10 (1.5)
Tutor	–	7 (1.1)	2 (0.2)	1 (0.1)
Lecturer	4 (0.9)	5 (0.8)	–	5 (0.7)
Librarian	4 (0.9)	–	1 (0.1)	–
Military/Militia	2 (0.4)	5 (0.8)	18 (2.0)	74 (11.7)
Colonial Army	20 (4.5)	16 (2.5)	71 (7.7)	20 (3.1)
Royal Army	30 (6.8)	48 (7.7)	278 (30.2)	231 (36.6)
Royal Navy	10 (2.2)	21 (3.3)	19 (2.1)	2 (0.3)
Colonial Navy	1 (0.2)	2 (0.3)	2 (0.2)	–
Foreign Military	1 (0.2)	–	1 (0.2)	–
Government Service/ “Civil Service”	–	14 (2.2)	–	4 (0.6)
Foreign Service	4 (0.9)	9 (1.4)	23 (2.5)	17 (2.7)
Imperial C.S.	21 (4.7)	1 (0.1)	60 (6.5)	1 (0.1)
Home C.S.	19 (4.3)	–	16 (1.7)	–
Local Gov./Police	3 (0.7)	9 (1.4)	–	15 (2.3)
Admiralty	4 (0.9)	1 (0.1)	–	–
Parliament(clerk)	1 (0.2)	4 (0.6)	2 (0.2)	1 (0.1)
Business/ Merchant	17 (54.8)	64 (40.5)	10 (14.3)	60 (39.7)
Wholesaler	–	1 (0.1)	–	–
Manufacturer	1 (3.2)	19 (12.0)	2 (2.9)	20 (13.2)
Banker	–	18 (11.4)	27 (38.6)	8 (5.3)
Stockbroker	2 (6.5)	54 (34.2)	2 (2.9)	55 (36.4)
Broker	–	2 (0.1)	–	8 (5.3)

Table 5. provides an even more detailed subdivision of the main branches of the professions and gives us an opportunity to see the major shifts within the bigger categories. From Table 5. one can realize that in M.T.'s and Harrow which occupational groups became more popular by the last three decades and which ones became less sought after. Allen's article contains no such table but I wanted to include it in my own analysis because it definitely indicates tendencies concerning the proliferation and diversification of the professions.

I have concluded earlier in this study that **the clergy** declined in importance on the national level and this shows in the case of the two schools under scrutiny. The number of those students who joined the Anglican clergy is considerably higher than any other denomination. It is possible to say that missionaries and Roman Catholics represent negligible numbers, what is more, Roman Catholics disappear from Harrow by the 1870s and the Non-Conformists are entirely missing throughout the whole period.

As for the **legal profession**, it is mostly stagnation or very minimal growth that we can point out. What is eye-catching is that the ratio of solicitors is considerably higher in both schools, which may indicate the development of the professions that did not demand a very high level of qualification as legal advisors may have been more sought after in the late Victorian period. Solicitors were entitled to give assistance at minor transactions and provide the clients with legal advice and in the post-Industrial Revolution period this is understandable. The growth in number is especially spectacular in the case of Harrow.

Within the **medical profession**, it fits well into the national trend that the surgeons sank somewhat on the level of social appreciation and their profession was more rarely chosen than that of the more highly qualified MD. This tendency seems to be in contrast with the dilution of the above discussed legal profession (we saw that there was a growing demand for the less qualified solicitors) but, on second thought, it is easy to realize that the nature of the medical profession required the opposite tendency. Surgeons were far from being a new phenomenon. In fact, they had always been the members of the branch which had been taken for granted and had always been able to take care of emergency cases. With the growing demand of the public for more feeling of comfort and a safe life, it can be seen as normal that people wanted longer and healthier lives and for this they needed better educated doctors. The growth of the number of MDs is especially spectacular in the case of M.T. but is high among Harrow students as well.

As regards **teaching**, one can find no revolution in the profession, though a certain linear growth is detectable, especially on the secondary level. The greatest increase we can find is in the number of schoolmasters and their assistants. In his own article Edward A. Allen highlights the fact that the relative upward mobility of Taylorian sons was fairly apparent in the teaching professions. He maintains that the students often made excellent principals, headmasters and exceeded their fathers in combining the professions of clergyman and

schoolmaster. On the higher level (dons, university professors) it is more correct to talk about stagnation or minimal growth.

As I said before, the **military profession** was chosen by a surprisingly great number of Harrow students throughout the era and the number continued increasing in the last three decades, which can be explained by numerous factors. The purchase of military commissions had disappeared by then and by the introduction of competitive examinations this profession offered fairer chances for many young men. The worse-to-do no longer felt excluded from this elite circles and, of course, the Boer wars and the gradual preparation for World War I. created an ever increasing demand for highly trained officers. In the last third of the Victorian century more and more candidates for the military profession went to university. The Colonial Army is the only sector where one can notice decline but this is also understandable if we come to consider that the colonial bureaucracy was really difficult to maintain as the colonies grew in number and the empire was hard to keep together because of the huge territories scattered in different parts of the world. The falling number within the Colonial Army coincides with the falling number in the Imperial Civil Service (see the next section). Membership within the Royal Army, the Militia and the Royal Navy are all in harmony with the national tendencies.

The **government service** or **civil service** had been virtually non-existent in the first half of the century, but showed both multiplication and diversification in the period of my investigation, though these particular two schools lag behind the national tendency. Growth is most obvious in the local government and the police as well as the foreign service. As I mentioned above, decline is clear in the field of the Colonial Service. The number of parliamentary clerks show stagnation.

I also have data about the proliferation of the **business sector** within the schools. This is relevant information in the sense that – as I said before - leading historians conduct debates even today about the role of the public schools in the `haemorrhage of talent` from the business sphere to the professions. Although the data of my analysis is very limited in scope, it is worth noting that neither decline in number, nor in types of business activity can be pointed out. It is true that there is some fall in the number of future merchants in M.T. (a bizarre contrast with what the name of the school suggests) but there is huge growth among the Harrovians. Manufacturers show considerable growth in both schools and the same is true for future bankers at M.T. but there is an enormous fall among the Harrow students in this category.

The most spectacular soaring number we can find in the profession of stockbrokers and brokers in both schools.

Table 6. Different branches of the professions in which the members of two generations found employment after graduating from M.T.³⁷⁹

Professional Category	Merchant Taylors' (1825-50) Fathers	Merchant Taylors' (1825-50) Sons	Merchant Taylors' (1870-1901) Fathers	Merchant Taylors' (1870-1901) Sons
Clergy	169 (24.5)	155 (34.9)	287 (37.1)	132 (21.2)
Law	141 (20.5)	82 (18.6)	139 (18.0)	150 (24.1)
Medicine	181 (26.3)	56 (12.6)	167 (21.6)	116 (18.6)
Teaching	31 (4.5)	34 (7.8)	58 (7.5)	94 (15.1)
Military	48 (6.9)	64 (14.4)	57 (7.3)	92 (14.8)
Government	50 (7.2)	52 (11.7)	64 (8.3)	38 (6.1)
Total Known	687	443	772	622

Table 6. carries Allen's analysis further in the sense that while the prominent historian compared the occupational shifts between fathers and sons and compared the tendencies of the two schools in the period 1825-1850 only, I extended the same examination to the closing three decades of the century but had to restrict my analysis to M.T. school only as I had no access to the profession of the fathers in Harrow.³⁸⁰ But even so, by comparing all the data about the choice of profession of three generations, one can gain a very intriguing comprehensive view of the major shifts in the occupational structure throughout the century.

If we examine the occupational relationships between fathers and sons at Harrow and M.T. in the first half of the century we can realize that Harrow boys were more inclined to follow in

³⁷⁹ Allen's article and the Merchant Taylor's Register

³⁸⁰ Rubinstein provides data on Harrovian fathers, but no so detailed as the primary information I got from the Merchant Taylor's Register. He says that in 1840 34% of the fathers were landowners, 39.6% professionals and 20.8% from the business sphere. In the year 1870 the same division changed for 18.6% landowners, 37.1% professionals, 37.1% business, and in the interval between 1895-1900: 13.0% landowners, 38.0% professionals and 44.6% in the business sphere, which clearly shows that there was **no** mass defection from the business sphere in Harrow School in favour of the professions, which is the main thesis of Rubinstein.

their fathers' footsteps and adopted a vocation in the general category of their fathers more easily than did Taylorians. According to Allen the only exception was the sons of professionals. They entered the professions in 85.9 percent of cases, whereas comparable Taylorians succeeded their fathers as professionals 97.4 percent of the time. From the figures gathered by myself the same pattern seemed to continue in the closing decades of the century. There is relatively little gap between the ratio of the fathers and the sons in the various professions in the 1880s and '90s as well.

In the first half of the century the Taylorians were more likely to become clergymen and seemed to be more inclined than their fathers to become priests, teachers, soldiers and government servants. The same was not true, however, of the medical and the legal professions. According to Allen, "This pattern and the extent to which Taylorians bested their fathers in entering the Church and the Inns of Court denotes a good deal of upward mobility through the professions." He adds that the examination of the changing ratio between barristers and solicitors can only support this allegation. Obviously the sons tended to concentrate more in these primary professions than their fathers, some of whom were only quasi-professional, such as cursitors, proctors, solicitors' clerks. It is worth noting that a higher proportion of Taylorian sons than of the fathers entered the more prestigious profession of the barrister. The fathers were still more likely to be solicitors. According to my data, the struggle for higher qualification and more acknowledged expertise continued in the case of the late Victorian generation, too.

In medicine one can notice relative stagnation throughout the century, though within the subcategories (as we have seen before) the tendency was in the same direction as in the field of law. The students of the late period were not satisfied with the predominantly manual tasks of the surgeon but strove for knowledge and genuine expertise.

The number of those working in the professions showed a spectacular growth from generation to generation, which clearly demonstrates the fact that the nation attributed more and more significance to the job of those who were responsible for the creation of a continuous supply of professionals in the Victorian era. From the previously dominating patronage system there was a remarkable shift in the direction of social ascendance through education and this appeared in the great number of regulations that served the purpose of elevating the education system to the level it deserved. It was increasingly recognized that quality education could

only be provided by employing better trained teachers and there was a soaring demand for the work of those who did their job enthusiastically and with reliable knowledge.

Employment of Taylorians in the military was not so striking throughout the period as it was in the case of Harrow students but shows a clear growth even so. Above I have already mentioned the causes I find likely to have played a crucial role in the shaping of this tendency.

Participation in government service is relatively even in the three major parts of the nineteenth century. In my opinion, this hardly reflects the national tendency, instead I am inclined to explain the lack of growth with the profile of the school. It might be incidental that Taylorians lagged behind other schools in this respect but encouraged certain occupations in the business sphere instead. However, Allen, who informs us about movement in the first half of the century only, points at the fact that far fewer Taylorians followed their fathers into business than the school's ideal would have suggested. Again it is a kind of surprise that Harrovians usually surpassed their fathers in entering business, especially as bankers and merchants. In the case of M.T. the most fabulous growth one can detect among stockbrokers.

From various census occupation data (*The Census and Social Structure: An Interpretative Guide to Nineteenth Century Censuses from England and Wales*) edited by Richard Lawton. Frank Cass, 1978. we have information on the newly emerging subcategories of the professions in the last third of the Glorious Century. These census charts about the newly emerging professions I will add later.

HIGHER EDUCATION

In the emergence of highly qualified professionals higher education inevitably played a key role. In certain cases - as we have seen in the previous chapter - public school education and some practical training proved to be sufficient, but for those who intended to get onto a really high level, specialization became an absolute necessity. For the obtaining of the right kind of knowledge and skill, future professionals with soaring aspirations had to go to the universities.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF OXBRIDGE:

In medieval Oxford there had been **Halls** before there were Colleges. The Halls were licensed by the Chancellor and were controlled by Masters. The students lived in boarding houses on the territory of the university and the word 'Hall' clearly has the connotation of living besides learning there. A **College**, as it appeared later, was an endowed self-governing body, independent under a royal charter. Its purpose was to provide free accommodation and education at Oxford for a specified number of years to a specified number of scholars of specified origin. Exeter, for example, was originally founded for the education of twelve scholars from the diocese of Exeter. The scholars of a College were self-governing, which meant that they controlled their own accounts, managed their own affairs and lived at their own expense. From the beginning there were two categories of students who attended colleges. The **Scholars** or **Fellows**, who were supported by the Foundation, that is, from the income which the Founder gave to the College and the so-called **commoners**, had to cover their own expenses.

To understand the evolution of higher education, one ought to see the difference and relation between the university and the colleges. To use the definition that Sir William Hamilton, the Scottish philosopher and lawyer came up with for the university in the 1830s when he published a number of articles on higher education in *the Edinburgh Review*: "A **university** is

a trust confided by the state to certain hands for the common interest of the nation...³⁸¹

Hamilton thought that the task of the university was to give instruction in all major subjects and to provide the learners with **profound general knowledge** and developed **a national character** in the course of time. Consequently, the universities can be regarded as national institutions, which were created by the public for the benefit of the public, whereas the colleges had a private profile for private advantage and the interests of the two establishments have frequently been in confrontation ever since their creation. In the 1830s Hamilton was of the opinion that the colleges actually usurped the functions and privileges of the universities, bearing their own interests too much in mind. He went as far as to say that the system in his own days meant that the collegiate domination over the universities was a breach of trust by college officials, which subverted the original sphere of authority of the university. One way to do this was that the colleges, in fact, reduced the originally broad instruction to a single dominant subject – the classics at Oxford and mathematics at Cambridge.

A frequently voiced accusation, and perhaps the major one, which launched the whole **University Reform Movement**, was that the old English universities in the early and mid-Victorian period remained part of the Church and retained their originally prevailing religious functions, that is, the training of the clergy and the education of the nation's social elite according to the much cherished Christian principles. As they continued reflecting the old medieval social order, they failed to produce secular men-of-letters, scientists, scholars who would have been able to serve the needs of the urban industrial world. Instead Oxford and Cambridge could be blamed for numerous backward traits – idle studies, not pragmatic, discriminating against Dissenters, religious tests, students' selection too much based on patronage instead of merit, too traditional curricula, no career for teachers, no adequate science teaching etc.

In the eighteenth century liberal education was supported because this served the gentleman ideal of the age: a person who was independent, well behaved, sociable and generous towards his family and other fellow beings. In the early nineteenth century, with the advent of Evangelicalism and the fear of the French Revolution, a strong moralizing tendency was added to the Augustan ideal of breadth. As W.T. Heyck says: "The defenders of Oxbridge reasoned that classics or mathematics did not prepare a student for any trade or profession but

³⁸¹ The Universities in the Nineteenth Century. (Ed. Michael Sanderson) (London and Boston: Routledge&Kegan Paul, 1975), p.66

gave a mental and moral discipline which served as the foundation for any vocation, indeed for life as a whole.”³⁸²

The nineteenth century certainly carried the old traditions on and unfortunately the handicaps prevailed, too until the late period when reforms became essential and inevitable. In the mid-Victorian age liberal education was increasingly put into direct contrast with the ‘servile’ world of trade and industry. People praised the ennobling capacity of the classics and did not really mind the absence of utilitarian considerations. The major elements which still caused problems and delayed progress were religion, celibacy, high costs, the lack of scholarships and the insistence of teaching Greek, which was increasingly a nuisance for everyone. In more detail:

1. **Dissenters were not allowed to matriculate at Oxford until 1854** or graduate at Cambridge until 1856 and the presence of the nonconformist element prevented the sons of manufacturing families in the Midland from gaining any worthwhile qualifications and forced them to go to London or Scotland instead. What put an end to this unjust practice was **the Test Act of 1871**.
2. Another restriction on the teachers at the ancient universities was that they were supposed to be celibate and in Holy Orders, which meant that the teaching body suffered from **an unhealthy inward-looking character** and could not really be expected to be open to new influences. Bachelor clergymen had little contact with business circles and it is little wonder that they did not encourage their students to seek employment in the money oriented world, which was so alien to them and which they even despised.
3. **The high boarding costs and charges** for the courses prevented the admission of a larger class and this situation remained until 1868 when Oxford colleges allowed undergraduates to live cheaply in lodgings.
4. At Oxford there were **no scholarships for proficiency in the physical sciences**, which caused trouble for those who came from a more humble background and were likely to choose careers in these new openings as they had no family connections that could have launched them in careers in Church, law or politics.
5. **Having to learn Greek** was becoming more and **more troublesome** both at Oxford and Cambridge as it was no longer useful and many students wished to learn science

³⁸² J.W. Heyck, *The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982)

subjects instead. However, Greek was continued in the ancient universities until 1920.

In the late period of the nineteenth century, when the public and the governing leadership was very much preoccupied with the problem of national education on the elementary and on the secondary level, the reform of higher education was increasingly recognized as a desirable one. As Richmond says quoting the ideas of George Jardine: "True, they (the universities) had their occasional genius, a rare Newton emerging from the scum of mediocrity; but in the main they were utterly bankrupt of ideas and sunk into a condition of cultural uselessness. Metaphysics and deductive logic were all very well in their way but, but 'intelligent persons could not fail to observe that subjects to which their attention was directed had no relation to any profession or employment whatever, that the discussions connected with them had no analogy to those traits of thinking which prevailed in the ordinary intercourse of the society.'"³⁸³

Reforms came gradually, varied from university to university, and Oxbridge alone no longer proved to be an adequate source of remedy to a nationwide problem. **The University of London** had a major contribution to the teaching of industrial science from the 1880s on and a number of **civic universities** were established all over the country, eg. in **Birmingham, Southampton, Liverpool** and **Leeds** etc. that took some of the load over from Oxbridge.

The Situation Before the University Reform Movement and the Links with the Public Schools

Having seen the situation in the past, let us glimpse at the nature and the most important functions of the university in Queen Victoria's century. According to the *Macmillan Magazine* in 1881: "A university is an association of the most intelligent and most highly-educated men of a country, set apart by the nation for the pursuit of truth, the preservation, increase, and communication of knowledge, and the general elevation of the intellectual character of the people. So far its character and scope is identical with that of a royal academy or museum, after the model of the Ptolemies in Alexandria. But it is something more; it has also an educational function; and in this capacity, as distinguished from a secondary or upper

³⁸³ Richmond, p.50

school, its special business is to stimulate the highest intellectual energy of the nation, by developing under wise guidance the peculiar intellectual spontaneity of each intelligent individual who comes within the range of its stimulating action."³⁸⁴

In the first half of the nineteenth century the universities had a direct link with the public schools which were regarded as the next logical step for those who wished to engage themselves in an intellectual or professional career and wanted to pursue it with genuine expertise. However, the public school very often meant the end of the students' academic preparation for their future career, especially if it was in the secular professions or if it meant taking over their fathers' business. The university was not a general requirement for those who wanted to work in the learned professions, in fact the apprenticeship or other practical training supplemented by the public school certificate often proved more than enough for a good start, not to mention patronage, recommendations and a certain deposit that fathers often paid to the master or an established professional who launched their sons in the chosen field.

But the links between the public schools and the universities did exist and were significant. The ancient universities dominated the classical curricula at the public schools and older grammar schools, they provided the schoolmasters and often admitted the pupils by granting them scholarships, which established a privileged connection between individual colleges and the schools. In the 1850s new examinations, called '**locals**' were introduced, which can be considered as the forerunners of today's 'O' level and 'A' level school leaving exams and the universities started exerting a kind of revitalizing effect on the academic standards of the public schools. The reports of the Taunton Commission in the 1860s assert the positive outcome of the close ties between secondary and higher education. Among the major changes the Commissioners observed **the gradual integration of natural sciences in the curriculum**, which followed the same tendency on the higher education level. Another major development was **the growth of specialization**, which became widespread in the second half of the century and reflected the conscious preparation of the students for the university, where specialization was increasingly a requirement.

The universities also benefitted from the collaboration because working together with the public schools meant that more capable and better prepared candidates applied to their colleges than before. As a result of the new policies, higher education clearly experienced an

³⁸⁴ '*Thoughts of English University Reform*' in Macmillan's Magazine, Vol. XLV. Nov.-Apr. p.126.

upheaval in the last third of the century. Throughout the period **the public school** remained **the major reservoir** from which the universities drew the best brains and cultivated them further. In his article published in the *Nineteenth Century* in 1898, George C. Broderick summarized the essence of the collaboration as follows: “Every school of reputation still professes, above all, to prepare the boys for the Universities, however liberally it may provide for the requirements of non-academical careers, such as the Army and Civil Service. On the other hand, the Universities, by wisely extending their old narrow curriculum, are rapidly bringing the new studies within the range of their control; while, by undertaking the office of examining boards on a very large scale, they have strengthened to an extraordinary degree their former hold on secondary education. It had long been the habit of the more eminent public schools and grammar schools to invite the aid of University examiners in awarding exhibitions or testing the results of school work in the higher forms.”³⁸⁵

Of course, with the progress of reforms, the above mentioned cooperation became increasingly true of the newly emerging girls' schools and the universities, what is more, with the establishment of the civic universities from the mid-century on, the municipal secondary grammar schools also became better supplied by well-qualified teaching force and a more serious check on them so as to promote their desirable functioning.

The most important questions that are likely to occur to anyone interested in the topic of higher education in the Victorian period are: who had gone to higher education and why before the reforms and what kind of experience had awaited the students in Oxford and Cambridge, since there had been no real alternative before the radical reforms of the second half, or rather, the last third of the century. If the public schools gave a thorough preparation for almost any intellectual occupation, what motivated those who insisted on continuing their studies on a higher level and from whose ranks did they come at all? What could they expect from the existing system and why did they find reforms increasingly desirable?

As far as the first question is concerned, that is, the one which asks who went to higher education, one may notice that **the social composition of the student bodies did not change** radically throughout the examined period. Statistics show that Oxbridge education had always been **the privilege of the elite** and this hardly changed with the advancement of the reforms. The old universities started accepting middle and lower-middle class students in the second

³⁸⁵ George Broderick, "The University of Oxford in 1898", *The Nineteenth Century* (XLIV. II.) p. 218.

half of the century but the bulk of the student body remained **young men from the ranks of the aristocracy, the clergy, the gentry and the professions**. The civic universities satisfied the demands of the bulk of the middle class and the lower-middle class. As T. W. Heyck says: “What did change at Oxford and Cambridge were two things: 1. The mixture of the upper class backgrounds of the students and 2. The graduates choices of occupations. Both factors reflected **the secularization and professionalization of the universities**- and of English society generally. In the first half of the century, the vast majority of students at Oxbridge came from land-owning and clerical backgrounds, and a large proportion of them channelled by the universities into clerical careers: more than 60 per cent of all Oxford students and 50 per cent of Cambridge graduates went into the clergy. But, at Oxford, for example, the proportion of students coming from clerical homes had declined to 28 per cent in 1870, and further declined to 17 per cent in 1910. (Stone 103) The proportion of the graduates going into orders fell precipitously: at Balliol, nearly half of all Bas in 1845 were ordained, but in the years from 1845-55, only one of three took orders; only one of ten did so in the years of Jowett’s mastership (1870-1893); and one in 25 in the 1890s. (Richter 69). Hence it can be said of both ancient universities in the late-Victorian period that the proportion of students from landed and clerical families went down, the proportion from professional and rich business families increased; and the graduates increasingly chose careers in the secular professions – including academic life.”³⁸⁶

In his *Nineteenth Century* article George C. Broderick talks about the students who graduated either at Oxford or Cambridge and were to occupy the most prestigious positions in the running of the empire. He says that “It was Oxford and Cambridge men who originated and shaped the open competitions for the Civil Service of India, and the head masters of the great public schools, all Oxford and Cambridge men, have been consulted at every turn in constructing the scheme of Army examinations.”³⁸⁷ Moreover, he goes on to argue that of the last nine Prime Ministers five were educated at Oxford and one at Cambridge. **Secretaries of State, prominent diplomats, commissioners, secretaries and examiners** were selected **from one of the two ancient universities** and the same was true for the key figures of the Press.

As regards the evolution of the reforms, it is worth noting that in the eighteenth century higher education in England found itself in a nadir and only slowly did it start recovering at the

³⁸⁶ Heyck, p.183

³⁸⁷ Broderick, p. 220

beginning of the new century. But even in the early years of the Wonderful Century knowledge was static, not creative and for a good while hardly anyone dared to question the **monopoly of the liberal education**, which determined and dominated the curriculum in the

ancient universities. It was a gradual and slow process that some theoreticians, like R.L. Edgeworth, the author of *Essays on Professional Education* (1809), **Sir William Hamilton, William Whewell, Edward Copleston, J.S. Mill, John Henry Newman, Herbert Spencer, T.H. Huxley, Mark Pattison and Benjamin Jowett** started investigating the right courses of action, got engaged in the nationwide debate on the function of university education and endeavoured to find the desirable path to pursue.

The main components of the debate were the following:

6. **Liberal education** prevailed throughout the Victorian period but its hegemonic position was increasingly **challenged by the utilitarians** who demanded education to be useful. Those who defended liberal education argued with ennobling effect of the classics and said that `liberality` was associated with moral qualities like openness, generosity of spirit and were essential for the shaping of the gentlemanly ideal, which was held in such a high esteem throughout the era. It was mostly acknowledged that liberal education did not prepare the students for any particular vocation or profession but, through its training of the mind, it did create a kind of mentality which ultimately helped the student to approach and solve problems in almost any field later in his future career no matter what it happens to be.

The utilitarians, on the other hand, rejected this cultivation of the mind for its own sake and denied that knowledge could or should be an intellectual end in itself. They mostly followed Newman`s assertion, who said that if liberal education was good then it was supposed to be useful, too. Consequently it should be only a means to the goal and not an end in itself.³⁸⁸

7. From the previous dilemma a second one arose, however similar in nature. In the first half of the century **liberal education** and **professional education** were treated as opposites of each other, as the first one was contented with transmitting **general information** and knowledge and the latter one required **specialized training** from the beginning. Even J.S. Mill said that “a university was not a place of professional education”.³⁸⁹ It is true that liberal education could be transmuted into a professional

³⁸⁸ Sanderson, p.122

³⁸⁹ Ibid., p.127

one, but in the early nineteenth century, this happened only in the case of the Church and the Civil Service. In other cases the tendency was to juxtapose the liberal and the professional careers as opposites. The ancient universities, therefore continued teaching their classical curriculum, which was the same as liberal education and the students who attended them were satisfied as they came from the upper stratum of the society and were rarely in need of a more pragmatic training. For the introduction of specialized and more practical education the authorities founded **the University of London** and later the civic universities, most of which were located in the Midland and the northern regions of the country. Universities like **Durham** or **Manchester** asserted the vocational, professional and technological nature of their education and were suspicious and hostile to the seemingly superfluous and idle studies pursued by the elite at Oxbridge. As Michael Sanderson says: “This **juxtaposition of liberal versus vocational, elite versus middle class** also threw into sharper relief the arts versus science element in the controversy.”³⁹⁰ This statement points in the direction of the next problematic point in the debate.

8. **Science and technology** had long been neglected in the curriculum of Oxford and Cambridge as existing scholarship and fellowship funds catered for the traditional subjects. Victorians did not see science opposed to theology or religion, some kind of science consciousness did exist in the form of ‘**natural theology**’, which means that a benevolent deity designed the world for the benefit its highest creation, humanity and this field provided the first impetus for scientific study and even for applied science later. However, the ancient universities simply did not have the equipment and the staff to get seriously engaged in science teaching, what is more, these subjects were associated with serving the interest of the industrial and commercial layer and was stigmatized as instruments for more money-grabbing. The ancient universities knew that they had to build laboratories and even new buildings for them, they had to provide science scholarships and expand their existing libraries and to do all this on the grand scale so as to make science teaching efficient and spectacular. Furthermore, as there was no institutional network or career patterns for scientists for a long time, it took science decades to become part of the Victorian High Culture. It is also true that neither the government, nor Oxbridge was willing to give support to science teaching and, even if certain voluntary organizations did so,

³⁹⁰ Sanderson, p.

the general impression was that science teaching was in crisis in England, especially in comparison with the much idealized German system.

These disadvantageous circumstances created further ground for the arguments of those who defended liberal education and slowed down the process of integrating science into the curriculum. The financial considerations also played a serious part as it was common knowledge that the necessary sums could come only from the colleges and led to the creation of a supra-college university, which was against the general tendency to create a balance between the power of the two.

The new civic universities, on the other hand, had no such things to worry about as they were non-collegiate central institutions and their whole existence was largely called into being so as to create places where science and technology teaching could enjoy the freedom it deserved. These establishments were financed by industry and had no vested interest in the liberal arts. Quite the contrary, their main attracting force was **the usefulness of the knowledge** they provided and if someone applied to these kinds of universities, he or she could take it for sure that the knowledge gained here would come in handy in their future practical work.

9. While part of the dilemma was concentrated on what to teach, the other part of the question was **how to do the instruction**, what **form and methods** to choose for sake of greater efficiency. The main competition was going on between putting the emphasis on **teaching** or **research**; or even to cut out either function altogether. If both were to be retained, what should be the healthy balance and ratio between them. Once it came to the teaching function of the university, questions came up about the positive and negative impacts of the professorial or the tutorial system of instruction. And third, it was not clear whether the nation benefitted more from continuing generalism in the long run or perhaps time had come for turning towards specialization in higher education.

As for **teaching versus research**, the traditional teaching function of Oxbridge came increasingly into contrast with the developing and increasingly popular German model of the university, which functioned as a centre of scholarship and research but also retained its teaching role. In England the advocates of the old liberal education, like Whewell, Copleston and Jowett disliked the idea that research should be elevated above teaching and praised the old system, in which the curriculum did not change, the same information was passed on from generation to generation and even had a kind of

timeless quality. The above theoreticians feared that if research enjoyed more prestige and was to gain more ground it would give a chance to people to challenge the old established truth, the solid curriculum and the old feeling of security would vanish, what is more, would be replaced by new uncertainties that no one has the power to alleviate. They disliked the prospective that speculation and constant questioning could undermine the prestige of the system, which had brought a sense of comfort and satisfaction for so many generations before. They also feared that with research new subject areas would arise, which may surpass or push out the classics in the long run. Especially with science teaching demanding more space at the universities, it was clear that the old system could not be maintained in an unreformed state and some curricular changes would be necessary even in Oxford and Cambridge.

As **the teaching function of the university** was likely to remain, only **complemented with compulsory research** on the part of university dons, new patterns in teaching became necessary. As science was gaining ground, the professorial system, which meant auditing lectures for the students rather than consulting their private coach or tutor became widespread. There were counterarguments, though, for example by the Tractarian leader, Pusey, who said that the lecture system worked with passive students only, who could not do more but imitate the ideas of the professor; while the tutorial system strengthened the moral resilience of the students.³⁹¹

There was a constant question also whether to create **career patterns for tutors and Fellows** and how to make them interested in pursuing their academic work and how to enable them to earn their living by continuing their intellectual activity. As science was integrated into the curriculum it became obvious that specialization and even team teaching would become necessary. The great initiators of this step were Mark Pattison and Benjamin Jowett.

The third dubious area in the debate was whether to opt for keeping the university curriculum **general** or to move in the direction of **specialization**. It is easy to realize that, by making science-teaching compulsory, a certain degree of specialization became essential or simply could not be avoided. It was also clear that the various kin subjects, such as history, sociology and political studies would relate to each other and their instruction would require specialized knowledge from the instructors. And yet in

³⁹¹ Heyck, p. 166

the Oxford and Cambridge of the Victorian era, liberal education remained rather narrow and specialization became rife only at the civic universities, which emerged in the second half of the century.

10. Connection with the Church, the State and Commercial, Industrial Circles:

In spite of the centuries long Church hegemony in higher education, the nineteenth century witnessed a **distinct shift towards secularization**, what is more, the new universities became closely involved in different secular areas of national life. In fact, even Cambridge and Oxford contemplated getting into closer touch with industry, whose rich financial resources were all poured into the development of the newly rising civic universities, while Oxbridge often found itself short of funds.

Naturally the new universities were even more dependent on the sources of the industrial economy and a kind of collaboration and mutual support activity started between the big corporations and higher education, in which industry provided funds and the universities emerged as major suppliers of new industrial technology. Specialized centres were developed where expertise served first the local and later the whole national economy. A lot of branches of industry drew experts from Sheffield, Birmingham, Leeds, Newcastle and Liverpool. Consequently, the formerly typical private character of higher education gradually shifted towards a national, public one and by the end of the century the universities were recognized as utterly secular, national institutions on which the country's economic well-being partly rested and which deserved the attention and the support of the State as well as those of private benefactors.

As far as **the involvement of the State** in the regulation of higher education was concerned, the generally accepted position was that the State might try to control elementary and, to some extent, secondary education and might even attempt to **impose a kind of uniform minimum standard at the universities, but overall it should have no influence on the autonomous operation of the intellectual aristocracy of the nation** and it would be better if it set up its own rules and supervised their maintenance. To convey a sense of this solid conviction, let me quote the words of George Broderick again: "Not only the possession of unique libraries, collections, and architectural treasures, but the sacred memories of 700 years, the

prestige of an influence which has so deeply moulded both English thought and English character, the recent and manifold extension of that influence through new associations with the industrial classes – these are attributes which no revolutionary decree can either destroy or create, and which true statesmanship will know how to cherish, as a regulating force of higher value than ever in a democratic and utilitarian age.”³⁹²

Theoreticians with Clashing and Coinciding Views in the Debate on the Future of Higher Education

Different theoreticians, public educators, university dons, social thinkers and even philosophers contributed to the debate on higher education in many different ways, all voicing their own convictions and thus tried to promote the cause of learning on the highest level. The main participants of the debate were **J.H. Newman**, the leader of the High Church Oxford Movement, **Sir William Hamilton**, a Scottish philosopher, who became famous for his 1831 attack on Oxford, **William Whewell**, one of the foremost figures at Cambridge, **Herbert Spencer**, the inventor and advocate of Social Darwinism, philosopher and early sociologist, **John Stuart Mill**, radical social thinker, philosopher - economist, **T.H. Huxley**, a leading scientist, **Mark Pattison**, the Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, **Edward Copleston**, the Provost of Oriel, defender of the liberal educational ideal and **Benjamin Jowett**, a leading university don. It is easy to realize that most of the issues in questions stirred a good deal of controversy from time to time and it was not rare that certain theoreticians agreed in one thing but not in another or they even reevaluated their former convictions. All this was natural and human regarding the complexity of the education question. Still, so as to facilitate the understanding of the nature of the lengthy debate on the ideal state of English higher education and the clashing views that emerged in the course of it, it makes sense to group the above mentioned participants of the harmonization tendency. Although it is possible to group the theoreticians according to their chronological involvement in the debate, I have decided to categorize them on the basis of their standpoint because this serves my thesis better.

³⁹² Broderick, p. 223

The two clearly opposing groups were the ones who were mostly **for a conservative approach**, which virtually meant **stagnation** and the maintenance of the status quo, especially when it came to the reformation of the curriculum and those who stood up for drastic reforms and innovation. To the conservative group belonged **Hamilton, Copleston, J.S. Mill, Whewell** and **Pusey**. These people advocated the maintenance of the traditional liberal education with no ambition for usefulness and the applicability of knowledge. They were the ones who refrained from elevating research above tutoring or at least to put it on the same level with teaching. They wanted to keep the tutorial, rather than the professorial system and thought that abstract reasoning was even more important than practical. Of course, their personal views differed slightly, but the overall standpoint was this. In the mid century, **Newman, J.S. Mill** and **Mark Pattison** took their stance as the most stubborn defenders of the traditional liberal education ideal. Sanderson sums up their main ideas with the following statements: "Newman pointed out that great discoveries in chemistry and electricity had not been made in the universities. On the contrary, for him the purpose of universities should be a liberal education which he defined as knowledge `which stands on its own pretensions, which is independent of sequel, expects no complement, refuses to be informed by any end, or absorbed into any art.` For Newman it was to produce a `cultivated intellect, a delicate taste, a candid equitable, dispassionate mind, a noble and courteous bearing` in the individual, while in society at large `it aims at raising the intellectual tone of society, at cultivating the public mind, at purifying the national taste, at supplying true principles to popular enthusiasm and fixed aims to popular aspiration, at giving enlargement and sobriety to the ideas of the age, at facilitating the exercise of political power and refining the intercourse of private life."³⁹³ It is worth noting why J.S. Mill belonged to the conservative group. To quote his words through Sanderson again: "There is a tolerably general agreement about what a university is not. It is not a place of professional education. Universities are not intended to teach the knowledge required to fit men for some special mode of gaining a livelihood. Their object is not to make skilful lawyers and physicians and engineers, but capable and cultivated human beings."³⁹⁴

What I consider as clearly **progressive** is when some theoreticians, such as **H. Spencer, T.H. Huxley, B. Jowett, Sir H. Roscoe, B. Samuelson** or **Philip Magnus** raised their voices for the acceptance of **practical, utilitarian** and **applicable knowledge**, which can be made use of

³⁹³ Michael Sanderson, *The Universities of British Industry 1850- 1970*, London: Kegan&Paul, 1972. p. 4-5.

³⁹⁴ J.S. Mill, *Inaugural Address delivered to the University of St. Andrews*, Feb., 1867. London in Sanderson, *The Universities of British Industry*. 1972.

in different areas of life. From the mid-century on the attitude to vocational subjects started changing when the sciences developed a subject matter which was both intellectually testing and practically applicable. Spencer, for example, "claimed that knowledge could be graded in order of importance from that which was conducive to self-preservation down to that which gratifies taste and feelings, a possible hit at Newman's `delicate taste` as the object of

university study. He deplored that there was too much stress on education for pure culture and leisure and that thereby the educational system `neglected the plant for the sake of the flower`."³⁹⁵ With the advance of the Civil Service and with the creation of careers in the public service higher education in classics became increasingly a vocational education and thus more acceptable to its former critics. However, the fact that devoted reformers were so few in number definitely slowed the reform tendency down considerably and what was recognized as necessary at an early stage was applied only in the late phase of the century.

The **third group** was made up of those who were somehow **mediating between the two extreme wings** and either advocated **moderate reforms** in various areas, or drastic reforms but only selectively. They may have found a radical reform necessary at one point but in all the other questions remained conservative and old-fashioned. Such were **Pattison, Jowett** and **M. Arnold**, for example. (Let me once again call attention to the fact that the same person may belong to different groups because he may have voiced different views in different periods of his life.)

The flood of criticism of the current university system started with **R.L. Edgeworth**'s *Essays on Professional Education* (1809) with the assertion that the value of education was to be measured by its utility. From the publication, which was clearly an attack on Oxbridge and the purely classical curriculum, it turned out that criticism multiplied on utilitarian grounds and, with the advance of the century, only new viewpoints were added.

In the years 1809-1811 the fundamental issue was **the confrontation of liberal classics and practical vocationalism**. In the 1830s attention of the critics shifted towards mathematics teaching in Cambridge. **William Whewell** strongly advocated the necessity of thorough math teaching at his university because, in his opinion, this was the best way to develop the skill for abstract reasoning, which is of vital importance in almost any field of life. Whewell` ideal was contradicted by **Sir William Hamilton**, author of *On the State of the English Universities*, which was published in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1831. This time he attacked Whewell`s ideal, claiming that it was not only mathematics that could teach abstract reasoning but logic could do so as well and doubted whether this skill was really of so much value in practical affairs. **Copleston** joined the debate of Whewell and Hamilton on the purposes and methods of Oxbridge in the early nineteenth century. What the three men found

³⁹⁵ Herbert Spencer, `What Knowledge is of Most Worth?' (1859) in Sanderson, *The Universities of British Industry*. 1972.

general agreement on was that the end of education was not practical training for careers but the cultivation of the intellect. What remained an area of disagreement was how each of them valued the merits of the classics, mathematics and philosophy.

In the 1830s and 1840s the **Oxford Movement**, also called Tractarianism emerged, mainly among the dons of Oriel College, Oxford. The tutors, namely Pusey, Keble, Newman and Froude became the main spokesmen and leaders of the movement, which fiercely asserted the rights of the Anglican Church. Tractarians were clearly against the admission of Dissenters to the ancient universities, rejected State interference in education and secularism. At Cambridge there was a similar movement, the major force of which was the so-called **Cambridge Campden Society** in the 1840s, which proved to be short-lived, however.

The 1850s witnessed the investigation of a Royal Commission, which explored questions like the relations of the colleges and the universities, of tutors and professors and the problems that arose from the lack of balance of power between them.

The main period of the debate was the third quarter of the century, when **decisions** had to be made **about the future of higher education**. This is a period when **most civic universities** came into being or the ones that had already been established exerted a constant challenge on the hitherto omnipotent and glorified ancient universities.

This is also the period when **Newman** stood up for the old liberal education as he obviously felt that so many attacks had been launched at it that it needed defence. In his address given in Dublin he voiced his dislike and disapproval of London University because he thought it was a gathering place for utilitarians and political economists.³⁹⁶ Newman was also suspicious of science because he feared the possible social changes its spread might facilitate. He argued that knowledge did not have to be useful, but could be the end of the intellectual activity, as the real end was the creation of the gentleman, the much cherished ideal of the age.

Herbert Spencer did not share Newman's view, according to which learning was an ideal end in itself. His thesis was that we learn so as to acquire knowledge and skills that will help us survive and serve our self-preservation. Consequently, for Spencer vocational and professional training were of prime importance and he also welcomed natural sciences in the

³⁹⁶ Sanderson, p.

curriculum, realizing that their teaching was crucial for practical purposes and formed a fundamental part of the general mental cultivation.

The next point in the debate was when **John Stuart Mill** joined the ranks of those who would gladly have banned professional education from the universities. His rather unconvincing argument was that medicine, law or engineering did not belong to the essential studies of the ideal intellectual of the age, but asserted the necessity for the cultivation of the studies of the classical languages instead. His point was that learning them provided stimulation for the mind and imposed a kind of discipline for the 'inquiring intellect'. Mill said that the classical languages were means of learning to think and speculate and this he considered as the main task of the university.³⁹⁷ Consequently, when it came to choosing between the arts and sciences, he naturally voted for the first and never the latter, although he tended to acknowledge a certain degree of their necessity, too.

T.H. Huxley attributed more significance to science teaching at the universities and even urged their integration into the curriculum. **Mark Pattison**, the Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford shared Mill's ideal of the university when asserted its liberal-educational role and rejected professional training but did join Huxley's viewpoint as far as favouring sciences was concerned. As Michael Sanderson says: "Indeed he called for the spending of university endowments for this purpose, though not for the benefit of the money-making professional man but for the 'professed student' who must study all knowledge and its interrelationships, within which science plays a part."³⁹⁸

I should point at the fluctuation of **Pattison** in certain crucial issues before getting on to the next point. In religion, for instance, he started as an evangelical, continued as a Tractarian and ended up as an agnostic. As far as professional education was concerned, in 1868 Pattison spoke about the dual function of the university, namely that it should provide both specialized knowledge for professions and general or human education. He increasingly rejected the sham of the old liberal curriculum at Oxbridge and welcomed the shift to specialized studies in which science-teaching also played a vital part. Therefore, Pattison acted as a chief reformer of Oxford education and concluded that the university should be a place of scholarship, learning and original research.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., p.

³⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 118

The advocates of research gathered around **the Association for the Organization of Academic Study** and from 1869 around the journal *The Academy*, which was edited by Charles Appleton of St. John's College, Oxford - both enterprises backed by Pattison.³⁹⁹

Benjamin Jowett stepped into the arena of the debate as the main rival of Pattison as he rejected the idea that research belonged to the key functions of the university as teaching and education did. So the fundamental difference between him and Pattison lay in the questions of university politics. The main question to be settled was whether the university should be a place of truly high level academic achievement (Pattison's dream) or should become a simple super public school (Jowett's ideal).

The question of integrating science into the curriculum remained a much debated point till the end of the Victorian era. Huxley asserted that science should be a fundamental part of liberal education. Whewell supported mathematics teaching as he regarded it as the core of the traditional system but failed to include the natural sciences. Mill and Pattison accepted science teaching but either subordinated it to the classics or regarded it as exercising other mental functions. By the 1880s Huxley's support for science-teaching seemed to have gained the upper hand over the concept of the others and it was increasingly accepted that a literary education alone was not sufficient for the attainment of culture and one could no longer be regarded as a many-sided, thoroughly cultured person without a fair understanding of the operation of natural laws.

Matthew Arnold, 'the chief apostle of culture' naturally had to contribute to the debate. He had the reputation for supporting the acceptance of science in the curriculum, following the increasingly adopted German model. Much as he did for the popularization of science-teaching, he maintained that it was not the kind of knowledge which shaped one's aesthetic or moral sense and this way did not serve the edification of the human nature directly.⁴⁰⁰ From this it is easy to realize that while Matthew Arnold recognized the pressure of his own time for the fuller acceptance of science as a fundamental part of human existence, he felt obliged to stand up for the old liberal education system and preserved his emotional commitment to the traditional mode of operation in Oxford.

³⁹⁹ Diderik Roll-Hansen, *The Academy, 1869-1879, in Victorian Intellectuals in Revolt*, Copenhagen, 1957.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

As a **conclusion of the debate** on higher education, it is correct to state that the desire of Huxley, Spencer, Mill, Pattison and Arnold was fulfilled when **science was finally integrated into the university curriculum** and Pattison's ideal came true when, by the end of the century, **the university had become a place of scholarship and learning** and no one questioned the dual function any more. The losers of the debate were mostly Mill and Newman, because it was them who most stubbornly resisted the idea that the universities

should prepare students for the professions, which obviously became an elementary requirement of the age. In Sanderson's words: "In the 1890s and 1900s the rise of the large company and also the rapid revival of business activity were powerful forces drawing the graduate into the firm while the overcrowding of the professions created a surplus more willing to consider this relatively new graduate career. Finally, financial difficulties and a feeling of isolation pushed universities not hitherto involved with industry more in that direction as a condition of vitality if not survival."⁴⁰¹ By the end of the period it was increasingly taken for granted that higher education fulfilled **a multitude of functions** and even became **a major channel for social advancement and promotion**.

So what was **the ideal university** like in the late Victorian age?

According to the article of T.H. Huxley published in the *Contemporary Review* in 1874, the ideal university is a place where "a man should be able to obtain instruction in all forms of knowledge, and discipline in the use of all the methods by which knowledge is obtained. In such a University, the force of living example should fire the student with a noble ambition to emulate the learning of learned men, and to follow in the footsteps of the explorers of new fields of knowledge."⁴⁰² Huxley also spoke about the moral content valuable knowledge is capable of conveying and hurried to add that the ideal form of education was not exempt from a certain kind of aesthetic element either. In his words: "in the mass of mankind, the aesthetic faculty, like the reasoning power and the moral sense, needs to be roused, directed and cultivated; and I know not why the development of that side of his nature, through which man has access to a perennial spring of ennobling pleasure, should be omitted from any comprehensive scheme of University education."⁴⁰³

THE RESULTS OF THE REFORMS

The reforms of higher education denoted a number of things, but mainly the fact that the shortcomings of the prevailing system were increasingly recognized throughout the period. The words and the warnings of the main educationalists, theoreticians were more and more heeded and remedies were consciously sought to overcome the difficulties. The reforms came

⁴⁰¹ Sanderson, *The Universities of British Industry 1850-1914*, p.30.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 665.

in various phases and the whole movement mainly meant the process which we today call **the University Extension Movement** and **the University Settlement Movement**. The university extension process was started by James Stuart from Cambridge in the late 1860s and early 1870s and it meant that working class boys were also given access to higher education, although it mainly meant entrance into one of the newly established civic universities in the provinces. According to the new scheme, tutors and professors went from Oxbridge to give lectures at the provincial universities, most characteristically in Sheffield, Nottingham and Reading.

The Settlement Movement served as a kind of supplementary step to the **Extension Movement**. The basic idea here was that the universities set up missions in the poorer districts of their own cities or in London where college men could live with the most needy. So practically both movements served the purpose of bringing higher education within reach of the labouring classes but it also affected the cause of emancipation in a beneficial way. By the last third of the century it became clear that owing to the drastic increase in the number of women on the national scale that is, the fact that women started outnumbering men, their chances for marriage diminished markedly. Consequently, it became an acknowledged necessity on the part of the state to offer an alternative way for them to make ends meet, and the solution was to be found in better educational opportunities for women, including higher education.

From the above observation it can be realized that reforms became necessary on different grounds and came in different phases, each fulfilling their own special function in the modernization process.

According to Michael Sanderson, **the first phase of reformation** took place between **1845 – 1870** when the investigation of the Royal Commission of the 1850s was more or less complete and the first organized attempts were made to find remedy for the shortcomings of the existing system. As Sanderson himself says: “The defects of the college tutors as well as the need to widen the curriculum and take professional education more seriously prompted the commissioners to stress the importance of the professors. For a group of Oxford reformer led by **H.H. Vaughan** this was almost the main issue. They wished to see the creation of a body of professors as in German universities, providing an ample range of teaching and also

engaging in research.”⁴⁰⁴ Among the things the commissioners urged one can find the wish that there should be more non-celibate professors to manage a broadened curriculum and they also demanded that more senior posts should be provided for Fellows to encourage them to remain in teaching at the universities. As a response to the Commissioners’ demand, more professorships were created in the given period and a number of specialized faculties enjoyed support, eg. the chairs of Chemistry, Mineralogy, or Physical Geography were called into existence. During this first phase of the Reform Movement the power struggle between the colleges and the universities developed somewhat in favour of the latter, in contrast with former tendencies. A new development was that Dissenters were gradually accepted in Cambridge and from the mid-1850s on Oxford also admitted Dissenters among its students, an unprecedented thing earlier. From these years on Dissenters were allowed to matriculate, hold scholarships and even to graduate but they could not be elected to fellowships until 1871. In this period one could observe growing social consciousness and an enhanced sense of responsibility towards the world outside the walls of the university but this growth of respect was a mutual, bilateral thing, because society also started acknowledging the academic worth of the universities and was even willing to support them.

At the same time Oxford and Cambridge became increasingly involved in schools examinations as the middle-class secondary schools badly needed uniform standards while preparing their pupils for higher education. The collaboration proved to be fruitful both for the secondary schools and the universities. The latter gave scholarships and impartiality to pupils and, while doing so, they gained an insight into their future clientele. So the schools examinations were mostly responsible for the fact that more and more students felt like continuing their studies after grammar school and the reputation of Oxbridge improved in the public school circles after 1870. However, there is no doubt that the majority of the parents still did not send their children to universities for the academic merits of the institution but rather to give their children a chance to mix with their social equals and to make connections as well as to prevent them from sinking into idleness.

As far as the status of the university was concerned, in the years between 1845 and 1870, it was mainly the name of Professor **Sir Henry Roscoe** which deserves attention. Owing to his activities the early languid civic colleges, which were merely the feeble imitations of Oxbridge, gradually were replaced by the powerful, regionally supported and technology-

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., 76-77.

oriented colleges that emerged in the last third of the century. It was especially **the University of London** which changed into an examining and degree-giving institution, open to all candidates in these reform years. It goes without saying that this development facilitated the closer involvement of the universities with professional bodies and in the 1850s and 1860s it became clear that the colleges created closer ties with the professions of medicine, law, engineering and the Civil Service.

A major step forward was the development of medical science, which became manifest in the **Select Committee on Medical Registration** in 1847, which paved the way to the Medical Act of 1858. This act called the **General Medical Council** into being, which was entitled to control qualifications and meant protection for registered doctors against quacks. Similar to the development of medical studies, there were improvements in the field of law as well. On the basis of the **Examination Statute of 1850** the **School of Law and Modern History** was established at Oxford and Law became a separate specialized school in 1872. Engineering was the third area where major development occurred. In 1865 engineering also became a degree subject at Cambridge and the instruction became increasingly scientific.

Last but not least, there were growing concerns in the mid-century about the quality of the training of those who worked in the Civil Service or occupied important posts in the State or the Government. Up to this point, it had not really been questioned or called into doubt whether the old, traditional patronage system was the adequate basis for the selection of those who were supposed to run the empire. But by the given period it was increasingly thought that selection on the basis of healthy competition and merit would serve everyone's interests better but, even in spite of this realization, patronage was never be eliminated entirely.

The second phase of the reforms came between the 1850s and the 1870s and the effects lasted until the end of the Victorian era. The major reforms that took place in this period started when the Commission of 1850 was appointed by Lord John Russell's Government and the university authorities started to set their house in order in Oxford, what is more, they created great changes in the examination system. The report of the commission urged largescale reforms and these were subsequently embodied in the Act of Parliament in 1854. Before the reforms sanctioned here could fully get into force, another Commission was issued in 1872 to inquire into the financial resources of Oxford University and the Colleges. The

Parliament intervened and abolished the University Tests, which meant the end of religious discrimination at the prestigious universities. In 1877 again a new Commission effected a sweeping confiscation of college revenues for university purposes and remodelled the whole academical system in important respects. For example, the power of self-government diminished in the colleges and the university became endowed with a representative constitution and thus could become more innovative in its methods.⁴⁰⁵

The heads of the colleges could no longer monopolize the administration of the university but the largest share of the teaching continued to be carried on by college tutors. Furthermore, it was increasingly realized that **specialism and the subdivision of labour** were highly desirable and became a major principle in the teaching at Oxford.

A hitherto never experienced opening up was experienced in this period and the loss of the semi-monastic appearance also date back to these years. Oxford started receiving a steady inflow of visitors from London and elsewhere, the tutors and professors were no longer expected to remain unmarried and even balls and parties were not rare in the **more secular, mundane** world of Oxford. More freedom was experienced in clothing and leisure pursuits and much more toleration towards the presence of women in a world which had so long been dominated by men only.

As for the social background of the students, it was observed that **the university became much less aristocratic** than in the early part of the century and the new elements which nearly doubled the number of undergraduates were mostly drawn from the middle and lower-middle classes. As George C. Broderick observed in his article: "Upon the whole, it may be said with confidence that Oxford undergraduates, as a class, are more virtuous, better conducted, and better informed than their predecessors in the reign of George the Third, though it must be added in justice that they get their virtue and knowledge on easier terms."

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Speaking about the developments in Oxford, one should emphasize the influence the elite university exerted on **the strengthening of the national unity** in the decades in question. Through the common basis of the training, the increasing commonness of the ideas, through the sharing of moral sentiments and the similar attitude to culture, the University rendered its

⁴⁰⁵ 'Thoughts on English University Reform' in Macmillan's Magazine, Vol.XLV. Nov.-April, 1881-82. pp.125-134.

⁴⁰⁶ Broderick, p. 215.

services to national unity and the elevation of the national character played an ever growing role in academic spheres. It was widely acknowledged that the old institutions and traditions of the Colleges could infuse a healthy and loyal spirit into the oncoming generations and, by

doing so, they could fulfil a patriotic function, which was increasingly important in the prewar decades.

Cambridge also experienced radical reforms in the 1850s, 1860s and beyond. According to experts the changes were carried out in three distinct phases. In the first, the University stood alone and the colleges became essential elements of the University. The masters, the fellows and the scholars of a college were for centuries a body of monastic students who enjoyed the advantages and assisted in the work of the university, but they were bound by conditions of celibacy and, to some extent, of poverty. They were even required to take Holy Orders in due course. They received small amounts of stipend and were students themselves, rather than teachers. Gradually it became routine to receive and instruct students from outside, who did not actually live in Halls and it became the rule for every undergraduate who matriculated in the University to enter at one or other of the colleges, for the sake of the instruction and discipline that they could obtain there. This was already the second stage of the development when **the colleges and the university were more or less associated on equal terms**, or we could say, that the university came to be regarded as an associated part of a common institution with the colleges, rather than an independent and self-sustaining body. The granting of degrees remained its exclusive right and the examinations were conducted by its officers. The professors still read lectures but they increasingly found rivals in college tutors and later in private tutors. The university officials became mostly members of the College Foundations and felt the college tie closer than the one that bound them to the university.

The third stage of progress developed quite spontaneously and resulted in **the college predominance over a rather subordinate university**, at least in Cambridge. As time went on, the college revenues grew separate and owing to wealthy benefactors, after covering the basic needs, usually there remained a vast surplus of income without specific appropriation in the hands of the colleges. Soon the distribution of negligible amounts of money became a practice among Fellows, who started competing for these sums and the university examinations were only regarded as stepping stones to college advancement. As a result of this, the college became the dominating power and the university proper remained a mere adjunct of the collegiate system.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁷ 'Modern Ideas of Education' by William Hill in the Contemporary Review, Vol. LXX. July-December, 1896. pp.568-581.

By the period in question the opinions differed on the question whether it was desirable or feasible to restore to the university a portion of the vitality which it had lost for lack of sustenance. The controversy was brought to a definite point in 1850 when the above mentioned Royal Commission was formed to inquire into the state, discipline, studies and revenues of Cambridge University and the same in the colleges. The Commissioners' Report, also called the *Report of the Peacock Commission*, named after George Peacock, Dean of Ely, marked the fourth stage in the development of Cambridge. Although the functions of the Commission of 1850 were purely consultative, without any executive power, the Report marked a new epoch in university politics and prepared the ground for the **Universities Act of 1877.**⁴⁰⁸

First of all, it called attention to the defects of college instruction and to the lack of funds to pay a sufficient staff. One recommendation of the Commission was the grouping together of the smaller colleges for educational purposes, which led to the establishing of the useful system of intercollegiate lectures and also solved the problem of the effective classification of the students, which the university leadership found more and more necessary.

In fact, Dr. Peacock's whole scheme of reform was gradually accepted in one particular after the other, with the sole exception of the financial proposals. The recommendations of the Commission as to the subject of college contributions were not favourably received and most of the colleges refused to give even a certain percentage of their income over to the university, and this fact inevitably affected all the other proposals in a negative way. Consequently, the university had to budget with its narrow resources to raise the incomes of the poorer professorships to 500 pounds a year, which was still not a big sum. But the colleges at least accepted the idea of combining together for educational purposes and the system of inter-collegiate lectureships was launched successfully.

However, the overall evaluation of the achievements of Dr. Peacock's Commission is rather controversial. The main failure is seen in the fact that with all the proposals considered and some of them realized, the professorial system remained an ornamental adjunct and it could scarcely be said that it supplied an efficient teaching power in the University. The main lesson of the failed reforms was that the university was powerless without financial help and the task to put new spirit into the old institution proved to be a much harder task than previously hoped.

⁴⁰⁸ T.L.Humberstone, *University Reform in London*, London, 1926. p.96.

The **Universities Act of 1877** also contained important plans for reform. The new University statutes aimed at facilitating the transition from the old regime to the future. The proposals were directed mainly to three ends:

4. the increase of the university staff of teachers
5. its organization in three grades under a central control
6. the supply of funds to effect these purposes

The first head meant that the addition to the staff would offer to scientists **a definite career** with regular promotion, and it was hoped that this would stop the waste of zeal and talent from which the University had suffered for a long time.

According to the second head, **the teachers** were to be **classified into three grades** – professors, readers and lecturers and a central body would be put in charge of the administrative apparatus. The efficiency of work would be guaranteed by the classification of students and division of labour among the staff members.

Under the third head, **the University would ultimately be enriched from college resources** by 30.000 pounds a year, partly in the form of money contributions, partly in fellowships attached to most of the professorships as an increase to their endowment.

There were other Royal Commissions towards the end of the century, all of which contributed to the improvement of the existing old system and added new elements to it. In fact, the task of these commissions was to establish the patterns for the organization and the functions of the ancient universities amid the changing social and economic conditions of the era. The main tendency was to get closer to the German professorial model while the two old universities retained their colleges and the tradition to educate their students in the liberal arts for public service. In both old and new universities, the teachers won for themselves secular careers as educators and specialized researchers. This practically corresponded to the professionalization of the academic staff.

The Royal Commission of 1878 advocated the need for more specialized studies, mainly in the field of science. In 1889 another **Act of Parliament** called for a new commission who were to carry out the former suggestions of the Royal Commission. Their task was to draw up ordinances for each of the universities. These integrated a wide range of science subjects into

the old arts degree, made it easier to graduate in specialist honours and called science faculties into being in the big cities of Scotland. The commissioners also introduced matriculation exams at the Scottish universities and in general brought Scottish higher education closer to the English concept.

In spite of the great steps forward, many of the **inadequacies** remained.

In the last two decades of the century there was more and more concern around the economic situation of Britain. Experts observed symptoms of decline in the industrial output of the country, especially in certain branches and part of the explanation was sought in the system of higher education. If we examine the following critical observations, it will be easy to realize that the main ground for criticism still was **the unpractical, non-utilitarian nature of the subjects** taught and the small number of students involved in higher education in comparison with other nations in the world. William Garnett in "*The Contemporary Review*" said the following in 1887: "It is the almost complete separation of our universities, our training colleges, and public schools, from the world of commerce and manufacture that constitutes one of the weakest points in our educational system, and makes it so difficult for our schools and colleges to provide the kind of education which the artisan, the manufacturer, or the merchant considers most valuable. The language of the schools is different from that of real life, and our textbooks, and too often our tools drawn from the workshop instead of introducing all sorts of imaginary and impossible combinations which lead the artisan mind to suppose what the science taught exists only on paper, and has no practical bearings?"⁴⁰⁹

It is interesting to see some observations that made comparisons with other countries: "What is the lesson we have learnt from the band of educational experts who, last year, published the results of their visit to the United States? Was it not this - that the American people believe in education? It is true they found greater facilities for university and higher technical instruction, and that secondary education was more general and better organized; but almost with one voice they told us that our real inferiority lay in the fact, that the citizens of the United States had more width in the possibilities of education than we have, that their whole heart was in their work as ours has never yet been. This belief, this ardour of faith in the efficiency of

⁴⁰⁹ '*University Education for the People*' by William Garnett in the *Contemporary Review*, Vol. LII. 1887. pp.652-653.

training, that the Germans and Swiss - and we may now say the Japanese, too - owe largely the measure of success which has crowned their efforts."⁴¹⁰

Another comparison by the same author: "In the German Empire there are twenty separate universities, in addition to eleven technical high-schools, besides schools of forestry and other institutions of university rank. These schools are attended by nearly 45.000 day students. In England and Wales the number of day students in attendance at the medical schools, does not exceed 13.000; and comparing the entire population of Germany with that of England, it would seem that the proportion of male students in Germany receiving university education is about twice as large as in England."⁴¹¹

The **British Association Report** issued in **1894**, also pointed at **the backwardness in technical education and the deficiencies in commercial education** and said that these could seriously endanger British economic success in the ever growing competition with the other European powers. (Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1894, pp.365-91).

However, the most bitter criticism came from Eric Hobsbawm, who criticized both the English public school and higher education for their harmful effect on the country's economy. He said: "There is no reason why British technical and scientific education should have remained negligible, in a period when a wealth of rich amateur scientists and privately endowed research laboratories or practical experience in production clearly no longer compensated for virtual absence of university education and the feebleness of formal technological training. There was no compelling reason why Britain in 1913 had only 9000 university students compared to almost 60.000 in Germany, or only five day students per 10.000 (1900) compared to almost 13 in the USA; why Germany produced 3000 graduate engineers per year while in England and Wales only 350 graduated in all branches of science, technology and mathematics with first- and second - class honours, and few of these were qualified for research. There were plenty of people throughout the nineteenth century to warn the country of the dangers of its educational backwardness; there was no shortage of funds, and certainly no lack of suitable candidates for technical and higher training."⁴¹²

⁴¹⁰ Sir Philip Magnus, *Educational Aims and Efforts (1880-1910)*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1910. pp. 218-219.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.* p.234.

⁴¹² Eric Hobsbawm. *Industry and Empire: The Birth of the Industrial Revolution*. rev.ed. New York: New Press, 1999. p.160.

After confronting the criticism, it was widely hoped that specialization at the universities would enhance the industrial achievement and the emphasis on science and technology became a generally accepted attitude by the closing years of Victoria's reign. By the 1890s more attention was paid to economics and commercial education in general than ever before. **The University of London** was to be given more influence, was encouraged to break away from the old traditions and to adapt itself to coming needs. (Although **the University of London** had existed since 1836, first it worked only as a teaching institution but gradually it was turned into an examining body, as well and then from 1858 on it became a university entirely devoted to examining other institutions. In the 1880s and 1890s there was again growing need for a teaching university in London and the examining role was given over to **Victoria University** and **Durham**. After much debate the University of London once again became a teaching as well as an examining institution and the colleges became its constituent parts. Within a few years, the civic university colleges, which used to belong under the supervision of London University before, became independent by obtaining charters of their own and became entitled to give examinations and grant degrees.) Apart from the modern universities the idea was that the old universities should provide knowledge which was applicable to the practice of theology, medicine and law so that the new university would be able to expand in all directions of science and liberalize all professional careers. This way the interests of the Empire could be served to the utmost.

Among **the new tendencies** we can point at the fact that need for more **highly educated management** was increasingly recognized and the development of accountancy created new non-scientific expertise in economy. The **London School of Economics** opened its gates in 1895 and it was closely followed by the creation of the **Faculty of Commerce** in Birmingham in 1902. So as to overcome the losses caused by the Agricultural Depression, agricultural studies became part of the university studies at **Reading University**. According to Magnus, the advance of university education was most marked in the engineering faculty because the application to industrial purposes of new chemical discoveries was largely the work of the engineer.⁴¹³

By the 1890s the universities made great progress in teaching the routine technologies of various industries, such as coal mining, ship building, engineering and great developments could be observed in physics and in electrical science. The work and experiments conducted

⁴¹³ Magnus. p.240.

in **the Cavendish Laboratory** in Cambridge became world famous and in 1894 Sir Joseph Thomson began the so-called Cavendish tradition of atomic studies, which gave a great impetus to British physics in the twentieth century.⁴¹⁴

From the above mentioned tendencies one can see that in the closing years of the century Britain made giant steps **in the direction of becoming a scientific nation** but the great dream of scientists to push their own field into the number one place failed. As Heyck says: “Educated people in 1900 accepted that science would provide the best understanding of the world and of a wide range of a wide range of human experience, but they did not have access to the latest scientific knowledge themselves. They had to accept that the scientists possessed the knowledge. The efforts of the scientists to elevate themselves professionally grew out of a sense of community among the scientists and that effort propagated an image of the community for the general public. One aspect of the public image was the desire by scientists to isolate themselves from the economic and social demands of the public – the opting for endowment rather than for support by the market place. To the extent that this condition of separateness rubbed off on other producers of ideas, they too would become part of an isolate stratum of society.”⁴¹⁵

Finally, what Garnett says in *the Contemporary Review* in 1887 gives the most complete summary of the desirable new direction in Victorian higher education: “In conclusion, it cannot be too strongly enforced that it is the special feature of university training to provide education as distinguished from mere information. Those who desire that students should simply be taught facts and methods, who wish to make the college a mere technical school even in its departments of pure science, will be able to find sufficiently good teachers without drawing on the resources of the universities. It is indeed seldom that the university man is an encyclopedia of facts and figures; rather, he is one who has thought deeply on his special branch of study and made it his own from its very foundations. He has acquired the truly scientific spirit, and regards all things from the standpoint thus gained. It is the raising of the student to the same platform as the teacher, the placing him in a position to acquire further knowledge by himself in the best possible way - in fact, nothing short of his intellectual

⁴¹⁴ Roy M. Macleod. 'Resources of Science in Victorian England: The Endowment of the Science Movement, 1868-1900' in *Science and Society, 1600-1900* ed. by Peter Mathias, Cambridge, 1972.

⁴¹⁵ Heyck, pp. 114-115

regeneration - that constitutes the essential characteristic of university teaching, and, if this is absent, call the institution what you will, but not a university college.’⁴¹⁶

Higher Education for Women

For a long time it was doubtful whether a homeloving girl, with promising prospects for a good match should go to secondary school, let alone a boarding institution, which kept her away from home for years. Little wonder then that the necessity of opening up universities and colleges for women was an even more controversial issue and took women headmasters and progressive minded male educationalists a lot of efforts to push the reforms through the schools themselves and through legislation in Parliament. The core of the contradiction was that, on the one hand, it was desirable that middle-class women should obtain a certain degree of classical knowledge besides the accomplishments so as to prove a satisfactory partner for their future husbands. On the other hand, it was argued that a really well informed, knowledgeable woman was in contrast with the feminine ideal of the Victorian age. Consequently, it was rather difficult to find the optimal balance between keeping women in relative ignorance of world affairs and thus keeping them in their traditional role and teaching them, and by doing so, enabling them to become independent and earn their own living, which was in sharp contrast with the traditional concept of womanhood.

The debate was more or less settled owing to the ardent efforts of the famous schoolmistresses, like **Emily Davies** or **Dorothea Beale**, and finally it was accepted that education opportunities should be granted for middle class girls outside the home. Therefore, in the second half of the century an ever growing number of young ladies started attending either the private schools or the public schools established for them and which were more or less the equivalents of boys' schools. Once this was accomplished and became a generally accepted routine, educationalists and social reformers could start racking their brains how initiate the extension of higher education for the sake of women.

Up to the 1860s the prevailing concept was (in fact, it originated from **Dorothea Beale of Cheltenham Ladies' College**) that “ if woman has been endowed with mental and moral capacities, it was intended that these should be cultivated and improved for the glory of the

⁴¹⁶ ‘*Universal Education for the People*’ by William Garnett in the Contemporary Review, Vol. LII. July-December, 1887 p.657.

Creator and the relief of man`s estate.”⁴¹⁷ The ideal also meant that femininity was expressed through the activities of wives and mothers and education actually enhanced their achievements in the home, therefore intellectual education became accepted as a fundamental and essential component of true femininity. However, by the second half of the century **the emerging women`s movement started challenging this rather old-fashioned and still discriminative ideal** and brought up the question of **women`s integration into the male-dominated labour market**. It was clear that, if women wanted to hold the same jobs like men, more precisely, if they wanted to become doctors, lawyers, accountants, civil servants etc. they needed the same kind of qualification and the same degrees from universities. The great pioneer of female education, **Emily Davies of Girton College**, thought that if women were to pursue the standard upper-middle class careers, like the above mentioned ones, they had to be admitted to higher education and so as to fit them for the university training, they had to learn the same secondary curriculum as boys did. Most of her efforts were devoted to extending university education for women but it was far from being a smooth process. Her main achievement was that she set up a committee whose task was to gain acceptance for girls into the so-called ‘**local examinations**’ for boys run by **Cambridge University**. In due course **Oxford** and **Durham** followed suit and the practice was soon adopted to prepare girls for these tests by using the same syllabuses that were used for boys. First, the female colleges had no ties with the universities, although a kind of collaboration existed between the college and the university staff in teaching courses. It was not rare that the instructors of the male universities were ‘borrowed’ by the female colleges so as to fill gaps in the occasionally lacking qualification of the staff there or simply to increase the standard of the education. Only gradually and owing to the continual self-sacrificing work of the leadership of the female institutions did the universities open their research facilities and did they extend their own examination system to women students. A great step forward was when ladies were admitted to the degrees of **the University of London in 1878** and later to all the other degree courses, except the medical school of **Victoria University in 1884**. **Oxbridge** reacted to the changes most slowly, since by the end of the century women had been admitted to the honours degree examinations everywhere but at the ancient universities.

The 1870s continued with the increasing acceptance of some talented women going to universities to audit lectures there but still without getting a degree. The difficulty was caused by the fact that women were still supposed to live up to two distinct ideals at the same time.

⁴¹⁷ Maurice p.74.

On the one hand, they studied according to the male syllabus, but, on the other hand, there were still worries about their losing their femininity through growing emancipation.

It was in 1874 that the first women students were admitted, informally, to a **Tripes Examination**, (high level exam in the classics) and during the following six years thirty three more were examined in the same informal way and obtained honours. As it turns out from an article published in the *Nineteenth Century Review* in 1887: “Their success, (meaning students at **Newham College**) and of the Girton students, resulted in 1881 in the passing by the University of certain Graces which gave to women the right of admission to the Tripes Examinations after keeping the same number of terms at Newham or Girton as is required of men at their colleges, and after passing either the Previous Examination or certain groups in the Higher Local Examination.”⁴¹⁸

As far as the granting of degrees was concerned, it was first the **University of London** which conferred degrees upon the women students, to whom a certificate was awarded which stated the place obtained in the Tripes. They could obtain honours in mathematics, classics, natural science, moral science, history and medieval and modern languages in the 1880s. However, **getting a certificate remained difficult and troublesome for a long time**. As an example we could mention the official recognition of medical women, which clearly illustrates the complex and controversial nature of the professionalization of women, even when their qualification left nothing to be desired. For example, in 1877 an article written by James Stansfeld for *The Nineteenth Century Review* gave a lengthy description of the ardent battle a female medical student, a certain Miss Jex-Blake, had to fight with the authorities to be granted the right to undergo the same examination procedure as men and to obtain the necessary qualification for her to become a registered doctor. The following passage gives the readers a good sense of the oddity of the situation. “The Medical Council met on the 24th of June. The discussion lasted three days; it was able, exhaustive, and full of the evidences of a marked faculty of debate; and it ended by the adoption of a report to the Privy Council that ‘the Medical Council are of opinion that the study and practice of medicine and surgery, instead of affording a field of exertion well fitted for women, do, on the contrary, present special difficulties which cannot be safely disregarded; *but the Council are not prepared to say that women ought to be excluded from the profession.*’”⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., (Knatchbull-Hugessen 845)

⁴¹⁹ ‘Medical Women’ by H.M. Stanley, in *The Nineteenth Century*, Vol. XXII./1. July, 1877. p.893.

It was also widely discussed in the press in the decades in question what kind of reforms were mostly needed, once the authorities and the public had been convinced that some **reforms were definitely essential** to make the newly emerging extended system as efficient as possible. As the author of the article '*Girls' Schools, Past and Present*' says (a schoolmistress of Cheltenham herself in the 1860s) she had to be tentative and careful with introducing reforms in different areas of life. She agreed with the idea that it was good for

girls to learn more or less the same subjects that boys did but not exactly the same way. Her idea was that the education of both sexes ought to run on parallel lines and a wide curriculum was of greater importance to women than for men. She regretted the great degree of specialization which the system of her days preferred for both men and women. However, as it turns out from the article, she wished to add science and geometry teaching to the existing modern language courses. She herself taught physical geography and the school received lectures from a distinguished geologist. When it came to teaching history, she insisted on picking out a short period and going into it thoroughly, instead of the former practice of zooming through the material. She thought that teaching one or two periods in depth and illuminating different aspects of it was more beneficial and thought provoking than sheer cramming for details. Hostile as she may have been to growing specialization at schools, she realized that it was the general tendency to invite specialists and lecturers from outside, who gradually became responsible for the various branches and this enhanced the quality of the teaching. During the years of her leadership, testing became regular at the college, for the simple reason that it was good for both the girls and the teachers to get some feedback and these noncompetitive tests prepared the girls for a rapid review and gave to the previous teaching definiteness and coherency. She did a lot to change the atmosphere, living and learning conditions at Cheltenham and the success encouraged other colleges to follow suit.

Among the most spectacular reforms one could mention the initiation of the **first mixed university**, about which *the Macmillan Magazine* gave the following report in 1887: "Our university has now granted to women the opportunity of trying an education on the same lines as men, but in refusing to admit them to membership, it has distinctly refused to pledge itself to an expression of opinion that such education is for them the highest. They are still free to use our system or such parts of it as they may approve; but we have a right to ask that women as a body, and not merely that section represented by the present agitation, shall decide without dictation from us, what shall be the lines of female culture; and as they have proved their equality on the narrower examination ground, that they shall show a like ability to direct the course of woman`s education in the future with especial reference to her abilities and needs."⁴²⁰

⁴²⁰ `A Mixed University` by H.R. Tottenham in *Macmillan Magazine*, Vol.LVII. Nov.-Apr. 1887-88. p.464.

THE CONDITIONS OF PROFESSIONAL EXISTENCE

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

In his *Inaugural Address*, delivered to the University of St. Andrew's in 1867, John Stuart Mill wrote the following about the importance of education: "Of all many-sided subjects, education is the one which has the greatest number of sides. Not only does it include whatever we do for ourselves, and whatever is done, for us by others, for the express purpose of bringing us somewhat nearer to the perfection of our nature; it does more; in its largest acceptation, it comprehends even the indirect effects produced on character and on the human faculties, by things of which the direct purposes are quite different; by laws, by forms of government, by the industrial arts, by modes of social life; nay, even by physical facts not dependent on human will; by climate, soil, and local position. Whatever helps to shape the human being - to make the individual what he is not - is part of his education."⁴²¹

From the above quotation it turns out that prominent thinkers, like Mill, and of course many others, increasingly came to realize the true value of education and tended to regard it as a means of social ascendance, advancement, moral edification and as a way to get rid of certain evils, which were poisoning the complacent atmosphere of the second half of the Victorian period. More and more people seemed to discover the redeeming power of education and tended to consider it as **a potential remedy against crime, idleness, bad manners, ignorance** etc. To quote Anne Digby's words: "**an efficient imposition of social control** and

⁴²¹ James H. Rigg, *National Education (In Its Social Conditions and Aspects, and Public School Elementary Education)*. (London: Stahan&Co., 1873), p. 1. Quotes the words of John Stuart Mill's *Inaugural Address* of 1867.

of cross-cultural transformation was dependent on the development of compulsory, free elementary education at the end of the nineteenth century."⁴²²

F.M.L. Thompson goes further and states in his article '*Social Control in Victorian Britain*', popular education was even meant to operate as **an agency of political socialization** and this way was treated as a form of social control. In his concept this means that one class imposes habits and influence on another and suggests its own notions as suitable ones. Consequently, the aim with popular education is **to produce decent citizens**, to teach the right manners and attitudes as well as obedience to the existing order instead of anarchy, lawlessness and disobedience.⁴²³ Later on he adds: " A small minority of active educators, reformers, philanthropists, and other do-gooders perceive their task as a disinterested mission to civilize the ignorant and unruly. What they see as transparently necessary works of socialization to produce a better society for all, which it is self-evident are in the general interest, they propose to conduct by social controls that impose their views on other classes. In the terminology now fashionable, socialization becomes an internal rationalization by a sub-group of self-appointed guardians of society of their desire to impose social controls that would uphold a particular form of social order based on a particular class structure, not some universal social order."⁴²⁴

Someone might raise the question what social control has to do with the work of the intellectuals and the professionals, which is a key issue in the present study. It should be borne in mind that the social control theory mainly means the elevation of the working class by the middle class so as to create a more sophisticated and more efficient state and at the same time to ensure its own hegemony by keeping the lower class under control. In my opinion, the pertinence of social control to my investigation is twofold. On the one hand, the **self-appointed guardians**, the minority, whom Thompson is talking about, mainly comprised the intellectuals and the learned middle class, more precisely, **the learned public educators, the ordinary schoolteachers, the university dons, the men-of-letters, the journalists** and, of course, the Philosophic Radicals, who influenced public opinion a good deal.⁴²⁵ It was

⁴²² Anne Digby.&Peter Searby, *Children, School and Society in Nineteenth Century England*, The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1981. p.28.

⁴²³ F.M.L. Thompson, '*Social Control in Victorian Britain*' *Economic History Review* Vol.XXXIII. 1981. pp. 191-192.

⁴²⁴ Thompson, p. 193.

⁴²⁵ The Philosophic Radicals represented a political wing of intellectuals, who were influential in the latter half of the Victorian era and mostly aimed at getting rid of corruption and

mostly this segment of the society who wished to keep the lower orders under control. The bulk of the work was carried out by **elementary schoolteachers** and, for those who could pursue their studies, by the **headmasters of the growing number of secondary schools**.

On the other hand, just because the idea of social control primarily means middle class regulation of the working class, it does not mean that the notion would be inapplicable elsewhere, for example between the middle class and their social superiors. It is a widely known fact that the public school served as a kind of national institution for the amalgamation of the middle class boys with those from the ranks of the aristocracy. As Professor Wiener pointed out it was exactly the public school which cultivated the new notion of the 'gentleman', so that the aristocracy could keep the middle class under control and through the mingling of the boys it endeavoured to make middle class boys adopt many of the best qualities of the upper classes. So it is easy to realize that the idea of social control is inevitably linked to the intellectuals of the age, as they were mostly formed from the ranks of the middle class and were produced by and were constantly present in the public schools where they were mostly prepared for their future controlling tasks. Public school boys became civil servants, politicians, journalists, high ranked officials who ran the empire bureaucratically or they worked as doctors, lawyers, teachers, architects, artists and served the well-being of their fellow citizens, which is a form of keeping them under control. As the nation became more and more dependent on the services of intellectuals, ordinary people also became increasingly influenced by the learned ones, owing to the fact that their feeling of comfort was greatly concentrated in their hands.

To come back to **the question of national education**, let me point at and summarize the main concerns of James H. Rigg, who, as early as 1873, gave his readers a good idea of how the question of education should be approached and what importance it should be given.⁴²⁶

His main argument in his book titled, *National Education* is that education actually means much more than merely having an adequate system of schools. He says that "the nation never will or can be educated, as a whole, until it is understood that schools can only furnish a part, perhaps hardly the most important part, of the education of the people. A nation may have a

excessive aristocratic domination. Leading figures were James Mill, Richard Cobden, John Stuart Mill and others.

⁴²⁶ Rigg, p.2.

system of schools as complete as can be organized, and yet be very imperfectly educated.”⁴²⁷ Later on he gives the definition of the educated man and the educated nation when says that “An educated man is a man who has the power and the habit of forethought and of self-control, and has also knowledge and mental discipline adequate to his position and opportunities in life. So an **educated nation** is one which, taken collectively, may be said to have the power and the habit of forethought and of self-control, and knowledge and mental discipline adequate to its position and opportunities in life.”⁴²⁸ Rigg maintains that school education cannot do more than “furnish only one fractional part of the total sum of a thorough and effective national education.”⁴²⁹ If this is the case, there must be other fundamental components which constitute national education. These **components** are basically **the family background, the contemporary press** – more precisely - the cheap penny papers, which are accessible for the masses, but even the street community for boys and places like the shops and the workplace. In Rigg’s opinion all these things have the capacity of shaping national education but he picks out the family as the most decisive of all. He argues that without the adequate support of the family the school is helpless, no matter how good the quality of teaching is. Whether the child has the ambition to learn depends primarily on the family, therefore it is essential that the state should create such welfare conditions even for the poorer layers of the society, so that they will feel like studying. If the immediate need to struggle for mere survival ceases, there is greater hope for the awakening desire in the masses to turn increasingly to self-improvement.

When the author brings up the issue of education outside Britain, he offers different grounds for **comparison between his own country and others**, mainly Germany, France and the United States. His argument here is that, regarding the situation at the beginning of the 1870s, Britain’s educational system is practically superior to all, mainly due to liberal spirit which prevails and has a positive impact on achievement. Rigg says that the German school system might be stronger than the English, whose deficiencies he is willing to admit, but when it comes to individual success and national advancement the Germans turn out to be greatly inferior to the English. Rigg’s explanation for this allegation is that the Germans tend to impose absurd restrictions and limitations on their schoolchildren and by doing so they suffocate their originality and inventive, creative spirit. He says that “Liberty is the spring of

⁴²⁷ Ibid., p.2.

⁴²⁸ Ibid., p.2.

⁴²⁹ Ibid., p.3.

life.”⁴³⁰ Somewhat later he adds: “The value of the school education is, that it immediately prepares for the active duties of life in youth and manhood...Whether the school education will prove to be worth much or little, depends as much on what follows in life’s actual work as on what precedes and accompanies in home influences.”⁴³¹ According to Rigg, therefore **the practical side of learning and the applicability of knowledge** is just as important as the **theoretical aspect**.

Speaking about the comparison with other nations, let me call attention to another observation, which dates back to 1892, when the *Westminster Review* drew a similar parallel between the level of English elementary education and that of other European nations and got to the conclusion that Britain was lagging behind Germany and even Romania. The article argues that "Britain still acknowledges the claim of the money-maker to have priority over education in the possession of the child."⁴³²

Another important component is public concern, which is a basic part of the education of Englishmen. Here Rigg again offers other countries for comparison. Preoccupation with public matters characterizes mostly middle and upper class citizens and undoubtedly plays a key role in the development of the national character. To quote the words of *National Education* “In strong contrast with Germany, perhaps still more to France, a genuine local self-government has schooled the Briton in those elementary lessons of political temper and self-control, of political instinct and principle, which have made it possible to govern our empire stably by the genuine power of public opinion.”⁴³³ Rigg speaks with appreciation about the English legal system, the work of the magistracy, which hardly ever betrayed ignorance, prejudice or incapacity. But above all, it was the free and energetic parliamentary life of the nation, which encompassed the whole of the society and provided the most wholesome occupation for patriotic Englishmen. Again the contrast is striking with the social – public concern of the people in France. Rigg considers most Frenchmen much too preoccupied with luxurious life and a bit too hedonistic in disposition to match the sobriety, and therefore, the success of the English in social matters. A profound sense of restraint and moderation can certainly elevate the English above the other European nations.

⁴³⁰ Ibid., p.6.

⁴³¹ Ibid., p.7.

⁴³² Westminster Review, 1892. Vol.CXXXVII. Jan.- June, *Is Compulsory Education a Failure?* by Joseph J. Davies pp.194-195.

⁴³³ Ibid., p.8.

Rigg also attributes much significance to **the public press** in matters of education, since he regards this channel of information as the immediate supplement to schools. He argues that without a large supply of cheap and attractive publications the instruction given at school would soon fade away. On the other hand, with good penny papers and cheap but taking little books even an otherwise defecting school education may induce people to turn effectively to self-education. It is also a fact that the cheap and simple press publications had a huge educational force in the United States and in France as well. What is more, a truly national and noble but at the same time free and practical newspaper press in Germany operate as effective educational supplements to the powerful, rigorous and pervasive school system. In Britain, “the cheap press has become, and is becoming more and more, the chief elementary educator of the people, carrying on the great and permanent results the education began in the school.”⁴³⁴

Another important idea is that of **the Christian ideal**, which was generally considered as essential in the national education. But even a systematic instruction of the most important Christian doctrines were useless unless it could provoke support from the home. Rigg’s argument here is that both the school and the pulpit have done much in the past and will achieve a lot in the future but even the influence of the Church is not enough by itself for a successful national education. Instead, Sunday schools should be replaced by secular day schools, which become the natural places of Christian education, since it is the place where the children of the majority sit day by day. Last but not least, the ideal aim should be to awaken children to the desire in themselves to find their suitable places in society and to be entirely fit for it.

James H. Rigg was obviously talking about the general interests of the nation without devoting much space and attention to separate class interests and traditions in the field of education. Although his notions are mostly true for the lower class interests, they also reveal a lot about the most urgent needs of the nation as a whole. What is more, his arguments were echoed a few years later when the press described the desirable trend in education as follows:

"At present the education given in our elementary schools is practically limited to the rudiments of arithmetic, outlines of states and names of towns, to grammatical rules, and the series of crimes and accidents which is misnamed history. We should surely endeavour to give the children some information with reference to the beautiful world, in which we live, the

⁴³⁴ Ibid. p. 12.

commoner animals and plants of our woods and fields, some explanations as to the common phenomena of nature, the causes of summer and winter, of the phases of the moon....Such information - elementary, but not superficial - would be intensely interesting to children, would make them think and be a valuable addition to the abstract rules of arithmetic, and to the book-learning which now reigns supreme."⁴³⁵

REFORMS OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

In the second half of the nineteenth century the nation was increasingly preoccupied with the idea of the creation of the right kind of national educational system, which mainly meant the **extension of the elementary school system to the whole nation**, including the poorest layers. It meant making sure that no one would be left without the opportunity to receive the very basics, which was increasingly considered as an elementary human right and one major pillar of dignified human existence. Let us remember that we are talking about a historical age when it was still not natural that children of 8 or somewhat older should be sitting in benches at school to learn something of the three R-s so as not to remain wholly illiterate. Instead, they were more often to be found in factories fighting for the family's survival. Prominent public figures, politicians and educators had to fight fierce battles in parliament and in other forums to push their reform plans through and, by doing so, to get somewhat closer to the European ideal, which practically corresponded to the German model.

⁴³⁵ Contemporary Review, Vol. XXVIII. June-Nov.1876. *On Our Present System of Elementary Education* by John Lubbock p.91.

Numerous review and newspaper articles and the extremely detailed **Royal Commissions` reports** all clearly demonstrate and, perhaps, justify my above statement, namely the fact that besides the so-called woman question, the most important welfare and foreign policy issues, education was perhaps the most acute one, which urgently cried for reform and improvement. The fact that the education question is one of the most dominant and one of the most vital social issues in the second half of the nineteenth century is also proven by **the great number of laws** proposed, turned down and passed in parliament in an ever growing number after **Forster`s Education Act in 1870**. See them later on in this chapter.

In the period in question **the whole scope and role of schooling was fundamentally transformed**. Hierarchically structured groupings of educational institutions were called into existence and were administered by different authorities. The **dual system of voluntary and state provision** remained practically to the end of the era. Some schools were highly formal institutions which played a critical role in the socialization of the young and strove to maintain the prevailing social order. This way they managed to contribute the overall economic development of the country, in spite of the fact that science and technology were neglected too long.

When the reform movement started there was **a diverse cluster of schools** which provided elementary education for lower and lower- middle class children, while the gentry and the aristocracy kept their children at home and taught the basics themselves or employed highly qualified governesses and specialized tutors to do the job until the youngsters could be sent to one of the prestigious public schools, which were mostly boarding schools. Girls were often confined to the home, even when they reached adolescence, but upper- and upper middle class boys were encouraged to leave the sheltered home environment and expose themselves to the rather efficient but harsh character-shaping power of the public schools.

Types of schools and educational opportunities on the elementary level

Up to the Forster Act, the so-called **Ragged Schools** were the forerunners of the national elementary education system. They were meant to provide basic education for the poor children and were mostly run by committees of volunteers who employed the teachers and occasionally taught the children themselves. As far as the heterogeneous modes of teaching were concerned, there were indeed many different schools that provided cheap elementary

education for the children of the lower classes. Depending on their type of organization and funding, elementary schools were called by different names: **board schools, district schools, parish schools, village schools, charity, ragged, voluntary schools** or **national schools** but they did not really differ in function. All of them served the above mentioned noble goal, that is **the elevation of the lower orders and enabling them to lead a more dignified life**. However, not many of them turned out to be successful even in the most basic target, that is, **the alleviation of illiteracy**. A great number of the pauper or labouring children never managed to get beyond the stage of semi-literacy, which was likely to be due to the fact that, in many cases, the family was anxious not to lose a breadwinner and it was the parents themselves who actually discouraged their own children to go to school, as they considered the child's contribution to the struggling family budget more important than the seemingly superfluous ability to read and write. This is exactly what James Rigg emphasized in *National Education* when he said that without the family's support the efforts of the authorities were doomed to failure, no matter how hard they tried. This was so widespread that even law had to be passed to force the parents to let their children occupy themselves with the tasks that should have been most natural at their age.

It is true that going to school cannot have always been a very pleasant or even rewarding experience for the majority of the children. Both **Sunday schools** and the so-called **ragged schools** were extremely overcrowded, unhealthy, suffocating, noisy – hardly bearable for the children. What is more, the teachers did not hesitate to resort to corporal punishment, when it was difficult for them to keep up order amid the harsh circumstances. Sunday schools were meant for children who worked all week and they were supposed to teach children the basic skills at least to enable them to read the Bible. Later some non-conformist Sunday schools developed into vigorous working class institutions which offered classes for adults as well. The ragged schools were funded by charities and it was mainly middle class volunteers or some paid teachers who taught in them with very limited success.

Jeremy Bentham's innovative **Chrestomatic Day School** introduced **a number of initiatives** which were **unique in their own time** and supported Bentham's theory 'the greatest happiness for the greatest number'. Among the new principles we can read about **emulation and competition, the monitor system**, which actually spread in different elementary schools even if Bentham's ideal school was never built, then **the gradual progression principle, the distraction prevention principle, the integration of corporal exercises** to facilitate the maintenance of order and discipline and a lot more. Chrestomatic meant **conductive to**

useful knowledge and was essentially progressive in its own time. Posterity, however, condemned it for numerous reasons but the basic charge against it was its inhuman treatment of the children.⁴³⁶

However, for the upper layers of the society **education in the home** remained the major solution practically till the end of the era.

Most middle class children, from whose ranks the predominant proportion of the intellectual subclass originated, spent their early childhood at home and received their basic education, perhaps even pursued more advanced studies, directly from their own parents or other family members. The main conductor of the regular and mostly systematic schedule was **the mother**

⁴³⁶ Elissa S. Itzkin, "Bentham's Chrestomatia: Utilitarian Legacy to English Education", (*Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol.39, Issue 2) (April-June, 1978), pp. 303-316.

in most cases. The agenda meant that the children and the mother worked together in the morning. The curriculum included biblical knowledge and subjects that served **the moral-spiritual edification of the young ones**. They were supposed to study **French, geography, history**, and perhaps subjects which in a way prepared the ground for the children's future public school studies. They were likely to be taught some **mathematics, Latin and Greek**. The learning often involved reading a Psalm aloud and spelling skills were mostly improved by making the children copy texts. Their reading was mainly restricted to **the catechism, English history, Bible history** and some **fiction**.

The lessons came on a regular schedule, especially if other female family members or teachers from outside were also involved. It happened that either the mother did not really have the gift for teaching, or she was drawn away from instructing the children by other duties or illness. In such cases sisters, aunts, governesses or even the father may have taken an active part in the teaching. The busier part of the day was the morning; the children mostly worked on their own in the afternoon, doing their homework for the following day independently. The schedule was more or less the same throughout the year and was maintained strictly, allowing few deviations to guarantee discipline and regular work.

For children of some social rank, sometimes **governesses** were hired to give the necessary instruction. On the one hand, they freed the mother from this rather time-consuming obligation, on the other, they brought expertise to the home, especially in teaching subjects which demanded skill, like drawing. Some middle or upper class families even made sure to hire a foreign governess to facilitate the children's foreign language acquisition this way. For developing the children's musical skills, it was usually a paid music teacher who went to the family's house at certain intervals to give the lessons.

Although the instruction mostly concentrated in the hands of females, males also frequently participated. **The father**, busy as he was likely to be, often insisted on taking an active part in the education of the children, especially in that of the boys. Regarding the often extremely busy agenda of the father, in particular, if he was an active social figure, he tried to do the teaching so that it meant edification for the children and a kind of relaxation for himself. He mostly taught a subject which was a favourite of his own, which he himself had a keen interest in and would have studied anyway for his own intellectual satisfaction. In other cases fathers taught a whole range of subjects or even used their own personal letters as instruments of pedagogy. They must have wanted to communicate information to the children that had to

do with the current affairs of the family. There were instances when the father had capacity for no more than supervising the childrens` studies or counselling them when it came to orientation towards future official studies.

This latter factor was extremely important in the case of boys who were likely to go to public schools and, in due course, to take the family enterprise over or at least to follow in the fathers footsteps. As John Tosh says: “Equally traditional was the prejudice in favour of sons. Men looked for an offspring who would continue the family name and transmit the attributes of masculinity to posterity.”⁴³⁷ Or later another relevant statement:” the passage of boys to manhood was deeply marked by their parents, but parental roles were different. Fathers exercised much more authority over their sons` s choice of profession or business than they do today, while mothers – often justifiably – were credited with immense moral and emotional influence. And the power of each parent was immeasurably increased by the convention that – unless study or employment took them far afield – sons lived at home for as long as they remained unmarried.”⁴³⁸

Education in the home was influential and must have had a lasting influence for most children, but in the case of boys the really great impact was exerted by the official training, which they received in one of the prestigious public schools, as we shall see later.

The professionalization of teachers and the increasing involvement of the State:

A consequence of institutionalization was that by the end of the Victorian age **state administrative bodies** were called into existence with full-time expert staffs and serious efforts were made to invent the framework of **a new system for professional teacher training**. In the elementary schools it was mostly middle class ladies who taught on a voluntary and charitable basis or representatives of the clergy. There were relatively few lay teachers at the beginning of the reforms and, as their number was limited, they had to adopt the pupil teacher system, that is, to work with senior students, who aided them in the crowded classrooms.

⁴³⁷ John Tosh, *A Man`s Place: Masculinity and the Middle Class Home in Victorian England*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p.80.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

The professionlization of teachers was mostly carried out so as **to create a teaching body** that could do work on a more advanced level both in elementary and in secondary schools. The first really important initiative appeared in 1875 when Kay-Shuttleworth called together a committee of persons with the aim of establishing a training college for secondary masters because it was increasingly accepted that the schoolmasters were the only possible leaders of a united profession in England, therefore they deserved satisfactory training. Among the pioneers of the new movement one can find the names of Dorothea Beale or J.G. Fitch (H.M. Inspector of Training Colleges etc. who all contributed with their own actions to the extension of professional teacher training. For example, Dorothea Beale herself established a training department in Cheltenham Ladies' College and from 1885 this department operated a full course in secondary school teaching for future mistresses. Fitch, who also urged training courses for secondary school teachers, suggested that the universities should assume responsibility for this task.

In spite of the early steps **the establishment of official training institutions** before 1890 made only slow progress. The earliest institutional development was the foundation of **the College of Preceptors** in 1846 when a group of lay teachers in Brighton came together to help one another and to offer their assistance to others in the field of professional practice. The organization moved to London and obtained a charter in 1849. It was essentially designed to the teachers of elementary schools and the major aim was to enhance their prestige by **establishing a register of qualified practitioners**. To obtain this noble goal, the College even organized lectures on various aspects of education.⁴³⁹

In the 1870s both **the Endowed Schools Commission** and **the Headmasters' Conference** discussed the question of professional training at their annual meetings. Very surprisingly for many, the headmasters hardly attributed significance to the professional training of their colleagues. Yet, 1877 the Conference involved Oxford and Cambridge Universities in the dispute and tentatively asked them to provide the kind of training required. As a response, schemes were drawn up by both universities and in 1879 a **Teacher Training Syndicate** was appointed and authorized to to deliver certain courses of lectures and for the establishment of

⁴³⁹ P.H.J. H. Gosden, *The Evolution of A Profession: A Study of the Contribution of Teachers Associations to the Development of School Teaching as a Professional Organization.*, Barnes & Noble Books, 1998. p.218.

an examination in the theory, history and practice of education, moreover, the Syndicate was given the power to grant certificates of theoretical efficiency.⁴⁴⁰

In 1881 the question of teacher training was once again discussed by **the Headmasters' Conference** but the new attempts at further improvement ended up in a dead-end again because the headmasters were very critical of the lack of organized school practice in the Cambridge scheme.

In 1882 **the Finsbury Training College** was set up on the initiative of a small group of heads of middle class schools to provide training for young men who wished to become professional teachers at secondary schools but the scheme did not turn out a great success and had to close its gates in 1886 because of the low attendance of potential candidates. The main reason for the failure was still traced back to the headmasters' lack of support.⁴⁴¹

From the above facts it follows that whatever progress was made it was mainly in the field of training women throughout the 1880s and 1890s. In 1885 **the Cambridge Training College for Women** was founded and later became a famous institution under the name of Hughes Hall. It was the first residential secondary training college for women and the first where university lectures on education were given. Another major step forward was when the **Teachers Training and Registration Society**, founded in 1877, moved to larger premises in 1885 and assumed the name of Maria Grey Training College. The institution underwent further extension and the students were ultimately prepared for the teachers' certificate examination, which Cambridge had begun to offer in 1880. The main courses that had prepared the students were **logic, methodology, theory, history of education, physiology and hygiene.**⁴⁴²

The last major step in the extension of professional teacher training was carried out by the **Bryce Commission** in the 1890s, which made it plain that it was generally desirable that those who intended to enter secondary teaching should take a course of special preparation for it. The Commission also came to an agreement with others involved in decision making stating that **the professional training should be under the supervision and guidance of the universities.** Arthus Sidgwick, another prestigious reformer of the age in the field of education, divided the training into three distinct parts: the study of the theory and history of

⁴⁴⁰ Cambridge University Reporter, June, 1878, p.626.

⁴⁴¹ Gosden, p.220.

⁴⁴² Board of Education, Pamphlet No.23., 1912, pp.43-45.

education, school practice and finally a lengthy period of apprenticeship when the trainee teacher had to do the teaching by himself but under the supervision of an experienced senior colleague.

The conclusion of the debate and the result of the aforesaid efforts were the following: in 1897 **the Training of Teachers Joint Committee** was appointed, which comprised members of College of Preceptors, the Teachers' Guild, the Preparatory Schools Association as well as of the headmasters and headmistresses. These experts on the education situation claimed that training for future teachers should be continuous and there should be a lengthy practical training period so that candidates could reach the appropriate level of proficiency. They said that **the teaching diploma should certify proficiency both in theory and in practice**. The theoretical part of the education should include elementary psychology, ethics, logic physiology, school hygiene, school administration, history of education and the latest studies in methodology. The practical part was made up of model lessons, criticism lessons and actual classroom teaching. Institutions that undertook the task of training teachers had to be connected with the universities or university colleges and the training department here had to be separately staffed and run.⁴⁴³

We can easily realize that all these steps were absolutely indispensable with regard to the fact that in 1902, according to **the Balfour Act**, the growth of municipal schools created an ever growing demand for secondary teachers and also a large number of trained elementary teachers.

As for **the registration of teachers** is concerned, the main idea here was that there should be a Scholastic Council (analogous to the creation of the General Medical Council) that would represent the interests of educators without bias for any of the colleges, without favouring any religious opinions and would give freedom to the teachers in the management of their schools. When the Medical Act was passed in 1858, it served as a model for the Teachers Registration issue and in 1864 the General Committee of **the Association for Promoting Scholastic Registration** was also called into being. The membership here included schoolmasters from all forms and types of schools discussed and defined above in this chapter. In 1879 Lyon Playfair introduced the Teachers' Registration Bill and the idea was, like in the case of doctors and lawyers, that law should not allow the official employment of unqualified teachers to practice and entry to the register should depend on scholarship, professional skill and practical

⁴⁴³ Training of Teachers Joint Committee, Summary Report and proceedings, 1897.

experience. The bill became act in 1899 but was abolished in 1902, as many remained unsatisfied with the criteria of registration. The original model act was modified and refined a number of times later in the post-Victorian period.

State involvement in the promotion of education was a rather controversial element in the course of the reform movement. It is a fact that there were ardent opponents, mostly the advocates of free trade in economy, who thought that the same pattern was applicable in other spheres of life, too, for example in educational matters. On the other hand, mostly voluntary associations turned to the state because they expected assistance in the forms of grants. By the end of the era **the strong regulatory role of the state was increasingly accepted**. If one examines the topics or the main concerns of the legislative debates on education in the Parliamentary Papers and the Commissioners' Reports, one will find it striking how many debates were centered on the question of authority – central or local government – and on the financial conditions or consequences of the new steps. Of course, many were outraged by the obvious neglect of science and technology until the last years of Victoria's reign. However, as we can learn from *the Contemporary Review*, the really weighty arguments were not financial but religious; the identification of education with religion remained very strong throughout the era and non-doctrinal religion as offered in some of the schools was unacceptable to many.⁴⁴⁴

The role of the state was seen as **a controversial issue** and was **widely debated** in the Victorian press, too. One of the most acute problems was **how to finance education**. It turns out clearly not only from the contemporary publications but historians who specialize in this period and topic also tend to agree that the public was greatly split over the ideal role of the state in finding the acceptable solutions to the education issue.

One opinion we can read in the article titled '*Free Schools*' signed Norton and published in 1885. In the following passage Norton quotes the words of Prime Minister Gladstone: "The rule of our policy is that nothing should be done by the State which can be better, or as well, done by voluntary effort; and neither in its mental nor even its literary aspect has the work of the State for education as yet proved its superiority over the work of the religious bodies or of philanthropic individuals."⁴⁴⁵ This viewpoint is, of course, understandable if one takes

⁴⁴⁴ *Contemporary Review*. Vol. LXXII. Nov. 1897. *The Position of the Education Question* by E. Lyulph Stanley pp. 649-659.

⁴⁴⁵ Norton, p. 27.

Gladstone's liberal convictions into consideration. But not only his government, but most advocates of laissez-faire in economy would have agreed with the same principle. Gladstone's supporters were sure that what worked satisfactorily in economy, should be suitable in other fields as well. History failed to justify them, however.

On the opposite pole, Joseph Chamberlain, for instance, preached rather contrasting views as it turns out from the words of his *Radical Programme*: “the responsibility which the State assumed by the Act of 1870 has not been fully discharged. A great principle was then adopted, to which only partial effect has yet been given. A step was taken in the direction of State Socialism, but only a short step. The Radicals are not satisfied with the present educational arrangements, which are wanting in economy and efficiency.”⁴⁴⁶ Norton comments on Chamberlain’s speech by saying that “Mr. Chamberlain’s notion, then, about free schools is that the whole community should pay for all schools, in yearly rates and taxes, a national assurance, extended over all their lives, of an educational provision for those who may want to use it.”

However, in *The Future of Education* Mr. Mahaffy would impose obligations of other nature on the State. For example, he urges **the establishment of a sound free library system**, “where all those who have aspirations beyond the mere daily wants of their material lives, may find spiritual food by contact with great spirits – novelists, poets, historians, essayists.”⁴⁴⁷

Another major terrain where the state should interfere, at least in the opinion of certain journalists and educationalists, is **to find an urgent solution for the right form of technical education**, which seems to have got halted and is in need of state interference. Mahaffy’s suggestion is that **there should be a clear distinction between technical and liberal education**, even in the highest forms. The State ought to do away with the current overlap in the material of the public schools, because it only causes confusion and the same should be true in the case of universities. In *Middle Class Education* we can read: “The present Commissioners on Technical Instruction seem to assume that schools for this purpose are in this country to be a part of the State educational undertaking. They say ‘It is clearly the aim of the Government that this superior instruction shall be placed as fully as possible within the reach of the working class.’ But as a special part of the middle class education, the aim of the Government should be to trust those who are interested, and stand out of their way.”⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁶ Norton, p. 29.

⁴⁴⁷ Mahaffy, p. 217

⁴⁴⁸ Norton, p. 32.

The fact that the State finally assumed responsibility for the national educational situation was only the last phase in a lengthy evolutionary process, the watershed events of which were **the Forster Act of 1870** and **the Balfour Act in 1902**. Apart from these two there was a whole series of legislative reforms, starting from **the Charity Commission' report series in 1818-37**, through the so-called **Kerry Report in 1833**, **the Newcastle Commission of 1858-61**⁴⁴⁹, **the Revised Code of 1862**⁴⁵⁰, **The Elementary Education Amendment Act in 1873**⁴⁵¹ and then another followed in 1876. Some other amendments were issued almost continually in the 1880s and 1890s, such as **The Elementary Education School Attendance Act (1893)**⁴⁵², **The Voluntary Schools Act (1897)**⁴⁵³, **The Elementary School Teachers (Superannuation Act in 1898)**⁴⁵⁴ until **the Balfour Act** was issued in 1902 and meant the culmination of the legislative reform movement.

⁴⁴⁹ It desperately demanded financial help for the voluntary bodies and state aid in the form of block capitation grants and argued that public funds ought to be put to proper use. It also urged the development of the poorer areas but the idea of free elementary schooling was condemned.

⁴⁵⁰ It advocated measures that produced considerable improvements but these were still far from being sufficient. After the Revised Code there was a marked rise in school attendance, school organizations improved, the religious stress was somewhat eased and secularization became a little more accepted. However, a great number of deficiencies remained, which gave further impetus for the Commissions of later times to come up with their own proposals for reform. The much hated 'payment by results' system, which was introduced by the Revised Code, for example remained in force for another thirty years or so, and left much to be desired.

⁴⁵¹ It authorized the School Boards to be constituted trustees for any educational endowment or charity for purposes connected with education.

That no child under ten years of age shall be employed and that no child shall be employed who has not obtained a necessary certificate of due attendance or is attending school under the provisions of the Factory Acts for the time being in force.

⁴⁵² It raised the school leaving age to eleven and later this was further raised to twelve in 1899. The age alteration applied both to the penalties imposed on parents and employers.

⁴⁵³ came out, whose object was to assist voluntary schools, that is, "public elementary schools not provided by School Boards." In the same year the School Board Conference Act stipulated that representative members and clerks should meet in conference once a year to gather information on education from all parts of the country.

⁴⁵⁴ It was approved of by Parliament and it dealt with the question of teachers' pensions, which had been a rather troublesome issue since 1846, that is, the Revised Code by Robert Lowe and ever since it had given ground to much disagreement, friction and agitation. The current settlement covered problems, such as the pension age and the sum of the pension due to male and female teachers respectively, which was determined by tables prepared by the Treasury. The Act also contained provisions for cases of permanent breakdown, the so-called 'disablement allowances'.

Forster's Elementary Education Act in 1870 came in a crucial moment, when all the previous efforts were finally rewarded.⁴⁵⁵ Although a national free elementary education system came into being only in 1891, the main achievement of Forster's act was that **schools became available in every part of the country**. In fact, this statute was only the first of a series which ended in the Acts of 1902 and 1903 and for the first time statutory provision was made for several things which hitherto had never been recognized by the State.

7. Compulsory education was adopted.
8. Schools were to be maintained out of local poor rates.
9. No religious teaching should be given to any child, if objected to by the parents, in any school assisted by the State.

Compulsion even meant that **school attendance had to be enforced**. This was supplied by providing penalties against the parents who allowed their children to be absent from school.

The Education Act of 1902, or also referred to as **The Balfour Act**, which marks the final stage in elementary education. In fact it was the first comprehensive education Bill to reach the Statute Book. The administrative structure which the Bill set up was foreshadowed in the Bryce Report in 1895 and the Balfour act declared **the need for unified control of primary and secondary education** and realized the fact that **the Counties and the County Boroughs were the obvious authorities for the job**. Therefore the authority became unified at the centre through **the new Board of Education** and it was charged with the superintendence of matters relating to education in England and Wales. To see the major points precisely, the Act placed all elementary schools, whether denominational or otherwise, in a position to claim assistance from local rates.

9. It gave Local Authorities power to employ rates for maintaining or assisting schools "other than elementary".
10. It placed the power to train teachers in the hands of Local Authorities.

⁴⁵⁵ *The Contemporary Review* published statistics about the position of education in the U.K. at the time of the passing of the Forster Act in the article entitled 'The Progress of Education in England' by Francis Peek, Vol. XXXV. April-August, 1879. pp. 862-874. According to this voluntary effort had provided 11000 day and 2000 night schools. The number of children upon the registers was 1,450,000, with an average attendance of about 1,000,000, which meant very irregular attendance. Only two-fifths of the children between the ages of six and ten years, and only one third of those between the ages of ten and twelve, received even the very insufficient amount of education.

11. It enabled Local Authorities to pay for the maintenance of students.
12. It left it to Local Authorities to pay the travelling expenses of both teachers and pupils.

In a separate section it clarifies the constitution of the local educational authority, according to which:

7. In every county or county borough the authority is the Council
8. In every non-county borough with a population of over ten thousand the authority is the Borough Council
9. In every urban district with a population of over twenty thousand the authority is the District Council

In a third part we can read:

5. all the powers of School Boards and School Attendance Committees be transferred to the new Local Education Authorities and that the former bodies be abolished.
6. That every school, provided otherwise, shall have a body of managers and a constitution of its own.

In the last section the chief provisions are:

9. The Council of any county, borough, or urban district having powers under the Act, must appoint an education committee to carry out the work. The committee should contain members of the Council, representatives of educational thought, and women.
10. Powers are given to levy rates for all expenses and to borrow the necessary sums.
11. Councils are allowed to amalgamate or co-operate for the successful accomplishment of the work.
12. The Education Authority may pay for "the provision of vehicles or the payment of reasonable travelling expenses for teachers or children who attend school or college.

As a final evaluation of the Act we may want to quote the thesis of Professor E.G. West, who pointed out that "the government takeover in Britain resulted from pressure by teachers,

administrators, and well meaning intellectuals, rather than parents."⁴⁵⁶ When the State took

⁴⁵⁶ H.J. Kiesling, *Nineteenth Century Education According to West: A Comment* The Economic History Review, New Series, Vol.XXXVI. Issue 3. (Aug., 1983.) p.416.

control over the education question ultimately, the quality and the diversity of schooling also diminished and **compulsory education became much more unified and harmonized** than ever before. As a result of the above acts and reforms, gradually **the curriculum expanded, the age for compulsory attendance lengthened** (by the end of the century the school leaving age was raised to twelve) and if it was mostly the moral edification of children that mattered in the first half of the century, by the end of the era there was **a distinct shift in favour of the cultivation of the intellect**. Besides these improvements, the schooling of working and lower-middle class children throughout the country became more uniform by the end of Victoria's reign.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN VICTORIAN ENGLAND

The term secondary education was virtually non-existent till the end of the century, that is, the passing of the Balfour Act in 1902, which officially recognized the need for advanced studies after the elementary level. It was characteristic that throughout the period **there was no clear dividing line between primary and secondary education**, not to mention technical education, which was even more neglected. During the Victorian century secondary education in all forms remained **the privilege of the Middle Class and the class above them**. It worked **on a fee-paying basis**, which automatically excluded the lower layers of the society. **The curriculum** in all types of schools was **limited to the classics**, which was a precondition of one's going on to higher education.

Since the focus of my dissertation is the proliferation and the diversification of the professionals in the late Victorian era, the advance of secondary education is vital to my analysis. Special attention will be paid to the discoveries of the Royal Commissions, namely the Clarendon and the Taunton Commissions, which were carried out in the 1860s and called the attention of the authorities to the deficiencies and, by doing so, made the subsequent reforms possible. I will devote a separate chapter to the analysis of the public school situation, which was the rock bottom of the whole system, and by growing into an acknowledged Monolith by the late Victorian period, turned into a truly national system.

From the point of view of the professionals of the age, **the public school** played a **crucial role** because the students graduating from such institutions either continued their studies and went to the prestigious universities to become doctors, lawyers, engineers, university dons and the like through specialization, or did not go to higher education but were integrated by all kinds of government posts, colonial offices, the military or the Public Service, mainly owing to the special aura they obtained after spending a number of years in the mainly boarding institutions. Here, besides the classics, the main educational influence the students were exposed to was the Christian gentlemanly ideal of Thomas Arnold, the great reforming headmaster of Rugby School in the mid-century. The students may not have received a very profound and pragmatic education but they could mingle with their social equals or create connections with higher circles and they did learn the manners, the public school accent and behavioral patterns which made them the right people to run the Empire in the last years of Victoria's reign.

In a separate chapter I will show how education in two prestigious public schools, namely in Harrow and Merchant Taylors' contributed to the proliferation of the professional subclass and how the changing clientele of these schools reflect social mobility patterns for people who occupied intellectual positions. I will use the article of Edward A. Allen⁴⁵⁷, which gives a profound analysis of the public school entrance patterns, academic results, and the future career of students in Harrow and Merchant Taylors' between 1825 and 1850 and hot on the heels of these discoveries I will continue the investigation with the aim of showing the pertinence of similar statistical data for the professionals of the last third of the Wonderful Century. I will examine entrance patterns, the duration of studies at the school, academic results and the degree gained there, the profession of the fathers and the future career of the public school boys so as to be able to come up with some general observations as to the multiplication of the professions and also to pour some light on the social role they fulfilled in the maintenance of public institutions at home and abroad.

⁴⁵⁷ Edward A. Allen: Public School Elites in Early-Victorian England: The Boys at Harrow and Merchant Taylors' School from '825 to 1850. *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 21, Issue 2 (Spring, 1982) pp.87-117

THE EVOLUTION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION AND REFORMS

In the early nineteenth century the system of secondary education was rather unsatisfactory, if it is correct to call it a system at all. There was a rather heterogeneous cluster of schools, the precise definition of which is problematic and obviously the Victorians themselves found it hard to distinguish the various types of schools from one another. The most reliable **sources** the researcher can use are Nicolas Carlisle's *A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales* (1818), the records of Brougham's *Parliamentary Select Committee* (1816-1818) and those of the *Charity Commission* (1818-1837). On the basis of these documents – supplemented by the definitions one can find in Encyclopedias, such as the *Cyclopedia of Education* edited by Paul Monroe, it is possible to distinguish different types of secondary schools, most of which struggled with severe handicaps in the first half of the century.

Types of Secondary Schools

The **Endowed Grammar Schools**: there were about 600 or more of them in the early years of Victoria's reign and they were mostly endowed by private founders for the free education of local inhabitants. They maintained traditional links with the established Church and, in due course, some of them, e.g. Winchester and Eton emerged as national institutions and depended on fee-paying boarders, mainly from the ranks of the aristocracy and the gentry. *The Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission* in 1868 showed both the importance of the grammar school endowments and the numerous abuses which badly needed reform. However, even the **Endowed Schools Act of 1869** restricted itself to administrative problems. It established State interest in what were, by tradition, private institutions and required government approval of each public school's controlling body.

Charity Schools sprang up in England during the latter half of the seventeenth century and flourished throughout the eighteenth. They were available free to the children of the poor and

were supported mainly by private contributions. Most often they were controlled by some ecclesiastical or religious body, mainly dissenters.

The **Private Classical Schools** were mostly run by Anglican clergymen for fee-paying pupils where the focus fell on the instruction of classical languages in a respectable atmosphere and they mostly attracted the support of the gentry and the professionals.

There were **private academies** and schools – also called **proprietary schools** -, which were non-classical institutions and aimed at providing secondary education to the emerging middle class. These private academies intended to provide an encyclopedic range of subjects and practical education for the sons of merchants, manufacturers and top tradesmen. They were run by individuals (or sometimes partnerships) for profit and the dissenter institutions by religious sects. They differed from the endowed grammar school mainly in the sense that they maintained a closer supervision of the pupils and taught non-classical subjects as well. However, the frequent argument against them was that profit-making was more important than educational standards, they lacked equipment and the level was hardly higher than elementary.

In the last third of the century the so-called **higher-grade schools** appeared in three northern cities, namely in Bradford, Sheffield and Manchester and were pioneer institutions. These schools were not planned as central schools, but rather as schools for children of a superior class whose parents could afford an education for their children, which was better than the average. As John Roach says: “Those who attended the higher grade schools were children of the thoughtful and better-to-do working people, the children of clerks, managers, foremen, and artisans, and some of what you would call small tradesmen – the lower middle class.”⁴⁵⁸

Technical Schools also appeared in the last decade of the era. The 1890s witnessed a steady increase in the number of organized science schools but the most complete system of technical education was developed by the London Technical Education Board and in 1889 the **Technical Instruction Act** did a lot for the promotion of technical secondary education in England and Wales. In these schools mostly tradesmen, skilled workmen, and foremen were well represented, professional parents hardly appeared.

The Public Schools will be discussed separately.

⁴⁵⁸ John Roach: Secondary Education in England 1870-1902 Public activity and private enterprise, Routledge: London and New York 1991 p.95.

Criticism of secondary education was upheld throughout the period. The main targets of attack were the **too narrow classical curriculum and the low moral tone** in all the schools, but especially in the boarding public schools. Throughout the era, even after the rather inadequate **Grammar Schools Act** of 1840, which aimed at the widening of the narrow classical curriculum, the problems remained. **Teaching** remained **on a low level**, subjects retained their narrow profile, staff mostly lacked the expertise needed, there were serious **financial and organizational deficiencies** and the schools' ethos suffered as a result of the low morale, which originated from the maltreatment of young boys by their elders, including the prefects, the headmasters and the senior students. **Living conditions** were verging on the edge of **torturous** in boarding establishments, meaning scanty food, the constant bullying of older boys, the fagging of the prefects and the sexual insults and harassments the newcomers had to suffer. Most sources written in the first half of the century (the pre-Arnoldian years) complain about shortage of staff, unsupervised dormitories, dull schedules, constant bullying, gambling, homosexuality, drinking and the fact that the only way to maintain order was through intimidation and humiliation by the headmasters.

From the above, it is easy to realize that radical reforms, reorganization and the expansion of the system were needed and these endeavours were most clearly manifest in the Public School reforms in the second half of the century, mainly through the drastic reforms of Thomas Arnold, the headmaster of Rugby School (1828-1842). So as to understand the significance of these radical steps forward, let us examine the public school phenomenon itself and the significance of the new Christian gentlemanly ideal created by Arnold.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE GENTLEMANLY IDEAL OF THOMAS ARNOLD

The first thing to mention in connection with the English Victorian public schools is that there has never been a precise and generally acceptable definition for this typical national institution. John Wakeford in his book titled *The Cloistered Elite* argues that in the second half of the nineteenth century a small number of schools became popularly distinguished from the rest of the educational establishments and the distinction was formally recognized on the

appointment of the two royal commissions, namely the **Clarendon (1861-1864)** and the **Taunton Commissions (1867)**. He maintains that the term **public school** is still in use and today it refers to “**a small number of schools situated in England and Wales whose headmasters receive no direct financial aid from local authorities or from the State**”.⁴⁵⁹

A.F. Leach in 1899 argued that the public school was an educational institution with high fees which attracted the richer classes and it was entirely or **almost entirely a boarding school**. According to his definition the public school was under the control of a public body and it **drew the pupils from all parts of the country**.⁴⁶⁰ These criteria, however, allowed great variations in fees and both the clientele and the ethos of the school changed a good deal from decade to decade and from school to school. As we observe the last third of the nineteenth century, we cannot help noticing that **new criteria** had to be met so as to gain the title of public school. In my opinion, an adequate definition should consider the product, the academic output of these schools, therefore should contain information on how long the students stayed within the walls of the school, what kind of degree they got, whether they went to university afterwards and what percentage of them melted into the gradually expanding professional class.

Among the criteria we certainly have to mention the membership of **the Headmasters' Conference**, which was founded in 1869 on the initiative of Edward Thring and others. The idea was to protect the headmasters of endowed schools against imminent legislation, which sometimes threatened their independence. The most reliable sources of the membership of the HMC were the **Public Schools Yearbook**, which first appeared in 1889 and the **Whitaker Almanack**, whose editions claimed to identify the HMC schools from 1898. The criteria for representation were not formalized but invitation to the conference was likely to depend on the size of the school, the number of alumni at Oxford and Cambridge and the constitution of the governing body. **The Headmasters' Conference** was a decisive forum in the sense that the leaders of the most prestigious schools came together to share information and exchange opinion on recent tendencies, principles, guidelines, behavioral and moral problems and they inevitably had a great influence on one another and via this they did a good deal for the harmonization of public school standards.

⁴⁵⁹ John Wakeford: *The Cloistered Elite: A sociological analysis of the English Public Boarding School*, Macmillan, London 1969 p.9.

⁴⁶⁰ Roach, p.119.

Religion may have been an important factor in the sense that one cannot simply find any Roman Catholic schools among the renowned ones. The great schools were predominantly **Anglican** and a very limited number of non-conformist ones (e.g. the Methodist Leys School in Cambridge).

When it comes to the classification of the schools, it is worth noticing what an important distinguishing mark was **how the various schools accepted and acknowledged one another**. Especially when they had to compete, either in academics or in games, it was a good indication of the school's standing who was willing to challenge who and who accepted whom as an opponent. For example, Shrewsbury had to struggle a lot for acknowledgement as it was constantly regarded as a school of dubious standing.

The schools who could surely win recognition were the elite nine schools included in the investigation of the **Clarendon Commission**. Originally there were seven boarding schools examined by the commission, namely Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Westminster, Winchester, Charterhouse and Shrewsbury and two day schools – Merchant Taylors' and St. Paul's. But the number of public schools was ever multiplying. As J.R. de S. Honey says: "By the close of the Victorian period there were 437 such schools in England alone and in 1897, and probably at least 600 in the British Isles as a whole."⁴⁶¹ Later he adds: "by the close of the Victorian period of a main community of some 64 schools who interacted with each other in two or more of a wide range of activities which by then had come to be regarded as characteristic of public schools."⁴⁶²

Harry G. Judge endeavours to come up with a satisfactory definition of the public school in his article titled *The English Public School: History and Society*. His starting point is Edward J. Mack's definition, according to which: "those non-local endowed boarding schools for the upper classes which are termed Public Schools."⁴⁶³ Judge himself highlights the nineteenth century developments in his own analysis. He argues that "The English Public School was the product of particular economic and social circumstances of which enterprising headmasters took proper advantage".⁴⁶⁴ He also points at the fact that the absence of State provision for secondary education also gave an impetus to the expansion in number and size of the public

⁴⁶¹ The Victorian Public School; A symposium edited by Brian Simon and Ian Bradley, Gill and Macmillan, 1975

⁴⁶² Ibid. p.29

⁴⁶³ Harry G. Judge: *The English Public School: History and Society*, Essay Review V. p. 513.

⁴⁶⁴ Judge p. 516

schools, because this way they had to **become more and more independent and had to grow on their own.**

Rupert Wilkinson's thesis in *Gentlemanly Power* is that **the role of the public school** was predominantly **political**. He points at the many-sided function of the schools when says that in the second half of the century a new and expanding bureaucratic machinery demanded growing middle-class participation in government and the Civil Service. The public schools met this requirement by opening their gates to the commercial and the professional classes and also acted as **social amalgams**. In his words: "They took the fees of the textile magnate and the lawyer, and in return they exposed their sons to the full public service traditions of the aristocrat and the country squire. In this way, the schools really served as an instrument of class power. They perpetuated the political supremacy of the landed classes by 'capturing 'talent from the rising bourgeoisie and moulding that talent into 'synthetic' gentlemen."⁴⁶⁵ At another point he claims: "Not only was there a rapid multiplication of Anglican boarding schools after 1850, but the student population of already well established schools became increasingly cross-regional. A national public school accent emerged, linking social prestige with the hallmark of good education. Both in speech and outlook, the public schools exerted a unifying influence on the country' leadership."⁴⁶⁶

There is one more thing which I have to mention before going on to discuss Thomas Arnold's decisive gentlemanly ideal and reform activity, namely the formation of the public schools into **a system**, or in other words, **the establishment of the Monolith.**

Practically, up to the middle of the nineteenth century, it was not correct to talk about a truly national system, but rather a small number of individual schools, which struggled against the above discussed handicaps. The very fact that the hitherto individual schools endeavored to step into such a close alliance, so that they could be considered as a national institution, is definitely related to the growth of the middle class in the second half of the century and is pertinent to the proliferation of the professional subclass. In my opinion, as the middle class was growing in importance and became more and more influential, they gradually pushed the aristocracy from their leading position. **They started exerting more influence on public taste, conveyed a new religious spirit and increasingly realized their own educational**

⁴⁶⁵ Rupert Wilkinson: *Gentlemanly Power*. British Leadership and the Public School Tradition. Oxford Univ. Press. London and New York. 1964 p.4.

⁴⁶⁶ Wilkinson p. 9.

needs, especially when they recognized what was missing to enhance the quality of their lives. Most historians agree that it was mainly due to the middle class efforts that the public schools could grow into a national institution and could produce the bulk of the professionals, whose mission was to provide the services that could improve the quality of life so much in demand on the eve of the modern era. Edward C. Mack holds the view that by 1870 the middle classes had modified their most extreme views and won the battle against their opponents – meaning the upper classes. They adjusted the public schools to their needs and to the necessities of the mid-Victorian world.⁴⁶⁷

The same view is supported by Brian Simon when he says in the Introduction of *The Victorian Public School*: “Three groups of institutions—the Clarendon schools, the new proprietary schools and some endowed grammar schools –became fused into a single system and impelled to take the same route as a solution to similar problems or as a response to similar circumstances.”⁴⁶⁸

In *The Public School Phenomenon* Gathorne-Hardy writes about the radical public school reforms that took place between 1824 and 1900. He points out that from anarchic and amoral, loosely defined communities **they turned into highly disciplined societies**, which were **preoccupied with duty, religion, social advancement, games, house spirit and competition**. The schools provided a certain **class confidence**, a feeling of **conformity** and developed **self-control**, all assets which were appropriate and indispensable for the future leaders of the Empire, whether at home or abroad. And finally when they evolved **an ethos**, a system of values, which they imposed upon the entire nation, they became the Monolith, that is, a system.⁴⁶⁹

The next point to talk about is the radical reconsideration of the major concept of the public school education, that is, **the creation of a new ideal**, which is related to the work of **Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby between 1828 and 1842**.

I have already mentioned that the public schools were far from being moral institutions in the first half of the century and suffered from all kinds of deficiencies, such as bad living conditions, low morals, lack of discipline in spite of the intimidating, autocratic methods of

⁴⁶⁷ Edward C. Mack: *Public Schools and British Opinion since 1860*. Columbia Univ. Press. New York 1941 p. 104.

⁴⁶⁸ *The Victorian Public School* p. 9.

⁴⁶⁹ Gathorne-Hardy: *The Public School Phenomenon* p.228

the prefects and headmasters, very narrow curriculum and limited life chances. First it was the two royal commissions (Clarendon and Tauton) that drew attention to the malpractice of the public schools but the actual reforms were initiated and carried out by individual headmasters, the greatest and most influential of whom was Thomas Arnold. As he took the beneficial impact of the curriculum for granted and did not take steps to reform this aspect of secondary education, he considered character formation to be his main task and his moral duty. **Religion, discipline, good manners, culture, the community spirit** formed the backbone of his philosophy and he had the personal charisma to persuade the other influential headmasters of his time to follow suit as soon as possible. However, it was mainly the subsequent generation who used **the Arnoldian gentlemanly ideal** as a model and by doing so the second half of the century enjoyed an upheaval in the English public school. As Gathorne Hardy puts it in the Public School Phenomenon: "School as a place to train character - a totally new concept so far - was what came to distinguish the English public school from all other Western school systems."⁴⁷⁰ Wilkinson carries the idea of character-building further when says about the **Arnoldian ideal of the Christian gentleman** that, on the one hand, the schools' exultation of Chapel suited the Philistine respectability of the bourgeoisie, on the other hand, the schools tended to inculcate gentlemanly manners and this met the aesthetic requirements of the landed classes. Therefore, through the reformed public schools "the concept of 'character' wedded middle-class morality to gentry-class style."⁴⁷¹

From the above observation as to **the social amalgamation of the schools' clientele**, we can see that the great public schools also acted as the creators of **the country's potential leadership** for the late Victorian period, mainly due to the Arnoldian reforms. T.W. Bamford even argues that Arnold's lasting reforms were crucial in the sense that they bred the major political force in the last decade of the century. In his words: "After him (Arnold) came great expansions in industry, commerce, empire, invention, social welfare, professional growth, all needing increasing numbers of so-called leaders. Parallel with this went the explosive growth in the number and size of schools and a widening of their area of social catchment. The schools offered more and more the expectation to parents that they were concerned with leadership and its active promotion."⁴⁷²

⁴⁷⁰ Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy: The Public School Phenomenon 1877-1977, London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1977. p. 75.

⁴⁷¹ Wilkinson. p.10

⁴⁷² T. W. Bamford is quoted in The Victorian Public School by Simon and Bradley ed. pp.63-64.

So as to become leaders in any of the above mentioned areas, the students had to learn to conform, to live up to the expectations of the school but at the same time to retain some of their individual independence of thought, otherwise how could they have produced original ideas. In fact, the most obvious change in the public school system during the post-Arnoldian decades was the attitude towards personal freedom. Formerly there was a whole range of rituals which aimed at the mental integration of all newcomers into the prevailing hierarchic system of the older boys and to make him conform to the 'house spirit' as fully as possible. It was widely maintained that the sooner the freshmen learnt the uttered and unuttered rules, the better they could serve the public interests – first only in games, later when they had to serve the nation. The idea was to make the pupils *want to serve the community* and through its clearly defined ladder of ranks and privileges, the public schools could equate love of the community with love of the authorities and later with national interests. To quote Wilkinson, "the public schools assisted nationalism by bringing together classes which enjoyed most influence over the country's opinions – the taste-setters. During the early nineteen-hundreds, many middle-class liberals were already showing national sympathies, and their nationalism grew nearer to the conservative version of the gentry as the century wore on. It was in this trend that the public schools played their part, opening their gates to members of the middle classes and teaching them to identify love of the community with love of its traditions. As well as merely inculcating nationalism, the public schools helped to create a fusion between **the nationalist spirit and the motive of imperial philanthropy.**"⁴⁷³ What brought a spectacular change in conformism was that it was increasingly recognized that a man could only grow into a creative inventor if he experienced freedom in his youth. The headmasters accepted the idea of Arnold and, although they still maintained discipline in every possible way, left more space for private initiative than before.

The willingness to conform to the house spirit leads us on to the issue of **class solidarity**. I have mentioned the social amalgam that the schools produced but class distinctions remained anyway. The schoolboys were youngsters who were bound together by the same experiences and this very fact made them very much alike but different from everyone else. This typical public school boy consciousness was manifest in the so-called 'Old Boys system', which means that, even many years after graduation, old pupils of the same school tended to stick together, assisted in each other through patronage, maintained business connections and sent their own children to the school they themselves had attended. They did so to uphold

⁴⁷³ Wilkinson p.101.

continuity and because they knew from personal experience what kind of standards to live up to and what kind of life chances to expect. The old public school was a status symbol and had an impact on the pupils' lives forever.

Patronage among the old schoolboys was clearly present in the Army. In his article titled '*Militarism and the Victorian Public School*', Geoffrey Best writes that by the later Victorian period the public schools educated the "top echelons of the country's governing elite".⁴⁷⁴ Therefore, it was inevitable for them to have connections, directly or indirectly, with the formulation of government policy and the cultivation of the British national ideology.

Regarding the fact that the focus of my analysis is how the education (in this chapter secondary education) served the diversification of the professional subclass, it is essential to point out that **the government offices, the public service and the military** were major terrains that integrated public schoolboys who were contented with their secondary education and did not continue their studies at universities for specialized knowledge. In this part of my paper my argument is that serving the national interest with knowledge or military force was part of the gentlemanly ideal (a chivalric aspect of the new gentlemanly ideal) and I will write about professionals in the military, in the Civil Service and the Government in a later part of the dissertation.

THE REFORMS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN GENERAL

As we have seen, the reforms were initiated by Thomas Arnold in the 1830s and 1840s and his new public school ideal was taken over by many of the later headmasters, such as by C.J. Vaughan of Harrow (1844-1859), by Frederick Temple of Rugby (1857-1869), by John Percival of Rugby (1887-1895), just to mention some. Apart from Arnold's personal merit, the reforms were also due to the conscientious and superhuman efforts of the two royal commissions I have mentioned before. State supervision of secondary education was practically non-existent until the very end of the century when **the Balfour Act of 1902**

⁴⁷⁴ Geoffrey Best, 'Militarism and the Victorian Public School' in ?

finally allowed radical steps to be taken for the institutionalization of state run secondary education and created the right conditions for it. However, in the middle of the century it was only a very limited number of steps that can be considered as real steps forward. Edward C. Mack argues that if reforms happened in the mid-century they were generated by the middle class because by that time they found themselves securely in power, they were optimistic about the future and wished to bring their institutions into line with modern conditions.⁴⁷⁵ As education is always a key to social changes, certain reforms were clearly needed in that field. Hence the observations and recognitions of the Clarendon and the Taunton Commissions.

THE CLARENDON COMMISSION 1861-1864

When on April 23, 1861, Grant Duff asked in the House of Commons whether the government intended to grant an inquiry into the public schools' situation, George Cornwall Lewis, the home secretary of the Palmerston government gave an affirmative answer, saying that the public schools had already been brought under the jurisdiction of the Charity Commissioners in 1818.⁴⁷⁶ It was Lord Clarendon, a non-public-school man, who was appointed to the head of the commission, which was clearly set up to examine and not to attack the public schools. Everybody concerned seemed to wish to preserve the traditional profile of these unique institutions and to bring about changes which were absolutely necessary to their successful and efficient operation. As it turned out during the thorough investigation of the commission, Lord Clarendon and his colleagues were demanding political reformers whose ideal was modern business efficiency. They were not particularly lenient towards traditional privileges when they conflicted with commonsense. They were determined to modify rigid rules when either the original objectives of the founders were not fulfilled, or when modern society demanded new aims.⁴⁷⁷

The commissioners recommended a persistent and complete transformation of the governing bodies into trustees with no pecuniary interest and urged the headmasters to get money matters into their own hands as well as the disciplinary and educational power.

While examining the seven traditional elite boarding schools and the two elite day schools (listed earlier) **they proposed an extensive, though moderate series of changes in the**

⁴⁷⁵ Edward C. Mack: *Public Schools and British Opinion since 1860*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press. 1941. p.5.

⁴⁷⁶ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd Series, Vol. 162, p. 983 (April 23, 1861).

⁴⁷⁷ Report of the Public School Commission, I.7.

curriculum and in educational methods. As to the curriculum, they proved to be conservative and **kept the hegemonic role of the classics.** They argued that it was a long standing practice to teach them and they sounded convinced that teaching the classics and divinity provided the best possible mental training for the elite of the future. At the same time **the commissioners were ardent supporters of modern studies and urged including mathematics, music, history, geography, English composition, natural science and foreign languages in the curriculum, but without endangering its classical backbone.**⁴⁷⁸

As far as entrance criteria were concerned, the commissioners recommended that admission should be based on **competitive examinations** and by this, they practically attacked the entirely upper-class character of the schools.⁴⁷⁹

All in all, it is possible to conclude that the Clarendon Commission represented a kind of compromise between the Conservative and the Liberal viewpoints of the age. Unfortunately, while they endeavored to retain the Conservative values, they lagged behind in the Liberal ones and ultimately both remained unsatisfactory. Lord Clarendon and his associates were not blind to the still existing deficiencies but simply could not surpass the standards imposed on them by their own age. They may have disagreed with the cruel system of flogging, for instance, but at that time other forms of maintaining discipline was unimaginable. Therefore, the system outlived the commission.

As a result of the Clarendon Commission, the Public School Bill was first introduced to the House of Lords in 1865 but after numerous amendments it got to the Commons only in 1867 and became act in 1868.

In 1867 another commission, **the Schools Inquiry or Taunton Commission**, dealt with the endowed schools and problems in secondary education not considered by the Duke of Newcastle's Commission of 1858 and the Clarendon Commission in 1861. It was supposed to inquire into the management of the endowed schools and as they took all endowed secondary schools into consideration, they attempted to redistribute endowments as well as create uniform statutes in order to maintain the standards of teaching, discipline and organization. The report itself was issued in **1867** and is of the greatest value in the history of English secondary education. It contained a number of important suggestions for the improvement of

⁴⁷⁸ Report of the Public School Commission, I. 28-37.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid. p.10. 172, 178, 209, 271.

the educational and administrative systems, which were not adopted until the end of the century. The commission specially dealt with secondary education for girls and ultimately the report led to the passing of **the Endowed Schools Act in 1869**⁴⁸⁰ and the rapid multiplication of secondary schools for girls as well as boys created out of old endowments.

Lastly, yet another commission was appointed in **1875** under the presidency of **the Duke of Devonshire** to inquire into the state of scientific instruction in England and the experts of the issue found that "in a large number of the endowed schools science is entirely ignored, while even where it is taught at all, not more than one to two hours a week are devoted to it. The commissioners published returns from more than 120 of the larger endowed schools; in more than half of these no science whatever is taught, only thirteen have a laboratory, and only eighteen possess any scientific apparatus. Out of the whole number, less than twenty schools devote as much as four hours a week to science; and only thirteen attach any weight at all to scientific subjects in the examinations."⁴⁸¹

From the above passages it turns out that the changes in the public schools between 1800 and 1870 were the results of **fierce struggle in Parliament**. The battle was mainly going on between the representatives of the old ruling classes, who represented rigidly conservative views and the newly rising middle class, whose ambition was to make the schools the reflection of their new needs. In the days of Arnold, the struggle was predominantly of moral nature and in the 1860s it shifted to intellectual matters.

During the subsequent years of the Victorian period the pace of modernization accelerated and the middle class won its battle. Mack considers the year **1870 a kind of watershed year**, in his words "the moment of equilibrium between the two great revolutionary movements that give shape and pattern to public school history".⁴⁸² He maintains that after 1870 new forces began to operate and there emerged a general realignment of old forces. By the mid-seventies a whole range of influences were at work, that slowly undermined the basis of complacent Victorian British society both economically and spiritually. I mean **the rapid acceptance of science teaching** in various institutions, the dying of the evangelical fervour or the growing demand for services that could improve the quality of life and which gave enormous impetus

⁴⁸⁰ From A Bill For the Organization of Secondary Education, Ordered by The House of Commons, to be Printed, 15 June, 1898. Bill 255.

⁴⁸¹ *On the Present System of Public School Education* by John Lubbock in the Contemporary Review, Feb. Vol. XXVII., 1876. p.165.

⁴⁸² Mack, p.105.

to the rise of the professional subclass. The new competition from abroad necessitated all kinds of alternatives in the education (e.g. the Progressive Movement) or **the creation of more and more girls' schools**, but we could mention the growing recognition of the need for **technical education** and **more specialization** both on the secondary and the university level. Therefore, in the course of the roughly forty years between 1870 and 1914, the movement to reform the public schools experienced a great revival. Plenty of old ideas were either modified or dismissed altogether and it was obvious that **Conservative forces struggled to keep up with the Liberal ones**, who gained more and more ground in education, especially by advocating **the need to teach modern subjects** and science at schools. In the 1870s and 1880s the upper classes were reacting against the tendencies of the 1860s and the contrast between their desires and those of the classes beneath them became more perceptible. The lower classes demanded state recognition of secondary education and **emphasis on practical knowledge against the classics**, while the Conservative upper classes stubbornly stuck to their traditional views.

But besides this traditional two-tiered struggle, there was another one between the ideas of liberals and those of the other groups of reformers, like the Progressives and reactionaries, who demanded too drastic reforms. Arnoldianism, reaction and progressivism were specifically upper-class doctrines, supported by the aristocracy, the upper-middle classes and by public school masters but they did not exert too much influence as none of them belonged to the mainstream reformers.

The public school reforms, from the 1870s to the end of the Victorian era, affected different areas and became manifest in different aspects of life. The most obvious changes took place in the **clientele of the pupils**, the **number of the schools** and the **quality of life** in them (public boarding schools became much more comfortable and humane place to live in), the **curriculum** and in the field of **women's education**.

Clientele: The period between 1850 and 1875 was a time of great industrial prosperity and it was then that the basis of agriculture weakened radically. As a result, a new section of the middle class – which contained shareholders – was now rich enough to afford the public schools and the aristocracy had no choice but to lower somewhat its prestige and give allowances in its isolation to the other social layers.⁴⁸³ This fact enhanced the significance of

⁴⁸³ Statistics on Higher Grade Board Schools and Public Secondary Schools by the Education Department, 29 June, 1898, G.W. Kekewich, Secretary, London, 1898.

the upper-middle class in the public schools and it was mainly this group who produced the high ranking professionals of the future decades. As Gathorne-Hardy notes: “There was a steady growth in the number of the middle class, these for a number of reasons (not least because political power still resided there) sought to assimilate the manners and customs of the classes above them, and the public schools increasingly became the avenue of this assimilation. It will come as no surprise to learn that during the remainder of the century all these processes became very much more widespread, more intense and more complicated.”⁴⁸⁴ Herbert Branston Gray claims in *The Public Schools and the Empire*: “Their pupils (meaning the more modern institutions founded in the second half of the century) for the most part come from a somewhat composite section of the British public. Such sons are generally the sons of what are called in the characteristic language of English society the Upper Middle Classes – professional men and wholesale traders, together with a goodly number of the smaller landed gentry, and here and there a leaven of the younger sons of the less wealthy noblesse.”⁴⁸⁵ The argument of W.L. Guttsman is worth noting about the fresh tendencies of the student population structure in the late Victorian period. He says: “In the England of the later nineteenth century, when the public school system was in the making, it could possibly be argued that the recruitment of educational institutions on the basis of wealth, was not out of tune with the temper of the day. In their subservience to money and social position, and the tranquil, unsophisticated class-consciousness which that subservience bred, the public boarding schools did not rise above the standards of their generation, but neither did they fall below them. Their virtues were genuine and their own; their vices were of a piece with those of the society about them.”⁴⁸⁶

Guttsman’s argument in a later part of his book, according to which the predominantly one-class school was not favourable, is in contrast with Wakeford’s views, who claims that the **public schools fostered homogeneity of socio-economic background** among the recruits, which he proves with the prevailing system of Old Boys, that is, the fact that the past graduates of elite schools tended to send their children to their old schools exactly to be sure that they mingle with their social equals. Fathers knew from personal experience the children of which layer their sons were likely to meet in the old school and they craved for steadiness

⁴⁸⁴ Gathorne-Hardy p. 124.

⁴⁸⁵ Herbert Branston Gray, D.D.: *The Public Schools and the Empire*, London: Williams and Norgate, 1913. p.130.

⁴⁸⁶ W.L. Guttsman: *The English Ruling Class*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. London 1969. p. 218.

and continuity. He mentions the example of Harrow: “in most major schools the parents are interviewed before their son is placed on the waiting list, and at Harrow, for instance, the school demands that each applicant name a referee who is an old Harrowian, or is connected with the school in some other way.”⁴⁸⁷ My opinion is that both statements may be correct if we add that Guttsman` opinion is valid considering future tendencies, namely that the public schools, especially those of the new foundation, were gradually made more and more public, whereas the old elite ones did their best – as they do even today - to keep their clientele within a relatively narrow social circle to please the fathers, who send their children to their old school with the `backthought` of keeping them among their social equals. This kind of class snobbery was handed down from generation to generation and directly led to the sharp social distinction that prevailed in the adult lives of the pupils whose social existence depended a good deal on whom they got into contact with during their school days. **Patronage** is still not alien to English upper-middle class life and may still be the key to prestigious positions, though **meritocracy** and selection on the basis of **competitive examinations** also spread in the last third of the century.

From the above observations it is easy to realize that the social class that had practically no chance to infiltrate into the public schools was the working class. As Wilkinson points out “Admittedly, the Victorian public schools did their bit to create unequal opportunity: by helping to crystallize an `Establishment` style and accent, they made it all the harder for a working class person without that style and accent to be accepted in the top circles of power. Likewise, the emphasis on classics, however nobly viewed, provided the schools with a neat formula for offering free and reduced-fee scholarships and still excluding the lower class boy.”⁴⁸⁸ In fact, lower-middle class representation was rife only in some of the day schools and mostly in the new foundation schools, who could afford the relatively low fees, as some schools offered reductions for specific groups, such as the sons of clergy, doctors and soldiers. However, the fact remained that the boarding schools were virtually closed to the children of manual workers till **the Balfour Act in 1902.**

W. D. Rubinstein writes about the social and cultural gap between the sons of the traditional professionals, that is, the truly intellectual segment of the society, and those of the newly rising entrepreneurs, who lacked the cultural background but had the money. On the basis of Martin J. Wiener`s thesis, outlined in *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit*,

⁴⁸⁷ Wakeford, p.45.

⁴⁸⁸ Wilkinson p. 95.

Rubinstein voices the anti-entrepreneurial spirit advocated by the public schools but refutes the accusations which claim that the public schools actually contributed to the economic decline Britain suffered in certain sectors of its economy in the late Victorian era. He maintains that it is not true that because of the public school spirit or the narrow curriculum few students went to business and this way endangered the social-economic balance that was needed for the country's well-being. He argues that undoubtedly there was an intergenerational shift into the professions but it affected only a small percentage of the businessmen's sons as the majority followed the family pattern in their choice of occupation. In his essay titled *'Education, the 'Gentleman', and Entrepreneurship* Rubinstein says that, the public schools were willing to provide only general classical education, and, in fact, they urged the pupils to follow in their fathers' footsteps as that was the most simple solution to existential dilemmas.⁴⁸⁹ Hartmut Berghoff supports Rubinstein when says: "the hypothesis of the negative influence of public schools on late nineteenth-century economic growth must be rejected in toto. They did not educate more than a small fraction of the country's business community, nor were they likely to alienate any students from the principles of profit maximization. The existence of this theory is mainly to be explained through the wish to find a scapegoat for the alleged failure of the late Victorian business class. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the curricular and socio-cultural characteristics of public schools did nothing to guide significant numbers of boys from non-business families into entrepreneurial careers."⁴⁹⁰

Let me mention here that the public schools were also, in a sense, **agents of social mobility** but they did not cease to discriminate classwise. While they tended to exclude the lower layers of the society by imposing high fees on the parents, they aimed at a kind of harmonization and unification of the student population, once they were admitted to the school. Most historians agree that the boarding school, as opposed to day schools, had a unique role in this social amalgamation of the clientele. The very fact that the children were separated from their home environment and were deprived of the affection of their parents for years meant that they had no choice but to seek friendship among their classmates and to try to integrate into the community as completely as possible. It is not difficult to realize that the

⁴⁸⁹ Rubinstein p. 122.

⁴⁹⁰ Hartmut Berghoff: *'Public Schools and the Decline of the British Economy 1870-1914'*, Past and Present, No.129. (Nov., 1990), p.167.

core or root of the patronage system, which often determined the career of the students in their adult lives, can be traced back to this factor.

As early as 1897 T.H. Escott said declared that “the genius of every great English school was that the system was **essentially democratic**. Boys are valued by their fellows for what they have, but for what in themselves they are; not for the antiquity of their family descent, not for the depth of their father’s purse. The boy who dazzled his mates with the glitter of sovereigns fresh from the Mint would be suppressed as promptly by the public opinion of the place as the toady or the parasite.” Later on he says about the school’s endeavours to create a homogeneous clientele: “The son of the new man of one generation as to his tastes, his prejudices, his politics, his pursuits, the performance of his duties, the choice of his pleasures, becomes, in the next, socially indistinguishable from the scion of the oldest nobility.”⁴⁹¹ Decades later Wilkinson summarizes the essence of the standardization/unification of the schools’ clientele as follows: “By indoctrinating the nouveau riche as a gentleman, the public schools really acted as an escapevalve in the social system. They helped avert a class conflict which might have ended the reign of the landed gentry.”⁴⁹²

There have been critics of the harmonization tendencies, though. In *The Public School Phenomenon*, Gawthorne-Hardy does not seem to be so contented with the uniformity that the public schools endeavoured to create. He claims that the schools were designed to reward conformity, obedience to authority, and to crush originality and rebellion. In his opinion, it was rather negative that the spontaneity and the diverse, individual feature of the old, aristocratic clientele tended to disappear as “the uncompetitive crowd of ‘leaders’ was brought up on a games ethic where the point was not to win but to ‘play the game’.”⁴⁹³

Curricular reforms

We have seen that one major target of the secondary school reform movement was the alteration of the curriculum in the various types of schools. I have mentioned earlier that one problem was that the boundary between primary and secondary education was hardly

⁴⁹¹ T.H.S. Escott: *Social Transformations of the Victorian Age*, London: Seeley and Co. Limited. 1897. pp.174-175.

⁴⁹² Wilkinson p. 24.

⁴⁹³ Gathorne-Hardy pp.202-203.

perceivable in some of the grammar schools and charity schools and, in general, the level of teaching was rather low and the staff was often inadequate or poorly qualified.

One finding of the royal commissions was that reform was essential in the range of subjects taught in the public schools, which is important as these schools were the ones that produced the bulk of the professional and intellectuals of the future decades.

The Clarendon Commission demanded that the curriculum at the public schools should remain **primarily classical**, though they were also anxious to attribute significance to the teaching of more useful subjects, such as mathematics, science and modern languages. The classical training was still favoured in many schools because the possession of general culture was a traditional status-symbol, a natural feature of the English gentleman and signified that a man could afford to pursue learning for its own sake. Moreover, it cultivated a detached and orderly approach to problems, which proved to be applicable in all fields of life, especially where **general education and good gentlemanly manners** were needed, for example in diplomacy or in the Civil Service. In certain jobs, like the before mentioned ones, a readiness to master detail and to do precise, meticulous work were often essential.

During the 1860s all kinds of attempts were made for the widening of the curriculum, especially because the universities accepted the idea of specialization more and more and public schools were increasingly looked upon as places that were supposed to prepare the students for their future academic careers in higher education. Consequently, a closer collaboration started between public schools and the prestigious universities.

As early as 1857 a statute of Oxford University was passed, which instituted the Oxford local examinations. The senate of Cambridge adopted a similar measure in 1858. The idea was to “hold annual examinations of persons, not members of the Universities.” A Memorandum, issued by the Cambridge Syndicate in 1899 declared that “The main object of those who promoted such a scheme was to improve the state of education in the schools lying between the elementary schools and the great public schools.”⁴⁹⁴ Later on Gray argues that “the examinations did good work at first by destroying the rank weeds of idleness... and it was considered an honour to be connected, however remotely, with the time-honoured

⁴⁹⁴ Gray, p.265-266.

Universities". Finally, all the professional societies, almost without exception, recognized the certificates of the University Local Examination Boards.⁴⁹⁵

Which subjects should be taught in the public schools remained the key issue throughout the last third of the century and it is not easy to form a balanced judgement of how successful the reforms proved to be in the long run.

First, the spread of natural science teaching was slow.⁴⁹⁶ The classics had been taught for such a long time that they were taken for granted and it hardly occurred to anyone that he or she could study other things as well. Moreover, there were a large number of entrance scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge colleges and both Greek and Latin were needed for entry to both universities.

Science teaching had had a long tradition only at the City of London⁴⁹⁷ and at Clifton, which even opened a science laboratory in 1867. Of the public schools of the new foundation, Tonbridge opened a science building in 1887. Applied science started when F.W. Sanderson was made head of a new engineering department in Dulwich in 1887 and he developed the new concept of public school education based on the scientific method and on cooperation rather than competition.⁴⁹⁸

Besides natural sciences, **mathematics** made its way because it had been part of the curriculum of the traditional public schools for a longer time and it was not so difficult to get good teachers, which was a problem in teaching modern languages. In some schools French and German were taught, especially where the candidates orientated towards the Army or foreign Civil Service in their future career. By the late 1860s the modernized curriculum included mathematics, Latin, English, history, geography, arts, natural sciences, design, French, German and Hindustani.

What we can learn from John Lubbock, a great educational reformer of the age, about the curriculum in 1876 is that "the boys coming from public schools will almost all take as three of

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid. p.273.

⁴⁹⁶ Meadows, A.J. and Brock, W.H.(1975): 'Topics Fit for Gentlemen: the problem of science in the public school curriculum', in B.Simon and I. Bradley (eds.) *The Victorian Public School* Gill and Macmillan, 95-114.

⁴⁹⁷ Douglas-Smith, A.E. (1937): *The City of London School*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell pp.104-105.

⁴⁹⁸ Roach p.152.

the subjects, **Latin, Greek** and Arithmetic, while for the fourth a great number will choose either **Scripture knowledge, English or History**. Moreover, it is observable that the Board has laid down that French and German can only be offered as a subject by those candidates who have satisfied the examiners in Latin or Greek, and also that every candidate will be required to show that he has an adequate knowledge of **English grammar and orthography.**"⁴⁹⁹ About language teaching and the general workload he says: "Nor need the **study of modern languages** and science interfere with the acquirement of Latin and Greek. The usual number of hours of study in English schools is not less than thirty-eight a week; so that six hours devoted to science, and a similar number to arithmetic, would still leave ample time for the study of a language."⁵⁰⁰

When discussing the curriculum of public schools in the latter half of the Victorian period, we ought to mention the amateur ideal (clearly present in the legal profession even today), which prevailed in general life. It was clear that the British parliamentary government had a special need for versatile leaders towards the end of the era. As H. M. Stout claims in the Introduction of his book titled *The Spirit of British Administration*: "The very qualities which made the civil servant flexible and versatile made him distrust expert theory, especially when

⁴⁹⁹ *On the Present System of Public School Education* by John Lubbock in the Contemporary Review, Vol.XXVII. Feb., 1876. p.167-168.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid. p.166.

it was applied to matters of organization. Like public school authority, like the Constitution itself, he saw leadership in terms of men and honour and common sense. He was not generally interested in method for its own sake, in institutional engineering. Being brought up to lead, he found it difficult to view leadership as a science. He tended to shy away from academic studies of administrative technique, and this inhibited organizational improvements.”⁵⁰¹

Before I move on to discuss the various job perspectives and career options for public schoolboys in the late Victorian period, let me mention Joseph Schumpeter’s thesis about the **special magic aura** of the young men who were trained in the traditional public schools and for whom this very asset may have proved even more valuable than the factual knowledge they could obtain from the subject taught. Wilkinson quotes the words of Schumpeter in *Gentlemanly Power* as follows: “the public schoolboy’s political bent was inseparable from a gentleman ideal which the schools promoted. There were three components to the gentleman ideal, and the first of these was the attainment of magic. By magic, I refer to the mysterious aura of different-ness which distinguishes certain leaders and makes them respected for what they are rather than what they do. The property of magic, so Schumpeter argued, was more vital to political leadership than to industrial leadership, and it was more easily attained by the medieval lord than it was by the businessmen.”⁵⁰²

T.H. Pear talks about the fact that the aforesaid magic aura is/was guaranteed by special way of speaking (public school accent), and the good manners the public schools were supposed to inculcate. What is more, to possess manners that appeals to the various social strata of the society required wide social experience. Consequently, up to the 1940s public schoolboys usually traveled more than the average boys in England and often received friends from abroad.⁵⁰³

Once the magic aura was obtained, the schoolboys had a wide range of **career options** to choose from in the late Victorian period, almost exclusively intellectual and representative jobs, which I will analyse in the following subchapter.

⁵⁰¹ H.M. Stout, op. cit., Introduction by W.Y. Elliott. C.H. Sisson, *The Spirit of British Administration, Introduction*.

⁵⁰² Wilkinson p. 13.

⁵⁰³ T.H. Pear: *English Social Differences*. London: George Allen&Unwin Ltd. 1955 p.204.

Career options for Public Schoolboys:

When public schoolboys left the school, they had different options to choose from. In most cases they went to **higher education**, that is, one of the old traditional universities and cherished high aspirations about important government posts for the future, or wanted to receive specialization so as to become the leading professionals of their days. Others took over **the family enterprise or business** and followed in their fathers' footsteps. For this, they did not necessarily need university education but were contented with the general knowledge the public school provided for them. A third group left the public school, did not receive specialized training but went to seek work among **the lower rank professions**, or became clerks, public administrators, **white collar workers** etc. What I find most intriguing here, and the area I wish to examine in depth, is how the graduates of the public schools contributed to the diversification of the newly rising professional segment of late Victorian England.

The group that received no specialized training was most likely to find employment in **Civil Service**, the **Army** or in the **Government**. This was the group which could make most use of the above explained public school 'magic aura', which made them fit for occupying leading positions without any special training. It is worth noting the words of the Clarendon Commission in 1864, which defined the foremost aim of the public school education as "the development of the capacity to govern others and control themselves".⁵⁰⁴

Also this was the area where patronage was rife and created a separate network throughout the realm. Roach says the following about the most obvious tendencies: "Though many public schools men came from families that had made their money in business and industry, the ethos of the schools tended to lead them away from such occupations towards public service, the army and the empire. The schools had few links with science and technology, and it has been argued that the anti-business culture which they propagated was positively harmful to a country that depended on trade and industry for its prosperity and that faced increasingly keen competition from Germany and the United States."⁵⁰⁵ It is a generally accepted view that the money-grabbing, rational, unsophisticated entrepreneurial ideal was diametrically opposed to the public school ethos, which subordinated the individual to the group. Money making was

⁵⁰⁴ *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Revenues and Management of Certain Colleges and Schools and the Studies Pursued and the Instruction Given Therein*, Parliamentary Papers, 1864 (3288), XX, p.56.

⁵⁰⁵ Roach p.154.

acceptable only as long as it served the national interests and trade was considered vulgar and slightly selfish pursuit till the very end of the century.

According to Wilkinson, the public school system encouraged attitudes that saw the greatest prestige and pleasure in the public service.⁵⁰⁶ The public schools nurtured the desire in boys to obey authority, to win rewards for serving the community and to be one with the others. The athletic spirit and the games were the grounds for this communal spirit and what happened on the tracks and fields in small happened later, on grand when the public schoolboy stepped out into life and⁵⁰⁷ the national interests had to be served. Let me quote Gathorne-Hardy's words: "Letter after letter from the front (Boer Wars and World War I) say how glad the writers are not to have let school or house down, how if they are to die they are proud to die for school and country. And these themes are echoed again in the school obituaries. The public school ethos had gone beyond the grave...To play well for your school meant to die well for your country."⁵⁰⁸ The same principle becomes manifest when we read Wilkinson's point: "When one thinks of the public school monasticism, hierarchy, and hardship, of barrackroom living and discipline, of teamwork rewarded by decoration, of the reverence paid to community tradition – when one parades the factors together, it is not difficult to understand why public schools gentlemen became military officers."

The 'house spirit' can be regarded both as a positive or a negative feature of public school life. It is a fact that the public schools have often been criticized as crude agents of British Imperialism as they considered it their role to produce leaders.⁵⁰⁹ However, the fact remains that patriotism was consciously advocated and the key to Britain's national character was the public schools.

As I mentioned before, this kind of **incentive to serve one's country** was manifest most typically in three fields, namely in the civil service, in the government and in the army, none of which required specialized knowledge but personal charm, talent, diplomatic skills and the above mentioned magic aura instead. Joyce Senders Pedersen comments on the words of David Newsome in *Godliness and Good Learning* when in her own book she says: "Manliness, says Newsome, encompassed certain qualities of character – straightforwardness, honesty, loyalty – and also masculinity. As the century progressed, the ideal took on an

⁵⁰⁶ Wilkinson p.12.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid. p.17.

⁵⁰⁸ Gathorne-Hardy p.199-200

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid p. 192.

increasingly militant and patriotic tone. More emphasis was given to the corporate virtues. The headmaster's aim was not so much to produce godly individuals as to foster a loyal team spirit, which would enable his boys creditably to perform their work in the world and serve the state. Although Newsome does not say so, the role adopted by the schoolmasters of this persuasion might be interpreted as being in a sense that of a public servant."⁵¹⁰

The other thing which the candidate could hardly survive without was **patronage, family connections** and **a starting sum of money**, which was especially important in the purchasing of army positions.

Patronage was crucial in these social circles and occupational groups because they were guarantees that people belonging to the same layer could uphold or enhance their own importance and could gain more and more acknowledgement from the general public. On the other hand, it was essential that men of the highest abilities should be selected for the highest posts and in many cases this could be worked out only through a subtle system of recommendation and delegation of the candidates. As it turns out from the writings of Edward Romilly, chairman of the Board of Accounts: "It should be borne in mind that moral qualities and social position are often as important elements in the character of the public servant as great facility and intellectual power. Good sense and judgment, good manners and moral courage, energy and perseverance, a high sense of honour and integrity, a wholesome fear of public opinion and the desire to be well thought of by a circle of friends, are more important qualities and motives in the public officers, for the practical business of official life, than familiarity with classical and modern literature, science and history. The latter may be tested by examination, the former cannot; and the lower you descend in the scale of society the less the guarantee that candidates for the Civil Service will possess those moral and social qualifications, which are so indispensable for the practical business of official life."⁵¹¹

Patronage prevailed in **the Army** as well. From the writings of Sir Charles Trevelyan it turns out that the large and important class of well-educated young men, who depended for their advancement upon their own resources and not upon wealth and connections, were excluded from the army and had to seek employment in the professions, in the Church and the Civil Service. At the same time idle young men, who disliked the restraints of school and sought a

⁵¹⁰ Joyce Senders Pedersen: *The Reform of Girls' Secondary and Higher Education in Victorian England*. New York and London. Garland Publishing Inc. 1987. p.253.

⁵¹¹ Guttsman. P. *The English Ruling Class* p.233.

more enjoyable life, were attracted to the army as it was the only profession in which advancement depended on a certain command of money and not so much on personal qualifications.⁵¹² The basis of the system was that the original commission was purchased by an advance of family property, which had to be secured by a life insurance. The young officer had to contribute further sums so as to get promoted and if he failed to do so, that could mean the end of his military career. Therefore, the whole system was based on the continual flow of capital into the system and made personal performance almost superfluous. Later on in the same essay we learn that “A general desire exists to raise the army in the scale of professions; to make its ranks attractive to a better class of men, and to increase the inducements to self-improvement and good conduct; but these natural and wholesome aspirations are repelled by the purchase system, which has built up a wall of separation between the officers and privates.”⁵¹³

Ian Worthington, who speaks about the transformation of the purchase system into a more competitive and fair system, also quotes the words of Trevelyan in his article when argues that under the purchase system the middle classes – perhaps the most energetic and spirited class – was kept out of the army as this privilege had belonged to the titled and propertied classes before. According Trevelyan in his report sent to the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the purchase system (around the Crimean War), as long as this remained the case, the Army lacked the drive and ambition that characterized the middle classes and thus lacked the energy which was needed for improvement.⁵¹⁴

The system of buying and selling commissions was abolished in 1871 and changes took place in the mode of officer recruitment. At the Royal Military Academy a competitive entry system, which had been adapted to what the Crimean conflict had required earlier, continued in existence until the end of the 1850s and finally became replaced by a fully competitive exam system. As Worthington says a link was gradually created between the public schools and the Army and this resulted from the decision to base the Army entrance examinations on the kind of syllabus which was taught in the public schools. General education and gentlemanly manners in the Army became a requirement and in the next thirty years the

⁵¹² Sir Charles Trevelyan: *The Purchase System of the British Army* pp,2-7 in W.L.

Guttsman: *The English Ruling Class*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London. 1969. p.276.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.* p.277.

⁵¹⁴ Ian Worthington: ‘Antecedent Education and Officer Recruitment: the Origins and Early Development of the Public School – Army Relationship’ in *Military Affairs* Vol.41. No.4 (Dec., 1977) pp.183-189.

number of schools supplying Army officers expanded considerably. The schools that produced the greatest number were Cheltenham, Marlborough and Wellington College. These schools mostly began as small private schools, then grew into larger establishments and finally became accepted as schools specializing in the preparation of prospective Army officers. Worthington points out that in the upper reaches of officer corps a predominant percentage of officers appear to have been alumni of the major boarding schools and many of them went on to higher education as well.⁵¹⁵ These facts clearly show that the general educational-intellectual level within the ranks of the army grew substantially by the last third of the century and this outcome, in a great percentage, can be attributed to the public schools.

With the rise of the laissez-faire state of the nineteenth century there was a marked increase in administration and the size of **the Civil Service**. This career option was an appropriate choice for numerous public school graduates because, with its refined hierarchy and the great number of steps, it actually became a promising job opportunity for a diverse cluster of students. In *Public Service in Great Britain*, Hiram Miller Stout writes that in 1870 open competition for most positions was adopted and complex hierarchies came into being. According to him, in the last third of the century the clerk was still the typical civil servant but he became surrounded by specialized groups of other employees. Above the clerk, one could find the intermediate class, which was entitled to perform a more responsible kind of work. Below the clerk were the ones who carried out routine functions, such as filing, recording and typing. On all sides there were specialists, technical officers, inspectors and manipulative employees doing work of a nonclerical nature.⁵¹⁶ In fact, the system was somewhat chaotic and simplification of the organization to increase efficiency was done just before the World War I.

The Civil Service had always been one of the fields that young men of the upper classes could go to without leaving their 'caste'. The public school elite clientele strengthened this tendency by asserting the idea of duty that the future intellectual generation owed to the nation and to the empire. As Stout says: "The public schools and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge have played important roles in directing exceptional young men to the Civil Service. For generations they have been the educators of the boys and young men of these upper classes, and the traditions of these ancient institutions of learning have impressed upon the scions of the old families their responsibilities to the state. The emphasis the schools and universities

⁵¹⁵ Worthington p.188.

⁵¹⁶ Hiram Miller Stout: *Public Service in Great Britain*. The University of North Carolina Press. New York. 1938. p.116.

place upon the classical learning has probably played its part. A young mind cannot be steeped in Plato, Aristotle and Cicero without feeling that public life of some sort is necessary to the realization of personality.”⁵¹⁷ Competitive examinations made sure in the late Victorian period that talented young people occupied prestigious, leading positions, but patronage prevailed to a lesser degree as well.

In *Gentlemanly Power* Rupert Wilkinson investigates how the public schools produced leaders, especially for government and diplomatic posts for the last decades of the nineteenth century. He claims that the public school loyalty cultivated a sense of obligation to inferior social ranks as well as deference to those in senior office and cooperation with colleagues.⁵¹⁸ It is not difficult to realize that, besides fostering the desire for prestige and honour, the public schools cultivated a strong sense of nationalism, which, in the late period, was combined with a sort of imperial philanthropy. The young educated generation of the age increasingly sought national glory and wished to do good to other underdeveloped races. From this, the notion of **the `imperial guardian`** came into being and as Wilkinson puts it: “This psychological fusion between prestige and philanthropy was as familiar process to the public school gentleman, who showed much the same attitude to his place in British class society.”⁵¹⁹

It is also a fact that the public schools promoted personal attributes that were the requirements of the job of **the colonial administrator**. The competitive instinct was often combined with the sense of community to satisfy the imperial needs and self-reliance was often accompanied by close cooperation. The previously outlined magic aura, good manners and articulate speech were similarly essential for this kind of representative work. Moreover, public schoolboys had a good chance to get accustomed to obeying a single governing elite during their stay in the school. **This governing elite** was fairly uniform but was different from everyone else who stood outside their circle. Wilkinson calls his readers attention to the “policy of indirect rule”, which was a public school kind of balance between custom and efficiency. In his opinion, the essence of indirect rule was that it respected traditional communities and their traditional authorities and admits that it was an efficient and flexible way of running the empire in the late Victorian era. Furthermore, the indirect rule was highly suited to the public school concept of leadership, which respected the guardian more than the

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.83.

⁵¹⁸ Wilkinson p.46.

⁵¹⁹ Wilkinson. P.102.

innovator. However, Wilkinson also claims that this kind of rule gave inadequate preparation for self-government.⁵²⁰

Finally, we can conclude that the public school education of ideals and manners produced the most **outstanding leaders of the country in the national government** as well. The emphasis on harmony, moderation, self-restraint, the willingness to compromise and devotion to community interests seemed to be the essentials for running an efficient government at home. As we can learn from Alice Zimmern's writing the essence of a public school was that the pupils there could learn to govern themselves as well as others. And this way the public schools were those places in which the pupils administered the government to some degree.⁵²¹

Some critics of the public schools accuse the schools of not displaying more intellectual enlightenment than other schools but most historians seem to agree that late nineteenth century public figures, politicians (former public school graduates) may not have been very innovative but they served their country to the best of their abilities and talent. In Wilkinson's opinion, what counts for political education is the number of leaders it produces who are willing and able to implement the ideas of the truly inventive few.⁵²² The great number of reforms proposed and carried out in the last thirty years clearly show that of such leaders there were plenty. There is a whole list of prime ministers and leading government figures who attended public schools (Gladstone, Chamberlain or Lord Clarendon)eg. Berghoff says: "In fact, several elite groups were nearly exclusively recruited from public schools. More than 60 percent of cabinet ministers holding office between 1886 and 1916 had a public school education, Eton alone accounting for 34.7 per cent and Harrow for 12.9 per cent.⁵²³ According to Guttsman's findings: 90 per cent of big landowners in 1880 had attended one of the major public schools, 75 per cent Eton and Harrow. The corresponding figures for top civil servants were 71 per cent and 48 per cent respectively. Newly created peers (69 per cent and 49 per cent) had a similar educational background, whereas only 42 per cent of millionaires had been to one of the most important public schools (all public schools 63 per cent).⁵²⁴

⁵²⁰ Ibid. p.108.

⁵²¹ Alice Zimmern: 'The Renaissance of Girls' Education in England. A Record of Fifty Years Progress.' London 1898. Chapter 8.

⁵²² Wilkinson p. 76.

⁵²³ Berghoff, p.148.

⁵²⁴ W.L. Guttsman, *The British Political Elite*, London: 1968. pp.102-103.

A direct consequence of the public school revolution was **the proliferation of lower rank professions** in the last quarter or third of the nineteenth century. High value specialization, which produced the experts of the age, that is, the representatives of the old traditional professions, was concentrated in the hands of the universities but some white collar intellectual jobs could be performed by those public school graduates, who either did not want to, or could not afford to continue their studies in higher education. It was clear that in the hierarchy of careers, the middle ground of prestige between **Trade and government service** was occupied by **the private professions**. The public schools willingly admitted the sons of professional men and we have data from the school registers of the time to support the thesis according to which numerous public schools possessed special relations with the professions. According to Wilkinson one can find provisions in the charter of the institutions that the school undertakes the training of boys for the professions or that it takes the sons of men already in them. For example, Marlborough had close connections with the Church, Epsom with Medicine and Wellington with the Army.

The professionals, like the representatives of other occupations, also came from the ranks of the middle class. The educational reforms and the chance for them to attend the prestigious public schools aided them in their attempts to win recognition for their social claims and to distinguish themselves from the masses of their class. By sending their children to the more and more respected schools, professional people hoped to guarantee the elite status for their own children and by doing so they hoped to facilitate their ascendance on the social ladder, which in many cases meant higher positions than their own.

Another aspect why the public school was a perfect place of education for the professional of the future generation was that the old Arnoldian concept of culture corresponded to their own highest aspirations, that is, the fact that, besides the perfection of the individual, it was also a kind of moral duty to serve the well-being of others. And this is the essence of professional existence – to gain knowledge so as to provide disinterested services which improve the life quality of other human beings (in medicine, law, the arts, teaching, organizational work etc.) and, while doing so, to win social recognition and respect from the public.

In *Gentlemanly Power* Wilkinson talks about the marked group spirit of the Victorian professionals and compares their advancement to that of the civil servants. To quote him: “The Victorian professions portrayed a marked group spirit. In this respect they were fairly similar to branches of the government. Like a bureaucratic civil service, a profession derives

some of its most *elite esprit de corps* from formal methods of recruitment. These, in fact, form an integral part of what constitutes a profession.”⁵²⁵

For this recruitment **the professional examination system** was introduced but a certain degree of patronage worked in their system as well, mainly through providing apprenticeship to each other’s children. The professional examination stressed specialized and theoretical expertise alike and this was in contrast with the amateur concept of the generally educated man, which dominated both the public school education and the government. Therefore, the future representative of the traditional elite professions increasingly had to go to higher education to receive the **specialization indispensable** for their work. Still it was a tendency in the last third of the century to look upon public schools as the nurturing places of the professions, since their attendance became the precondition of one’s advanced studies on the university level and they were the places where the professionals of the oncoming decades learnt the right kind of moral approach to serving the community, rather than pursuing selfish interests.

Secondary Education for Women

As Gathorne-Hardy states in *The Public School Phenomenon* very correctly “one of the most important and formative facts about girls’ education is that until the middle of the nineteenth century it virtually did not exist.”⁵²⁶ Throughout the centuries only the daughters of scholars and nobles, the relatives of high ranked clergymen could receive some minimal education, if any at all. What is more, even in the period that preceded Victoria’s reign the education of girls was concentrated **in the hands of governesses**, whose educational standing itself was often ambiguous. Historians seem to agree that between 1750 and 1890 the governesses were the largest strand in women’s education but because of the lack of sources and owing to their often humiliating half-servant, half-equal standing in the family they served, their work could hardly be considered efficient and adequate.

From the 1720s onward the so-called **Ladies’ Academies** came into being and these were mostly boarding establishments that admitted about fifty or sixty students, provided education in the accomplishments (dancing, singing, embroidery, some foreign languages

⁵²⁵ Wilkinson. P.19.

⁵²⁶ Gathorne-Hardy p.230.

etc.) And these continued well into the mid-nineteenth century but began to decline in efficiency and popularity as the new public schools sprang up.

The new public schools were mostly modeled after the boys' schools and the underlying idea was more or less the same, that is, to prepare the girls for higher education and to win the right for them to go to the universities. For this, however, very **drastic reforms were needed**.

Although there had been some attempts during the preceding century to launch a movement for women's educational reform, it was not until **the middle decades of the nineteenth century** that **the real expansion of girls' public schools and women's colleges** occurred. The reasons why this kind of extension became possible was manifold indeed.

Perhaps, at first sight, there was no obvious need for educated women in the period in question but, on second consideration, one can discover a number of social, demographic and economic factors that facilitated the movement for reform. As I mentioned before, it was mostly well-to-do middle class men, mostly professionals, who sent their daughters to the new schools. On the one hand, because it was a kind of status symbol for middle class fathers to show off their daughters' schooling, on the other hand, it was a widely known fact that adequate education improved the marriage perspective of girls considerably as it became a tendency in the second half of the century that men of higher social position sought well educated wives. In addition to the palpable practical aspects, there was a distinct moral tone as well, which emphasized the importance of elevating womankind onto the same intellectual level that men had enjoyed for some time.

The reforms also offered a means to ladies of uncertain status to avoid sinking on the social ladder in case of family distress and to get better chances for dignified employment. In the 1860s public attention was drawn to the excess of single women and articles began to appear discussing *'Why Are Women Redundant?'* And *'How To Provide For Superfluous Women?'*⁵²⁷ Spinsters were increasingly regarded as a problematic social group, who were found primarily among the genteel orders of the society and could be found in the greatest number among the professionals. It was generally maintained that improved education might be the solution to their economic survival.

⁵²⁷ Jessie Boucherett, *'How to Provide for Superfluous Women?'* in Josephine E. Butler, ed. *Woman's Work and Woman's Culture*.

In the second half of the century more and more articles appeared in the press about the unfavourable situation of the over-leisured middle class maiden ladies, who suffered from and complained about not having the life chances they thought they deserved. However, it was seemingly a contradiction that a good level of education was needed for making a good match, but at the same time, a great number of job openings were not available for married women, or if they were not married at the time of employment, they were dismissed from their jobs when they announced the change in their marital status.

The demand for reform ultimately launched the movement itself and “for the first time women’s education was organized in a clearly defined way around academic as well as social criteria.”⁵²⁸ The daughters of middle class parents could attend different educational

⁵²⁸ Joyce Senders Pederson: *The Reform of Girls’ Secondary and Higher Education in Victorian England. A Study of Elites and Educational Change.* Garland Publishing Inc. New York and London. 1987. p.34.

institutions, but besides the private proprietary schools, the most frequent and most efficient type of school was the endowed public school. As we can learn from ms. Pedersen`s book the **Charity Commissioners** reported in 1894 that, under the authority of **the Endowed Schools Act of 1869**, schemes for some eighty endowed girls` schools had been approved. In 1864 the **Taunton Commission** reported only about 12 such schools but the Girls` Public Day School Company, founded in 1872, had established 36 schools with more than seven thousand pupils by 1894.⁵²⁹ In the same year **the Bryce Commission on Secondary Education** declared that “No change had been more conspicuous in the thirty years since the Schools Inquiry Commission than the improvement in girls` secondary education and the creation of colleges for women.”⁵³⁰ Among the major steps forward one should note the establishment of the **Girls` Public Day School Company** in 1874, which was mainly due to the efforts of mrs. William Grey, her sister Miss Shirreff and Miss Mary Gurney, as a result of which by 1890 the company had 35 flourishing schools of its own, with some 7000 pupils.⁵³¹

Among the most famous and prestigious colleges we can mention: **Bedford** (1849) and **Westfield** (1882) in London, **Girton** (1869) and **Newnham** (1871) in Cambridge, **Lady Margaret Hall** (1879), **St. Hugh`s Hall** (1886) and **St. Hilda`s** (1893) at Oxford.

By 1894 more than 218 endowed and proprietary schools existed for girls and most of these institutions were established in the second half of the century. In fact, the vast majority dated from the period after 1870.⁵³² However, as we can learn from **the Bryce Report**, few of these schools were analogous to the great boys` public schools. In fact, somewhat less than half were first-grade schools, that is, schools that continued the students` education till age 18 or 19 and prepared some students for the university. Many of the schools remained privately run day schools, which were replaced by the big boarding establishments only towards the end of the century.

It also has to be mentioned that the first girls` schools struggled with **severe handicaps**. In the first half of the century the required academic level was too vague, the curriculum too narrow, focusing almost exclusively on the accomplishments, and there was no recognized examinations and degrees to indicate where the student was in the hierarchy of her studies.

⁵²⁹ Ibid. 35.

⁵³⁰ Ibid. 35.

⁵³¹ *Women and the Universities`* by J.G. Fitch in the Contemporary Review, Vol. VIII. July-December, 1890. p.245.

⁵³² Royal Commission on Secondary Education (9 vols.; London, 1895) I., 15.

In the elevation of the academic level, the acceptance and the introduction of the local examinations played a vital role, which was the merit of **Emily Davies**, the headmistress of **Girton College**. She was the one who organized a committee in 1862 to press for the admission of women to university examinations. The main accomplishment of the committee was that it first gained admission for girls to the so-called Cambridge Local Examinations in 1863 – officially in 1865 - and Oxford followed suit in 1870. The significance of these exams was that they made the system of women's education increasingly self-sufficient. Soon scholarships were attached to different examinations and thus created the link to different levels of institutions. Gradually the distinction between girls' and boys' school degrees started to vanish and Emily Davies' dream came true: **the same career options and intellectual fields became available for women as for men**. This step was undoubtedly vital in the multiplication of the number of professionals in the last third of the century.

In the late Victorian period, parallel with the changes in formal setting and the subject-matter of girls' education, there appeared a distinct shift in the values and roles which the various institutions transmitted. Just like Arnold in the 1830s, the schoolmistresses of the newly rising girls' schools also advocated the importance of shaping the girls' character. To quote the words of Miss Beale: "the final cause of education must be the development of right character." Pederson comments on this saying that the reforms represented a shift away from a system which was dominated by ascriptive social characteristics, private concerns and private interests to more focus on academic achievement and serving the public good.⁵³³ This principle practically corresponded to the professional ideal of the age.

However, while the public schools in general cultivated the amateur ideal (explained above) and the lack of specialized skills, the headmistresses of the girls' schools often found themselves in a situation when they had no choice but to transform themselves into professional women, if they wanted to raise the status of their occupational group. The **inclination towards specialization** became increasingly manifest in the curricular changes as well. For example, it was not rare that the girls' public schools gave such a good education in natural sciences and mathematics that they prepared the girls for the university and all kinds of professional work after graduation. In middle- and second grade schools girls took up clerical work or did work in the post office or in teaching. In fact, the last third of the century was the time when **teaching** itself became highly professionalized and the colleges and public

⁵³³ Pedersen p.5.

schools became the major training grounds for women teachers. Unlike the lady-teachers in earlier decades, the newly appearing headmistresses were utterly devoted to their mission and often carried on their work when their economic needs were satisfied. The most decisive factor in their advancement was their undergraduate university training. During the first experimental years of the reform movement a number of public school headmistresses actively supported innovative projects, which aimed especially at training secondary teachers for their work. Some of these experiments proved to be successful and were integrated into the reforms, others were abandoned but these endeavours certainly played an active role in the professionalization of the headmistresses.

The question may arise in what way the girls' public schools promoted orientation towards the professions, if they did at all. So as to see this clearly, it would be wise to examine the clientele of the girls' schools and see whether the fathers' occupation exerted any influence on the choice of the daughters.

From the samples taken of the clientele of different schools we can learn that the social composition of the clientele was quite varied. The heterogeneity can certainly be explained by several factors. In some schools, e.g. **Cheltenham**, the clientele was limited by a social bar.⁵³⁴ Another thing to notice is that most of the schools were day schools, which meant that the locale itself determined the social composition of the clientele – eg. Many doctors' daughters attended **Queen's College**. Incidental factors may have played a part in the choice of school for certain groups, such as the reputation of the school in the region or the availability of another school not far from the home. In addition, fees also varied from school to school, which may have been a decisive factor.

Joyce Senders Pedersen claims in her comprehensive work that there is the fact that new public schools were more socially heterogeneous than the old fashioned private schools had been. Amid the new conditions some parents attributed less significance to social considerations in selecting their daughter's school than traditionally was the case. Pederson finds this odd saying that the patrons- mostly professional fathers - were sometimes not happy if their daughters mingled with their social inferiors. But her argument is that "It is quite possible that the professional people, who patronized the new schools, were as a group less well-to-do than the businessmen and tradesmen who did so. In this sense she voices the same

⁵³⁴ Emily Davies: *Special Systems of Education for Women's Thoughts on Some Questions Relating to Women*, 1860-1908 Cambridge, 1910, p.125.

opinion as Rubinstein, who says that the sons of prominent tradesmen and businessmen did create a big percentage of the clientele of the public schools in the last decades of the century partly because this social group needed the general knowledge and the prestige only these schools could provide, partly because they were the ones who could afford them relatively easily.⁵³⁵

However, what interests me most here is not so much the heterogeneous student population, but rather the fact that, in **the orientation of the students to the professions**, an important factor may have been that the fathers became increasingly interested in the academic level the schools could offer to their daughters because they knew that towards the end of the century objective school results counted as much as good connections, which they may or may not have had.

During the years spent at the new schools the girls often acquired the intellectual skills that were required in the various public pursuits, e.g. the civil service, in local government or the professions. Through the new examination system they also had the chance to get accustomed to working and functioning in a sometimes hostile, competitive environment. Schoolgirls were encouraged to become self-reliant, disciplined and to serve the well-being of the community. These modes of behaviour proved to be of immense help to them in their future professional careers.

At the same time, I also have to point at the fact that **paving the way for women into the public sphere** was not the only aim of the new schools. The first commitment of the girls' institutions was **to produce representatives of the new cultural ideal of the age**. The woman who was excellent in the accomplishments, and practically nothing more, was going out of fashion. Men belonging to the upper stratum of the middle class wanted to have wives who had an insight into and understanding of their own increasingly intellectual work and who could also prove to be **the ideal help-meet** when running small family enterprises in the professions (eg. Running a small chemist's shop). Consequently, it is correct to say that both the profit and the non-profit oriented values were important in the career choice of women whose intellect was mostly shaped by the reformed public schools at the end of the Victorian era.

The Culmination of the Reforms

⁵³⁵ Rubinstein. p. 285.

The Balfour Act of 1902 is generally considered as the culmination of the reforms that were carried out in the field of secondary education in the latter half of the Victorian period. It reflected most of accomplishments that the previous legislative measures and Commission reports had produced but also contained new elements. Among the most immediate antecedents of the act one should consider **the Bryce Report of 1895**,⁵³⁶ which recommended the creation of a unified central authority, which was actually carried out in 1899 when **the Board of Education** was set up and took over the educational work of the Charity Commission and from then on collaborated with the existing **Education Department** and the **Science and Art Department**. According to the recommendations of the Bryce Report a consultative committee was established corresponding to the Council.

As demand for reform grew, it was no longer possible to deal with the problem of secondary education separately from those of education as a whole and the Bryce Report made this clear. **The Cockerton Judgement** was the decision of the courts which disallowed expenditure by the London School Board on the North London School of Art on the grounds that this was not elementary education, and therefore was outside its legal scope. An emergency bill had to be passed to legalize the illegality. This task was carried out in 1901 and the following year Balfour pushed through his Education Act.

The main driving force behind the legislation was **Mr. Robert Morant**, who called attention to the dubious nature of legal situation of higher elementary education. Morant was Private Secretary to major commissioners, like John Gorst and the Duke of Devonshire and in 1903 became Permanent Secretary of the Board of Education. According to Correlli Barnett, the major merit of Morant was that he created the "the new state secondary system in the image of the public school and grammar school" at the expense of science and technology. To quote Barnett's exact words: "Sanderson presents fairly the argument of Morant's defenders, that he promoted 'liberal' education in the new state secondary schools in order to offer the bright lower-middle class bookish the opportunity of upward social mobility via university entrance. Yet the fact still remains that **Morant created a state secondary system** which has served to

⁵³⁶ Royal Commission on Secondary Education, Report, XXVI. by Bryce and A Bill to Make further provision for Education in England and Wales, |62&63 Vict, 1899.

perpetuate the antitechnological ethos and intellectual snobberies of the Victorian public school and Oxbridge."⁵³⁷

The Education Act of 1902, that is, **the Balfour Act** made the nationwide need for unified control of primary and secondary education manifest and granted the local education authority with the right to consider the educational needs of their area. It was also supposed to supply or aid education other than elementary and to coordinate the general condition of all forms of education. The Board of Education was authorized to inspect what was going on in the school and Mr. Balfour hoped to increase the quantity and quality of county secondary schools and teacher training colleges. It was also clear that the Education Act of 1902 excluded the children of the working classes from secondary education, which resulted in the fact that the bulk of the population remained spectacularly ill-educated in comparison with other nations in Europe even on the eve of the twentieth century. A great number of public figures and experts of the Victorian era thought that it was not fair to put all the blame on higher education for this as secondary education was clearly responsible, too.

⁵³⁷ Correlli Barnett: *'Could do better: The failure to educate Britons to compete'*, Times Literary Supplement. pp.4-5. [Review Sanderson, *Education and Economic Decline in Britain*, Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999.]

HARROW AND MERCHANT TAYLOR'S AS EXAMPLES OF THE NATIONAL PUBLIC SCHOOL PHENOMENON

Harrow: one of the seven great public schools of England which were included in the Public Schools Act of 1868, was the sixth of these in the date of legal foundation and ranked in general estimation as third or second by virtue of its record as a resort of the rich and a producer of statesmen and prominent men in the world, especially in the political world of England. According to Paul Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education* (New York, MacMillan, 1914) Harrow has traditionally been a school for the aristocratic and the wealthy class but unlike Eton, Winchester and Westminster, which had been designed originally to furnish men to serve in high stations in Church and State, Harrow has developed in a way which shows that it had not been meant for a prestigious national establishment from the start but had space for the poorer orders in the beginning. The founder was John Lyon, who lived at Preston, Middlesex, some twelve miles from London and the foundation of Harrow school was an indication of the growth to independence and moderate wealth of a new middle class. The foundation itself took place on February 19, 1571 and the intention of **John Lyon of Preston** in Harrow, a yeoman, were recited as "a newly found grammar school for the perpetual education, teaching and instruction of the boys and youths of the parish, and to maintain two scholars at Cambridge and two at Oxford University" and it took an additional fifteen years to draw up the ordinances and statutes for the school.

Lyon himself died in 1592 and soon after the governors of the school began building and from this period there is no evidence that the school was more than a small parish school until after the Restoration. In 1669 William Horne, an Eton scholar and fellow of King's College, Cambridge was appointed master of Harrow. From that time dates the development of Harrow as a great public school on the same lines as Eton, and the school owes its real creation to its succession of Etonian masters. Throughout the eighteenth century the number of boys admitted to the school grew and during these years, like Westminster, Harrow became an aristocratic school for the Whigs, as Eton and Winchester had fallen under Tory influence.

From 1785 to 1805 the school under the mastership of Joseph Drury again achieved considerable success and enhanced its fame. Under Drury the school educated five future

prime ministers, Lord Byron and many members of aristocratic families. The appointment of Dr. Charles Butler (1805-1829) led to a revolt among the students, in which Byron took part, mainly because of the extremely harsh discipline and bad living conditions but the students were soon won over by the new headmaster. As the school increased in numbers and popularity on the national scale, the local connections grew weaker and the poor boys disappeared completely from the ranks of the students.

The fifteen years following Butler's administration, despite the ability and scholarship of the headmasters, were years of rapid decline, partly because of financial difficulties, partly through the general distrust of the public schools.

In 1844 **Charles J. Vaughan**, one of the favourite pupils of Thomas Arnold became headmaster, and there began a brilliant period in the history of the school. The numbers rose from 69 in 1844 to 315 in 1847, the moral tone of the school was raised and the monitorial system was improved. Every now and then there appeared voices who criticized the leadership for not observing the founder's original intentions but Vaughan reacted in a wise way by establishing an English form in 1853 in which modern subjects suitable to the needs of the sons of farmers and tradespeople were taught. Out of this initiative developed the Lower School of John Lyon. On the retirement of Vaughan in 1859 **Dr. H. Montague Butler** became headmaster, and established the school on its present basis. According to the Public Schools Act of 1868 new statutes were drawn up for the government of the school, donations continued pouring in and new buildings were added to the existing ones. What is more, land was purchased around the school to secure the exclusion and retreat from the suburban growth of London. As far as the curriculum was concerned, it was no longer monopolized by the classical studies and by 1882 the broader relations of the school with the world were emphasized by the founding of a mission among the poor in London. The major tradition of Harrow Public School by the end of the Victorian era meant that through the distinguished alumni the school exerted influence on the State as well as on the Church and former students found employment in the army, the professions and in commercial life in an ever increasing number.

Merchant Taylor's: one of the nine public schools examined by the Clarendon Commission in 1868 but as it was a day school it stood somewhat apart from the other seven boarding

establishments. It was founded in 1560-61 by **the Merchant Taylor's Company of London** "for the better education and bringing up of children in good manners and literature." The school was located in the parish of St. Lawrence Poultney. The statutes were framed on the model of those of St. Paul's School. The first headmaster was **Richard Mulcaster** and owing to him the school immediately sprang into popular favour after its opening its gates in September, 1561.

The school under Mulcaster was highly successful and one of the most famous alumni was Edmund Spenser. In addition to the general classical and religious curriculum, music and acting enriched the profile of the school and this feature remained dominant throughout the eighteenth century.

With the development of the school we could mention that in 1828 mathematics began to be taught regularly and in 1845 French was introduced as an extra subject. In the following year modern history was added and in 1856 drawing appeared. The school has always encouraged the study of Hebrew and in the second half of the century the school could afford to move to more spacious quarters when the Charterhouse buildings were purchased. The significance of this move is that the increased accommodation permitted a doubling of the number of the students. Soon the school was divided into classical, modern and special (mathematical and science) sides and facilities were established for the study of chemistry, physics and biology, which promoted medical studies among the students.⁵³⁸

The following analysis will be made on the basis of Edward A. Allen's article titled '*Public School Elites in Early Victorian England: The Boys at Harrow and Merchant Taylor's from 1825 to 1850*'. The article was published in *the Journal of British Studies* (Vol. 21, No. 2, Spring 1982, pp. 87-117) and for data relies on the school registers (*Harrow Register 1800-1901*) and other Victorian primary sources such as *The Public Schools Calendar of 1866* or *the Harrow Calendar of 1845-52* with a History of Harrow School and A Register of the

⁵³⁸ The information that appears in this chapter was taken from Paul Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education*, from *Our Public Schools: Their Influence on English History* by J.G. Cotton Minchin. London. Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd. 1901., from *The Great Public Schools* by various authors, London, Edward Arnold, from *Great English Schools* by Harold T. Wilkins, London, 1925., *Merchant Taylor's School: Its Origin, History and Present Surroundings*. Edited by William Charles Farr. Oxford. 1929. and from *The Public Schools and the Nation* by A.B. Badger. London. 1940.

Scholars admitted into Merchant Taylor's School from 1562 to 1874 as well as *the Merchant Taylor's Register, 1561-1934*. London, 1936.

Edward Allen's analysis follows the early Victorian clientele of the above mentioned two schools and traces the progress of the boys from their entrance until their deaths near the end of the century. By examining major points, such as the occupation and social position of the fathers, the duration of the boys' stay within the walls of the schools, the future profession of the boys themselves, patterns of admissions and their future academic degrees and an examination of the occupational relationships between fathers and sons, the author provides a substantial insight into the nature and essence of public school education in the given period. Although I realize the obvious limitations of a study like this (acknowledging the fact that it is only a little slice of secondary school life and it would be a mistake to come to any kind of generalization on the national level from this limited amount of information) I consider it worthwhile to carry the same examination pattern on and to prepare its equivalent for the last third of the century, which is the subject of my own analysis. What I hope to show is that throughout the nineteenth century the ethos and profile of the various schools may have influenced the career choice of their alumni and what happened in small on the school level may indicate something about the major movements that were going on on the national level, with the strong provision that it was not necessarily so in every case, as certain differences might very well be explained with the unique features of the schools, with certain demographic or regional changes in a given period. In spite of the limitations of such a study, I consider making the analysis worthwhile, because if I add the data collected by myself to the findings of the more extensive investigation by W.D. Rubinstein published in 'Education, the 'gentleman', and British Entrepreneurship' in the volume titled *Capitalism, Culture & Decline in Britain*, we can get a fairly encompassing picture of how the alumni composition changed in the latter half of the nineteenth century and therefore, the combined data is pertinent to the much quoted debate between the two blocks of historians, where one party claims that the public schools exerted a negative influence on the business sphere, (they sucked students away from it and drew them to the professions instead) and the other party refuting this view.⁵³⁹

⁵³⁹ The allegation originates from David Ward, who argued that the public schools had caused a "haemorrhage of talent" away from industry because the traditional classical curriculum was impracticable in business careers and, this way, did not provide a reservoir for managerial and technological talent. D.C. Coleman thought that the public schoolboys not going into industry was beneficial, while Ward thought it bad but neither of them could

Since it is a widely acknowledged fact that the public schools nurtured the future generations of the professions (a great percentage of the pupils coming from this social background, especially in the case of Harrow) I find it worth making a comparison of the data found by Edward A. Allen and the data I myself gathered from the same school registers. My expectation is to show tendencies, major directions of progress by following the same pattern and by drawing up parallels on the basis of the data gathered by Allen about the school clientele in the 1820s, '30s and '40s and the data gathered by myself from the 1870s, '80s and '90s.

I would like to emphasize at this point that the current analysis contains information on two schools only, therefore it would be a mistake to come to any kind of unquestioned generalization on the basis of these data only. However, as this study examines two schools with a clientele of relatively different social background (Harrow being the school of the aristocracy and the upper circles of the society and representing conservative values, while Merchant Taylor's being the school of rich tradesmen and having a more commercial background) my idea was to provide my readers with an insight into the tendencies as to the career expectations that ran throughout the nineteenth century in two well-known schools, which - in a way - can be seen as ones that stand for all the other prestigious public schools of the age.

From Allen's article it turns out that in the second quarter of the century both Harrow and Merchant Taylor's admitted about 1500 students, while in the period of my analysis this number grew roughly to 2300. On the national level "the `universe of boys` from which the public schools could potentially draw would probably have numbered 200 thousand in the mid-late 1860s and 300 thousand at the end of the nineteenth century. But fewer than 4 per

justify their own arguments with statistics. Hartmut Berghoff maintained that what mattered in this issue was not so much the proportion of public schoolboys going into industry, but the proportion of businessmen who had received their secondary education at public schools. W.D. Rubinstein, in the above mentioned chapter of his book, examined the school records of eight public schools and claimed that his findings do not justify Ward's "haemorrhage of talent" theory. By use of probate records he found that the parents of public schoolboys were predominantly professional middle class people. His firm conclusion is that the public schools were mainly for the professional sub-class and the boys educated here tended to enter the professions. Likewise businessmen's sons followed in their fathers' footsteps and often joined the business sphere. Consequently, it is not true that a change in the occupational structure - generated by the public schools - caused the regional recession in British economy in the closing years of the century, or even if it had some marginal negative effect, it certainly could not carry the whole blame.

cent of this possible figure attended any public school - much less Eton or Harrow - in the 1860s, and fewer than 7 per cent at the end of the nineteenth century."⁵⁴⁰

As for the length of education, Allen points out that M.T. was likely to exert a more profound influence because it kept the boys longer but also because it gave the boys what was probably their entire formal education. From my examination we can learn that in the last third of the century a greater percentage of the Harrow students finished school early and this meant no change in comparison with former decades. This part of the investigation is important from the point of view that some historians, like Martin J. Wiener tends to blame the Victorian public school spirit for the relative decline in the economic sphere at the end of the century, therefore it might be of importance to know how long the various students were exposed to the influence of the public school. (see the hemorrhage of talent from the business sphere theory which Rubinstein refutes).

Table 1. The Duration of Studies in Merchant Taylor's and Harrow (1870-1901)⁵⁴¹

Years Spent at School	Merchant Taylor's 1870-1901 %	Harrow 1870-1901 %
1	9.9	11.9
2	11.6	22.9
3	14.3	29.9
4	14.5	22.1
5	16.6	10.8
6 or more	33.0	2.3

As regards academic results, Allen concludes that both Oxford and Cambridge experienced similar rates of matriculation from both groups – 87.1 per cent from M.T. and 89.5 from Harrow. He maintains that this high rate of attendance must have been due to the special relations the schools had with specific universities, however, what interests me here is the very fact that a predominant number of students from both schools did go to higher education, which I consider as a conscious preparation for their future professional life. It is clear that the professions held in high esteem at the end of the century demanded university education, what

⁵⁴⁰ Rubinstein. p.113.

⁵⁴¹ The Harrow Register 1800-1901

is more, this became increasingly true of the military career, which was far from being a negligible profession in the late Victorian era. It is especially spectacular in the case of Harrow students in what great number they joined the military in the decades under analysis.

About earning a degree, it turns out that in both periods the Harrovians could produce better results and the degrees demonstrated higher level of knowledge in most cases. This was essential for them if they wanted to carry on with their studies at the university or seek prestigious posts through their social connections. From M. T. fewer boys earned academic degrees both in the first and in the second half of the century, mainly because they chose to seek professional degrees and licences and this at a much higher rate than their fellows at Harrow.

The main reason why Allen`s article is pertinent to my own investigation is that he concludes that in the eventual choice of occupation both groups exceeded their fathers in entering the professions. What is more, in the case of both schools, this happened by abandoning the status of leisured gentleman, which clearly shows to me the strengthening of the utilitarian principle in the second half of the century but obviously the process reaches back to Allen`s period. He says: “Of the Taylorians, for whom occupation is known, 90.4 per cent entered the professions, compared to 45 per cent of their fathers. Similarly, 77.4 per cent of the Harrovians became professionals, while only 57.5 per cent of their fathers had done so. I would like to call attention to Rubinstein`s survey at this point, because the leading historian also carried out a thorough investigation of the growth and diversification of the professions in the period of my scrutiny and in his research included similar data on public school attendance through several generations. As he examined the occupational categories of public school entrants, that is, the future career of fathers and sons who had gone to the same schools, - just like Allen and myself - , it may be worth taking a look at his findings, too. Rubinstein examined eight prestigious public schools in his essay entitled *Education, the Gentleman and Entrepreneurship*` and among these we can find Harrow as well (unfortunately not Merchant Taylor`s). Consequently, I will include the data from his research here because it is pertinent to that of my own. Rubinstein says that on the basis of the school registers and other documents in 1870 in Harrow school 36 fathers were professionals (37.1 % of the total number of entrants), while, of their sons, 42 found jobs in the same occupational area (45.6%), which clearly shows growth through the generations. At the end of the century (1895/1900) 35 fathers (38 %) had a professional background and 48 (59.3%) of the sons

carried on the family tradition, from which we can see that the tendency continued till the end of the Victorian era.⁵⁴²

⁵⁴² Rubinstein p.116.

Table 2. The Changes that took place in the occupational structure in M.T. and H. in the first and in the second half of the 19th century⁵⁴³

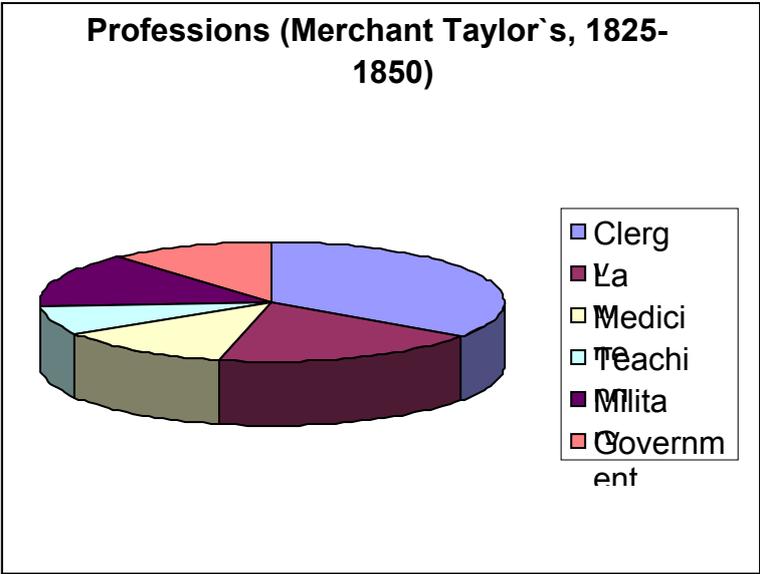
General Professional/Occupational Category	Merchant Taylors' (1825-1850) Number / %	Merchant Taylors' (1870-1901) Number / %	Harrow (1825-1850) Number / %	Harrow (1870-1901) Number/
Professional	490 (90.4)	622 (55.9)	922 (77.4)	631 (67.0)
Business	31 (5.7)	158 (14.2)	70 (5.8)	151 (16.0)
Skilled Craft	9 (1.6)	23 (2.1)	1 (0.8)	20 (2.2)
Tradesman	1 (0.2)	15 (1.3)	2 (1.6)	13 (1.4)
Gentleman	4 (0.7)	13 (1.2)	146 (12.2)	2 (0.3)
Workman	–	2 (0.2)	–	–
Clerk	3 (0.5)	150 (13.5)	–	7 (0.7)
MP	1 (0.2)	–	49 (4.1)	16 (1.7)
Other Occupations	2 (0.2)	57 (5.1)	–	57 (6.0)
Other Professions	1 (0.3)	71 (6.3)	–	44 (4.7)
Total Known	542	1111	1190	941

As **Table 2.** shows this happened mostly at the expense of leisured status. ”I wish to add two things here. In the latter half of the century, surprisingly at first sight, one notices a minor decline in the number of those who went to work in the professional sphere, although statistics on the national scale undoubtedly show growth, if not a major one in number. I am of the opinion that two things are responsible for this. From the combined table of the examined period it turns out that the sphere which showed spectacular growth was the business sphere, which supports Rubinstein against Wiener, that is, shows that there is no numerical justification of the allegation that students were “sucked away” from the business sphere. The other thing is that one can observe a spectacular growth in the field of other occupations and other professions than the traditional ones, which is of vital importance because it provides evidence for my thesis, according to which the professions, and of course the whole occupational structure became more diversified and the newly appearing sub-

⁵⁴³ Allan's article, the Harrow and Merchant Taylor's Register

categories drew numbers away from the traditional, ancient branches of the professions. Rubinstein's explanation seems to be logical when he says: "the growth in the number of professionals across the generations was a rational response to the fact that the professions, and professional opportunities, were almost certainly growing more rapidly than the population as a whole."⁵⁴⁴

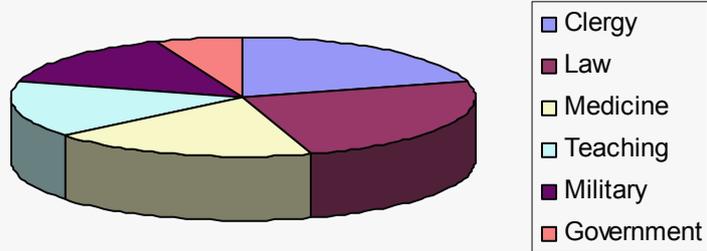
Chart 1. Occupational changes within the professions in Merchant Taylor's and Harrow throughout two generations⁵⁴⁵



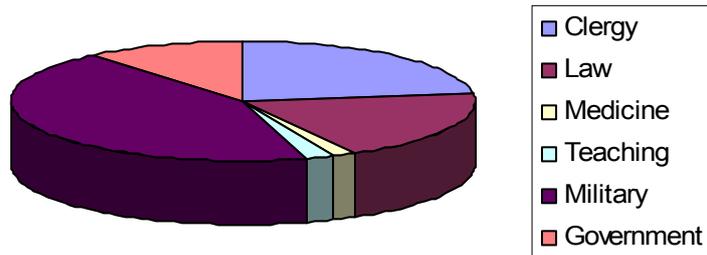
⁵⁴⁴ Rubinstein. p.121.

⁵⁴⁵ The Harrow and Merchant Taylor's Registers

Professions (Merchant Taylors', 1870-1901)



Professions (Harrow, 1825-50)



Professions (Harrow, 1870-1901)

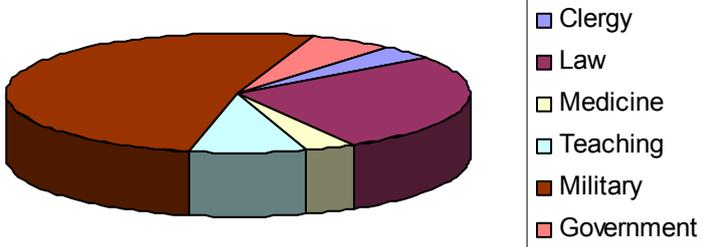


Table 3. Occupational structural changes in the two schools in the first half of the century⁵⁴⁶

Professional Category	Merchant Taylors' (1825-1850) Number/Percent	Harrow (1825-1850) Number/Percent
Clergy	155 (34.9)	204 (22.7)
Law	82 (18.6)	173 (19.2)
Medicine	56 (12.6)	16 (1.8)
Teaching	34 (7.8)	16 (1.8)
Military	64 (14.4)	389 (43.3)
Government	52 (11.7)	101 (11.2)
Total Known	443	899

Table 4. Occupational structural changes in the two schools in the second half of the century⁵⁴⁷

Professional Category	Merchant Taylors' (1870-1901) Number/Percent	Harrow (1870-1901) Number/Percent
Clergy	132 (21.2)	25 (3.9)
Law	150 (24.1)	167 (26.4)
Medicine	116 (18.6)	24 (3.8)
Teaching	94 (15.1)	51 (8.1)
Military	92 (14.8)	327 (51.8)
Government	38 (6.1)	37 (5.9)
Total Known	622	631

Chart 1. shows the division of the professions into sub-categories and the ratio of the students seeking occupation in the various fields respectively. The most obvious developments here

⁵⁴⁶ Allen's article

⁵⁴⁷ Harrow and Merchant Taylor's Registers

are that the number of clerical students declined radically in both schools, law and medicine showed moderate, linear growth and the same is true of the military career with the remark that among the Harrovian students I found an amazingly high percentage of students who chose to become professional soldiers, officers in the late Victorian decades. The teaching career also became more attractive to students. The number of future teachers practically doubled in the case of M.T. students and among the Harrow students became about five times as much as before. One may be somewhat surprised that there was a minor decline in the number of those who sought work in the government sphere but let me repeat my previously stated point that we are examining the data of two schools randomly chosen, not national figures.

Table 5. A detailed subdivision of the professions which shows the refinement of the occupational structure during the first and the second half of the 19th century⁵⁴⁸

Profession	Merchant Taylors' (1825-1850)	Merchant Taylors' (1870-1901)	Harrow (1825-1850)	Harrow (1870-1901)
Clergy/ Anglican	150 (33.8)	127 (20.4)	195 (21.1)	20 (3.2)
Missionary	1 (0.2)	4 (0.6)	2 (0.2)	5 (0.8)
Non-Conf. Min.	–	–	–	–
R.Cath.Priest	4 (0.9)	1 (0.1)	7 (0.8)	–
Law/ Barrister	40 (9.0)	66 (10.6)	134 (14.5)	91 (14.4)
Solicitor	38 (8.6)	84 (13.5)	38 (3.0)	76 (12.0)
Cursitor	–	–	–	–
Notary Public	2 (0.4)	–	–	–
Proctor	2 (0.4)	–	1 (0.1)	–
Medicine/Surgeon	48 (10.8)	43 (6.9)	8 (0.9)	1 (0.1)
MD	7 (1.6)	68 (10.9)	8 (0.9)	23 (3.6)
Dentist	1 (0.2)	3 (0.5)	–	–
Vet.Surgeon	–	2 (0.3)	–	–
Teaching/Professor	3 (0.7)	10 (1.6)	5 (0.5)	3 (0.4)
Princ./H.Master	11 (2.5)	15 (2.4)	3 (0.3)	19 (3.0)

⁵⁴⁸ Allen's article, Harrow and Merchant Taylor's Registers

Master	3 (0.7)	27 (4.3)	1 (0.1)	13 (2.0)
Ass. Master	9 (2.0)	30 (4.8)	4 (0.4)	10 (1.5)
Tutor	–	7 (1.1)	2 (0.2)	1 (0.1)
Lecturer	4 (0.9)	5 (0.8)	–	5 (0.7)
Librarian	4 (0.9)	–	1 (0.1)	–
Military/Militia	2 (0.4)	5 (0.8)	18 (2.0)	74 (11.7)
Colonial Army	20 (4.5)	16 (2.5)	71 (7.7)	20 (3.1)
Royal Army	30 (6.8)	48 (7.7)	278 (30.2)	231 (36.6)
Royal Navy	10 (2.2)	21 (3.3)	19 (2.1)	2 (0.3)
Colonial Navy	1 (0.2)	2 (0.3)	2 (0.2)	–
Foreign Military	1 (0.2)	–	1 (0.2)	–
Government Service/ “Civil Service”	–	14 (2.2)	–	4 (0.6)
Foreign Service	4 (0.9)	9 (1.4)	23 (2.5)	17 (2.7)
Imperial C.S.	21 (4.7)	1 (0.1)	60 (6.5)	1 (0.1)
Home C.S.	19 (4.3)	–	16 (1.7)	–
Local Gov./Police	3 (0.7)	9 (1.4)	–	15 (2.3)
Admiralty	4 (0.9)	1 (0.1)	–	–
Parliament(clerk)	1 (0.2)	4 (0.6)	2 (0.2)	1 (0.1)
Business/ Merchant	17 (54.8)	64 (40.5)	10 (14.3)	60 (39.7)
Wholesaler	–	1 (0.1)	–	–
Manufacturer	1 (3.2)	19 (12.0)	2 (2.9)	20 (13.2)
Banker	–	18 (11.4)	27 (38.6)	8 (5.3)
Stockbroker	2 (6.5)	54 (34.2)	2 (2.9)	55 (36.4)
Broker	–	2 (0.1)	–	8 (5.3)

Table 5. provides an even more detailed subdivision of the main branches of the professions and gives us an opportunity to see the major shifts within the bigger categories. From Table 5. one can realize that in M.T.'s and Harrow which occupational groups became more popular by the last three decades and which ones became less sought after. Allen's article contains no such table but I wanted to include it in my own analysis because it definitely indicates tendencies concerning the proliferation and diversification of the professions.

I have concluded earlier in this study that **the clergy** declined in importance on the national level and this shows in the case of the two schools under scrutiny. The number of those students who joined the Anglican clergy is considerably higher than any other denomination. It is possible to say that missionaries and Roman Catholics represent negligible numbers, what is more, Roman Catholics disappear from Harrow by the 1870s and the Non-Conformists are entirely missing throughout the whole period.

As for the **legal profession**, it is mostly stagnation or very minimal growth that we can point out. What is eye-catching is that the ratio of solicitors is considerably higher in both schools, which may indicate the development of the professions that did not demand a very high level of qualification as legal advisors may have been more sought after in the late Victorian period. Solicitors were entitled to give assistance at minor transactions and provide the clients with legal advice and in the post-Industrial Revolution period this is understandable. The growth in number is especially spectacular in the case of Harrow.

Within the **medical profession**, it fits well into the national trend that the surgeons sank somewhat on the level of social appreciation and their profession was more rarely chosen than that of the more highly qualified MD. This tendency seems to be in contrast with the dilution of the above discussed legal profession (we saw that there was a growing demand for the less qualified solicitors) but, on second thought, it is easy to realize that the nature of the medical profession required the opposite tendency. Surgeons were far from being a new phenomenon. In fact, they had always been the members of the branch which had been taken for granted and had always been able to take care of emergency cases. With the growing demand of the public for more feeling of comfort and a safe life, it can be seen as normal that people wanted longer and healthier lives and for this they needed better educated doctors. The growth of the number of MDs is especially spectacular in the case of M.T. but is high among Harrow students as well.

As regards **teaching**, one can find no revolution in the profession, though a certain linear growth is detectable, especially on the secondary level. The greatest increase we can find is in the number of schoolmasters and their assistants. In his own article Edward A. Allen highlights the fact that the relative upward mobility of Taylorian sons was fairly apparent in the teaching professions. He maintains that the students often made excellent principals, headmasters and exceeded their fathers in combining the professions of clergyman and

schoolmaster. On the higher level (dons, university professors) it is more correct to talk about stagnation or minimal growth.

As I said before, the **military profession** was chosen by a surprisingly great number of Harrow students throughout the era and the number continued increasing in the last three decades, which can be explained by numerous factors. The purchase of military commissions had disappeared by then and by the introduction of competitive examinations this profession offered fairer chances for many young men. The worse-to-do no longer felt excluded from this elite circles and, of course, the Boer wars and the gradual preparation for World War I. created an ever increasing demand for highly trained officers. In the last third of the Victorian century more and more candidates for the military profession went to university. The Colonial Army is the only sector where one can notice decline but this is also understandable if we come to consider that the colonial bureaucracy was really difficult to maintain as the colonies grew in number and the empire was hard to keep together because of the huge territories scattered in different parts of the world. The falling number within the Colonial Army coincides with the falling number in the Imperial Civil Service (see the next section). Membership within the Royal Army, the Militia and the Royal Navy are all in harmony with the national tendencies.

The **government service** or **civil service** had been virtually non-existent in the first half of the century, but showed both multiplication and diversification in the period of my investigation, though these particular two schools lag behind the national tendency. Growth is most obvious in the local government and the police as well as the foreign service. As I mentioned above, decline is clear in the field of the Colonial Service. The number of parliamentary clerks show stagnation.

I also have data about the proliferation of the **business sector** within the schools. This is relevant information in the sense that – as I said before - leading historians conduct debates even today about the role of the public schools in the `haemorrhage of talent` from the business sphere to the professions. Although the data of my analysis is very limited in scope, it is worth noting that neither decline in number, nor in types of business activity can be pointed out. It is true that there is some fall in the number of future merchants in M.T. (a bizarre contrast with what the name of the school suggests) but there is huge growth among the Harrovians. Manufacturers show considerable growth in both schools and the same is true for future bankers at M.T. but there is an enormous fall among the Harrow students in this category.

The most spectacular soaring number we can find in the profession of stockbrokers and brokers in both schools.

Table 6. Different branches of the professions in which the members of two generations found employment after graduating from M.T.⁵⁴⁹

Professional Category	Merchant Taylors' (1825-50) Fathers	Merchant Taylors' (1825-50) Sons	Merchant Taylors' (1870-1901) Fathers	Merchant Taylors' (1870-1901) Sons
Clergy	169 (24.5)	155 (34.9)	287 (37.1)	132 (21.2)
Law	141 (20.5)	82 (18.6)	139 (18.0)	150 (24.1)
Medicine	181 (26.3)	56 (12.6)	167 (21.6)	116 (18.6)
Teaching	31 (4.5)	34 (7.8)	58 (7.5)	94 (15.1)
Military	48 (6.9)	64 (14.4)	57 (7.3)	92 (14.8)
Government	50 (7.2)	52 (11.7)	64 (8.3)	38 (6.1)
Total Known	687	443	772	622

Table 6. carries Allen’s analysis further in the sense that while the prominent historian compared the occupational shifts between fathers and sons and compared the tendencies of the two schools in the period 1825-1850 only, I extended the same examination to the closing three decades of the century but had to restrict my analysis to M.T. school only as I had no access to the profession of the fathers in Harrow.⁵⁵⁰ But even so, by comparing all the data about the choice of profession of three generations, one can gain a very intriguing comprehensive view of the major shifts in the occupational structure throughout the century.

If we examine the occupational relationships between fathers and sons at Harrow and M.T. in the first half of the century we can realize that Harrow boys were more inclined to follow in

⁵⁴⁹ Allen's article and the Merchant Taylor's Register

⁵⁵⁰ Rubinstein provides data on Harrovian fathers, but no so detailed as the primary information I got form the Merchant Taylor's Register. He says that in 1840 34% of the fathers were landowners, 39.6% professionals and 20.8% from the business sphere. In the year 1870 the same divison changed for 18.6% landowners, 37.1% professionals, 37.1% business, and in the interval between 1895-1900: 13.0% landowners, 38.0% professionals and 44.6% in the business sphere, which clearly shows that there was **no** mass defection from the business sphere in Harrow School in favour of the profossions, which is the main thesis of Rubinstein.

their fathers' footsteps and adopted a vocation in the general category of their fathers more easily than did Taylorians. According to Allen the only exception was the sons of professionals. They entered the professions in 85.9 percent of cases, whereas comparable Taylorians succeeded their fathers as professionals 97.4 percent of the time. From the figures gathered by myself the same pattern seemed to continue in the closing decades of the century. There is relatively little gap between the ratio of the fathers and the sons in the various professions in the 1880s and '90s as well.

In the first half of the century the Taylorians were more likely to become clergymen and seemed to be more inclined than their fathers to become priests, teachers, soldiers and government servants. The same was not true, however, of the medical and the legal professions. According to Allen, "This pattern and the extent to which Taylorians bested their fathers in entering the Church and the Inns of Court denotes a good deal of upward mobility through the professions." He adds that the examination of the changing ratio between barristers and solicitors can only support this allegation. Obviously the sons tended to concentrate more in these primary professions than their fathers, some of whom were only quasi-professional, such as cursitors, proctors, solicitors' clerks. It is worth noting that a higher proportion of Taylorian sons than of the fathers entered the more prestigious profession of the barrister. The fathers were still more likely to be solicitors. According to my data, the struggle for higher qualification and more acknowledged expertise continued in the case of the late Victorian generation, too.

In medicine one can notice relative stagnation throughout the century, though within the subcategories (as we have seen before) the tendency was in the same direction as in the field of law. The students of the late period were not satisfied with the predominantly manual tasks of the surgeon but strove for knowledge and genuine expertise.

The number of those working in the professions showed a spectacular growth from generation to generation, which clearly demonstrates the fact that the nation attributed more and more significance to the job of those who were responsible for the creation of a continuous supply of professionals in the Victorian era. From the previously dominating patronage system there was a remarkable shift in the direction of social ascendance through education and this appeared in the great number of regulations that served the purpose of elevating the education system to the level it deserved. It was increasingly recognized that quality education could

only be provided by employing better trained teachers and there was a soaring demand for the work of those who did their job enthusiastically and with reliable knowledge.

Employment of Taylorians in the military was not so striking throughout the period as it was in the case of Harrow students but shows a clear growth even so. Above I have already mentioned the causes I find likely to have played a crucial role in the shaping of this tendency.

Participation in government service is relatively even in the three major parts of the nineteenth century. In my opinion, this hardly reflects the national tendency, instead I am inclined to explain the lack of growth with the profile of the school. It might be incidental that Taylorians lagged behind other schools in this respect but encouraged certain occupations in the business sphere instead. However, Allen, who informs us about movement in the first half of the century only, points at the fact that far fewer Taylorians followed their fathers into business than the school's ideal would have suggested. Again it is a kind of surprise that Harrovians usually surpassed their fathers in entering business, especially as bankers and merchants. In the case of M.T. the most fabulous growth one can detect among stockbrokers.

From various census occupation data (*The Census and Social Structure: An Interpretative Guide to Nineteenth Century Censuses from England and Wales*) edited by Richard Lawton. Frank Cass, 1978. we have information on the newly emerging subcategories of the professions in the last third of the Glorious Century. These census charts about the newly emerging professions I will add later.

HIGHER EDUCATION

In the emergence of highly qualified professionals higher education inevitably played a key role. In certain cases - as we have seen in the previous chapter - public school education and some practical training proved to be sufficient, but for those who intended to get onto a really high level, specialization became an absolute necessity. For the obtaining of the right kind of knowledge and skill, future professionals with soaring aspirations had to go to the universities.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF OXBRIDGE:

In medieval Oxford there had been **Halls** before there were Colleges. The Halls were licensed by the Chancellor and were controlled by Masters. The students lived in boarding houses on the territory of the university and the word 'Hall' clearly has the connotation of living besides learning there. A **College**, as it appeared later, was an endowed self-governing body, independent under a royal charter. Its purpose was to provide free accommodation and education at Oxford for a specified number of years to a specified number of scholars of specified origin. Exeter, for example, was originally founded for the education of twelve scholars from the diocese of Exeter. The scholars of a College were self-governing, which meant that they controlled their own accounts, managed their own affairs and lived at their own expense. From the beginning there were two categories of students who attended colleges. The **Scholars** or **Fellows**, who were supported by the Foundation, that is, from the income which the Founder gave to the College and the so-called **commoners**, had to cover their own expenses.

To understand the evolution of higher education, one ought to see the difference and relation between the university and the colleges. To use the definition that Sir William Hamilton, the Scottish philosopher and lawyer came up with for the university in the 1830s when he published a number of articles on higher education in *the Edinburgh Review*: "A **university** is

a trust confided by the state to certain hands for the common interest of the nation...⁵⁵¹

Hamilton thought that the task of the university was to give instruction in all major subjects and to provide the learners with **profound general knowledge** and developed **a national character** in the course of time. Consequently, the universities can be regarded as national institutions, which were created by the public for the benefit of the public, whereas the colleges had a private profile for private advantage and the interests of the two establishments have frequently been in confrontation ever since their creation. In the 1830s Hamilton was of the opinion that the colleges actually usurped the functions and privileges of the universities, bearing their own interests too much in mind. He went as far as to say that the system in his own days meant that the collegiate domination over the universities was a breach of trust by college officials, which subverted the original sphere of authority of the university. One way to do this was that the colleges, in fact, reduced the originally broad instruction to a single dominant subject – the classics at Oxford and mathematics at Cambridge.

A frequently voiced accusation, and perhaps the major one, which launched the whole **University Reform Movement**, was that the old English universities in the early and mid-Victorian period remained part of the Church and retained their originally prevailing religious functions, that is, the training of the clergy and the education of the nation's social elite according to the much cherished Christian principles. As they continued reflecting the old medieval social order, they failed to produce secular men-of-letters, scientists, scholars who would have been able to serve the needs of the urban industrial world. Instead Oxford and Cambridge could be blamed for numerous backward traits – idle studies, not pragmatic, discriminating against Dissenters, religious tests, students' selection too much based on patronage instead of merit, too traditional curricula, no career for teachers, no adequate science teaching etc.

In the eighteenth century liberal education was supported because this served the gentleman ideal of the age: a person who was independent, well behaved, sociable and generous towards his family and other fellow beings. In the early nineteenth century, with the advent of Evangelicalism and the fear of the French Revolution, a strong moralizing tendency was added to the Augustan ideal of breadth. As W.T. Heyck says: "The defenders of Oxbridge reasoned that classics or mathematics did not prepare a student for any trade or profession but

⁵⁵¹ The Universities in the Nineteenth Century. (Ed. Michael Sanderson) (London and Boston: Routledge&Kegan Paul, 1975), p.66

gave a mental and moral discipline which served as the foundation for any vocation, indeed for life as a whole.”⁵⁵²

The nineteenth century certainly carried the old traditions on and unfortunately the handicaps prevailed, too until the late period when reforms became essential and inevitable. In the mid-Victorian age liberal education was increasingly put into direct contrast with the ‘servile’ world of trade and industry. People praised the ennobling capacity of the classics and did not really mind the absence of utilitarian considerations. The major elements which still caused problems and delayed progress were religion, celibacy, high costs, the lack of scholarships and the insistence of teaching Greek, which was increasingly a nuisance for everyone. In more detail:

1. **Dissenters were not allowed to matriculate at Oxford until 1854** or graduate at Cambridge until 1856 and the presence of the nonconformist element prevented the sons of manufacturing families in the Midland from gaining any worthwhile qualifications and forced them to go to London or Scotland instead. What put an end to this unjust practice was **the Test Act of 1871**.
2. Another restriction on the teachers at the ancient universities was that they were supposed to be celibate and in Holy Orders, which meant that the teaching body suffered from **an unhealthy inward-looking character** and could not really be expected to be open to new influences. Bachelor clergymen had little contact with business circles and it is little wonder that they did not encourage their students to seek employment in the money oriented world, which was so alien to them and which they even despised.
3. **The high boarding costs and charges** for the courses prevented the admission of a larger class and this situation remained until 1868 when Oxford colleges allowed undergraduates to live cheaply in lodgings.
4. At Oxford there were **no scholarships for proficiency in the physical sciences**, which caused trouble for those who came from a more humble background and were likely to choose careers in these new openings as they had no family connections that could have launched them in careers in Church, law or politics.
5. **Having to learn Greek** was becoming more and **more troublesome** both at Oxford and Cambridge as it was no longer useful and many students wished to learn science

⁵⁵² J.W. Heyck, *The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England*. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1982)

subjects instead. However, Greek was continued in the ancient universities until 1920.

In the late period of the nineteenth century, when the public and the governing leadership was very much preoccupied with the problem of national education on the elementary and on the secondary level, the reform of higher education was increasingly recognized as a desirable one. As Richmond says quoting the ideas of George Jardine: "True, they (the universities) had their occasional genius, a rare Newton emerging from the scum of mediocrity; but in the main they were utterly bankrupt of ideas and sunk into a condition of cultural uselessness. Metaphysics and deductive logic were all very well in their way but, but 'intelligent persons could not fail to observe that subjects to which their attention was directed had no relation to any profession or employment whatever, that the discussions connected with them had no analogy to those traits of thinking which prevailed in the ordinary intercourse of the society.'"⁵⁵³

Reforms came gradually, varied from university to university, and Oxbridge alone no longer proved to be an adequate source of remedy to a nationwide problem. **The University of London** had a major contribution to the teaching of industrial science from the 1880s on and a number of **civic universities** were established all over the country, eg. in **Birmingham, Southampton, Liverpool** and **Leeds** etc. that took some of the load over from Oxbridge.

The Situation Before the University Reform Movement and the Links with the Public Schools

Having seen the situation in the past, let us glimpse at the nature and the most important functions of the university in Queen Victoria's century. According to the *Macmillan Magazine* in 1881: "A university is an association of the most intelligent and most highly-educated men of a country, set apart by the nation for the pursuit of truth, the preservation, increase, and communication of knowledge, and the general elevation of the intellectual character of the people. So far its character and scope is identical with that of a royal academy or museum, after the model of the Ptolemies in Alexandria. But it is something more; it has also an educational function; and in this capacity, as distinguished from a secondary or upper

⁵⁵³ Richmond, p.50

school, its special business is to stimulate the highest intellectual energy of the nation, by developing under wise guidance the peculiar intellectual spontaneity of each intelligent individual who comes within the range of its stimulating action."⁵⁵⁴

In the first half of the nineteenth century the universities had a direct link with the public schools which were regarded as the next logical step for those who wished to engage themselves in an intellectual or professional career and wanted to pursue it with genuine expertise. However, the public school very often meant the end of the students' academic preparation for their future career, especially if it was in the secular professions or if it meant taking over their fathers' business. The university was not a general requirement for those who wanted to work in the learned professions, in fact the apprenticeship or other practical training supplemented by the public school certificate often proved more than enough for a good start, not to mention patronage, recommendations and a certain deposit that fathers often paid to the master or an established professional who launched their sons in the chosen field.

But the links between the public schools and the universities did exist and were significant. The ancient universities dominated the classical curricula at the public schools and older grammar schools, they provided the schoolmasters and often admitted the pupils by granting them scholarships, which established a privileged connection between individual colleges and the schools. In the 1850s new examinations, called '**locals**' were introduced, which can be considered as the forerunners of today's 'O' level and 'A' level school leaving exams and the universities started exerting a kind of revitalizing effect on the academic standards of the public schools. The reports of the Taunton Commission in the 1860s assert the positive outcome of the close ties between secondary and higher education. Among the major changes the Commissioners observed **the gradual integration of natural sciences in the curriculum**, which followed the same tendency on the higher education level. Another major development was **the growth of specialization**, which became widespread in the second half of the century and reflected the conscious preparation of the students for the university, where specialization was increasingly a requirement.

The universities also benefitted from the collaboration because working together with the public schools meant that more capable and better prepared candidates applied to their colleges than before. As a result of the new policies, higher education clearly experienced an

⁵⁵⁴ '*Thoughts of English University Reform*' in Macmillan's Magazine, Vol. XLV. Nov.-Apr. p.126.

upheaval in the last third of the century. Throughout the period **the public school** remained **the major reservoir** from which the universities drew the best brains and cultivated them further. In his article published in the *Nineteenth Century* in 1898, George C. Broderick summarized the essence of the collaboration as follows: “Every school of reputation still professes, above all, to prepare the boys for the Universities, however liberally it may provide for the requirements of non-academical careers, such as the Army and Civil Service. On the other hand, the Universities, by wisely extending their old narrow curriculum, are rapidly bringing the new studies within the range of their control; while, by undertaking the office of examining boards on a very large scale, they have strengthened to an extraordinary degree their former hold on secondary education. It had long been the habit of the more eminent public schools and grammar schools to invite the aid of University examiners in awarding exhibitions or testing the results of school work in the higher forms.”⁵⁵⁵

Of course, with the progress of reforms, the above mentioned cooperation became increasingly true of the newly emerging girls' schools and the universities, what is more, with the establishment of the civic universities from the mid-century on, the municipal secondary grammar schools also became better supplied by well-qualified teaching force and a more serious check on them so as to promote their desirable functioning.

The most important questions that are likely to occur to anyone interested in the topic of higher education in the Victorian period are: who had gone to higher education and why before the reforms and what kind of experience had awaited the students in Oxford and Cambridge, since there had been no real alternative before the radical reforms of the second half, or rather, the last third of the century. If the public schools gave a thorough preparation for almost any intellectual occupation, what motivated those who insisted on continuing their studies on a higher level and from whose ranks did they come at all? What could they expect from the existing system and why did they find reforms increasingly desirable?

As far as the first question is concerned, that is, the one which asks who went to higher education, one may notice that **the social composition of the student bodies did not change** radically throughout the examined period. Statistics show that Oxbridge education had always been **the privilege of the elite** and this hardly changed with the advancement of the reforms. The old universities started accepting middle and lower-middle class students in the second

⁵⁵⁵ George Broderick, "The University of Oxford in 1898", *The Nineteenth Century* (XLIV. II.) p. 218.

half of the century but the bulk of the student body remained **young men from the ranks of the aristocracy, the clergy, the gentry and the professions**. The civic universities satisfied the demands of the bulk of the middle class and the lower-middle class. As T. W. Heyck says: “What did change at Oxford and Cambridge were two things: 1. The mixture of the upper class backgrounds of the students and 2. The graduates choices of occupations. Both factors reflected **the secularization and professionalization of the universities**- and of English society generally. In the first half of the century, the vast majority of students at Oxbridge came from land-owning and clerical backgrounds, and a large proportion of them channelled by the universities into clerical careers: more than 60 per cent of all Oxford students and 50 per cent of Cambridge graduates went into the clergy. But, at Oxford, for example, the proportion of students coming from clerical homes had declined to 28 per cent in 1870, and further declined to 17 per cent in 1910. (Stone 103) The proportion of the graduates going into orders fell precipitously: at Balliol, nearly half of all Bas in 1845 were ordained, but in the years from 1845-55, only one of three took orders; only one of ten did so in the years of Jowett’s mastership (1870-1893); and one in 25 in the 1890s. (Richter 69). Hence it can be said of both ancient universities in the late-Victorian period that the proportion of students from landed and clerical families went down, the proportion from professional and rich business families increased; and the graduates increasingly chose careers in the secular professions – including academic life.”⁵⁵⁶

In his *Nineteenth Century* article George C. Broderick talks about the students who graduated either at Oxford or Cambridge and were to occupy the most prestigious positions in the running of the empire. He says that “It was Oxford and Cambridge men who originated and shaped the open competitions for the Civil Service of India, and the head masters of the great public schools, all Oxford and Cambridge men, have been consulted at every turn in constructing the scheme of Army examinations.”⁵⁵⁷ Moreover, he goes on to argue that of the last nine Prime Ministers five were educated at Oxford and one at Cambridge. **Secretaries of State, prominent diplomats, commissioners, secretaries and examiners** were selected **from one of the two ancient universities** and the same was true for the key figures of the Press.

As regards the evolution of the reforms, it is worth noting that in the eighteenth century higher education in England found itself in a nadir and only slowly did it start recovering at the

⁵⁵⁶ Heyck, p.183

⁵⁵⁷ Broderick, p. 220

beginning of the new century. But even in the early years of the Wonderful Century knowledge was static, not creative and for a good while hardly anyone dared to question the **monopoly of the liberal education**, which determined and dominated the curriculum in the

ancient universities. It was a gradual and slow process that some theoreticians, like R.L. Edgeworth, the author of *Essays on Professional Education* (1809), **Sir William Hamilton, William Whewell, Edward Copleston, J.S. Mill, John Henry Newman, Herbert Spencer, T.H. Huxley, Mark Pattison and Benjamin Jowett** started investigating the right courses of action, got engaged in the nationwide debate on the function of university education and endeavoured to find the desirable path to pursue.

The main components of the debate were the following:

11. **Liberal education** prevailed throughout the Victorian period but its hegemonic position was increasingly **challenged by the utilitarians** who demanded education to be useful. Those who defended liberal education argued with ennobling effect of the classics and said that `liberality` was associated with moral qualities like openness, generosity of spirit and were essential for the shaping of the gentlemanly ideal, which was held in such a high esteem throughout the era. It was mostly acknowledged that liberal education did not prepare the students for any particular vocation or profession but, through its training of the mind, it did create a kind of mentality which ultimately helped the student to approach and solve problems in almost any field later in his future career no matter what it happens to be.

The utilitarians, on the other hand, rejected this cultivation of the mind for its own sake and denied that knowledge could or should be an intellectual end in itself. They mostly followed Newman`s assertion, who said that if liberal education was good then it was supposed to be useful, too. Consequently it should be only a means to the goal and not an end in itself.⁵⁵⁸

12. From the previous dilemma a second one arose, however similar in nature. In the first half of the century **liberal education** and **professional education** were treated as opposites of each other, as the first one was contented with transmitting **general information** and knowledge and the latter one required **specialized training** from the beginning. Even J.S. Mill said that “a university was not a place of professional education”.⁵⁵⁹ It is true that liberal education could be transmuted into a

⁵⁵⁸ Sanderson, p.122

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid., p.127

professional one, but in the early nineteenth century, this happened only in the case of the Church and the Civil Service. In other cases the tendency was to juxtapose the liberal and the professional careers as opposites. The ancient universities, therefore continued teaching their classical curriculum, which was the same as liberal education and the students who attended them were satisfied as they came from the upper stratum of the society and were rarely in need of a more pragmatic training. For the introduction of specialized and more practical education the authorities founded **the University of London** and later the civic universities, most of which were located in the Midland and the northern regions of the country. Universities like **Durham** or **Manchester** asserted the vocational, professional and technological nature of their education and were suspicious and hostile to the seemingly superfluous and idle studies pursued by the elite at Oxbridge. As Michael Sanderson says: “This **juxtaposition of liberal versus vocational, elite versus middle class** also threw into sharper relief the arts versus science element in the controversy.”⁵⁶⁰ This statement points in the direction of the next problematic point in the debate.

13. **Science and technology** had long been neglected in the curriculum of Oxford and Cambridge as existing scholarship and fellowship funds catered for the traditional subjects. Victorians did not see science opposed to theology or religion, some kind of science consciousness did exist in the form of ‘**natural theology**’, which means that a benevolent deity designed the world for the benefit its highest creation, humanity and this field provided the first impetus for scientific study and even for applied science later. However, the ancient universities simply did not have the equipment and the staff to get seriously engaged in science teaching, what is more, these subjects were associated with serving the interest of the industrial and commercial layer and was stigmatized as instruments for more money-grabbing. The ancient universities knew that they had to build laboratories and even new buildings for them, they had to provide science scholarships and expand their existing libraries and to do all this on the grand scale so as to make science teaching efficient and spectacular. Furthermore, as there was no institutional network or career patterns for scientists for a long time, it took science decades to become part of the Victorian High Culture. It is also true that neither the government, nor Oxbridge was willing to give support to science teaching and, even if certain voluntary organizations did so,

⁵⁶⁰ Sanderson, p.

the general impression was that science teaching was in crisis in England, especially in comparison with the much idealized German system.

These disadvantageous circumstances created further ground for the arguments of those who defended liberal education and slowed down the process of integrating science into the curriculum. The financial considerations also played a serious part as it was common knowledge that the necessary sums could come only from the colleges and led to the creation of a supra-college university, which was against the general tendency to create a balance between the power of the two.

The new civic universities, on the other hand, had no such things to worry about as they were non-collegiate central institutions and their whole existence was largely called into being so as to create places where science and technology teaching could enjoy the freedom it deserved. These establishments were financed by industry and had no vested interest in the liberal arts. Quite the contrary, their main attracting force was **the usefulness of the knowledge** they provided and if someone applied to these kinds of universities, he or she could take it for sure that the knowledge gained here would come in handy in their future practical work.

14. While part of the dilemma was concentrated on what to teach, the other part of the question was **how to do the instruction**, what **form and methods** to choose for sake of greater efficiency. The main competition was going on between putting the emphasis on **teaching** or **research**; or even to cut out either function altogether. If both were to be retained, what should be the healthy balance and ratio between them. Once it came to the teaching function of the university, questions came up about the positive and negative impacts of the professorial or the tutorial system of instruction. And third, it was not clear whether the nation benefitted more from continuing generalism in the long run or perhaps time had come for turning towards specialization in higher education.

As for **teaching versus research**, the traditional teaching function of Oxbridge came increasingly into contrast with the developing and increasingly popular German model of the university, which functioned as a centre of scholarship and research but also retained its teaching role. In England the advocates of the old liberal education, like Whewell, Copleston and Jowett disliked the idea that research should be elevated above teaching and praised the old system, in which the curriculum did not change, the same information was passed on from generation to generation and even had a kind of

timeless quality. The above theoreticians feared that if research enjoyed more prestige and was to gain more ground it would give a chance to people to challenge the old established truth, the solid curriculum and the old feeling of security would vanish, what is more, would be replaced by new uncertainties that no one has the power to alleviate. They disliked the prospective that speculation and constant questioning could undermine the prestige of the system, which had brought a sense of comfort and satisfaction for so many generations before. They also feared that with research new subject areas would arise, which may surpass or push out the classics in the long run. Especially with science teaching demanding more space at the universities, it was clear that the old system could not be maintained in an unreformed state and some curricular changes would be necessary even in Oxford and Cambridge.

As **the teaching function of the university** was likely to remain, only **complemented with compulsory research** on the part of university dons, new patterns in teaching became necessary. As science was gaining ground, the professorial system, which meant auditing lectures for the students rather than consulting their private coach or tutor became widespread. There were counterarguments, though, for example by the Tractarian leader, Pusey, who said that the lecture system worked with passive students only, who could not do more but imitate the ideas of the professor; while the tutorial system strengthened the moral resilience of the students.⁵⁶¹

There was a constant question also whether to create **career patterns for tutors and Fellows** and how to make them interested in pursuing their academic work and how to enable them to earn their living by continuing their intellectual activity. As science was integrated into the curriculum it became obvious that specialization and even team teaching would become necessary. The great initiators of this step were Mark Pattison and Benjamin Jowett.

The third dubious area in the debate was whether to opt for keeping the university curriculum **general** or to move in the direction of **specialization**. It is easy to realize that, by making science-teaching compulsory, a certain degree of specialization became essential or simply could not be avoided. It was also clear that the various kin subjects, such as history, sociology and political studies would relate to each other and their instruction would require specialized knowledge from the instructors. And yet in

⁵⁶¹ Heyck, p. 166

the Oxford and Cambridge of the Victorian era, liberal education remained rather narrow and specialization became rife only at the civic universities, which emerged in the second half of the century.

15. Connection with the Church, the State and Commercial, Industrial Circles:

In spite of the centuries long Church hegemony in higher education, the nineteenth century witnessed a **distinct shift towards secularization**, what is more, the new universities became closely involved in different secular areas of national life. In fact, even Cambridge and Oxford contemplated getting into closer touch with industry, whose rich financial resources were all poured into the development of the newly rising civic universities, while Oxbridge often found itself short of funds.

Naturally the new universities were even more dependent on the sources of the industrial economy and a kind of collaboration and mutual support activity started between the big corporations and higher education, in which industry provided funds and the universities emerged as major suppliers of new industrial technology. Specialized centres were developed where expertise served first the local and later the whole national economy. A lot of branches of industry drew experts from Sheffield, Birmingham, Leeds, Newcastle and Liverpool. Consequently, the formerly typical private character of higher education gradually shifted towards a national, public one and by the end of the century the universities were recognized as utterly secular, national institutions on which the country's economic well-being partly rested and which deserved the attention and the support of the State as well as those of private benefactors.

As far as **the involvement of the State** in the regulation of higher education was concerned, the generally accepted position was that the State might try to control elementary and, to some extent, secondary education and might even attempt to **impose a kind of uniform minimum standard at the universities, but overall it should have no influence on the autonomous operation of the intellectual aristocracy of the nation** and it would be better if it set up its own rules and supervised their maintenance. To convey a sense of this solid conviction, let me quote the words of George Broderick again: "Not only the possession of unique libraries, collections, and architectural treasures, but the sacred memories of 700 years, the

prestige of an influence which has so deeply moulded both English thought and English character, the recent and manifold extension of that influence through new associations with the industrial classes – these are attributes which no revolutionary decree can either destroy or create, and which true statesmanship will know how to cherish, as a regulating force of higher value than ever in a democratic and utilitarian age.”⁵⁶²

Theoreticians with Clashing and Coinciding Views in the Debate on the Future of Higher Education

Different theoreticians, public educators, university dons, social thinkers and even philosophers contributed to the debate on higher education in many different ways, all voicing their own convictions and thus tried to promote the cause of learning on the highest level. The main participants of the debate were **J.H. Newman**, the leader of the High Church Oxford Movement, **Sir William Hamilton**, a Scottish philosopher, who became famous for his 1831 attack on Oxford, **William Whewell**, one of the foremost figures at Cambridge, **Herbert Spencer**, the inventor and advocate of Social Darwinism, philosopher and early sociologist, **John Stuart Mill**, radical social thinker, philosopher - economist, **T.H. Huxley**, a leading scientist, **Mark Pattison**, the Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, **Edward Copleston**, the Provost of Oriel, defender of the liberal educational ideal and **Benjamin Jowett**, a leading university don. It is easy to realize that most of the issues in questions stirred a good deal of controversy from time to time and it was not rare that certain theoreticians agreed in one thing but not in another or they even reevaluated their former convictions. All this was natural and human regarding the complexity of the education question. Still, so as to facilitate the understanding of the nature of the lengthy debate on the ideal state of English higher education and the clashing views that emerged in the course of it, it makes sense to group the above mentioned participants of the harmonization tendency. Although it is possible to group the theoreticians according to their chronological involvement in the debate, I have decided to categorize them on the basis of their standpoint because this serves my thesis better.

⁵⁶² Broderick, p. 223

The two clearly opposing groups were the ones who were mostly **for a conservative approach**, which virtually meant **stagnation** and the maintenance of the status quo, especially when it came to the reformation of the curriculum and those who stood up for drastic reforms and innovation. To the conservative group belonged **Hamilton, Copleston, J.S. Mill, Whewell** and **Pusey**. These people advocated the maintenance of the traditional liberal education with no ambition for usefulness and the applicability of knowledge. They were the ones who refrained from elevating research above tutoring or at least to put it on the same level with teaching. They wanted to keep the tutorial, rather than the professorial system and thought that abstract reasoning was even more important than practical. Of course, their personal views differed slightly, but the overall standpoint was this. In the mid century, **Newman, J.S. Mill** and **Mark Pattison** took their stance as the most stubborn defenders of the traditional liberal education ideal. Sanderson sums up their main ideas with the following statements: "Newman pointed out that great discoveries in chemistry and electricity had not been made in the universities. On the contrary, for him the purpose of universities should be a liberal education which he defined as knowledge `which stands on its own pretensions, which is independent of sequel, expects no complement, refuses to be informed by any end, or absorbed into any art.` For Newman it was to produce a `cultivated intellect, a delicate taste, a candid equitable, dispassionate mind, a noble and courteous bearing` in the individual, while in society at large `it aims at raising the intellectual tone of society, at cultivating the public mind, at purifying the national taste, at supplying true principles to popular enthusiasm and fixed aims to popular aspiration, at giving enlargement and sobriety to the ideas of the age, at facilitating the exercise of political power and refining the intercourse of private life."⁵⁶³ It is worth noting why J.S. Mill belonged to the conservative group. To quote his words through Sanderson again: "There is a tolerably general agreement about what a university is not. It is not a place of professional education. Universities are not intended to teach the knowledge required to fit men for some special mode of gaining a livelihood. Their object is not to make skilful lawyers and physicians and engineers, but capable and cultivated human beings."⁵⁶⁴

What I consider as clearly **progressive** is when some theoreticians, such as **H. Spencer, T.H. Huxley, B. Jowett, Sir H. Roscoe, B. Samuelson** or **Philip Magnus** raised their voices for the acceptance of **practical, utilitarian** and **applicable knowledge**, which can be made use of

⁵⁶³ Michael Sanderson, *The Universities of British Industry 1850- 1970*, London: Kegan&Paul, 1972. p. 4-5.

⁵⁶⁴ J.S. Mill, *Inaugural Address delivered to the University of St. Andrews*, Feb., 1867. London in Sanderson, *The Universities of British Industry*. 1972.

in different areas of life. From the mid-century on the attitude to vocational subjects started changing when the sciences developed a subject matter which was both intellectually testing and practically applicable. Spencer, for example, "claimed that knowledge could be graded in order of importance from that which was conducive to self-preservation down to that which gratifies taste and feelings, a possible hit at Newman's `delicate taste` as the object of

university study. He deplored that there was too much stress on education for pure culture and leisure and that thereby the educational system `neglected the plant for the sake of the flower`."⁵⁶⁵ With the advance of the Civil Service and with the creation of careers in the public service higher education in classics became increasingly a vocational education and thus more acceptable to its former critics. However, the fact that devoted reformers were so few in number definitely slowed the reform tendency down considerably and what was recognized as necessary at an early stage was applied only in the late phase of the century.

The **third group** was made up of those who were somehow **mediating between the two extreme wings** and either advocated **moderate reforms** in various areas, or drastic reforms but only selectively. They may have found a radical reform necessary at one point but in all the other questions remained conservative and old-fashioned. Such were **Pattison, Jowett** and **M. Arnold**, for example. (Let me once again call attention to the fact that the same person may belong to different groups because he may have voiced different views in different periods of his life.)

The flood of criticism of the current university system started with **R.L. Edgeworth**'s *Essays on Professional Education* (1809) with the assertion that the value of education was to be measured by its utility. From the publication, which was clearly an attack on Oxbridge and the purely classical curriculum, it turned out that criticism multiplied on utilitarian grounds and, with the advance of the century, only new viewpoints were added.

In the years 1809-1811 the fundamental issue was **the confrontation of liberal classics and practical vocationalism**. In the 1830s attention of the critics shifted towards mathematics teaching in Cambridge. **William Whewell** strongly advocated the necessity of thorough math teaching at his university because, in his opinion, this was the best way to develop the skill for abstract reasoning, which is of vital importance in almost any field of life. Whewell` ideal was contradicted by **Sir William Hamilton**, author of *On the State of the English Universities*, which was published in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1831. This time he attacked Whewell`s ideal, claiming that it was not only mathematics that could teach abstract reasoning but logic could do so as well and doubted whether this skill was really of so much value in practical affairs. **Copleston** joined the debate of Whewell and Hamilton on the purposes and methods of Oxbridge in the early nineteenth century. What the three men found

⁵⁶⁵ Herbert Spencer, `What Knowledge is of Most Worth?' (1859) in Sanderson, *The Universities of British Industry*. 1972.

general agreement on was that the end of education was not practical training for careers but the cultivation of the intellect. What remained an area of disagreement was how each of them valued the merits of the classics, mathematics and philosophy.

In the 1830s and 1840s the **Oxford Movement**, also called Tractarianism emerged, mainly among the dons of Oriel College, Oxford. The tutors, namely Pusey, Keble, Newman and Froude became the main spokesmen and leaders of the movement, which fiercely asserted the rights of the Anglican Church. Tractarians were clearly against the admission of Dissenters to the ancient universities, rejected State interference in education and secularism. At Cambridge there was a similar movement, the major force of which was the so-called **Cambridge Campden Society** in the 1840s, which proved to be short-lived, however.

The 1850s witnessed the investigation of a Royal Commission, which explored questions like the relations of the colleges and the universities, of tutors and professors and the problems that arose from the lack of balance of power between them.

The main period of the debate was the third quarter of the century, when **decisions** had to be made **about the future of higher education**. This is a period when **most civic universities** came into being or the ones that had already been established exerted a constant challenge on the hitherto omnipotent and glorified ancient universities.

This is also the period when **Newman** stood up for the old liberal education as he obviously felt that so many attacks had been launched at it that it needed defence. In his address given in Dublin he voiced his dislike and disapproval of London University because he thought it was a gathering place for utilitarians and political economists.⁵⁶⁶ Newman was also suspicious of science because he feared the possible social changes its spread might facilitate. He argued that knowledge did not have to be useful, but could be the end of the intellectual activity, as the real end was the creation of the gentleman, the much cherished ideal of the age.

Herbert Spencer did not share Newman's view, according to which learning was an ideal end in itself. His thesis was that we learn so as to acquire knowledge and skills that will help us survive and serve our self-preservation. Consequently, for Spencer vocational and professional training were of prime importance and he also welcomed natural sciences in the

⁵⁶⁶ Sanderson, p.

curriculum, realizing that their teaching was crucial for practical purposes and formed a fundamental part of the general mental cultivation.

The next point in the debate was when **John Stuart Mill** joined the ranks of those who would gladly have banned professional education from the universities. His rather unconvincing argument was that medicine, law or engineering did not belong to the essential studies of the ideal intellectual of the age, but asserted the necessity for the cultivation of the studies of the classical languages instead. His point was that learning them provided stimulation for the mind and imposed a kind of discipline for the 'inquiring intellect'. Mill said that the classical languages were means of learning to think and speculate and this he considered as the main task of the university.⁵⁶⁷ Consequently, when it came to choosing between the arts and sciences, he naturally voted for the first and never the latter, although he tended to acknowledge a certain degree of their necessity, too.

T.H. Huxley attributed more significance to science teaching at the universities and even urged their integration into the curriculum. **Mark Pattison**, the Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford shared Mill's ideal of the university when asserted its liberal-educational role and rejected professional training but did join Huxley's viewpoint as far as favouring sciences was concerned. As Michael Sanderson says: "Indeed he called for the spending of university endowments for this purpose, though not for the benefit of the money-making professional man but for the 'professed student' who must study all knowledge and its interrelationships, within which science plays a part."⁵⁶⁸

I should point at the fluctuation of **Pattison** in certain crucial issues before getting on to the next point. In religion, for instance, he started as an evangelical, continued as a Tractarian and ended up as an agnostic. As far as professional education was concerned, in 1868 Pattison spoke about the dual function of the university, namely that it should provide both specialized knowledge for professions and general or human education. He increasingly rejected the sham of the old liberal curriculum at Oxbridge and welcomed the shift to specialized studies in which science-teaching also played a vital part. Therefore, Pattison acted as a chief reformer of Oxford education and concluded that the university should be a place of scholarship, learning and original research.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., p.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 118

The advocates of research gathered around **the Association for the Organization of Academic Study** and from 1869 around the journal *The Academy*, which was edited by Charles Appleton of St. John's College, Oxford - both enterprises backed by Pattison.⁵⁶⁹

Benjamin Jowett stepped into the arena of the debate as the main rival of Pattison as he rejected the idea that research belonged to the key functions of the university as teaching and education did. So the fundamental difference between him and Pattison lay in the questions of university politics. The main question to be settled was whether the university should be a place of truly high level academic achievement (Pattison's dream) or should become a simple super public school (Jowett's ideal).

The question of integrating science into the curriculum remained a much debated point till the end of the Victorian era. Huxley asserted that science should be a fundamental part of liberal education. Whewell supported mathematics teaching as he regarded it as the core of the traditional system but failed to include the natural sciences. Mill and Pattison accepted science teaching but either subordinated it to the classics or regarded it as exercising other mental functions. By the 1880s Huxley's support for science-teaching seemed to have gained the upper hand over the concept of the others and it was increasingly accepted that a literary education alone was not sufficient for the attainment of culture and one could no longer be regarded as a many-sided, thoroughly cultured person without a fair understanding of the operation of natural laws.

Matthew Arnold, 'the chief apostle of culture' naturally had to contribute to the debate. He had the reputation for supporting the acceptance of science in the curriculum, following the increasingly adopted German model. Much as he did for the popularization of science-teaching, he maintained that it was not the kind of knowledge which shaped one's aesthetic or moral sense and this way did not serve the edification of the human nature directly.⁵⁷⁰ From this it is easy to realize that while Matthew Arnold recognized the pressure of his own time for the fuller acceptance of science as a fundamental part of human existence, he felt obliged to stand up for the old liberal education system and preserved his emotional commitment to the traditional mode of operation in Oxford.

⁵⁶⁹ Diderik Roll-Hansen, *The Academy, 1869-1879, in Victorian Intellectuals in Revolt*, Copenhagen, 1957.

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

As a **conclusion of the debate** on higher education, it is correct to state that the desire of Huxley, Spencer, Mill, Pattison and Arnold was fulfilled when **science was finally integrated into the university curriculum** and Pattison's ideal came true when, by the end of the century, **the university had become a place of scholarship and learning** and no one questioned the dual function any more. The losers of the debate were mostly Mill and Newman, because it was them who most stubbornly resisted the idea that the universities

should prepare students for the professions, which obviously became an elementary requirement of the age. In Sanderson's words: "In the 1890s and 1900s the rise of the large company and also the rapid revival of business activity were powerful forces drawing the graduate into the firm while the overcrowding of the professions created a surplus more willing to consider this relatively new graduate career. Finally, financial difficulties and a feeling of isolation pushed universities not hitherto involved with industry more in that direction as a condition of vitality if not survival."⁵⁷¹ By the end of the period it was increasingly taken for granted that higher education fulfilled **a multitude of functions** and even became **a major channel for social advancement and promotion**.

So what was **the ideal university** like in the late Victorian age?

According to the article of T.H. Huxley published in the *Contemporary Review* in 1874, the ideal university is a place where "a man should be able to obtain instruction in all forms of knowledge, and discipline in the use of all the methods by which knowledge is obtained. In such a University, the force of living example should fire the student with a noble ambition to emulate the learning of learned men, and to follow in the footsteps of the explorers of new fields of knowledge."⁵⁷² Huxley also spoke about the moral content valuable knowledge is capable of conveying and hurried to add that the ideal form of education was not exempt from a certain kind of aesthetic element either. In his words: "in the mass of mankind, the aesthetic faculty, like the reasoning power and the moral sense, needs to be roused, directed and cultivated; and I know not why the development of that side of his nature, through which man has access to a perennial spring of ennobling pleasure, should be omitted from any comprehensive scheme of University education."⁵⁷³

THE RESULTS OF THE REFORMS

The reforms of higher education denoted a number of things, but mainly the fact that the shortcomings of the prevailing system were increasingly recognized throughout the period. The words and the warnings of the main educationalists, theoreticians were more and more heeded and remedies were consciously sought to overcome the difficulties. The reforms came

⁵⁷¹ Sanderson, *The Universities of British Industry 1850-1914*, p.30.

⁵⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 665.

in various phases and the whole movement mainly meant the process which we today call **the University Extension Movement** and **the University Settlement Movement**. The university extension process was started by James Stuart from Cambridge in the late 1860s and early 1870s and it meant that working class boys were also given access to higher education, although it mainly meant entrance into one of the newly established civic universities in the provinces. According to the new scheme, tutors and professors went from Oxbridge to give lectures at the provincial universities, most characteristically in Sheffield, Nottingham and Reading.

The Settlement Movement served as a kind of supplementary step to the **Extension Movement**. The basic idea here was that the universities set up missions in the poorer districts of their own cities or in London where college men could live with the most needy. So practically both movements served the purpose of bringing higher education within reach of the labouring classes but it also affected the cause of emancipation in a beneficial way. By the last third of the century it became clear that owing to the drastic increase in the number of women on the national scale that is, the fact that women started outnumbering men, their chances for marriage diminished markedly. Consequently, it became an acknowledged necessity on the part of the state to offer an alternative way for them to make ends meet, and the solution was to be found in better educational opportunities for women, including higher education.

From the above observation it can be realized that reforms became necessary on different grounds and came in different phases, each fulfilling their own special function in the modernization process.

According to Michael Sanderson, **the first phase of reformation** took place between **1845 – 1870** when the investigation of the Royal Commission of the 1850s was more or less complete and the first organized attempts were made to find remedy for the shortcomings of the existing system. As Sanderson himself says: “The defects of the college tutors as well as the need to widen the curriculum and take professional education more seriously prompted the commissioners to stress the importance of the professors. For a group of Oxford reformer led by **H.H. Vaughan** this was almost the main issue. They wished to see the creation of a body of professors as in German universities, providing an ample range of teaching and also

engaging in research.”⁵⁷⁴ Among the things the commissioners urged one can find the wish that there should be more non-celibate professors to manage a broadened curriculum and they also demanded that more senior posts should be provided for Fellows to encourage them to remain in teaching at the universities. As a response to the Commissioners’ demand, more professorships were created in the given period and a number of specialized faculties enjoyed support, eg. the chairs of Chemistry, Mineralogy, or Physical Geography were called into existence. During this first phase of the Reform Movement the power struggle between the colleges and the universities developed somewhat in favour of the latter, in contrast with former tendencies. A new development was that Dissenters were gradually accepted in Cambridge and from the mid-1850s on Oxford also admitted Dissenters among its students, an unprecedented thing earlier. From these years on Dissenters were allowed to matriculate, hold scholarships and even to graduate but they could not be elected to fellowships until 1871. In this period one could observe growing social consciousness and an enhanced sense of responsibility towards the world outside the walls of the university but this growth of respect was a mutual, bilateral thing, because society also started acknowledging the academic worth of the universities and was even willing to support them.

At the same time Oxford and Cambridge became increasingly involved in schools examinations as the middle-class secondary schools badly needed uniform standards while preparing their pupils for higher education. The collaboration proved to be fruitful both for the secondary schools and the universities. The latter gave scholarships and impartiality to pupils and, while doing so, they gained an insight into their future clientele. So the schools examinations were mostly responsible for the fact that more and more students felt like continuing their studies after grammar school and the reputation of Oxbridge improved in the public school circles after 1870. However, there is no doubt that the majority of the parents still did not send their children to universities for the academic merits of the institution but rather to give their children a chance to mix with their social equals and to make connections as well as to prevent them from sinking into idleness.

As far as the status of the university was concerned, in the years between 1845 and 1870, it was mainly the name of Professor **Sir Henry Roscoe** which deserves attention. Owing to his activities the early languid civic colleges, which were merely the feeble imitations of Oxbridge, gradually were replaced by the powerful, regionally supported and technology-

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., 76-77.

oriented colleges that emerged in the last third of the century. It was especially **the University of London** which changed into an examining and degree-giving institution, open to all candidates in these reform years. It goes without saying that this development facilitated the closer involvement of the universities with professional bodies and in the 1850s and 1860s it became clear that the colleges created closer ties with the professions of medicine, law, engineering and the Civil Service.

A major step forward was the development of medical science, which became manifest in the **Select Committee on Medical Registration** in 1847, which paved the way to the Medical Act of 1858. This act called the **General Medical Council** into being, which was entitled to control qualifications and meant protection for registered doctors against quacks. Similar to the development of medical studies, there were improvements in the field of law as well. On the basis of the **Examination Statute of 1850** the **School of Law and Modern History** was established at Oxford and Law became a separate specialized school in 1872. Engineering was the third area where major development occurred. In 1865 engineering also became a degree subject at Cambridge and the instruction became increasingly scientific.

Last but not least, there were growing concerns in the mid-century about the quality of the training of those who worked in the Civil Service or occupied important posts in the State or the Government. Up to this point, it had not really been questioned or called into doubt whether the old, traditional patronage system was the adequate basis for the selection of those who were supposed to run the empire. But by the given period it was increasingly thought that selection on the basis of healthy competition and merit would serve everyone's interests better but, even in spite of this realization, patronage was never be eliminated entirely.

The second phase of the reforms came between the 1850s and the 1870s and the effects lasted until the end of the Victorian era. The major reforms that took place in this period started when the Commission of 1850 was appointed by Lord John Russell's Government and the university authorities started to set their house in order in Oxford, what is more, they created great changes in the examination system. The report of the commission urged largescale reforms and these were subsequently embodied in the Act of Parliament in 1854. Before the reforms sanctioned here could fully get into force, another Commission was issued in 1872 to inquire into the financial resources of Oxford University and the Colleges. The

Parliament intervened and abolished the University Tests, which meant the end of religious discrimination at the prestigious universities. In 1877 again a new Commission effected a sweeping confiscation of college revenues for university purposes and remodelled the whole academical system in important respects. For example, the power of self-government diminished in the colleges and the university became endowed with a representative constitution and thus could become more innovative in its methods.⁵⁷⁵

The heads of the colleges could no longer monopolize the administration of the university but the largest share of the teaching continued to be carried on by college tutors. Furthermore, it was increasingly realized that **specialism and the subdivision of labour** were highly desirable and became a major principle in the teaching at Oxford.

A hitherto never experienced opening up was experienced in this period and the loss of the semi-monastic appearance also date back to these years. Oxford started receiving a steady inflow of visitors from London and elsewhere, the tutors and professors were no longer expected to remain unmarried and even balls and parties were not rare in the **more secular, mundane** world of Oxford. More freedom was experienced in clothing and leisure pursuits and much more toleration towards the presence of women in a world which had so long been dominated by men only.

As for the social background of the students, it was observed that **the university became much less aristocratic** than in the early part of the century and the new elements which nearly doubled the number of undergraduates were mostly drawn from the middle and lower-middle classes. As George C. Broderick observed in his article: "Upon the whole, it may be said with confidence that Oxford undergraduates, as a class, are more virtuous, better conducted, and better informed than their predecessors in the reign of George the Third, though it must be added in justice that they get their virtue and knowledge on easier terms."

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Speaking about the developments in Oxford, one should emphasize the influence the elite university exerted on **the strengthening of the national unity** in the decades in question. Through the common basis of the training, the increasing commonness of the ideas, through the sharing of moral sentiments and the similar attitude to culture, the University rendered its

⁵⁷⁵ 'Thoughts on English University Reform' in Macmillan's Magazine, Vol.XLV. Nov.-April, 1881-82. pp.125-134.

⁵⁷⁶ Broderick, p. 215.

services to national unity and the elevation of the national character played an ever growing role in academic spheres. It was widely acknowledged that the old institutions and traditions of the Colleges could infuse a healthy and loyal spirit into the oncoming generations and, by

doing so, they could fulfil a patriotic function, which was increasingly important in the prewar decades.

Cambridge also experienced radical reforms in the 1850s, 1860s and beyond. According to experts the changes were carried out in three distinct phases. In the first, the University stood alone and the colleges became essential elements of the University. The masters, the fellows and the scholars of a college were for centuries a body of monastic students who enjoyed the advantages and assisted in the work of the university, but they were bound by conditions of celibacy and, to some extent, of poverty. They were even required to take Holy Orders in due course. They received small amounts of stipend and were students themselves, rather than teachers. Gradually it became routine to receive and instruct students from outside, who did not actually live in Halls and it became the rule for every undergraduate who matriculated in the University to enter at one or other of the colleges, for the sake of the instruction and discipline that they could obtain there. This was already the second stage of the development when **the colleges and the university were more or less associated on equal terms**, or we could say, that the university came to be regarded as an associated part of a common institution with the colleges, rather than an independent and self-sustaining body. The granting of degrees remained its exclusive right and the examinations were conducted by its officers. The professors still read lectures but they increasingly found rivals in college tutors and later in private tutors. The university officials became mostly members of the College Foundations and felt the college tie closer than the one that bound them to the university.

The third stage of progress developed quite spontaneously and resulted in **the college predominance over a rather subordinate university**, at least in Cambridge. As time went on, the college revenues grew separate and owing to wealthy benefactors, after covering the basic needs, usually there remained a vast surplus of income without specific appropriation in the hands of the colleges. Soon the distribution of negligible amounts of money became a practice among Fellows, who started competing for these sums and the university examinations were only regarded as stepping stones to college advancement. As a result of this, the college became the dominating power and the university proper remained a mere adjunct of the collegiate system.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁷ 'Modern Ideas of Education' by William Hill in the Contemporary Review, Vol. LXX. July-December, 1896. pp.568-581.

By the period in question the opinions differed on the question whether it was desirable or feasible to restore to the university a portion of the vitality which it had lost for lack of sustenance. The controversy was brought to a definite point in 1850 when the above mentioned Royal Commission was formed to inquire into the state, discipline, studies and revenues of Cambridge University and the same in the colleges. The Commissioners' Report, also called the *Report of the Peacock Commission*, named after George Peacock, Dean of Ely, marked the fourth stage in the development of Cambridge. Although the functions of the Commission of 1850 were purely consultative, without any executive power, the Report marked a new epoch in university politics and prepared the ground for the **Universities Act of 1877.**⁵⁷⁸

First of all, it called attention to the defects of college instruction and to the lack of funds to pay a sufficient staff. One recommendation of the Commission was the grouping together of the smaller colleges for educational purposes, which led to the establishing of the useful system of intercollegiate lectures and also solved the problem of the effective classification of the students, which the university leadership found more and more necessary.

In fact, Dr. Peacock's whole scheme of reform was gradually accepted in one particular after the other, with the sole exception of the financial proposals. The recommendations of the Commission as to the subject of college contributions were not favourably received and most of the colleges refused to give even a certain percentage of their income over to the university, and this fact inevitably affected all the other proposals in a negative way. Consequently, the university had to budget with its narrow resources to raise the incomes of the poorer professorships to 500 pounds a year, which was still not a big sum. But the colleges at least accepted the idea of combining together for educational purposes and the system of inter-collegiate lectureships was launched successfully.

However, the overall evaluation of the achievements of Dr. Peacock's Commission is rather controversial. The main failure is seen in the fact that with all the proposals considered and some of them realized, the professorial system remained an ornamental adjunct and it could scarcely be said that it supplied an efficient teaching power in the University. The main lesson of the failed reforms was that the university was powerless without financial help and the task to put new spirit into the old institution proved to be a much harder task than previously hoped.

⁵⁷⁸ T.L.Humberstone, *University Reform in London*, London, 1926. p.96.

The **Universities Act of 1877** also contained important plans for reform. The new University statutes aimed at facilitating the transition from the old regime to the future. The proposals were directed mainly to three ends:

7. the increase of the university staff of teachers
8. its organization in three grades under a central control
9. the supply of funds to effect these purposes

The first head meant that the addition to the staff would offer to scientists **a definite career** with regular promotion, and it was hoped that this would stop the waste of zeal and talent from which the University had suffered for a long time.

According to the second head, **the teachers** were to be **classified into three grades** – professors, readers and lecturers and a central body would be put in charge of the administrative apparatus. The efficiency of work would be guaranteed by the classification of students and division of labour among the staff members.

Under the third head, **the University would ultimately be enriched from college resources** by 30.000 pounds a year, partly in the form of money contributions, partly in fellowships attached to most of the professorships as an increase to their endowment.

There were other Royal Commissions towards the end of the century, all of which contributed to the improvement of the existing old system and added new elements to it. In fact, the task of these commissions was to establish the patterns for the organization and the functions of the ancient universities amid the changing social and economic conditions of the era. The main tendency was to get closer to the German professorial model while the two old universities retained their colleges and the tradition to educate their students in the liberal arts for public service. In both old and new universities, the teachers won for themselves secular careers as educators and specialized researchers. This practically corresponded to the professionalization of the academic staff.

The Royal Commission of 1878 advocated the need for more specialized studies, mainly in the field of science. In 1889 another **Act of Parliament** called for a new commission who were to carry out the former suggestions of the Royal Commission. Their task was to draw up ordinances for each of the universities. These integrated a wide range of science subjects into

the old arts degree, made it easier to graduate in specialist honours and called science faculties into being in the big cities of Scotland. The commissioners also introduced matriculation exams at the Scottish universities and in general brought Scottish higher education closer to the English concept.

In spite of the great steps forward, many of the **inadequacies** remained.

In the last two decades of the century there was more and more concern around the economic situation of Britain. Experts observed symptoms of decline in the industrial output of the country, especially in certain branches and part of the explanation was sought in the system of higher education. If we examine the following critical observations, it will be easy to realize that the main ground for criticism still was **the unpractical, non-utilitarian nature of the subjects** taught and the small number of students involved in higher education in comparison with other nations in the world. William Garnett in "*The Contemporary Review*" said the following in 1887: "It is the almost complete separation of our universities, our training colleges, and public schools, from the world of commerce and manufacture that constitutes one of the weakest points in our educational system, and makes it so difficult for our schools and colleges to provide the kind of education which the artisan, the manufacturer, or the merchant considers most valuable. The language of the schools is different from that of real life, and our textbooks, and too often our tools drawn from the workshop instead of introducing all sorts of imaginary and impossible combinations which lead the artisan mind to suppose what the science taught exists only on paper, and has no practical bearings?"⁵⁷⁹

It is interesting to see some observations that made comparisons with other countries: "What is the lesson we have learnt from the band of educational experts who, last year, published the results of their visit to the United States? Was it not this - that the American people believe in education? It is true they found greater facilities for university and higher technical instruction, and that secondary education was more general and better organized; but almost with one voice they told us that our real inferiority lay in the fact, that the citizens of the United States had more width in the possibilities of education than we have, that their whole heart was in their work as ours has never yet been. This belief, this ardour of faith in the efficiency of

⁵⁷⁹ 'University Education for the People' by William Garnett in the *Contemporary Review*, Vol. LII. 1887. pp.652-653.

training, that the Germans and Swiss - and we may now say the Japanese, too - owe largely the measure of success which has crowned their efforts."⁵⁸⁰

Another comparison by the same author: "In the German Empire there are twenty separate universities, in addition to eleven technical high-schools, besides schools of forestry and other institutions of university rank. These schools are attended by nearly 45.000 day students. In England and Wales the number of day students in attendance at the medical schools, does not exceed 13.000; and comparing the entire population of Germany with that of England, it would seem that the proportion of male students in Germany receiving university education is about twice as large as in England."⁵⁸¹

The **British Association Report** issued in **1894**, also pointed at **the backwardness in technical education and the deficiencies in commercial education** and said that these could seriously endanger British economic success in the ever growing competition with the other European powers. (Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1894, pp.365-91).

However, the most bitter criticism came from Eric Hobsbawm, who criticized both the English public school and higher education for their harmful effect on the country's economy. He said: "There is no reason why British technical and scientific education should have remained negligible, in a period when a wealth of rich amateur scientists and privately endowed research laboratories or practical experience in production clearly no longer compensated for virtual absence of university education and the feebleness of formal technological training. There was no compelling reason why Britain in 1913 had only 9000 university students compared to almost 60.000 in Germany, or only five day students per 10.000 (1900) compared to almost 13 in the USA; why Germany produced 3000 graduate engineers per year while in England and Wales only 350 graduated in all branches of science, technology and mathematics with first- and second - class honours, and few of these were qualified for research. There were plenty of people throughout the nineteenth century to warn the country of the dangers of its educational backwardness; there was no shortage of funds, and certainly no lack of suitable candidates for technical and higher training."⁵⁸²

⁵⁸⁰ Sir Philip Magnus, *Educational Aims and Efforts (1880-1910)*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1910. pp. 218-219.

⁵⁸¹ *Ibid.* p.234.

⁵⁸² Eric Hobsbawm. *Industry and Empire: The Birth of the Industrial Revolution*. rev.ed. New York: New Press, 1999. p.160.

After confronting the criticism, it was widely hoped that specialization at the universities would enhance the industrial achievement and the emphasis on science and technology became a generally accepted attitude by the closing years of Victoria's reign. By the 1890s more attention was paid to economics and commercial education in general than ever before. **The University of London** was to be given more influence, was encouraged to break away from the old traditions and to adapt itself to coming needs. (Although **the University of London** had existed since 1836, first it worked only as a teaching institution but gradually it was turned into an examining body, as well and then from 1858 on it became a university entirely devoted to examining other institutions. In the 1880s and 1890s there was again growing need for a teaching university in London and the examining role was given over to **Victoria University** and **Durham**. After much debate the University of London once again became a teaching as well as an examining institution and the colleges became its constituent parts. Within a few years, the civic university colleges, which used to belong under the supervision of London University before, became independent by obtaining charters of their own and became entitled to give examinations and grant degrees.) Apart from the modern universities the idea was that the old universities should provide knowledge which was applicable to the practice of theology, medicine and law so that the new university would be able to expand in all directions of science and liberalize all professional careers. This way the interests of the Empire could be served to the utmost.

Among **the new tendencies** we can point at the fact that need for more **highly educated management** was increasingly recognized and the development of accountancy created new non-scientific expertise in economy. The **London School of Economics** opened its gates in 1895 and it was closely followed by the creation of the **Faculty of Commerce** in Birmingham in 1902. So as to overcome the losses caused by the Agricultural Depression, agricultural studies became part of the university studies at **Reading University**. According to Magnus, the advance of university education was most marked in the engineering faculty because the application to industrial purposes of new chemical discoveries was largely the work of the engineer.⁵⁸³

By the 1890s the universities made great progress in teaching the routine technologies of various industries, such as coal mining, ship building, engineering and great developments could be observed in physics and in electrical science. The work and experiments conducted

⁵⁸³ Magnus. p.240.

in **the Cavendish Laboratory** in Cambridge became world famous and in 1894 Sir Joseph Thomson began the so-called Cavendish tradition of atomic studies, which gave a great impetus to British physics in the twentieth century.⁵⁸⁴

From the above mentioned tendencies one can see that in the closing years of the century Britain made giant steps **in the direction of becoming a scientific nation** but the great dream of scientists to push their own field into the number one place failed. As Heyck says: “Educated people in 1900 accepted that science would provide the best understanding of the world and of a wide range of a wide range of human experience, but they did not have access to the latest scientific knowledge themselves. They had to accept that the scientists possessed the knowledge. The efforts of the scientists to elevate themselves professionally grew out of a sense of community among the scientists and that effort propagated an image of the community for the general public. One aspect of the public image was the desire by scientists to isolate themselves from the economic and social demands of the public – the opting for endowment rather than for support by the market place. To the extent that this condition of separateness rubbed off on other producers of ideas, they too would become part of an isolate stratum of society.”⁵⁸⁵

Finally, what Garnett says in *the Contemporary Review* in 1887 gives the most complete summary of the desirable new direction in Victorian higher education: “In conclusion, it cannot be too strongly enforced that it is the special feature of university training to provide education as distinguished from mere information. Those who desire that students should simply be taught facts and methods, who wish to make the college a mere technical school even in its departments of pure science, will be able to find sufficiently good teachers without drawing on the resources of the universities. It is indeed seldom that the university man is an encyclopedia of facts and figures; rather, he is one who has thought deeply on his special branch of study and made it his own from its very foundations. He has acquired the truly scientific spirit, and regards all things from the standpoint thus gained. It is the raising of the student to the same platform as the teacher, the placing him in a position to acquire further knowledge by himself in the best possible way - in fact, nothing short of his intellectual

⁵⁸⁴ Roy M. Macleod. 'Resources of Science in Victorian England: The Endowment of the Science Movement, 1868-1900' in *Science and Society, 1600-1900* ed. by Peter Mathias, Cambridge, 1972.

⁵⁸⁵ Heyck, pp. 114-115

regeneration - that constitutes the essential characteristic of university teaching, and, if this is absent, call the institution what you will, but not a university college.’⁵⁸⁶

Higher Education for Women

For a long time it was doubtful whether a homeloving girl, with promising prospects for a good match should go to secondary school, let alone a boarding institution, which kept her away from home for years. Little wonder then that the necessity of opening up universities and colleges for women was an even more controversial issue and took women headmasters and progressive minded male educationalists a lot of efforts to push the reforms through the schools themselves and through legislation in Parliament. The core of the contradiction was that, on the one hand, it was desirable that middle-class women should obtain a certain degree of classical knowledge besides the accomplishments so as to prove a satisfactory partner for their future husbands. On the other hand, it was argued that a really well informed, knowledgeable woman was in contrast with the feminine ideal of the Victorian age. Consequently, it was rather difficult to find the optimal balance between keeping women in relative ignorance of world affairs and thus keeping them in their traditional role and teaching them, and by doing so, enabling them to become independent and earn their own living, which was in sharp contrast with the traditional concept of womanhood.

The debate was more or less settled owing to the ardent efforts of the famous schoolmistresses, like **Emily Davies** or **Dorothea Beale**, and finally it was accepted that education opportunities should be granted for middle class girls outside the home. Therefore, in the second half of the century an ever growing number of young ladies started attending either the private schools or the public schools established for them and which were more or less the equivalents of boys' schools. Once this was accomplished and became a generally accepted routine, educationalists and social reformers could start racking their brains how initiate the extension of higher education for the sake of women.

Up to the 1860s the prevailing concept was (in fact, it originated from **Dorothea Beale of Cheltenham Ladies' College**) that “ if woman has been endowed with mental and moral capacities, it was intended that these should be cultivated and improved for the glory of the

⁵⁸⁶ ‘*Universal Education for the People*’ by William Garnett in the *Contemporary Review*, Vol. LII. July-December, 1887 p.657.

Creator and the relief of man`s estate.”⁵⁸⁷ The ideal also meant that femininity was expressed through the activities of wives and mothers and education actually enhanced their achievements in the home, therefore intellectual education became accepted as a fundamental and essential component of true femininity. However, by the second half of the century **the emerging women`s movement started challenging this rather old-fashioned and still discriminative ideal** and brought up the question of **women`s integration into the male-dominated labour market**. It was clear that, if women wanted to hold the same jobs like men, more precisely, if they wanted to become doctors, lawyers, accountants, civil servants etc. they needed the same kind of qualification and the same degrees from universities. The great pioneer of female education, **Emily Davies of Girton College**, thought that if women were to pursue the standard upper-middle class careers, like the above mentioned ones, they had to be admitted to higher education and so as to fit them for the university training, they had to learn the same secondary curriculum as boys did. Most of her efforts were devoted to extending university education for women but it was far from being a smooth process. Her main achievement was that she set up a committee whose task was to gain acceptance for girls into the so-called ‘**local examinations**’ for boys run by **Cambridge University**. In due course **Oxford** and **Durham** followed suit and the practice was soon adopted to prepare girls for these tests by using the same syllabuses that were used for boys. First, the female colleges had no ties with the universities, although a kind of collaboration existed between the college and the university staff in teaching courses. It was not rare that the instructors of the male universities were ‘borrowed’ by the female colleges so as to fill gaps in the occasionally lacking qualification of the staff there or simply to increase the standard of the education. Only gradually and owing to the continual self-sacrificing work of the leadership of the female institutions did the universities open their research facilities and did they extend their own examination system to women students. A great step forward was when ladies were admitted to the degrees of **the University of London in 1878** and later to all the other degree courses, except the medical school of **Victoria University in 1884**. **Oxbridge** reacted to the changes most slowly, since by the end of the century women had been admitted to the honours degree examinations everywhere but at the ancient universities.

The 1870s continued with the increasing acceptance of some talented women going to universities to audit lectures there but still without getting a degree. The difficulty was caused by the fact that women were still supposed to live up to two distinct ideals at the same time.

⁵⁸⁷ Maurice p.74.

On the one hand, they studied according to the male syllabus, but, on the other hand, there were still worries about their losing their femininity through growing emancipation.

It was in 1874 that the first women students were admitted, informally, to a **Tripes Examination**, (high level exam in the classics) and during the following six years thirty three more were examined in the same informal way and obtained honours. As it turns out from an article published in the *Nineteenth Century Review* in 1887: “Their success, (meaning students at **Newham College**) and of the Girton students, resulted in 1881 in the passing by the University of certain Graces which gave to women the right of admission to the Tripes Examinations after keeping the same number of terms at Newham or Girton as is required of men at their colleges, and after passing either the Previous Examination or certain groups in the Higher Local Examination.”⁵⁸⁸

As far as the granting of degrees was concerned, it was first the **University of London** which conferred degrees upon the women students, to whom a certificate was awarded which stated the place obtained in the Tripes. They could obtain honours in mathematics, classics, natural science, moral science, history and medieval and modern languages in the 1880s. However, **getting a certificate remained difficult and troublesome for a long time**. As an example we could mention the official recognition of medical women, which clearly illustrates the complex and controversial nature of the professionalization of women, even when their qualification left nothing to be desired. For example, in 1877 an article written by James Stansfeld for *The Nineteenth Century Review* gave a lengthy description of the ardent battle a female medical student, a certain Miss Jex-Blake, had to fight with the authorities to be granted the right to undergo the same examination procedure as men and to obtain the necessary qualification for her to become a registered doctor. The following passage gives the readers a good sense of the oddity of the situation. “The Medical Council met on the 24th of June. The discussion lasted three days; it was able, exhaustive, and full of the evidences of a marked faculty of debate; and it ended by the adoption of a report to the Privy Council that ‘the Medical Council are of opinion that the study and practice of medicine and surgery, instead of affording a field of exertion well fitted for women, do, on the contrary, present special difficulties which cannot be safely disregarded; *but the Council are not prepared to say that women ought to be excluded from the profession.*’”⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid., (Knatchbull-Hugessen 845)

⁵⁸⁹ ‘Medical Women’ by H.M. Stanley, in *The Nineteenth Century*, Vol. XXII./1. July, 1877. p.893.

It was also widely discussed in the press in the decades in question what kind of reforms were mostly needed, once the authorities and the public had been convinced that some **reforms were definitely essential** to make the newly emerging extended system as efficient as possible. As the author of the article '*Girls' Schools, Past and Present*' says (a schoolmistress of Cheltenham herself in the 1860s) she had to be tentative and careful with introducing reforms in different areas of life. She agreed with the idea that it was good for

girls to learn more or less the same subjects that boys did but not exactly the same way. Her idea was that the education of both sexes ought to run on parallel lines and a wide curriculum was of greater importance to women than for men. She regretted the great degree of specialization which the system of her days preferred for both men and women. However, as it turns out from the article, she wished to add science and geometry teaching to the existing modern language courses. She herself taught physical geography and the school received lectures from a distinguished geologist. When it came to teaching history, she insisted on picking out a short period and going into it thoroughly, instead of the former practice of zooming through the material. She thought that teaching one or two periods in depth and illuminating different aspects of it was more beneficial and thought provoking than sheer cramming for details. Hostile as she may have been to growing specialization at schools, she realized that it was the general tendency to invite specialists and lecturers from outside, who gradually became responsible for the various branches and this enhanced the quality of the teaching. During the years of her leadership, testing became regular at the college, for the simple reason that it was good for both the girls and the teachers to get some feedback and these noncompetitive tests prepared the girls for a rapid review and gave to the previous teaching definiteness and coherency. She did a lot to change the atmosphere, living and learning conditions at Cheltenham and the success encouraged other colleges to follow suit.

Among the most spectacular reforms one could mention the initiation of the **first mixed university**, about which *the Macmillan Magazine* gave the following report in 1887: "Our university has now granted to women the opportunity of trying an education on the same lines as men, but in refusing to admit them to membership, it has distinctly refused to pledge itself to an expression of opinion that such education is for them the highest. They are still free to use our system or such parts of it as they may approve; but we have a right to ask that women as a body, and not merely that section represented by the present agitation, shall decide without dictation from us, what shall be the lines of female culture; and as they have proved their equality on the narrower examination ground, that they shall show a like ability to direct the course of woman`s education in the future with especial reference to her abilities and needs."⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁹⁰ `A Mixed University` by H.R. Tottenham in *Macmillan Magazine*, Vol.LVII. Nov.-Apr. 1887-88. p.464.

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