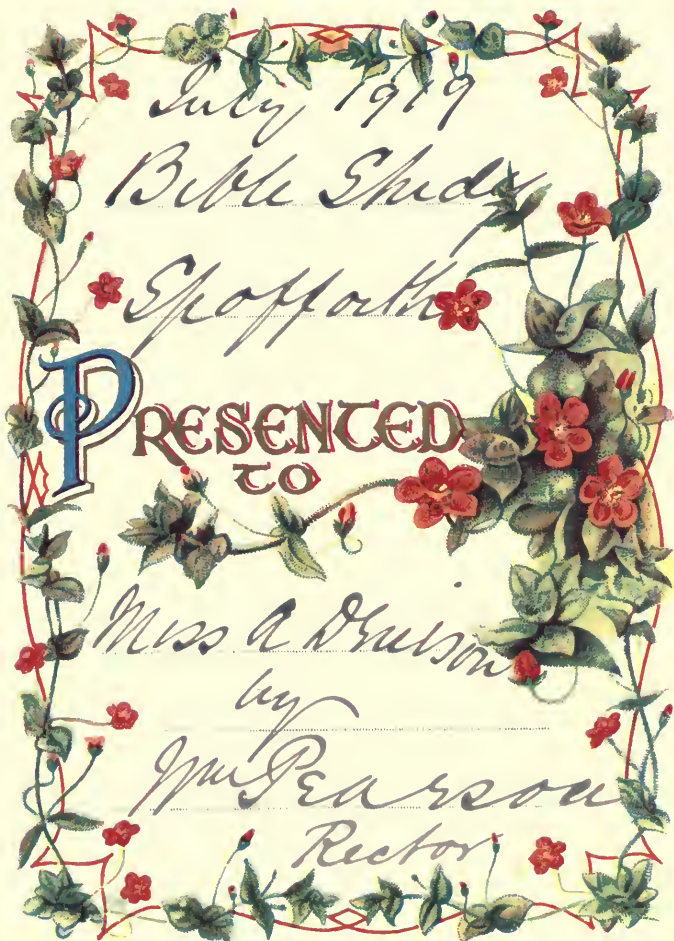


SIX GREAT SCHOOLMASTERS

HAWTREY · MOBERLY · KENNEDY
· VAUGHAN · TEMPLE ·
BRADLEY ·



SIX GREAT SCHOOLMASTERS



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"IN AND OUT OF SCHOOL"

SIX GREAT SCHOOLMASTERS

HAWTREY · MOBERLY · KENNEDY

VAUGHAN · TEMPLE

BRADLEY

BY

F. D. HOW

11

WITH THIRTEEN ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

IN choosing the Six Headmasters who form the subjects of this book, I was guided chiefly by two considerations: first, that they should have occupied their headmasterships during some part at least of the thirty years between 1835 and 1865; secondly, that they should not have already formed the subjects of any considerable biography. This latter consideration will explain the omission of such names as those of Arnold and Thring. I ought to state that the one exception is Dr. Hawtrey, whose biography, written by the Rev. F. St. J. Thackeray, was most kindly put at my disposal by the author.

I wish also to express my indebtedness to the help given me by a large number of persons whose names are too numerous to mention, but I would especially name Mrs. H. G. Woods, Miss Florence M. Hawtrey, Miss Kennedy, Miss Moberly, the Dean of Lincoln, the Dean of St. Albans, the Dean of Westminster, the Headmasters of Rugby and Shrewsbury, Doctors Gifford and Calvert, and Messrs. Bramston, C. B. Phillips, Lascelles, Warner, A. G. Watson, C. S. Roundell, G. E. Money,

Hallam, Scott, Morris Davies, H. M. Warner, Hart Davis, C. J. S. Churchill, F. E. Thompson, C. Sankey, F. Storr, and, lastly, F. G. Kenyon, who has, not for the first time, helped me by giving part of his valuable time to reading and commenting upon my proof-sheets.

F. D. H.

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INTRODUCTORY

THE middle of the nineteenth century was a notable period in the history of English public schools. It was not only that the increase of the population and of the wealth of the country made it necessary that new schools should be started and old foundations—in some cases mere local grammar schools—developed and brought into public notice, but the old and famous schools were bursting into new life. These latter had for the most part become withered and shrivelled, and were bearing little fruit. During the fifteen years on either side of 1850, *i.e.* from 1835 to 1865, influences of such a beneficial nature were brought to bear upon them that, just as though favouring showers refreshed them after long drought, they began to flourish and become fruitful once again.

It will be found that each of the Six Great Head-masters, whose work is described in the following pages, ruled his respective school during part at least of these thirty years, and it is hoped that a perusal of the labours of these great educationalists will afford some indication of the vast changes which the period brought about. There were, broadly speaking, two main influences at work. The first of these was the example and teaching of Dr. Arnold

at Rugby. It is extraordinary to notice in the course of investigating the life of the great schools throughout the country how widely the influence of Arnold was felt. In no single case can it be said that no trace of this influence is found. Eton, proud in its ancient traditions as the greatest of English public schools, may profess to have been little affected. But there are signs in much of the work of Dr. Hawtrey and his successors that the ripples of the wave reached thus far too, and that the possibility of religious teaching, and the inculcation of responsibility by trusting rather than suspecting the boys, were lessons learnt from the greatest of Headmasters. In other schools the debt is openly acknowledged. Kennedy and Moberly each gratefully owned the encouragement and inspiration of Arnold; Temple's work was carried on in the very atmosphere of that great man's undying influence; while to his direct personal teaching Vaughan and Bradley owed the secret of their success.

The second main influence upon public schools of the period was public opinion. In the old days when railways were not, and telegraphs were but just coming into notice, public opinion was of so little importance that schoolmasters, if they were aware of its existence, felt justified in ignoring it altogether. So rapid have been the strides in the last three-quarters of a century in the development of the means of communication that it is difficult to realise that at the period when Hawtrey, Kennedy, and Moberly took up their work there was little opportunity of more than a very limited

knowledge of the methods of the various great schools, and of the sort of life the boys were compelled to lead. Some idea of the novelty of rapid communication may be gathered from the fact that when Hawtrey was Headmaster of Eton he was the first person to suggest the use of the telegraph as a means of capturing criminals. There had been a terrible murder at Slough, and it was on his suggestion that the wires were set in motion, with the result that the murderer was apprehended.

It may, perhaps, be stated roughly that the period with which this book deals, viz. the thirty years from 1835 to 1865, marks the progress of the public schools from their worst state to the high-water mark of their efficiency.

For instance, in 1835 the education given is found to have been of the very narrowest and most cramping description. Nothing was taught but certain classical authors, the making of Latin verses, and a little divinity. By 1865 a far wider course of instruction had become universal. History, mathematics, science, modern languages, and English literature all found a place, though all were subsidiary to the sound classical education which alone can give the cultivated taste, the command of language, and the thorough mental training essential to an English gentleman. After 1865 there began to creep in the idea that for many boys classics were a waste of time. Army classes, modern sides, etc., etc., became every year more common, until to-day there is a danger of their ousting the old classical education from school and university alike.

Next, it is interesting to notice how in those thirty years the gulf between boys and masters was bridged over. The gowned and cassocked master was looked upon in 1835 as a different order of being from the trembling schoolboy. By 1865 the masters had become the friends of the boys, inviting them to tea in their rooms, joining in their games, and not seldom visiting their homes in the holidays. But with all their friendliness, masters still kept their dignity and their proper place. Nowadays this has greatly changed. A master's room is filled with tobacco smoke, and he himself, pipe in mouth, may not improbably be discovered sitting on the floor, while his most comfortable chairs are occupied by small boys, who now and again address him by a nickname. O ye shades of Hawtrey and Bradley! Hawtrey, who declared that no gentleman ever smoked! Bradley, who years afterwards discountenanced light coats and tobacco among his staff! It is a sorry sight to see a master, in a flannel coat, capless and gownless, trundling on his bicycle, just and only just in time to take his form. Truly things were better in 1865, when masters were approachable, but still retained a semblance of self-respect.

Then, again, those thirty years marked the change from the roughest of domestic arrangements and of meals to a reasonable comfort and wholesome sufficiency. Here, again, the limit of moderation has been passed, and sore-hearted mothers in the holidays grieve because their boys, back from the luxurious living of their school, sniff at the fare spread on the old table at home.

Once more, it was during those years that the change came in the matter of school games. A change from the loafing, bullying, poaching, duck-hunting days to an organised system of games, in which each boy whose health allowed it was expected to take his share just as certainly as he was expected to take his place in school. It is possible that in athletics, too, since 1865, there has been a tendency to run to extremes, and that the last years of the period treated of were in this also the high-water mark of what is best and safest.

Two other changes those years saw, changes which still continue to be most beneficial. One, the diminution in floggings, which in their public character were a sort of daily "show," and by their frequency fell into contempt. It is surely well that this punishment should be held in reserve, to be resorted to for moral offences or grave breaches of discipline only. It is no exaggeration to say that the floggings in 1865 were not more than one in a hundred as compared with those in 1835.

But greater than this, and, indeed, than any other change, was the introduction of religious influence. The great exponents, after Arnold, of the possibility of the exercise of this influence by a Headmaster were Vaughan and Moberly. It is difficult to imagine any more sacred charge than that of some five or six hundred boys who are to be among the clergy, statesmen, lawyers, etc., of the country. That the headmaster should be in Orders, should use his opportunities in the pulpit and in classes for confirmation, and should be able to administer the Holy Communion to his boys, seems to most people

a matter needing no argument in its favour. But times are changed: the best teacher, the best organiser, must be chosen regardless of the religious welfare of the boys, and the Headmasters of the future bid fair to be entirely recruited from the ranks of the laity.

The Six Great Headmasters whose work is now to be described were men of great influence through these thirty years of change. As the spirit of Arnold leavened every school in the country, so these men in a lesser degree influenced all school life. Temple, Vaughan, and Moberly, each by their special religious teaching, the first named also by a spirit of liberty in advance of his time; Hawtrey, by a refinement sorely needed in those early days; Kennedy, by an enthusiasm for learning which spread through his pupils to the utmost limits of the educational world; Bradley, by an *esprit de corps* and a strenuous activity which made other schools look to it that they might not be too far outstripped in the race.

SIX GREAT SCHOOLMASTERS

I

EDWARD CRAVEN HAWTREY, D.D.

HEADMASTER OF ETON, 1834-1853

ETON, the greatest of English public schools, has depended for its position less upon the eminence of its Headmasters than upon the glorious traditions of the place. It must be acknowledged that within the last century no Headmaster of Eton can be placed absolutely in the first rank. No Arnold, Thring, or Vaughan has ruled over the fortunes of the school, but, on the other hand, from nowhere else has come forth such a band of statesmen, generals, and divines to adorn the pages of English history.

It must be, then, that the Headmasters of Eton have been men of power and excellence, though none attained to the highest rank, and of all who held that proud position there is not one to whom Eton owes so much as Dr. HawtreY, whose reign of nineteen years ended just half a century ago.

Edward Craven HawtreY was born on May 7th, 1789, at Burnham, thus beginning his life in scenes

not far removed from the school with which he was connected by so many ties. How many these were will be seen by a brief reference to his ancestry.

His great-great-grandfather, Edward Hawtrey, who was born in the year 1600, was at King's College, Cambridge, and from thence became Vicar of Burnham. He was elected a Fellow of Eton, and was one of its chief benefactors, giving it a considerable part of the great tithes of his living.

Next came John Hawtrey, the Headmaster's great-grandfather, a Fellow of King's and of Eton, and Vicar of the Eton living of Mapledurham. To him succeeded Charles, the Headmaster's grandfather, who was Rector of Heavitree, in the Diocese of Exeter, and who strengthened the family connection with Eton by marrying a sister of Provost Sleech. To them was born Edward Hawtrey, who went to King's in 1760, was subsequently a Fellow of Eton, and in due course Vicar of Burnham for some years, during which the subject of this sketch was born.

But these were not the only ties which bound Edward Craven Hawtrey even as a child to Eton. His mother was a sister of Dr. Foster, Headmaster from 1765 to 1773, and was by her many gifts well qualified to influence the early years of her accomplished son. It is said that the well-known epitaph written by Ben Jonson on the Countess of Pembroke was slightly altered so as to apply to her :

“ Foster's sister, Hawtrey's mother,
Eton, ere thou see another
Loved and mourned and calm as she,
Time shall throw a dart at thee.”

Then, again, his two aunts, the Misses Frances and Lucy Hawtrej, were "Dames" at Eton, so that when the little fellow went there himself in 1799, at the age of ten, the strangeness of entering upon school life must have been greatly lessened by the sense, both actual and hereditary, of association.

Dr. Heath, a name scarcely remembered at the present day, was then Headmaster, but little Hawtrej's tutor was a better-known personage, viz. Mr. Goodall, afterwards Headmaster and Provost. It was during the time that he (Dr. Goodall) held the former post that Hawtrej was in the Sixth Form, and to him he owed a great deal of the literary culture which distinguished him afterwards, as will be seen later.

On Hawtrej's first arrival at Eton he was for at least three years an Oppidan, *i.e.* one of the ordinary members of the school who were not King's Scholars, and it was not until late in 1802 or early in 1803 that the letters K.S. (King's Scholar) appeared after his name.

His early days at Eton cannot have been altogether happy. The place was very rough in many ways, and there was a great deal of bullying. He used to go frequently to visit some relations who lived at Datchet, and on the occasion of these excursions he was usually hunted and persecuted, once being as nearly as possible killed by the brutality he experienced.

In Maxwell Lyte's *History of Eton* it is related that in a privately printed lecture Hawtrej, many years afterwards, quoted two cases in which, during

his boyhood, immense harm was done by "ill-used authority and ill-used strength." One of these cases was that of Shelley, the poet, a queer lad, caring for neither work nor play, whom the boys used to pursue and torment in more or less organised ways, which were called "Shelley-baits." Reading of such things brings home the truth of the old saying about "idle hands," and goes far to establish the excellence of that often criticised institution, "compulsory games."

As Hawtrey was eventually to go into College, he was placed according to age and not to attainments, consequently finding himself in a low form. It is hardly necessary to point out the folly of such a plan by which a clever, small boy was enabled to live a life of idleness for a year or two, contracting habits which might easily cling to him through his whole career.

When, however, he arrived at the Sixth Form and was under the tuition of Dr. Goodall, Hawtrey found plenty of stimulus to work. In the first place, this was provided by the intellectual excellence of his fellows. He sat amongst such boys as Lonsdale (afterwards Bishop of Lichfield), Milman (afterwards Dean of St. Paul's), Patteson (Sir John), and Coleridge (Sir John Taylor). But more than all he was encouraged and urged forward by his master. Dr. Goodall expected great things from his Sixth Form, and his expectations had a way of being realised. He presumed that the work done in school was a small part only of the education of the boys, and expected that all would do an immense amount of private reading. This he

encouraged by inviting illustrations from other authors of the book which might be in hand. Thus it is said that "no one of that set would think of going into school without being prepared to illustrate the lesson, if it were Homer or Virgil, from not only Milton, but from Dante and Tasso; if it were Demosthenes or Cicero, from great English orators; if it were a Greek play, from the great modern dramatists, whether French or English."

In yet another way Dr. Goodall gave impetus to the work of his Sixth Form. He realised the value of encouragement. When Hawtreys became Provost he wrote of Dr. Goodall as follows: "He had a peculiar talent of finding out and stirring up latent powers—powers of which from snubbing and neglect the possessor himself was wholly ignorant, and ready to give up all exertion in despair. Goodall caught at the first symptom of merit, gave it more than its due praise, but not more than the broken spirit required; and if he found responsive diligence he took the earliest opportunity of rewarding it, and thereby making a character which might by less kindly management have soon sunk into absolute and inconceivable nothingness. I owe him for this inconceivable gratitude."

From his boyhood's days at Eton, Hawtreys may, then, be said to have gained three things, each of which largely influenced his career as Headmaster. In the first place, the roughness of the place made a great impression upon him, and proved an incentive towards carrying out the refining of the school, which was the chief reformation that he

worked. Dr. Keate, who preceded him as Headmaster, ruled by the rod, and had no idea of any other methods. The collegers in Dr. Keate's days were very roughly used and housed, fifty sleeping in one room, and other things being managed in the same way. Of this Hawtrey had had a never-to-be-forgotten experience as a boy. The refinement, which Archdeacon Pott (one of the few pupils of Hawtrey who are still alive) describes as "the great feature of his headmastership," was no doubt natural to him, but was also in some degree an outcome of his horror of the experiences to which he was subjected as a boy.

Secondly, he laid the foundation, under Dr. Goodall, of that marvellous knowledge of literature for which his name will ever be remembered. Thirdly, he saw by personal experience the advantage of judicious and even liberal praise as a means of instigating to further exertions.

In 1807 Hawtrey's schooldays came to an end, and he went to Cambridge in the natural order of things as a scholar of King's College. The relations between Eton and King's were exactly the same as those between Winchester and New College. From neither school were the college scholarships obtained as the result of examination at that time, and at neither University were these particular scholars required to submit to an examination for their degree. It was a bad system, leading not infrequently to a life of idleness or at all events to an unsystematic and dilettante course of study. In Hawtrey's case his natural love of work overcame this temptation,

though his reading, which included French, Italian, and Hebrew, but no mathematics, was not exactly upon the ordinary lines. His application to the study of foreign languages must have begun at Eton, for it is recorded that during his first year at Cambridge he was an excellent Italian scholar.

His letters to his mother give some notion of the life he led at King's, but the scholars there were an exclusive set, and that, combined with his studious habits, seems to have contributed towards making his days rather monotonous, and preventing his having a large circle of friends. What amount of reading he usually got through may be guessed from the account which he sent to his mother of the way in which he spent the days of a certain Easter Vacation at Cambridge. By getting up at seven and going to bed at twelve he made the most of each day, but the way in which he divided it up was, according to present-day habits, peculiar. For instance, the sole time set apart for recreation (apart from meals) was from 10.30 to 12 in the morning. Evening chapel and dinner were both finished by 4.30 p.m., and from that hour till 12 he worked uninterruptedly with the sole relief obtained by two changes of subject. The last of these changes occurred at 10 p.m., the subsequent two hours being given to the study of a chapter of the Bible in Hebrew. Altogether, in the day he read for eleven and a half hours, wrote letters for one hour, and went twice to chapel. It is almost a relief to read at the end of his account of this scheme of work, "I never suffer anything to break in upon it but occasional parties." From a previous expression of his distaste for "wine-

parties, suppers, cards," etc., it might have been feared that he would become a regular recluse. The "occasional parties" saved him, however, from a mode of life which would have been a sorry preparation for the genial hospitalities which in after days he dispensed at Eton.

There were scarcely any channels leading to distinction open to King's Scholars. The first member of that college who took honours did not do so until the year 1853. Even the Chancellor's medal was beyond their reach, for until some thirty years ago no one could compete for this unless he had at least obtained a place among the Senior Optimes. Almost the only things left for which it was possible for Hawtrey to enter were the University scholarships, and for one of these he was placed among the first four in 1810, the winner proving to be his old friend Patteson.

"Among Hawtrey's contemporaries (at Cambridge)," says Mr. Thackeray in his Memoir, "were several who became men of mark. The Senior Wrangler of the year after he went up was Bickersteth, afterwards Lord Langdale, Master of the Rolls; the third Wrangler was Bishop Blomfield, who was also Craven Scholar; the fifth was Adam Sedgwick. In 1809 and 1810 the Senior Wranglers were respectively Alderson (whose daughter married the late Marquis of Salisbury) and Maule, each of whom rose to high rank in the law, and three years later the first name on the list is that of Sir John Herschel." These names are of interest in themselves, but it is also useful to quote them as Hawtrey's contemporaries, for there is no better way

I have added little translation from Goldsmith which I
manufactured the day before yesterday

Chi s'aspetta vicina la morte

Alla speranza ancora si rende,
ogni dolore che l'anima gli fende
Suona lora gli: desta nel cor:

Qual chiarore di lume fugace
La speranza pull'ombra lo cogge,
E la fiamma più chiara gli porge,
Più gli cresce di notte il buio.

May 22 1811

H. C. Gylson toll

of fixing the "period" of a man than that of realising the notable people who were of his standing. While at King's he may be considered to have continued his association with Eton, so closely were the two places linked together, but after taking his degree there occurred the one and only break in his relations with his old school.

In 1811 he became for a short time tutor to the son of a Norfolk squire, during which time he pursued his study of foreign languages, and also seems (for the one and only time in his life) to have taken some share in the sport of the neighbourhood, for he writes of shooting and riding with coursing parties.

In this same year his destiny was very nearly being changed by an offer made by the Provost of King's to obtain for him the mastership of the Corporation School at Bristol. There was a certain temptation in the prospect of an immediate if not abundant income. His father had died some years before, and his mother and sisters were left in narrow circumstances. All his life he was a wonderfully good son and brother, and it would have pleased him to have been able at once to offer them a comfortable home. He laid the matter in a letter before his mother, telling her that it should be settled exactly according to her wishes. The letter is, in fact, an early example of Hawtreys complete unselfishness where his family was concerned. Fortunately, however, the proposal seems to have fallen through. It would have been a thousand pities if the course of his life had so been altered as to deprive Eton of the greatest of her Headmasters.

This matter being disposed of, he became for two years private tutor to the three sons of Lord Talbot, living in a house about half a mile from Ingestre Hall. This house came to be known as Birch Hall, in jocular allusion to the punishments supposed to be there inflicted.

Thus for three years Mr. Hawtrey (as he must now be called) had no special connection with Eton. At the end of that time he received from Dr. Keate the one thing that he most desired, viz. the offer of an assistant-mastership. So he went back to the old place, took up the old interests and associations from a rather different position, and became an essential part of the life of Eton until the day of his death.

During the twenty years that he was an Assistant Master he lived in the same curious old house in Weston's Yard which he continued to occupy as Headmaster. Mr. Benson, in his *Fasti Etonenses*, says that this house was originally built for Savile's printing-press, and describes it as "a very curious, awkward, and interesting house." It is a long building, for the most part only one room deep, and has been added to in every conceivable fashion as necessity required. It may be imagined that with its many gables, chimneys of every shape and size and great irregularity, the result is quaint almost to grotesqueness.

Although the main endeavour of this paper must be to consider the influence of Dr. Hawtrey as Headmaster, yet in several directions his previous work at Eton was productive of so much advantage to the school that something must be said about it.

The first effect of his arrival as an Assistant Master was to give an astonishing impetus to the work of the school. The late Mr. Gladstone declared that Eton owed most of all to three men, viz. Bishop G. A. Selwyn, the Duke of Newcastle, and Dr. Hawtrej. To the first it was indebted for the increase of a manly spirit of religion, with which he inspired the place during the years (1831-1841) of his private-tutorship. To the Duke it owed a special incitement to work, in the founding of the Newcastle Scholarship in 1829 for the encouragement of classics and divinity. To Dr. Hawtrej it owed a still greater debt for his long-continued and personal efforts to arouse in Eton boys an ambition to excel and an interest in their work by methods which, following Dr. Goodall's example, he began to employ from the first. These methods were chiefly sympathy, and the encouragement of private reading and literary tastes.

By sympathy is meant the personal interest in and appreciation of the endeavours of any boy who was making an attempt to learn. It was an unknown experience for Etonians. Under Dr. Keate it had been a matter of the rod and nothing much else. One of the greatest works that Dr. Hawtrej did was to show the now well-known fact that an ounce of kindness and encouragement will do more towards the education of a boy than many pounds of flogging. It has taken a long time to convince schoolmasters of this. It is not much more than thirty years ago that at a certain well-known preparatory school the birch and the cane were practically the sole instigators to work. Speaking of this,

a form-master at one of our great public schools remarked the other day, "It was always easy to recognise the boys who came from ——'s. They had been flogged up to a considerably advanced point of learning, and took a high place on their arrival. After a few weeks they looked round and observed with delight that there was no birch behind them. They instantly stopped working, and in many cases never resumed the habit."

Habits learnt at school are apt to become life-long. It must be the height of folly to supply a boy with reasons for industry which are bound to stop as soon as school is left behind him.

Very different were the methods of Dr. Hawtrey. From the very first, he, remembering the kind treatment he had himself received from Dr. Goodall, determined to befriend and encourage the boys who came under him either as pupils or in form. The late Mr. Gladstone remembered all his life the unexpected friendliness shown him when, a little boy of twelve, he was in the Upper Remove of the Fourth Form under Hawtrey. He was "sent up for good" for a copy of verses, and on going to his form-master to have them looked over before taking them up, was received with such kindness and such evident interest in him *personally* as to give him "a thrill of new hope and satisfaction." The small boy's surprise at what it may be hoped is nowadays no unusual experience proves the novelty of the treatment he found at Hawtrey's hands, and he did not fail to acknowledge that to this he owed his first inspiration "to learn and to do." Mr. Gladstone was not Hawtrey's pupil, and his evidence is valu-

able as showing how the latter's influence was felt throughout the school. It was not only by Hawtreys own pupils that he was considered "first and best among all the masters of the school."

As to the way in which he encouraged private reading there is a good deal of evidence. The education at Eton had been of the narrowest—just as had been the case in all public schools at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was practically confined to a knowledge of classical books and a more or less tricky skill in composing Latin verses. Of the rest of a boy's time, a good deal was taken up by learning by heart and repeating immense quantities of the Latin and Greek poets whose works had been translated in form. Beyond this there was nothing, and the lack of interest in books, as well as the lack of system in games, tended to encourage an idle and mischievous existence.

The late Bishop Ryle, who afterwards obtained a First Class and was Craven University Scholar, ascribed his success in life in great measure to Hawtreys, his tutor, under whose direction he read privately with such diligence and discrimination that he found himself thoroughly prepared for his Oxford examinations. Nowadays, of course, a boy would have opportunities of acquiring the greater part of this knowledge in the course of his form work. The great amount of spare time which the narrow limits of the education of those days placed at a boy's disposal enabled him, *if he liked*, to supplement his work in the manner in which Dr. Ryle did. But how few boys would do so of themselves!

It was here that the great value of a master such as Hawtrey was shown. He was the man for the hour. By his influence and by his example—for he was for ever learning as well as teaching—he led many who afterwards became famous to their first real efforts at self-improvement.

It is difficult to help wondering how far some of the eminent men who sat in his pupil-room as boys would have travelled on their road towards success if it had not been for their tutor. A few names must be given here: Arthur Henry Hallam (the friend of Tennyson), Dean Wellesley, Lord Mount Temple, Lord Cowper, Sir Stephen Glynne, Bishop Ryle, Hon. J. C. Talbot (Q.C.), Monsignore Talbot, Lord Hatherton, Right Hon. Spencer Walpole, Lord Redesdale, Bishop Hamilton of Salisbury, and the Right Hon. Sir George Cornwall Lewis, who was not only a leading politician, but also a literary celebrity of the middle of the last century.

In 1834 the twenty years of Dr. Hawtrey's assistant-mastership ended, and the nineteen years of his rule as Headmaster began. And a thoroughly beneficent rule it was, although for the first six years he was considerably hampered in his schemes for improvement by the fact that, just as at Winchester, there was a superior power to be consulted about everything. The Provosts of Eton in those days exercised far greater control over the Headmaster than they do now, and much as Dr. Hawtrey revered Dr. Goodall, his old Headmaster, he found him a very difficult and conservative person to deal with in the matter of reforms.

Before, however, mentioning the various changes for the better which he succeeded in bringing about, it will be well to try to picture the new Headmaster of Eton. One of his old pupils still living goes so far as to describe him as "quite the ugliest man that ever lived," and, indeed, the pictures of him which exist, though for the most part they are confessedly caricatures, go far towards bearing out this statement. He was not a tall man—one picture, in fact, suggests that in his big chair his feet scarcely touched the ground—with a disproportionately large head. He had a bad, rather blotchy complexion, and thin, lank hair. His nose was *retroussé*, and beneath it hung an immense upper lip. His eyes were good and expressive, but, set too far back, peered out beneath a pair of shaggy eyebrows. When it is added that he was a considerable fop in the matter of dress, wearing a velvet collar on his coat and as much jewellery as could be hung upon his person, while he was invariably scented with one or more perfumes, it will be conceived that his personality was sufficiently strange. He lisped in his speech, and had elaborate manners, which he tried to get the boys to imitate, insisting upon their taking off (not merely touching) their hats when they met him. It is, in fact, recorded that on one occasion he knocked off the hat of a boy who failed to make a sufficiently courteous bow.

But all his peculiarities of appearance and manner went for nothing in the eyes of his friends and of the boys who had the privilege of personal intercourse with him. His sincere kindness of heart, his real culture, and innate courtesy were sufficient to

overcome any external disadvantages. The old pupil quoted above writes thus: "He was such a thorough gentleman, of extreme culture and power, and in this lay his capability of improving Eton as he did."

One of Dr. Hawtrey's first acts was to divide up the enormous classes which it had been the custom of previous Headmasters to attempt to teach in the Upper School. Maxwell Lyte, in his *History of Eton*, relates the fact that Dr. Keate sometimes had a hundred and ninety boys up for a construing lesson at one time! Dr. Hawtrey made a new Headmaster's division, in which he included the Sixth Form, consisting of the first ten collegers and the first ten oppidans, and a part of the Fifth Form, viz. the first six collegers and first six oppidans, making a body of thirty-two, a sufficiently large number, it might be supposed. This new division he took in the old library, a room which seems hardly to have deserved the name, but which he furbished up and adorned with pictures and with a plaster cast of a portion of the frieze of the Parthenon. This was a direct outcome of his spirit of refinement. He had the instinctive feeling that through the eye people can be influenced to appreciate and seek after higher ideals, a notion which was unknown, or at least never acted upon, in school-life of those times, but which now is finding expression even in the village schoolrooms throughout the land. The system which he initiated for dividing up the higher forms he gradually introduced through the whole school, the number of Assistant Masters being (with some reluctance on

the part of the Provost and Fellows) considerably increased.

25 Another change for the better which was initiated by Dr. Hawtreys was in the matter of school books. There were, of course, in those days very few educational works brought out by great scholars, and the books in common use were extremely inadequate. The change to a better and more varied assortment of such things was difficult in many ways. There were, for instance, all sorts of pecuniary rights to be dealt with. An example of one of these was given in the report of the Public Schools Commission, where it was stated that at Eton one of the masters complained to the publisher of the gross misprints contained in a certain book largely used in the school, and was met with the reply: "I have printed enough copies of it to last ten years." He evidently never contemplated the possibility of any change! Dr. Hawtreys not only attempted to improve the quality of the lesson-books, but he also wrote one or two himself. While an Assistant Master he compiled the *Eton Atlas of Comparative Geography*. He also printed one sheet of a new accidence, in which, says Maxwell Lyte, he indulged in palæographical dissertations on the alphabet. When Dr. Charles Wordsworth was contemplating his Greek Grammar he corresponded with Dr. Hawtreys on the subject, and in his "Annals" relates that the latter "did not consider it consistent with his position to accept of any book for use at Eton over which he, as Headmaster, could not exercise *absolute and entire control*," a point of view which it now seems extraordinary

that anyone should think it possible to take. On this Dr. Wordsworth wrote to propose that the syntax in the new grammar should be compiled by any Eton man he (Hawtrey) might choose to name, feeling, no doubt, that much of the success of the book would be marred if it were excluded from the chief public school. Dr. Hawtrey replied to this in a more amiable manner, saying that he was quite sure that the work could be by no hands more efficiently executed than by those of his correspondent. His interest appears to have been stirred in the undertaking, for shortly afterwards he is found making suggestions to Dr. Wordsworth for a book which should be acceptable to all. Writing in January, 1843, he says: "I am more and more convinced that absolute uniformity is out of the question unless the two Universities would combine. If they would either edit or adopt a grammar, I would receive it without alteration, however I might differ about details." It was then proposed to print the book at the Clarendon Press, with the imprimatur and recommendation of the Professors of Greek at Oxford and Cambridge. But this, being a variation of his suggested terms, was rejected by Dr. Hawtrey, and Dr. Wordsworth had to go on with the book without his approval. So good, however, did the Greek grammar turn out to be that it won for itself the acceptance thus at first denied. In Dr. Wordsworth's "Annals" the following passage occurs: "When at last the work was completed and set up for press, the proof-sheets were sent to Dr. Hawtrey, whose kind sympathy and interest revived at once with all their former

friendliness and warmth. He approved warmly of the syntax. He wrote: 'I feel that I have been consistent throughout in my declaration that I could admit nothing at Eton over which I had not unlimited control. I gladly make an exception of the syntax, which is a step towards unity made without the least regret or reserve, nay, rather with a sentiment of very pleasing obligation.'"

As a matter of fact, he afterwards had the Eton accidence bound in one volume with Wordsworth's Greek syntax, a most liberal proceeding for the Eton of those days, and an excellent example of the reformation that he worked in the matter of school books.

Before altogether leaving this subject, it is interesting to notice that Dr. Hawtreys was considerably in advance of his age in the matter of teaching languages. It is now beginning to be acknowledged that a language is more easily and more perfectly acquired by causing the student to plunge at once into reading words and sentences in some not too difficult author. The grammar is usually of a difficult and complicated nature, and had better be acquired later on. This plan has the further advantage of avoiding the nausea and despair, which not seldom result from the study of the grammar of an unfamiliar language, and which sometimes cause a dislike to that tongue which is never overcome. On this subject there is a letter (quoted in Miss Florence Hawtreys's *History of the Hawtreys Family*), written by Dr. Hawtreys in 1826, in which he says: "The absurd rules of the Greek grammar cannot be dispensed with. Some years hence, I should hope, people will find that they begin to

teach language the wrong way when trying to teach grammar before words."

It was in 1840, when Dr. Hodgson became Provost, that reforms at Eton became easier to carry out. It is of him that the story is told that as he drove in sight of Eton on his first arrival, he exclaimed, "Please God, I will do something for these poor boys!"

Dr. Hawtrey's delight at his appointment was unbounded. He knew that he would have a fellow-worker instead of an opponent in all the schemes he was meditating, and wrote him a hearty letter of welcome, in which he alluded to his hope of "co-operative reform." As a matter of fact, the two names, Hodgson and Hawtrey, must be linked together as the originators of most of the changes for the better that took place at Eton after 1840.

In one particular only the new Provost opposed a reform. Just as at Winchester Dr. Moberly declared that it was a bad thing for the education of the boys that the choice of Assistant Masters should be limited to men from New College, so at Eton Dr. Hawtrey greatly wished to be allowed to extend the choice beyond the limit of King's. But here Dr. Hodgson would not give way. In another matter, however, which may also be likened to the state of things at Winchester, he and the Headmaster were agreed, and a change was made in the entrance examination. Formerly it was perfectly well known beforehand what passage a boy would be called upon to translate. Under the new régime the examination became a reality, and admission to the ranks of the collegers depended upon its results.

Again, Dr. Hawtrej instituted a system of competition for places in the various divisions. He started the giving of marks, thereby putting Eton in this respect some years ahead of Rugby, where they were not introduced until the headmastership of Dr. Temple. By these marks the ability and industry of the boys were subjected to a real test, and the winner of the greatest number became captain of his remove.

In less than two years after the appointment of Provost Hodgson yet another change was made in the same direction. The election to the scholarships at King's ceased to be a mere matter of nomination and became dependent upon examination. It will readily be seen how great a stimulus to work in the school generally and among the collegers especially these changes provided, and when it is pointed out that Dr. Hawtrej enlarged the scheme of education by introducing such things as essay-writing and mathematics, it will be acknowledged that he was a reformer in the best sense of the word.

But it was not only in the matter of lessons and lesson-books that the Provost and Dr. Hawtrej made beneficial changes. Both men had had personal experience of the discomforts—to use a mild term—of life in College, and determined to improve matters so far as possible. The old condition of things at the beginning of the nineteenth century almost passes belief. Fifty or more boys in one room, with an insufficient number of bedsteads, so that several boys had to put their mattresses on the floor wherever they could; washing done at

a tap; no cleanliness; no privacy; no help for the weak or the timid;—these are some of the characteristics of the life. In 1845, however, Drs. Hodgson and Hawtrey had erected the new buildings, and henceforth boys had their separate rooms, were able to wash in proper lavatories, and were nursed when ill in rooms set apart for the purpose. About the same time the old Christopher Inn was acquired by the College and closed. It had for years been a source of evil. It was situated right in the middle of Eton, and there was not an hour in the day in which Eton boys might not have been found there drinking. It was one of the “traditions” of the school, and its abolition was opposed by some of the more conservative Fellows. Common sense prevailed, however, and the two reformers gained another victory.

But the hardest task they set themselves was the abolition of “Montem.” In Mr. Benson’s *Festi Etonenses* it is stated that the custom originated in a nutting expedition to a wood in the neighbourhood of Slough, on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul.¹ At the present day that festival is observed on January 25th, and it is to be feared that such an expedition would be singularly fruitless. If, however, it really once took place towards the end of January, it is all of a piece with the extraordinary mummery of the whole proceeding, which when Dr. Hawtrey became Headmaster was a mixture of masquerading and licence. A procession of boys, in fancy dress, marched to a

¹ It is just possible that the Feast in question was that of the Commemoration of St. Paul, which was held on June 30th—a more probable date.

small eminence near Slough, waved a flag, and came back to eat a hurried dinner at the principal inn. Meanwhile, from early dawn a certain number of fantastically attired boys had been scouring the roads collecting what was called "salt," *i.e.* compulsory contributions of money from every person unfortunate enough to come in their way. This money, which during the latter years of the institution averaged some £1,000, was supposed to go towards the further education at Cambridge of the captain of the collegers; but so great were the expenses of the feasting, fancy dresses, decorations, etc., that a very small sum usually found its way into his pocket.

In 1841 the Great Western Railway to Slough was opened. The result was inevitable. The next "Montem" was attended by such a rush of the rag-tag and bobtail that Dr. Hawtreay, writing to the papers afterwards, said that Eton on that day was little better than Greenwich Fair. It is, then, no matter of surprise to find that he suggested, in a letter to Provost Hodgson, that "Montem" should be abolished. The Provost gladly assented, and when Dr. Hawtreay wavered slightly in his determination, he it was who kept him up to the pitch of courage necessary for so great a reform. One of the first acts towards the accomplishment of their desire was to consult the Queen and the Prince Consort. Here a difficulty arose at once, for Her Majesty replied that, while she would like to see the abuses removed, she was reluctant to consent to the abolition of a custom so ancient. Provost Hodgson, however, obtained letters on the

subject from Dr. Hawtrey and Mr. Okes (the Lower Master), and forwarded them to the Queen. Lord John Russell then advised Her Majesty to say that having read these letters, she would no longer interpose in any way to prevent the carrying out of any decision of the school authorities.

Public opinion was decidedly on the side of the change, and it afterwards turned out that, as Dr. Hawtrey wrote, "the Upper part of the school cared nothing about the matter." Before the day arrived on which the next "Montem" would have been held, it was thought that some kind of riot would occur, and Dr. Hawtrey went to London and engaged a special force of police to keep order. This precaution turned out to be unnecessary. A few stones were thrown, and some boys took the trouble to walk to Salt Hill and bury a flag. Otherwise nothing occurred, and so passed away an institution so demoralising in its effects that Maxwell Lyte records the fact that when the Bishop of Lincoln once proposed to hold a Confirmation in the same half-year in which "Montem" occurred, he had to be told plainly that it was impossible. The occasion of the abolition of the custom provided Dr. Hawtrey with an opportunity for the exercise of his well-known generosity. He presented out of his own pocket the sum of £300 to the parents of the boy who would have benefited by the next "Montem" if it had been held.

Legitimate amusements of all kinds he encouraged. Athletics, in the form and to the extent which they have now reached, were practically

unknown, and certainly were unsystematic and to some degree haphazard. Dr. Hawtreys used to call them "fine manly games," but there is no record of any considerable promotion of such things in his day. At the same time, he laid the foundation-stone of regular fives courts in Trotmans Gardens, on the Eton Wick Road, and by putting them within bounds added something to the liberties of the place. He also encouraged, or at all events countenanced, amateur theatricals among the boys, and was especially pleased when an acquaintance was thus made with any of the works of celebrated playwrights.

Taking Dr. Hawtreys headmastership as a whole, it may be said that in his relations with the boys he was singularly happy, in spite of the fact that he was a reformer, and that boys hate changes in the established customs of their school. He owed a large share of his success to the fact that he always appealed to a boys sense of feeling and delicacy. The change from the system employed by Dr. Keate must have been astonishing. That master seldom, if ever, was heard to bestow a word of praise, while his rebukes were invariably expressed by the words, "I'll flog you." Dr. Hawtreys, on the contrary, would reprimand by quietly saying, "Your conduct is not *quite* that of a gentleman"; while he never stinted words of praise for work well performed. He, unconsciously carrying out the ideas of Dr. Arnold, led the boys to see that he trusted them, and thereby gained an obedience and loyalty hitherto unknown. "Your candour disarms me," he would say, to the great

astonishment of a boy accustomed to the rough suspicion of Dr. Keate. It might be supposed that he would have been thought effeminate—or at least wanting in manliness—but the bold stand he took on such questions as the abolition of “Montem” must have convinced the school that he was not lacking in the manliest of all qualities, viz. moral courage. Again, it need not be imagined that he could not punish when necessity required. It is recorded that, finding gentler methods of no avail, he expelled two boys for making a bonfire on the Brocas, on the fifth of November, and once he is said to have flogged a whole house of twelve boys for going boating before breakfast, in defiance of orders to the contrary.

Of stories about Dr. Hawtrey there is no end. His speech, appearance, and manners lent themselves to the caricaturist and quizzer. In *Fasti Etonenses* and in Mr. Thackeray’s Memoir many extremely amusing stories may be found by those in search of such things. It will be sufficient here to point out that in almost every instance they serve to record Dr. Hawtrey’s kindness of heart. He finds two boys fighting outside his house, and dismisses them with the remark that as boys *will* quarrel, he supposes they had better fight, but they needn’t do it on his doorstep. A small boy at breakfast at his house once launched upon a long and pointless story about a fox leaving one covert for another. There was an awkward silence as the narrator got into greater difficulties and became more and more nervous and shy. But the Doctor was equal to the occasion. “Cunning fellow!” he

said, "he knew what he was about," and led off the conversation to another topic.

Even real pieces of impertinence, such as the erection on his table during school of a whole Noah's ark procession, or the introduction of a cat and kittens into the room, seemed to have failed to bring any rebuke more severe than "How silly!"

The result was that his good-nature was seldom abused, for it was combined with a trust in the boy's gentlemanly feeling and consideration towards himself that was irresistible.

In the story of the headmasterships of some others in this volume much is said about the religious work which they carried on among the boys. Dr. Hawtreys was not by any means an ecclesiastic by disposition, and the religious influence he brought to bear was that of a Christian gentleman living a blameless life among his fellows. It was, in fact, more the influence of example than of precept. At the same time, he showed his real interest in the promotion of such good works as the clergy of Clewer, under the late Canon Carter, were trying to carry on, and the first meeting for the promotion of the female reformatories at that place was held at his house during the years that he was Provost. In the school chapel and its services he was naturally deeply interested. The restoration of the building began in 1844, and it is in full accord with his artistic nature to find that he had a careful record made of the fifteenth-century wall-paintings, which had been ruthlessly covered over with white-wash.

As to the chapel services, little favourable can be

reported. They were long, dreary, and at inconvenient times. The week-day afternoon services were especially wearisome to the boys, and had a deadening rather than an awakening religious effect. Such, however, was the conservative spirit of the Fellows that any change seemed impossible. It was not, in fact, until after the Public Schools Commission had reported that a better state of things began. In the matter of preaching, Dr. Hawtrey was at a great disadvantage. "Strange as it may seem," says Mr. Thackeray, in his Memoir, "and intolerable as it would have been to Arnold, the Headmaster could only by sufferance address his boys from the pulpit.¹ Very rarely did Hawtrey do so. He was permitted, however, in Lent to give some lectures on the Catechism, which he afterwards had privately printed in Paris, and some of these were extremely striking. One on the sixth commandment was particularly fine, when he spoke rhetorically, but touchingly, on the indelible effects of schoolboy bullying, and the remorse it brought in after years. "You may depend upon it that to many men who in after life have seen their error, who have become kind and Christian-like in their deportment, and who use any authority which they may possess in their new condition as if they were well aware under whose eyes they were acting—you may depend upon it that to such men, in their solitary hours, the recollection of such youthful errors is a source of very painful and unavailing regret."

The lecture concluded with some highly wrought

¹ The preachers were appointed by the Provost and Fellows.

passages on the treatment while at school of Shelley and Sidney Walker, that strange genius who in his boyhood is said to have known the whole of Virgil and Homer by heart.

It may be added that one of the ways in which Dr. Hawtreys helped to raise the religious tone of the school was by his often-expressed interest in missionary affairs—an interest which owed its origin no doubt to the fact that his old friend Bishop George Augustus Selwyn—an Etonian of Etonians—was a leader in the mission field. Dr. Hawtreys personal Christianity was exhibited in his dealings with all with whom he had to do. His courtesy even to the smallest boy was the outcome of true Christian refinement. His liberality and consideration to his Assistant Masters sprang from the same spirit. But in his relations with the members of his own family and household it became more evident still.

There is a sentence in a letter written to the Rev. Stephen Hawtreys by the then Duchess of Sutherland, after Dr. Hawtreys death, which throws a light upon the affection in which he (Dr. Hawtreys) was held by his servants. The words are these: "Mr. Gladstone was with me . . . and was telling me much of his (Dr. H.'s) charming character, and of his old servants seeming so attached to him." The reference is slight, but it reveals the fact that his servants remained with him for long periods and loved him. Of his devotion to his mother something has already been said. He never ceased to make her and his sisters his first care, and it has been suggested that it was for their

sake that he never married. After his father's death they had gone to live at Hastings, where they remained until Mrs. Hawtrey also died. Meantime, however, his sister, Miss Elizabeth Hawtrey, had come to Eton to keep house for Dr. Hawtrey, who then established the two remaining sisters (Mary and Laura) in a house in Cadogan Place. The former of these, always an invalid, but sharing in her brother's studious and intellectual tastes, did not long survive her mother, and then Miss Laura Hawtrey joined her brother and sister in the house at Eton, until she too died about the year 1848. "After her death," writes a member of the family, "the brother and sister were left alone, and I have heard that he said that his wish would be that 'both might fall from the perch at the same time.' This wish was really in a degree fulfilled. He was most tender to his last surviving sister in the weakness of her old age and failing memory and mind, and when he was taken from her *she* was hardly in a condition to be conscious of it."

Many other recollections of his warmth of heart are treasured among the traditions of the Hawtrey family. It will, for instance, not be forgotten by them that when his cousin, the father of the well-known Mr. Stephen Hawtrey, joined the Wesleyans, he and his mother refused to join in the sort of family "boycott" that ensued. Again, when Mr. Stephen Hawtrey, who had taken great interest in the building of Trinity Church, Windsor, was appointed the first incumbent of it, Provost Hodgson and others made many difficulties on account of Mr. Stephen Hawtrey's duties as an Assistant

Master. In the time of tension and anxiety caused by these matters it was to Dr. Hawtreys and his sister that he (Mr. Stephen Hawtreys) looked for the sympathy and kindness which never failed and which helped him through a difficult period of his life.

But it is time to pass on to the event which brought about the termination of Dr. Hawtreys headmastership. This was the death of Provost Hodgson, his close friend and the supporter of his efforts towards reform. It will be remembered that Dr. Hodgson was appointed in 1840, at which date it is said that Dr. Hawtreys might himself have had the Provostship had he wished. But he had not been Headmaster for more than six years, and it was not to be thought of while the work he had set himself to do was hardly more than begun. In 1852, however, things were different, and the following year found him elected Provost, a post which he held till his death nine years afterwards, and which was a fitting crowning-point to a life spent almost entirely at and for Eton. Two matters have purposely been left to be mentioned at this point, inasmuch as for their exercise he had larger opportunities in his new position than ever before. They are his unequalled exercise of hospitality and his devotion to literature.

As a host he was unsurpassed, and nothing gave him greater delight than to entertain the many notable people who resorted to Eton. His genial if rather elaborate courtesy was the admiration of all beholders as he escorted great ladies to their seats, or received political and ecclesiastical cele-

brities on the occasion of a great school function. His knowledge of foreign languages—he was entirely familiar with some half-dozen—enabled him to converse with distinguished personages from other countries, sometimes holding in talk two or three such people of different nationalities and using the language of each with complete ease as he turned from one to another. His house was full of books, pictures, statuary, etc., and was just such a home as it might be supposed that a man of his culture would create. There is a letter in Miss Hawtrey's *History of the Hawtrey Family* which gives a capital idea of the impression made by it and by him upon the casual visitor. The letter was written by a lady in 1828, and contains the following passage: "I have indeed seen Eton, and it is enough to say that it equals my expectations. I like our cousins (the Hawtreys) very much indeed. They were . . . most kind and affectionate. I was perfectly at my ease with Miss Hawtrey, but felt a little of the awe which we do for very clever persons towards Mr. Hawtrey [he was not yet Dr.]. . . . I felt that I was addressing a person who understood every subject of conversation perfectly well, and who could discover the slightest mistake you might make, whether on the subject of painting, poetry, Paris, politics, pedigree, or anything else you please. . . . I never saw a house that so completely came up to my idea of comfort."

Just one anecdote must be quoted upon the subject of his social gifts from Mr. Thackeray's *Life of Dr. Hawtrey*. He relates that a royal personage once said, "Dr. Hawtrey is the ugliest man in England, and the most agreeable."

Of his literary tastes much might be written. Three points must be noticed all too briefly here. First, his encouragement of literary pursuits among the boys who came under his influence. It was largely owing to his encouragement that Eton first possessed a school magazine. Winthrop Mackworth Praed was a boy during the time that Dr. Hawtrej was an Assistant Master, and from him received sympathy and help in his earliest literary efforts. These consisted, first of all, in a manuscript magazine called *Apis Matina*, which, mainly written by Praed, ran to six numbers, and subsequently in *The Etonian*, which he started with the aid of such contributors as Durnford (afterwards Bishop of Chichester) and Moultrie, who afterwards took Orders and gained a wide reputation as a poet. Another undertaking of Mackworth Praed, in which he received Dr. Hawtrej's hearty co-operation, was the formation of a school library, a tremendous undertaking for a boy, but one which he managed to carry out with success, if it is allowable to judge from an expression in a letter to a sister, in which he says, "The library goes on swimmingly." Dr. Hawtrej wrote the memorial inscription to Praed in Eton College Chapel, and therein ascribed to him the origin of the institution which, under Dr. Hawtrej's fostering care, became what Mr. Thackeray describes as a "Sanctuary of learning, with a flavour of literary and scholastic retirement about it."

Another method by which Dr. Hawtrej tried to foster literary tastes was that of presenting boys with books. This he did most lavishly, yet with much careful thought and intention. He would give

a boy a book likely to lead him further in some special branch of study on which he had entered, or he would give him one in some language in which he hoped that the boy would begin to take an interest. Often he would give books written by himself, and almost invariably privately printed and beautifully bound.

This leads to the second point of which mention must be made. He was a contributor to literature of certain little known but extremely choice works—mainly translations—each book being an example of exquisite taste, elaborate care, and extreme finish both in the matter contained in it and in its type, paper, binding, and general appearance.

As might be expected, these works are concerned with an unwonted variety of languages. There is a book of selections from Goethe, with an introduction in German by Dr. Hawtrey. There is an Italian work, consisting of translations from French and English into Greek, and from Latin, English, and German into Italian. But most important of all are the translations of certain passages of Homer. Matthew Arnold declared Dr. Hawtrey to be one of the three greatest judges of a translation from Homer, the other two being the late Professors Thompson and Jowett.

There is a flat, nearly square volume, which may be described as an excellent example of the kind of work that he delighted to publish privately as a gift-book. It is called *Homerus*, a title which is inscribed in gilt letters along the narrow back of its green cloth binding. The patterns impressed upon the sides of the book are in perfect taste, and help

to relieve the simplicity of the cover. The paper is smooth and thick, and each page is bordered by a double red line. The contents are two translations from Homer, viz. "Helen from the Walls of Troy" and "The Parting of Hector and Andromache," with the addition of "The War Song of Kallinos." The Greek is printed on the right-hand page with its translation opposite. A preface gives some considerations upon the emphasis in Greek hexameter verse, and the English is marked to explain his meaning. Thus in the second of the passages from Homer occur the following lines:—

"Hís was the Dáughter whom Héctor, the brázen-crésted, has chósen;
 Shé was the Wífe who mét him, her Hándmaid pácing besíde her
 Hólding a Bábe at her Bréast, that ténder, délicate ínfant,
 Héctor's ónly belóv'd, who shóne like a stár in its Bríghtness."

The rest of Dr. Hawtreý's own writings consisted mainly of contributions to the *Arundines Cami*, papers to be read at various societies, and several volumes of sermons and lectures.

The third point to be mentioned is the formation of his splendid library. Upon this he is said to have spent £30,000, and the late Mr. Gladstone remembered that it occupied twelve rooms in Dr. Hawtreý's house. It is not to be supposed that its possessor read all the books he acquired, but he never bought a book without a good reason and without some knowledge of its contents. As may be readily imagined, every book was preserved in perfect condition, and there were upon his shelves many examples of exquisite and rare bindings, as well as scarce and valuable books. When he became

Provost he was obliged to part with a large portion of his library, to his great sorrow.¹ His generosity and a certain carelessness in the supervision of his affairs left him unable in any other way to furnish and renovate the new house into which he moved. One of his old pupils, writing after his death, says, "I shall make a point of securing one of my dear tutor's interleaved books, as you say everything will be dispersed at a sale. I fancy him now telling me his grief at selling all his books. 'I dare say you have kept one or two,' I said. 'Somewhere about six thousand,' he answered, with a smile. I fancy him now looking over the bindings at the Manchester Exhibition. He had a particular way of opening a book."

After Dr. Hawtrey's death his library, even then one of the most noted in the country, was sold by Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson, on June 30th, 1862, *and nine following days.*

The Provostship of Dr. Hawtrey was not marked

¹ It is worth mentioning here that Dr. Hawtrey's pecuniary affairs were never in very good order. It is remembered that at a dinner-party one evening the conversation turned upon washing machines, which had just come in. "Ah," said he, "the sort of machine I want is one into which I can put my bills, and they will come out receipts."

After his death no will could be found. Writing on this subject, a friend said, "Do not despair of a will . . . I should think about the time of the sale of the books he must have made one, and he never burnt a paper, I believe, and wrote on scraps sometimes. I shall be very sorry indeed if nothing of the kind remains: all I fear is that *very little will remain.*"

Mr. Benson, in *Fasti Etonenses*, says that Dr. Hawtrey's affairs were left in an "embarrassed" condition. It is pointed out by a member of the family that "embarrassing" would more accurately have described the circumstances, for, in default of a will, his property was divided between thirty-two next-of-kin, each of whom received £300.



PORTRAIT OF DR. MOBERLY

by any special incident. He evidently considered that his work was done, and that what changes were necessary had been accomplished. He therefore became a reactionary rather than a reforming influence during his recent years.

He held two livings in succession, those of Ewhurst and Mapledurham, together with his Provostship, but almost his whole time was spent at Eton.

He did not live to a great age, as years are reckoned nowadays. By the time that he was seventy he showed signs of breaking up, and for some period before his death he began to suffer from softening of the brain. The end came at midnight, on January 27th, 1862, in his seventy-third year. He had but one trouble at the end, and that was the uncertainty as to what would become of his surviving sister—a helpless invalid. He was, however, comforted by the assurance of a cousin that she should be cared for.

In the *History of the Hawtrey Family* a letter is quoted from a lady who was much with the Provost at the last. It contains the following allusion: "How happy he has been, surrounded by such love and kindness in such near and dear friends! I can hardly think he still breathes, but he has been sufficiently conscious to know that your kindness has extended to his dear sister's future. . . . What a comfort to think of John's kind consideration crowning all the kindness and cheering his last earthly anxiety!"

Dr. Hawtrey was the last person buried within the walls of Eton College Chapel.

II

GEORGE MOBERLY, D.D.

HEADMASTER OF WINCHESTER, 1835-1866

THE early life of Dr. Moberly was not altogether happy or satisfactory, and he would have been a bold man who would have confidently foretold that the little delicate lad, brought up first by one and then another, would attain to the eminence which he eventually reached.

Born at St. Petersburg on October 10th, 1803, George was one of the younger sons of Mr. Edward Moberly, a Russian merchant. His mother was a daughter of Mr. John Cayley, British Consul at St. Petersburg. The family returned to England within a few years of his birth, and remained there until 1813, when Mr. and Mrs. Edward Moberly and some of the children returned to Russia, leaving George in charge of his eldest brother, William, who was himself not yet twenty-one. At that time George had developed a weakness in the back after a severe attack of measles. He was not allowed to walk for nearly two years, and then had to get about on crutches.

When very young he had attended a dames' school, kept by three sisters, but his first real boarding-school was that of Mr. Richards, in Hyde Street, Winchester.

There is little doubt that George would have followed the example of many of his brothers and gone into business at an early age, if it had not been for an old friend of his mother's, who had taken a great fancy to him. This was Lady Pembroke, a daughter of Count Simon Woronzoff, Russian Ambassador at the Court of St. James. This lady obtained for him a nomination to Winchester, and he entered the college in 1816. This was a turning-point in his career, but there were still troubles ahead.

Winchester was a very rough place in those days. Chapel was at 6 a.m. Morning school at 7.30, after which an excursion had frequently to be made to the top of St. Catherine's Hill, an apparently useless process to which the conservatism of Winchester clung, and which went by the name of "Morning Hills." It was, consequently, nearly ten o'clock before any breakfast could be obtained, and, as meat at dinner did not as a rule fall to the lot of any particular boy oftener than once a week owing to the way in which it was cut up, it seems an extraordinary thing that any but the most robust ever reached New College, the goal of every Wykehamist's ambition.

As a matter of fact, little George Moberly said himself that he could not have borne it had it not been that he was excused "Morning Hills" and compulsory cricket. It may have been partly owing to this physical weakness that as a boy he made no special mark at Winchester. He obtained a high place when he entered the school, but luck seemed always against him. He gained two places

just before the election, at which he hoped to obtain a New College scholarship, so that he stood fourth of his year. Sure enough, four were elected, but two boys who were Founders' kin were put first, so that the places he had gained proved of no use to him. In the end, however, it was probably a matter of congratulation that he did not go on to New College. Had he done so, the Winchester reputation for want of success would never have been broken, for he would not have been required to go into the schools, and would probably have passed on to a college living and have been lost as a public man. But better than this was in store for him.

Lady Pembroke determined that he should still go to Oxford, and gave him substantial help with that object. Some inquiries were set on foot, and finally somebody was found who said that he had a friend, a tutor of Balliol, to whom he would give George Moberly an introduction. Thus most casually an important step was taken, and in the spring of 1822 he went up to Balliol as an undergraduate. There his mental powers were observed at once, and it was not long before it was made clear to him that he was considered a promising scholar, with every prospect of obtaining a Fellowship at his college. But his bad luck had not altogether deserted him. An unfortunate introduction to a member of a fast set in Balliol brought him into an atmosphere of wine-parties and card-playing, and the college sets were so clearly marked that, once having joined one set, it was impossible to change it for another. This might very well

have proved Moberly's undoing, but his ambition had been fired by the intimations of many (including his scout!) that he was much thought of, and he took an early degree with great credit, obtaining a first in Greats and the English Prize Essay.

In 1826 he obtained the coveted Fellowship of Balliol, and at once found himself among far more congenial spirits. He wrote himself of this happy change as follows: "When I became a member of the Senior Common-room, all was changed. The atmosphere was delightful to me; all sorts of subjects were the topics of conversation, literary and religious, for men's minds were full of Church discussions in those days. I seemed to spring towards these higher subjects, became immensely interested, read a great deal, and began to have my opinions."

On St. Thomas' Day in this same year he was ordained by Bishop Lloyd, of Oxford, wrote his first sermon that evening (it was a Saturday), and preached it on the following afternoon!

Pupils seem to have come to him at once in considerable numbers. He used to say that this was the result of his getting a certain Trinity man, who had been often ploughed, through his logic. The story goes that this man afterwards became a country curate until the offer came to him of the chaplaincy of a prison, which he accepted. A neighbouring farmer, offering him his congratulations, said, "Well, sir, I hope you'll preach them all out of prison like you've preached them all out of church here!"

Among Moberly's pupils at Balliol were several

men who attained to great eminence, of whom special mention must be made of Manning (afterwards Cardinal) and Tait (afterwards Archbishop).

So time went on happily and successfully enough, and in 1834 he married Mary Anne, eldest daughter of Mr. Thomas Crokot, and a great friend of one of his sisters. The newly married couple took a small house in New Inn Hall Street, Oxford, for Moberly was asked to retain his tutorship at Balliol. This was a great honour, for up to that time a married tutor had not been known in Oxford!

Towards the close of the same year the headmastership of Winchester fell vacant, and three candidates entered the field. These were Mr. Christopher Wordsworth (afterwards Headmaster of Harrow and subsequently Bishop of Lincoln), Mr. Sewell, and Mr. Moberly. The first named withdrew before the date of election in order that his brother Charles, who was just engaged to be married, might accept the post of Second Master of Winchester. Of the remaining two the choice fell upon Mr. Moberly, the news of his election reaching him when on a visit to the Isle of Wight.

The appointment of Dr. Moberly to the headmastership was in one sense a new departure, and one that was scarcely to be expected in such a conservative school as Winchester. He was not a New College man, but hailed from Balliol, as has been seen—a place with an entirely different atmosphere. He had, however, thoroughly Winchester ideas, for Balliol had not obliterated the strong impressions of his schooldays, and he was by no means of the type which is generally associated

with the name of Dr. Jowett. He was before all things an ecclesiastic, and an ecclesiastic of the High Church stamp, so that the fact of his being a Balliol man did not really make him in any way unsuitable for taking charge of a school which had been from its foundation closely bound up with the Church. At the same time, he from time to time found that a certain prejudice existed against him on this account. In the evidence which he gave before the Public Schools Commission, in 1862, occurs this passage : "I have no hesitation in saying that the consequence of restricting the choice of masters to any single college cannot be to improve the quality of the teaching in the school. When I was introduced here as Headmaster, though bred here as a boy, I belonged to another college. I was an undergraduate, Fellow, and Tutor of Balliol ; my life at Oxford was spent in my college, and you may easily suppose that, this being a place which more or less was always looked upon as one of the privileges of New College, it has never been a very pleasant matter that a Balliol man should be here. Again, when I was elected, not only was I, a Balliol man, made Headmaster, but the then Warden and Fellows elected Mr. Charles Wordsworth (afterwards Bishop of St. Andrews) Second Master, who was not only not a New College man, but not a Wykehamist at all. He was bred at Harrow, and was a Christ Church man ; and to have him brought here as second master was not altogether acceptable to the body of Wykehamists."

It is certainly strange to find that so long ago as 1836 the Warden and Fellows were ready to make

such revolutionary appointments. It is less remarkable to notice that with the greater freedom of modern ideas the most recent choice of a Headmaster fell upon one entirely unconnected with Winchester.

The position which Dr. Moberly found himself called upon to fill had other difficulties. The essential part of Winchester was its body of Warden and Fellows, who managed the property and resided in the buildings.¹ The scholars were entirely under the Warden's control. Then, when it was seen that a successful education was given to the college boys, others were allowed to come and share in their instruction, these being called Commoners, and being put under the charge of a master who filled the position of Headmaster, but was necessarily in most respects subservient to the Warden.

Here is what Dr. Moberly said in his evidence: "By the Constitution the Warden is supreme over the scholars. . . . As to the Commoners, he has nothing directly to do with them,—still, being supreme over the scholars, as it is but one school, it is obvious that he gets an indirect supremacy over the Commoners as well, so that I should never think of doing anything remarkable without consulting the Warden and ascertaining his wishes about it."

It would seem that such a dual control would inevitably lead to unpleasantness, and that a Headmaster with any gift of initiative would find himself, in the event of the Warden being unsympathetic, hampered at every turn. Dr. Moberly was fortu-

¹ Leach, in his *History*, says that the Fellows ceased to reside at the time of the Reformation.

nate in beginning his rule under the auspices of Warden Barter. This man hailed, like Dr. Temple, from Tiverton Grammar School, but obtained a nomination for Winchester when about twelve years old, and for the rest of his life was a prominent figure in the history of the school. When fifteen years old he obtained the gold medal for Latin verse, and was regarded as one of the best scholars in the place. He was a noted cricketer; his big hits from a well-known style of ball were so frequent that the half-volley in question came to be called a "Barter." From New College he obtained a Fellowship at Oriel, and then came back to Winchester as a Tutor. After a period of this work he returned to New College, holding a Tutorship there for some fifteen years. He was a man of an impressive personality, combining great size and strength with a goodness of heart that shone out in his benignant countenance. It may be imagined that his popularity was unbounded, and it occasioned no great surprise when, in 1832, he was elected to the wardenship, although Dr. Williams, the Headmaster, was himself a candidate.

Between Warden Barter and Dr. Moberly a strong friendship sprang up, founded in all probability upon the wish of both men to improve the religious tone of the school. One of the Warden's first changes was to abolish the attendance of the boys at the Cathedral on Sunday afternoons, and to substitute a sermon at the five-o'clock service in the college chapel. He preached the first of these sermons himself, and it is said that many of the boys were moved to tears. It should be remem-

bered that this was probably the first time that they had listened to a sermon specially addressed to themselves as boys, and that it was delivered by a man whom they revered and loved as a Wykehamist hero, and whose love for them and anxiety for their souls' welfare must have been in strong evidence on such an occasion.

Fortunate indeed was it for the new Headmaster that he could count on a Warden of such great influence as his friend. But, for all that, the fact that the scheme of government at Winchester put the Headmaster in some respects at the Warden's mercy may be reckoned as one of Dr. Moberly's difficulties. Another—but one which he quickly overcame—was the great contrast between himself and his predecessor, Dr. Williams. Boys are the most conservative beings possible, and welcome no change, least of all that of Headmaster. And the change was considerable. "Tall, powerful, and handsome," says Mr. Adams, in *Wykehamica*, "he (Dr. Williams) excelled in all games, and was the hero of the cricket-field no less than of election chamber. I have conversed with those who can remember the time when, tall as he was, he could with ease leap his own height." He was stately in dress, knee breeches and a cocked hat forming part of his usual attire. He was beloved by the boys, who had an idea that he was in sympathy with their transgressions no less than with their advancement in their studies. Thus it was a common belief that he rode a white horse in order that his approach might be timely visible to boys who had broken bounds. His voice was large, like his person. It is

said that, when he was Warden of New College, a young Fellow once read the wrong lesson in chapel. When he had finished, a big, rolling voice was heard from the Warden's seat, saying, "Now, sir, read the right chapter!" in tones that none who heard it ever forgot.

In all these respects Dr. Moberly, with his smaller person, rather elegant manners, and high though musical voice, presented a new idea to Winchester boys, and no doubt it took them a certain time to find that they had at least as good a friend in the new Headmaster as they had had in the old. His voice has been commented upon by many who knew him well in those days. "You could not have," writes one, "a greater contrast than Moberly's voice and, for instance, Temple's (the late Archbishop). The one a rapier, the other a sledge-hammer. The rough, rustic harshness of the one and the delicately modulated tones of the other, in which every thrust reached its mark often with deadly effect." He took obvious pains with his pronunciation, possibly because it was marred by a slight lisp, possibly also because of his wish that every word he uttered should tell. Many have writhed under the cutting irony of his tongue, though it is fair to say that, except in cases where the punishment was deserved, his sense of humour rather than any unkindly feeling was generally to blame for the exercise of his undoubted powers in this direction.

Two stories may be told here which illustrate well the contrast in voice and in a certain extreme refinement between him and his predecessor. An old Wykehamist was once walking with Dr.

Moberly and said, "We used to fancy that you had much less sympathy with football than with cricket." "Indeed," said the doctor, "and why did you think so?" "Well," was the reply, "you used to speak of our football match as 'thicks and thicks.'" "Ah, my boy," he said, "it was my infirmity of speech!" The great football match of the season at Winchester is the game called "Six and Six," and the gentle reply of Dr. Moberly is to be noted, since it was an occasion when he might fairly have exercised those powers of retort for which he was famous.

The other story shows his horror of anything approaching what he considered a lack of refinement in speech. He was taking a Horace lesson, in the course of which a boy was put on to construe at the passage, 'Descende cælo,' etc. "Come down from heaven," began the boy, and then went on "'et dic age tibia'—and give us a tune." "You nasty, vulgar little boy," burst out the Doctor, "order your name!" which was the Wykehamical phrase for ordering a flogging.

Not only was Dr. Moberly, when he first went to Winchester, delicate in speech and manner, but he was also delicate in health, and would come into chapel or school shivering and forlorn-looking, again a remarkable contrast to the big, robust Dr. Williams.

In considering Dr. Moberly's labours as Head-master, it is fortunately possible to gather his own views of the duties of the position, together with some account of the principles upon which he worked, by referring to his evidence given before

the Royal Commission on Public Schools, which reported in 1864, and to the valuable series of letters on the subject which he addressed to Sir William Heathcote. Some quotations have already been made from the former source bearing upon the authority which ought to belong to a Headmaster, but which was curtailed at Winchester by the position held by the Warden. Dr. Moberly was all for increased liberty in the direction of throwing things more open at Winchester. Just as he was (as has been seen) theoretically opposed to the selection of masters being limited to New College, so he worked for and obtained the throwing open of the entrance scholarships to competition instead of their being given, as a matter of course, to nominees of the Wardens and Fellows; and of the New College scholarships to the whole school, instead of their being, as formerly, confined to Winchester scholars. The former of these changes occurred in 1855, the latter four years later. In reference to this he said in his letters, "The open elections have been excellently successful. In point of ability, good conduct, and general promise we have lost nothing, and we have gained much," and in his evidence before the Commission he ascribed to this cause the disposition on the part of more parents than before to send their sons to Winchester.

In these days of strict examinations it will hardly be credited that before these changes came about, the boys who were up for Winchester scholarships by nomination were put through an absurd form of examination, which had no effect whatever on their

admission, the lists having been invariably made out beforehand. As a rule, the whole ceremony was on a par with that part of it which related to the singing test. "Can you sing?" a boy was asked; on which all he had to do was to repeat after one of the masters the verse beginning, "All people that on earth do dwell."

To return to Dr. Moberly, it is characteristic of him to note that he went to work very cautiously in the matter of reforms. Thus, in his evidence, after condemning the system which restricted the choice of masters to one college, he adds, "I have always felt it my duty to fill up the masterships that were in my patronage as far as I could from New College. If I could find a fit man at that college I felt that I must appoint him. The only excuse that would be felt to be adequate, if I brought in another man, was that I could not find one to suit me at New College." Taking this policy in conjunction with the fact that he had been Headmaster nearly twenty years before the throwing open of the scholarships, it must be allowed that in matters of reform caution played with him a great part—so great a part, indeed, that in very many matters he merely prepared the way, leaving the actual work to his successor, Dr. Ridding, who was the great reformer of Winchester. It must at the same time be noticed that in the course of a most valuable paper on Dr. Moberly, the Dean of Lincoln says, "He (Moberly) had had boys of his own in the school, and seen its weak points with a parent's eye. Hours and methods began to be altered for the better. The teaching power was increased. He was

feeling his way to the boarding-house system. The foundations of the great revival of the school, which came under his successor, were being wisely laid."

In the matter of the subjects of school teaching Dr. Moberly was distinctly one of the old school. There is plenty of evidence of this in his letters to Sir William Heathcote. "In my judgment," he says, "you cannot bring French in as a co-ordinate subject of instruction with the two chief subjects of education, classics and divinity, or even with the third, mathematics. We can neither find the time in the week, nor the teachers." Again: "It is plainly out of the question that we should *teach* chemistry, etc. . . . A course of lectures on each of the chief subjects of science in turn should be delivered in the school annually by some person competent to explain the principles of it, and to exhibit by experiment the last discoveries and the present state of the science. . . . More than this I do not think we can aim at with any prospect of adequate advantage. I have found it useful to offer prizes annually for the three best collections of wild flowers made in the year in the neighbourhood of Winchester." This last sentence gives the keynote of his plan as to all subjects outside classics, divinity, and (to a less extent) mathematics. He considered that boys should be encouraged to learn what French, German, history, geography, etc., they could, either in the holidays or, at all events, out of school hours, and with this object he instituted examinations at the end of each half-year in these subjects (one Greek and one Latin paper being introduced) for prizes which, at all

events at first, he gave himself. Such a thing as any education in music or singing he scarcely considered possible, though he himself was an excellent musician, both instrumentally and vocally. Many Wykehamists will remember his beautiful chanting of the Litany on Wednesdays and Fridays in College chapel, and his starting the *Venite* at morning service in the same place with the aid of a tuning fork. Bishop Charles Wordsworth, in his "Annals," has some interesting notes on this subject. It will be remembered that he was Second Master, and being anxious for brighter chapel services, he got permission to invite Mr. John Hullah, who had already organised singing classes at Charterhouse and Eton, to come down and do the same at Winchester. Mr. Wordsworth states that he himself was always present at the classes; but he adds, "Moberly, though he did not oppose it, gave it little or no encouragement. He was himself too advanced and accomplished a musician, both in theory and practice, vocal and instrumental, to show much favour to a mode of instruction upon which he was secretly inclined to look down as little removed from a species of quackery."

As to mathematics, Dr. Moberly gave practical evidence that he considered them an essential part of the school curriculum, though he would not place them on a level with classics and divinity. Until he came, there had been little or no teaching of this subject, but he introduced a mathematical master, and even went the length of getting a second, whom he paid out of his own pocket. At the same time, he lays down clearly in the "Letters" what

his view was as to the most valuable sort of education. His exact words must be quoted: "The young man whose education is laid out on a scientific principle may gain a certain acquaintance with various literary matters, as the one whose education is essentially literary may become fairly acquainted with much of science. Let it, however, be understood that there is hardly such a thing possible as a *third* well-digested system of education besides these two. The so-called education which is made up altogether of various and heterogeneous pieces of knowledge, none leading on to the others, none carried forward throughout the whole process to give coherency, and to form, as it were, a backbone to all the rest, is really no education at all. However, of the two chief and real sorts of education, the literary one is that which introduces man to men; which makes him a partaker of all the thoughts of all his kind, which puts him on a level, so far at least as to be able to understand what they have thought and left behind them, with all the greatest and most cultivated minds that have ever been. I am far from saying that we pursue the literary method as well as possible. On the contrary, I am conscious of much wasted time and half-used power. . . . On the great principle I trust we are in no danger of a revolution—the great principle of basing the education of our public schools upon language and literature—and therefore upon the language and the literature of the Romans and the Greeks."

And yet the revolution was not long in coming. It is not fifty years since these words were written,

and already "modern sides," "Army classes," etc., are familiar parts of the scheme of every public school, while it is only the other day that the University of Oxford seriously considered the advisability of abolishing Greek as a necessary subject for a degree. It is much to be feared lest all education should become, as that of the elementary schools already has, a system which is made up of "various and heterogeneous pieces of knowledge, none leading on to the others," which Dr. Moberly so justly condemns.

That portion of a boy's education to which he attached the greatest importance must be treated at length when that side of Dr. Moberly's work is discussed, for it forms by far the most striking portion of the story of his headmastership. It may be well, however, here to quote from his evidence before the Commission some words which show how admirably he considered the scheme of literary and religious education which he advocated had worked at Winchester. "Every school," he said, "of this size has a definite character, and gives a peculiar stamp to its pupils, and I could with more or less distinctness characterise the pupils of the public schools of England by the particular stamp or mint mark they bear. That which distinguishes our Winchester boys is one which is recognised by those who are acquainted with our public schools as of a very distinct and valuable kind. I consider that those boys who issue from the top of the school, *i.e.* those upon whom the highest influences of the school have been brought to bear, are boys who, if not of so high a standard

of scholarship as some others, carry with them into life a stamp, not of a very showy kind, but distinguished by a self-reliance, a modesty, a practical goodness, and a strong religious feeling, being of a very moderate, traditional, and sober kind, which in my judgment is beyond all price." Truly he gives Wykehamists a high character, and one which it must need all the inspiration of his words to enable them to live up to.

Having thus seen that when Dr. Moberly came to Winchester he found an extremely old-fashioned and narrow system of education in vogue, and that with one or two exceptions he did not greatly widen its scope, it will now be interesting to examine the evidence of some of his old pupils and see what methods of teaching he personally employed. On one point all are agreed, viz. that of his kind he was a great teacher. Here came in the beauty of his voice and his marvellous gifts as a talker. He would go off at a tangent again and again in the course of a lesson as some word or name suggested an interesting subject, and give a whole series of little lectures in this way, sometimes occupying an immense amount of time. Thus it is on record that on more than one occasion in old days he began a lesson at nine o'clock and did not release the division until half-past eleven. And yet no one was ever bored or found it dull, a wonderful proof of his own enthusiasm and the interest which he managed to impart to the boys. An example of the way in which he would branch off into all sorts of subjects is given by an old Wykehamist, who remembers an occasion when Dr. Moberly was

taking a lesson at one end of the schoolroom and Mr. Wickham at the other. It so happened that just as the former was about to branch off on a side issue there was a silence at the other end of the room. Not altogether anxious that his colleague should hear what he was about, Dr. Moberly said, "Wait a minute till Mr. Wickham is talking," and then he went off into an interesting history of the Irvingites.

The impression made by his free translations, which an old pupil describes as "opening new vistas to us," was strong and lasting, as was also that made by his manner. "He paced up and down with his book, and turned Homer into such splendid English that he *made* you love it," says one. "He would take Horace's 'Town and Country Mouse' and positively dramatise it. He was a splendid actor," says another. A third writes: "As boys we had a great belief in him as a scholar, though not so much perhaps in critical and grammatical scholarship. He was very strong on his Thucydides, and to hear him translating Pindar to his Sixth Book [*i.e.* Sixth Form] was as great a treat as to hear Jowett reproducing Plato."

What his pupils who knew him in his golden days dwell upon with greatest pleasure are his Greek Testament, Pindar, Thucydides, and Greek play lessons. But Pindar was his favourite. He translated the whole of this author into English verse,¹ and, to show how high he ranked him as a poet, he once said, "I came across a bit in your friend Mr. Tennyson as good as Pindar." The

¹ Published anonymously (Winchester, 1876).



DR. MOBERLY TAKING A DIVISION IN THE BIG SCHOOLROOM

passage he referred to was the description of the nightingale in *Enid*, and the lines which called forth the admiration of Dr. Moberly were those beginning—

“When first the liquid note beloved of men
Comes flying over many a windy wave,” etc.

It was as a *vivâ voce* teacher that he excelled. His personality was inspiring and impressive, and he managed to make the boys feel that it was a terrible thing to lose his respect. Thus the boy who made an audacious attempt to translate at sight has never forgotten the tone in which Dr. Moberly said, “I would rather you told me you hadn’t prepared it than talked nonsense.” He would occasionally use his powers of ridicule and sarcasm to an extent that seems scarcely fair, and stories are plentiful of such occasions. Here are a few. He had been much worried by letters from the mother of one of the boys, begging him to see personally to all sorts of small matters connected with her son’s health. Dr. Moberly determined to put a stop to this, so one day in public, before a whole class, he said to the boy in question, “B——, I have heard from your mother, saying that you are to wear flannel next your skin and to masticate your food. *See that you do it!*” It is possible to imagine the agonised letter which went home by the next post, begging, even insisting, that no more such letters should reach the Doctor.

Again, a boy by name D—— wrote for his Latin verse task a sort of pastoral poem in which the shepherd spoke in the first person of his love. Dr.

Moberly translated this effusion aloud to the division, substituting for the "I" "Mr. D——," and for the lady "Mrs. D——," to the delight of the rest of the boys, but greatly to the confusion of the author. Here was an instance when Dr. Moberly's sense of the humorous was perhaps greater than his consideration of the feelings of the boy.

Another story is interesting as showing the origin of what has become a familiar tale. The occasion was when the division were each composing a *vulgus* (*i.e.* a Latin elegiac composition of six verses). A wag, unable to remember the Latin word for ladder, used *junior* in its place. "What's this?" said the Doctor, "I can't construe it." "Please, sir," was the answer, "ladder : *juvenis*, lad ; *junior*, ladder." Dr. Moberly, with his rather exaggerated delicacy of taste, was the very last person to whom such jesting would be palatable. "Write me," he said, "two *vulguses* : one for being a rude lad, and one for not knowing the Latin for ladder."

The Dean of Lincoln, himself both boy and master under Dr. Moberly, gives the following summary of the latter's powers of instruction :—

"He was a born teacher, with a remarkable faculty of lucid and interesting exposition. As all great teachers have, he had his favourite subjects. No one who ever heard them has forgotten his lessons in Thucydides or Pindar, 'that most noble, chivalrous, pious, gentlemanlike of poets,' as he enthusiastically called him. He made Theocritus delightful to us. Horace appealed to him in his Satires and Epistles, though for the Odes he had little patience. On the other hand, the Greek

dramatists and Virgil, as we read them with him, failed somehow to come home to us. His teaching was grammatical and literary, and, so far as that was possible, philosophical. Its weakest side was that of history. He had an admirable power of translation, exact, and at the same time idiomatic, spirited, and graceful. And he had a fund of illustration. English literature he did not believe in teaching directly, but by his own enthusiasm, and by making us feel thoroughly ashamed of ourselves if we failed to recognise quotations from great poets, he stimulated many of us to read and to appreciate for ourselves. . . .

“In the forties and early fifties he had under his own teaching, practically without assistance, in all classical and general subjects, two ‘divisions,’ containing together some sixty boys and covering a considerable range of variable attainment. Many of the lessons were given to both divisions at once, some of them being construed over again by the lower one when the upper one had gone. . . .

“The ordinary motives of boyish ambition were minimised by the traditional mode of filling the New College scholarships by succession instead of competition.

“That, in spite of all this, he kept us alive at all and made some of us even work hard was a proof of power.”

As to the looking over of tasks, such work was not congenial to him, and, especially in his later years, they would often accumulate in great numbers and escape being looked over at all. The boys were of course quick enough to find this out, and

not seldom a boy would try how long he could go without sending one in at all. Of course, when he *was* found out—as he was sure to be sooner or later—he received a tolerably severe punishment, but as he had probably been relieved of task-writing for some weeks, the balance of advantage was certainly in his favour. Another plan adopted by some was to write out a passage from some Latin author, trusting that their own name would be read but not the lines. On one unfortunate occasion a boy sent up the well-known epode of Horace beginning, “*Beatus ille.*” It was hardly likely that such extremely familiar lines should escape notice, and he received the punishment he deserved.

Closely connected with Dr. Moberly’s work as a teacher was his success as a disciplinarian. Even in those boys who understood him and were really fond of him—and these were never very many in number—he inspired a considerable amount of awe, so that, as an old pupil has said, “one would sooner have got into a row with anyone else.” This was, of course, partly owing to his terrible powers of sarcasm—powers which he exercised sometimes on others besides the boys. There is a story of a certain fond mother, a Mrs. Jinks, bringing her boy to the school and imploring Dr. Moberly to have a special care of him. “He is our only child, Dr. Moberly; all our interests are centred in him.” “Dear me,” said the doctor, “the last of the Jinks!”

On another occasion a boy brought him a letter from his (the boy’s) mother asking for leave out. Now the boy had been smoking, and the letter smelt strongly of the forbidden weed. “Johnson,”

said Dr. Moberly, "does your mother smoke? Don't let me catch *you* doing it!"

His own great punctuality was an element in his preservation of order and discipline. He never was absent from school or chapel, and invariably arrived exactly in time, neither too soon nor too late. There is an institution at Winchester which goes by the name of "calling peals." This means that certain junior boys are told off to watch before morning chapel or school and call out warnings of the passing of time to their elders. One of these peals was "Moberly on!" and meant that the Doctor had passed on his way to chapel, which he always did precisely at the same time every morning, viz. between two and three minutes to the hour.

Another manner in which he, without doubt, improved the discipline of the school was in reducing the number of floggings and making the punishment a reality instead of a mere routine performance with which familiarity bred contempt. As in most other matters, Winchester has always had its own peculiar rites and ceremonies in connection with flogging. When a boy was condemned he was told to "order his name," *i.e.* he was to go to the Ostiarius¹ and give in his name with a description of his offence. The prefect then wrote the boy's name and the name of the master who complained in a Latin formula, and this was in due course handed to the Headmaster, who then named the time of execution. When the moment arrived the boy knelt down, and two boys were told off to what

¹ The Ostiarius was one of the ten senior prefects appointed for the day to keep order in school, *i.e.* the big schoolroom.

was called "take him up," that is, they proceeded to lay bare a few inches of his back about as high up as his waist, and on that spot four cuts (or six for a very serious offence) were delivered by the Doctor with a rod—a wooden-handled instrument with four long apple twigs affixed. Dr. Moberly positively hated the whole thing, and more than one Wykehamist has described how he would put on his college cap—a part of the ceremony—stalk down with a look of supreme disgust on his face, whip the boy, and hurl away the rod before leaving the room.

It is difficult to credit the number of floggings that were usual at Winchester in old days, but Dr. Moberly, in his letters to Sir William Heathcote, declares that when he was there as a boy there were at least a thousand every year—a number which he succeeded in reducing to somewhere between ten and twenty fifty years afterwards. It is not surprising to find Mr. Adams, in his *Wykehamica*, stating that it was said that some boys had passed through the school unflogged, and that though this may have been the case in modern times, he doubts whether in the days of his own boyhood such a phenomenon existed.

Another matter must be mentioned, on which Dr. Moberly set great store as conducive to discipline, viz. the authority of the prefects. Probably in no school has this system been carried to the lengths to which it has at Winchester, where the prefect with his ground ash is—or, at all events, *was*—an object of considerably greater terror to the small boy than master or tutor. Both in College and

in Commoners the prefect had an immense amount of power. The Second Master was in charge of the boys in College, and the Headmaster of those in Commoners, but both depended largely for discipline upon the prefects. Dr. Moberly had two tutors in Commoners who had their meals with the boys and superintended their compositions, giving them what assistance they could, but never actually teaching. The position of these tutors was not altogether pleasant, for he was always afraid lest they should usurp some of the authority of the prefects. It is said that one of these tutors once came to him and reported that a store of spirits had been laid in by some of the boys—a piece of intelligence which the Doctor received with much coldness, bowing the tutor out and taking no further notice of the matter!

Some have thought that this sort of thing arose in part from his wish not to be troubled, for he did not by any means encourage his prefects to come to him with difficulties or worries. An old Wykehamist says, "I was senior Commoner. He may have had confidence *in* us, but he didn't encourage confidences *from* us. He seemed not to want to be bothered."

In view, however, of the strong line he took on the subject of the authority of the senior boys, it may be considered probable that this was not the real reason of his apparent indifference, but that it arose mainly from his desire not in any way to interfere with that authority. There is a little bit of evidence of the general supposition that he disliked any action on the part of a master which encroached

in his eyes on the prerogatives of the prefects. It happened that, after the establishment of boarding houses, a certain house master, hearing a disturbance, walked in just before prayers and found a big boy "ragging" the house prefect. The prefect's ground ash was lying on the table, but its owner—not a particularly powerful individual—could not bring himself to use it. The house master promptly picked it up and used it with effect upon two of the chief offenders, but hurried to the Headmaster immediately afterwards to give his account of the incident, knowing full well that the boys would lay a complaint against him for using the prefect's weapon. Dr. Moberly told the master plainly that it wasn't his place to use a ground ash.

In *Wykehamica* it is stated that fifty years ago there was practically no check at all on the authority of a prefect. "He was allowed to punish any junior for any offence with any amount of blows he chose to inflict; there was no appeal and no remedy." It is a relief to read in the same book, a few pages farther on, "Of late years the authority of prefects has been circumscribed in more than one matter," and it is certain that by this time even Winchester has been to some extent permeated by public opinion, and that the rule of the prefect is under better control.¹

Closely connected with the subject of the authority of the prefects is the question of fagging, and upon this there is a full record of Dr. Moberly's opinion in the Preface to his volume of Winchester Sermons. Just as the authority of the prefects seems to have

¹ The number of strokes permissible was limited in 1873 to twelve.

been without limit in days gone by, so also was the fagging to which junior boys were liable. One who vividly remembers his first years at Winchester says: "It was a severe fagging system rather than bullying. There were eternal punishments, but always for some offence or other." It was, in fact, in those days a sort of legalised bullying. But in most men's opinion, and certainly in that of Dr. Moberly, both systems, viz. prefectorial authority and fagging, are essential to the welfare of a public school, provided only that they are properly used and guarded from abuse by the higher authority of head and assistant masters.

At Winchester the idea of the smaller boys being under the control of the bigger is of long standing, and has developed in remarkable ways. In Dr. Moberly's evidence before the Commission occurs the following passage, which will be read with interest and some astonishment by those educated elsewhere than at Winchester. "We had a system in old times, which was statuteable in fact, by which the College prefects acted as tutors to the lower College boys, and it operated extremely well in my judgment. A College prefect had about six pupils among the lesser boys, and he was in a great measure responsible for them. If the master wanted to know about a little boy, he sent for the boy-tutor and asked him, 'Is this boy going on well?' The boy-tutor looked over his pupil's compositions and made him alter them until they were as nearly correct as he could make them, and then they were shown up to the master. When Mr. Wordsworth came here as Second Master he did not like that

plan ; he had been at another school : it had prevailed traditionally with us, and he represented to the Warden that it was a bad thing for one boy to look over another boy's composition, and that it would be much better to have a man to do it. The Warden acceded to that and appointed a tutor."

This curious system existed, then, until after Dr. Moberly's appointment as Headmaster (as it still does in a modified form), and prompts two questions. In the first place, how could this beautiful elder-brother sort of plan go on side by side with a state of things in which "eternal punishments rather than bullying" was the order of the day? And secondly, how in the world was a prefect with six boy-pupils' compositions to superintend to do his own work adequately? However, that these things were so is guaranteed by Dr. Moberly's own words, and they form an interesting introduction to the subject of fagging.

How deeply Dr. Moberly felt about this can only be ascertained by reading the Preface before mentioned, and so important is it to obtain an exact idea of his opinions and wishes on this side of school life that a few extracts must be here quoted.

"There grows for the most part upon young men bred at public schools a facility of using their powers, an easy skill in taking and keeping their position in life, an absence of absurd pretension, a general practical modesty, a self-reliance and moral presence of mind, a good sense, an early maturity of practical judgment, which are of unspeakable value in all the conduct of their lives." Such are the qualities which he thought that a

judicious system of fagging helped to produce. He continues: "The public-school system calls upon boys to recognise in themselves not mere recipients of so many lessons, not mere top-spinning, birds'-nesting, mischievous little monkeys, who have to be kept in order against their will, but members of an ordered company, having a place in a series, and, with that place, duties, offices, rights, and privileges. It early calls upon boys by giving them this sort of real and recognised position to be conscious of a constitution, and to have ideas and judgments as to the manner in which themselves and others act within it. . . . The actual problem in all education, considered as a system of moral training, . . . is how to cultivate interest and secure their habits and character up to eighteen years old in such manner and degree as that when they pass from school training they shall be competent and willing to continue for themselves those same habits and that same character which hitherto have been principally cultivated by others for them." After this masterly summary of the objects of a public-school training, Dr. Moberly goes on to say that unless some such plan as fagging be adopted in a school "power will be exercised by the strongest, and of the strongest by those who, by possessing more pocket-money than their neighbours, or otherwise exciting their admiration (as by their reputation for skill in field sports, or other such things), claim and readily receive the homage of their weaker schoolfellows." It is just worth noticing, as pointing to the possibility that Dr. Moberly did not thoroughly understand boys, that the possessor of

much pocket-money by no means always receives the homage of his fellows; certainly never under any circumstances can he be classed with the leaders in school games, who are the real heroes of the little world in which they live.

Having thus explained that in his opinion a properly regulated system of fagging is a necessity to prevent an illegal and oppressive slave-driving of the weak by the strong, he proceeds to state that there must be something at work in the school which, first fitting boys to obey in a manly, frank, and self-respecting way, may fit them by degrees to use such power as is delegated to them over others. That something, he says, must be a system of practical religion, and that practical religion the religion of the Church. He concludes by saying that where that is carried out "you need not fear for the general growth of that Christian high-mindedness and religious sense of responsibility in which the system of fagging is to find its security and efficiency."

So far, then, an attempt has been made to show the sort of education Dr. Moberly advocated, together with his methods as a teacher and disciplinarian. It comes out clearly from his words—such as those just quoted—even more perhaps than from his actions, so far as they have yet been described, that his main anxiety was to form the characters of the boys. To put it in as few words as possible, he cared far more to turn out Christians than scholars. This leads at once to the important subject of his religious teaching.

It was placed by Dr. Moberly far before any-

thing else, just as he himself was far more an ecclesiastic than a schoolmaster. This teaching, as given by him, may be conveniently placed under three heads: (1) his sermons; (2) his daily teaching in school; (3) his more private teaching and his dealing with individuals. But first of all, to understand his methods thoroughly, it is necessary to see what sort of a Churchman he was.

He belonged to the Oxford Movement, and it is stated in Dean Church's "Life and Letters" that he wrote a most kind letter of approval to Mr. Newman as to the famous Tract 90. But for all that he was not a reckless follower of the more advanced school. Here is what Bishop Charles Wordsworth says of him in his "Annals": "Though personally a friend of the leaders, and especially of Keble, he kept himself aloof no less than I did from Tractarianism as a party movement; and the soundness of his judgment, based upon extensive learning as a divine, led him greatly to regret that more was not done by Pusey and his associates to discourage Romanising on the part of their followers. The Preface to the second edition of his *Five Discourses on the Sayings of the Great Forty Days*¹ contains

¹ In a letter to Sir John Awdry, Dr. Moberly, writing on this subject, says: "The claim of infallibility, ever present in the Church, and capable of being elicited in answer to difficulties, is destructive altogether of the virtue of Christian faith, whether regarded objectively in respect of its *credenda*, or subjectively as the inner rule and direction of life. . . . May I add one word about my own Preface? It is strictly a casual, and therefore most incomplete argument. It is very far from pretending either to answer Newman fully, or to give a digested theory. And therefore I declined Rivingtons' advice of publishing it separately, hoping that it might be understood simply as an endeavour to relieve one portion of my connected argument from the pressure of his new theory."

an effective and valuable reply to Newman's *Treatise on Development*, and his excellent little volume, *On the Love of God*, in expounding the second commandment, lays down principles which, if faithfully applied, would have sufficed to prevent more than one painful instance of litigation by keeping the decorations of our churches within bounds."

Just one other description: an old pupil, speaking of Dr. Moberly's friendship with his neighbour at Hursley, Mr. Keble, added, "His was just the Christian Year sentiment in a rather manlier form." Sufficient has probably been said to show what his position was among Churchmen.

To turn now to the first part of his religious teaching, viz. his sermons. No one who writes of him, no one who speaks of him, amongst all his old colleagues and pupils at Winchester, fails to mention the deep impression made by his sermons. His silvery, distinct tones are still in the ears of many who sat fifty years ago in Winchester School Chapel. "It is a little difficult," writes an old Wykehamist, "to speak with much confidence about things which occurred fifty years ago or more," but a little further on he adds, "I remember how we very greatly preferred Dr. Moberly's sermons to those of any other preacher. . . . I can remember many of them even now." Others speak of his "exquisite intonation and reverence," and of the "pathetic touches" in his sermons. It is hardly surprising to read in the *Life of Dean Church* that when Dr. Moberly had become Bishop of Salisbury, and was confirming in the church at

Portland prison, on which occasion Dr. Church acted as his chaplain, his words to the convicts were "manly, earnest, delicately sympathetic, straight from man to man." That is just the sort of description that is given of the sermons which he used to preach to his vastly different audience at Winchester. The strongest possible testimony to the effect of his sermons is given by a former member of the school, who declares that on the Sunday evenings on which Dr. Moberly had preached "everybody felt different."

The Dean of Lincoln's evidence on this subject is as follows: "His [Moberly's] sermons in chapel were, like his best lessons, very effective. He used to tell with amusement a story of a parent who once complained to him that a special sermon had been aimed at his boy. 'Pray set your boy's mind at rest,' he had answered, 'the sermon was written and preached before he was born!' He had a musical voice and attractive address, though not without a little mannerism. The matter was always interesting and freshly put, and each sermon left his own clear and vivid impression on our minds. He never introduced into them current school questions, but he supplemented them by a characteristic, and to us, a very notable institution. Once a year (on Good Friday, whence we called it 'Good Friday Prose') we all went into school—boys, with no other master present—and he read to us, in his dulcet tones and incisive and epigrammatic sentences, a carefully written discourse on the events of the school year, taking occasion to discuss fully any question of school government to which atten-

tion had been lately called, or on which he desired that we should clearly understand his principles."

As to his teaching of divinity in the school, the first point to notice is that it was greatly in excess of what was and is usual in public schools. In the "Letters" he says: "My own practice has been to begin every week-day, except Monday, with a school lesson on this subject." Of most public schools it would probably be true to say that Monday was the only week-day morning devoted to divinity. But this would never have satisfied Dr. Moberly.

His teaching on this subject was extremely good. One of his old pupils, now in Holy Orders, declares that he made theological matters very interesting to the boys, and that when he (the pupil) went up for his ordination examination he was able to answer all the questions from the Doctor's teaching while he was at Winchester. Another writes: "I have been all my life conscious of the value of what I may call his divinity lectures. We read through one or other of the Gospels or the Acts in Greek every half-year, making copious notes, and his teaching had the effect of making me, what I have always been, a sober, *moderate* High Churchman." Dr. Moberly himself, in the "Letters," expresses his surprise at the fulness and carefulness with which some of the boys drew up volumes of notes of these Greek Testament lessons, and adds that it was a matter of gratification to him to find a friend of his, who was writing a commentary on part of the New Testament, using amongst other material the manuscript notes which a boy had written at Winchester.

As a matter of fact, Dr. Moberly was at one time occupied with four other clergymen in preparing a translation of the Gospel of St. John and some other parts of the New Testament, a work which led the way to the Revised Version. A Wykehamist of that day says: "As boys we took great interest in that early attempt at revision, the results of which often illustrated our Greek Testament lesson."

The Dean of Lincoln fully bears out the above estimate, for in the paper from which quotations have already been made he says: "As a teacher of divinity to boys I imagine Moberly to have been unrivalled, and with a school of the size that it then was (from 150 to 175) all boys had a good share of his teaching. . . ."

"His practice in all such lessons was to lecture, occasionally asking a question—in Greek Testament lessons having a few verses construed—but keeping the course of the lesson in his own hands, commanding attention by the skill with which he managed to speak within our comprehension and to interest us, and requiring all to take notes, which were to be written out more fully afterwards and inspected and marked by himself from time to time. This note-taking was an admirable exercise in itself, and it secured to many of us the permanent possession of a clear and well-ordered body of theology suitable to boyish years."

Thirdly, there was the more private instruction, which chiefly centred round Confirmation and Holy Communion. All the preparation for the former Dr. Moberly conducted himself. It was then that

he seems to have made the strongest personal impression upon the boys. "I owe him everything almost, religiously," is the statement of one of them, who adds, "He established a clear ground of one's religion never since shaken." The Confirmation classes were of two sorts. There was an exceedingly large one every Monday morning, in which were assembled, as Dr. Moberly himself states, all the boys in the school who were unconfirmed. There were also smaller classes for those who were actually selected for Confirmation; and there were the private interviews, at which the boys were invited to confide in him and to seek his help in spiritual matters. He valued highly the opportunity given by the preparation for Confirmation, and was urgent that all boys should receive the rite during their schooldays. In the "Letters" he says: "Confirmation ought to be the strength of boyhood, and so it ought to be given just then and there when boyhood most wants its strength." He did not actually suggest confession to the boys, but he went remarkably near it. He was, however, fully aware of the danger of an emotional appeal. "I would," he writes, "most earnestly counsel those who have the management of boys in respect of devotional usages (and let it be observed I speak of usages only) to err rather on the side of giving them too few than too many. Have a care of excessive church-going, of over-long services, of very frequent communions, of suggested confessions, to the young. The recoil is apt to be more serious than you expect." It was not by any means every boy who made full use of the opportunity he gave

them for seeking his assistance. Whereas some felt that they could go to him at any time, there were others, and they were far more numerous, who were so much in awe of him that they looked upon him as something scarcely human, and were never persuaded to open out to him in any way.

In the Preface to his Winchester Sermons Dr. Moberly lays down clearly what he considers the duty of a Headmaster to be in the matter of religious training, and shows that he regards him in the light of a priest in charge of the souls of his pupils even more than as a schoolmaster. Here are some extracts: "Make the boys religious . . . catechise them faithfully and painfully; prepare them carefully for Confirmation. . . . Hear them express, as they readily will, their penitence for the past and their real resolution and hope by God's grace to abide by their vows: take them as often as you think it proper for such youthful Christians, with specific preparation, to the Holy Communion: never let them approach it without offering their own names first, according to the rubric, as Communicants, so as to give opportunity for any advice, warning, or aid that may be necessary beforehand: never let them refrain from it without being called upon to explain why they wish to decline what they know to be so precious to their soul's health: let the master be nothing and the Church everything, etc." It is not necessary to quote further. The words are the words of one who was an ecclesiastic before everything. What he there advises he carried out at Winchester. For instance, a prefect always collected the names of all intending com-

municants. The plan may sometimes have led to boys being afraid to absent themselves, and have brought about a kind of compulsory attendance, a result greatly dreaded by men of another type, such as Dr. Temple. But in spite of the rather excessive ecclesiasticism of some of his methods, there is no doubt whatever that Dr. Moberly inspired a true religious feeling into the school. He himself declares that he was in these things inspired by the example and advice of Dr. Arnold. If this be so, then indeed did the great Rugby master, himself a Wykehamist, repay the debt he owed his old school a thousandfold.

In all this side of his work Dr. Moberly and Mr. Wordsworth (who, it will be remembered, came at the same time as Second Master) worked side by side. Dr. Montagu Butler, in his lecture on "Christian Work in Public Schools," pays these two men the honour due to them when he says that Winchester traditions are not only religious, but ecclesiastical, and that these gradually faded until these two very earnest and able men came and strove hard to revive them. Perhaps the best witness of all to the soundness and reality of the religious life of the school as awakened by Dr. Moberly is a short sentence uttered the other day by a Wykehamist of those times: "I have never," he said, "since been in any company in which I have had to guard my tongue so carefully." If anyone will consider for a moment all that is conveyed by those few words, he will understand something of the practical effect of their religion upon the Winchester boys of that date.

So far it has been attempted to show what was the effect of Dr. Moberly's rule upon the boys. It has been well said that the broad results were "refinement and religious sentiment."

It is necessary now to turn to other matters and to see what changes he brought about in externals, such as the fabric and general conditions of life in the school. To begin with his own dwelling-house. The former habitation of the Headmaster had formed part of Old Commoners, *i.e.* of the buildings in which were housed the boys who, not being on the foundation, were under his special charge, and were the inmates of what might best be described as the Headmaster's house. This block of buildings was in a state of considerable disrepair, and old Mr. La Croix, who will be remembered by Wykehamists as the pastry cook of those days, says that Dr. Moberly at first lodged in a house belonging to his (La Croix's) aunt, which adjoined Old Commoners, and which was the house in which Jane Austen died. After that he lived in a large house in Kingsgate Street, formerly occupied by the Dowager Lady Rivers, until at last he was able to move into the fine building which was erected when New Commoners took the place of the old, a change which was begun some three years after his arrival.

There is not space here to describe at length the wonderful old place called Old Commoners. It will be enough to quote the words of Mr. Adams, in *Wykehamica*. He calls it "a strange, rambling, bizarre old place, as we all, I believe, thought it, possessing no atom of architectural design or grace,

and uncomfortable to an extent of which not even boys could be unaware. . . .

“It is unfortunate that it was not allowed to stand some twenty years longer—by which time the opinion long entertained by individual observers became a general conviction, viz. that the system it embodied was conducive to neither study, discipline, nor comfort.” This was true enough, and it was a great pity that when New Commoners was built the main ideas of the old buildings were retained, and a hideous erection arose, which ultimately, converted into a sort of mock Elizabethan structure, was used for class-rooms and other school purposes, when the present system of boarding-houses came into existence. The one thing that was really well done was the new Headmaster’s house. It is a splendid example of modern flint work, every flint being properly squared. It was built to accommodate Dr. Moberly’s family, and contains twelve small bedrooms, a number which subsequent Headmasters may have found superfluous. The worst features of the house are the imposing chimneys, which it is a blow to discover to be merely dummies.

For many years Dr. Moberly conducted New Commoners as an over-large boarding-house, and from it he obtained the greater portion of his stipend. But he does not seem to have taken any considerable share in the supervision of the house, which was entrusted to the two Commoner Tutors. An old Wykehamist writes : “I went to Winchester in the year ’48 as a small boy not quite twelve years old, and for the first six months, while waiting for

a vacancy in College, I was in Commoners, and so in one sense more immediately under Moberly than the scholars on the foundation. But, in those days, there was a far wider gulf between boys and masters than there is now, and I don't suppose I ever spoke to him during these six months. I think I should have remembered if I had done so. The boys in Commoners were under the supervision of two tutors, who ruled them greatly through the instrumentality of the prefects, and none but the senior boys were likely to come into contact with the Headmaster. I suppose, however, that he had something to do with the arrangement of the bedrooms, and to this day I have never been able to understand why I, being a small and rather weakly child under twelve, was placed in a bedroom with six or seven big boys of sixteen or seventeen, whose fag I became (though not being prefects their power was *might* not *right*), and whose conversation I can well remember was far from elevating. Winchester was a very rough place in those days, and I had a rough time of it." It must be remembered that Dr. Moberly had had charge of Commoners for twelve years, when the want of proper oversight, of which just complaint is made, occurred.

Again, "we were scandalously fed in Commoners" is the practically unanimous verdict of those days, and taking one thing with another, it is impossible to doubt that Dr. Moberly delegated the responsibility of management to others with very indifferent results. The greatest material change for the better which he effected was certainly the starting of board-

ing-houses. Chernocke House in St. Thomas' Street was the first, being opened by Mr. Wickham in 1859, and being followed the next year by Mr. H. Moberly's. After that date houses arose in rapid succession, until the comfortable scheme which modern usages have demanded has ousted the old traditional Winchester method, and the boys of to-day have no notion of the hardships endured by their predecessors.

In his private life Dr. Moberly was ever charming, as those who were allowed to see this side of him as his guests, or otherwise, are agreed. He was a splendid conversationalist, but, not unnaturally, liked to control the society in which he found himself. But he did not entertain very largely. He had a numerous family, and did not for many years even allow himself the luxury of a carriage. He found himself at first rather isolated at Winchester, owing chiefly to his ecclesiastical opinions. The town and diocese were given over to the Low Church party, and Bishop Sumner's clergy were to be found everywhere. Scarcely anyone ever asked him to preach in their church. Outside the school society Canon Warburton was the only very sympathetic neighbour in the place. There were, however, at Hursley and Otterbourne two friends who never failed him, in the persons of Mr. Keble and Miss Yonge.

In the parish of the former Dr. Moberly had a small farm, which he used as a holiday house. On saints' days, which were "leave-out days," he used frequently to take some of the boys with his own family party to this farm, and once a year

there was a hay-making excursion, which was always greatly enjoyed. Eight or ten members of the school would commonly be asked to accompany the Moberly family, and at one particular time of the day one of the girls would come up and say, "Now, if you like, you may cover the Doctor with hay!" This was a ceremony never omitted on these occasions! After tea on these days it was customary for all to sing glees in the garden, Dr. Moberly taking first one part and then another in his beautiful musical voice.

This is a very pleasant picture, and one with which it would be well to close this account of a great schoolmaster. But there are a few more words which must be said in order to carry away a true picture of his life at Winchester. It is to be feared that he was not altogether happy there. He felt that there was a certain amount of jealousy and distrust of him entertained by those in whose hands the government of Winchester lay. This arose partly from the fact of his not being a New College man, and partly from his High Church opinions. He also desired greatly to get some ecclesiastical preferment, and it is said that his somewhat quixotic protest against the King of Prussia standing as sponsor to one of the royal children stood in his way. But, whatever the cause, it was not until after he had been nearly thirty-one years Headmaster, and had then held the living of Brighstone, in the Isle of Wight, for three more, that he became Bishop of Salisbury. During these thirty years there seem to have been waves of prosperity, and of failure in the life of

the school. During all his earlier time there was never a large number of boys, and in the year 1856 it sunk as low as 133. There were several causes for this, the chief one being the unhealthiness of New Commoners, some ten boys dying within a few years of typhoid fever. This had probably a greater effect in diminishing the numbers than the fact that Dr. Moberly was looked upon with some suspicion as a "Puseyite," though this no doubt kept a few away.

He himself seems to have had times of depression when he cared less for his work, and these were, of course, keenly felt in the school. During the last ten years or so of his headmastership he was obviously getting tired and bored. He used to liken himself to a large pump pumping out all day into a lot of very flat saucers, and sometimes he would say that the life of a master was like declining *οἱ αὐτοὶ* the same masters, *περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν* on the same subjects, *τοῖς αὐτοῖς* to the same boys, etc.

But it was not only during his later years that he got into a state of mind which led him to take less interest in his work. It was as early as 1848 that it is remembered that he allowed the boys to feel that they owed him a grudge by cutting off their privileges, slighting their games, and generally alienating himself from them. Things got so bad that on the last Saturday night of the half-year there was a sort of rebellion. The doors in Commoners were fastened and a bonfire was lighted. Dr. Moberly was dining with the Warden. He hurried to the scene of action in his evening clothes and pumps. Servants cut the ropes with which the

doors were tied, and the first boy to meet the Doctor received a box on the ears which he remembers to this day. As a punishment most of the boys were kept back a day or two from going home. It is obvious that the spirit of resentment had grown serious, and was not merely the folly of a number of small boys, for all the prefects except one (Mr. Pridgin Teale, of Leeds) joined in the action which was meant as a protest against the apparently unsympathetic conduct of the Headmaster. Next term Dr. Moberly took special pains to win back the boys, and, needless to say, with the gifts and the charm which he could exercise when he chose, easily succeeded.

Of this precise period the Dean of Lincoln writes as follows: "My relations to Moberly as a schoolmaster belonged to two different periods in his thirty years' tenure of the headmastership. I was a boy under his rule, both in his own house (Commoners) and in College, for four years, 1848-1851, and I was a master on his staff for two years, 1857-1859. The first period was in his second decade—the time, on the whole, of disappointment and depression. The energy of his earlier years had in some degree spent itself. Charles Wordsworth, who, coming to Winchester nearly at the same time with him, had contributed so much to a moral and spiritual revival, had gone to Glenalmond. It was the moment of panic caused by secessions to Rome, and, though the alarm was unnecessary, the county families among which the old Winchester connection lay had become suspicious of his Tractarian views, and were holding aloof or drawing away.

The new 'Commoner' buildings, erected at the beginning of his headmastership, with the best intentions but at a bad time, had not been a success. They were ugly, ill-planned, behind the age. Though sanitary science was not as much awake as it is now, unexplained cases of illness were raising doubts as to the healthiness of the building and its surroundings. The school had dropped in numbers, and was dropping still."

If it is necessary to allude to these matters for the sake of giving a true picture, the power of Dr. Moberly as a teacher, and especially the influence of his instructions in religion, place him high in the ranks of great schoolmasters, and have earned him the gratitude of many Wykehamists.

As to the practical results of the success of the school during his mastership, it is only necessary to glance at the following list of eminent men who were boys under him, bearing always in mind that in point of numbers Winchester is one of the smaller public schools, and that it does not draw largely from the wealthy and leisured classes out of which statesmen are made.

Of ecclesiastics, are found Bishops Kestell-Cornish of Madagascar, Randall of Reading, Macrorie of Maritzburg, Ridding of Southwell, Gott of Truro, Awdry of Osaka, Jacob of St. Albans, Wordsworth of Salisbury, and Yeatman of Southwark; Deans Randall of Chichester, and Wickham of Lincoln; and Professors R. C. Moberly and S. R. Driver of Oxford.

Of schoolmasters, there are found the names of the Headmasters of Winchester (Ridding and Fearon), Wellington (Wickham), Malvern (Faber),

Radley (Martin), Bedford (Philpotts), Bradfield (Gray); while of great scholars must be added such names as Sir G. Schomberg, H. Furneaux, S. R. Gardiner, H. F. Tozer, F. D. Morice, E. D. A. Morshead, and A. O. Prickard—a list which might be largely extended did space permit.

Of scientific men, almost the only name of note is that of F. T. Buckland, unless a few eminent doctors be added, such as Messrs. Pridgin Teale, Pugin Thornton, Jacobson, T. D. Acland, and Mayo.

Among journalists two names stand out, viz. J. S. Cotton, of the *Academy*, and G. E. Buckle, of the *Times*.

Of poets and painters there are practically none, and the Army and Navy are not very well represented, but mention should be made of Sir Herbert Stewart, Col. G. B. Malleson, and Admiral Sir A. Hoskyns.

Two or three very eminent lawyers were bred (as Dr. Moberly would have said) at Winchester, viz., among judges, H. C. Lopez and Ford North; among barristers, C. A. Cripps; and among solicitors, Edwin Freshfield.

This list does not, of course, profess to be in any sense complete, but it is sufficient to show what leading positions boys of Dr. Moberly's day afterwards occupied, and to emphasise by the preponderance of ecclesiastics the kind of teaching and the religious influence which were characteristic of the man.

In 1866 Dr. Moberly resigned his headmastership and was elected a Fellow of Winchester. It

was a matter of congratulation both for himself and for the school that his successor was Dr. Ridding, his son-in-law, the present Bishop of Southwell.

Although somewhat weary of his duties, it was with an anxious heart that he saw the day drawing near when he should have to leave the old, spacious home and seek a house more suitable to a reduced income. Then, too, he feared that he could not afford to give his sons a University education, and he also dreaded the loss of continued occupation, though he looked forward to some literary work, especially the preparation for the press of his translation of Pindar. He was also extremely interested in learning Anglo-Saxon and in reading poems in that language. A translation of one in his own handwriting is given here.

At the last moment a new direction was given to his thoughts by the offer from the Bishop of Winchester of the living of Brighthstone, in the Isle of Wight. It seemed obviously right to accept such an offer at such a time, and in a very few days it was settled that the great change should be made from the Headmastership of a public school to the quiet of a little country village. An interesting note from Bishop Wilberforce must find a place here :—

WROXTON ABBEY,

December 15th, 1866.

MY DEAR DR. MOBERLY,

I cannot hear of your acceptance of dear Brighthstone without a throbbing heart. Would that it were something far more worthy of your great services to the Church. But if such a place was to

From the Phoenix. p. 224

Such is eternal rest.
 Each of the best
 His exile o'er,
 Through death's dark door
 Not sadly & tempesty
 But brightly & cheerfully
 Passeth for ever
 To win the meeds
 In the life that dies never
 Of righteous deeds.

[This wondrous bird she imagineth near
 The chosen souls of our Master dear.]

She sheweth that Earth
 Though dark & sterile
 May brighten with mirth
 Of a heavenly birth
 E'en in days of peril.
 And she bids them aspire
 In soaring fire
 To the joys that shine
 In the realms divine.

be taken by you, I cannot but rejoice that it is Brighthelm, Bishop Ken's home, and the scene of my ten years of paradise life. You will sometimes let me come and see the grave I dug and the trees I planted there.

I am ever most sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

In October, 1868, came the first offer of any ecclesiastical dignity. Bishop Jacobson wrote to place a vacant canonry at Chester at his disposal. This was accepted, and Dr. Moberly visited Chester early in the following December for his instalment. He has recorded his amusement at the paragraphs which appeared in the local Chester papers after his visit. His singing of the Litany was said to have "excited surprise and admiration." His "venerable appearance showed well by the side of his less favoured brethren." While it was opined that "if his ministrations should prove as acceptable as his presence was portly and characteristic, he would prove no unfit successor to Dr. MacNeile."

But there were greater changes in store. In the summer of the following year (1869) Bishop Hamilton, of Salisbury, died, and the bishopric was given to Dr. Moberly. Thus, somewhat tardily, was his work for the Church, and especially his work in forming the characters of Christian boys, suitably recognised.

He was consecrated by his old pupil Tait, then Archbishop of Canterbury, who said as they walked together up the Abbey, "This is a strange reversal of the old order of things, is it not?"

Sixty-six is a great age at which to take up such a work as the superintendence of a diocese, especially in view of the modern idea of a bishop's life. This is not the place to tell of the way in which Bishop Moberly sustained the traditions left by Bishop Hamilton, of the great spiritual influence that he exercised, and of the love which he both gave and received in his relations with the clergy of his diocese. For fifteen years he continued the work, and then, in 1885, he felt the burden too heavy and prepared to lay it down.

"I have resigned my Fellowship of Balliol," he wrote, "my headmastership, my Fellowship of Winchester, my canonry, and now I am about to resign my bishopric, and then my body to the earth, and my soul to Him who gave it."

At the Trinity Ordination of that year the candidates all came to stay in the house as usual. He tried to see them separately, as his custom was, but was hardly strong enough. "I have not been able to speak to them," he said, "but they have been very kind, and have sat by me, and have talked so kindly and gently to me."

This was at the end of May. For several weeks the weakness gradually increased, and on Monday, July 6th, 1885, he passed gently away, surrounded by wife and children, who had indeed cause with many others to bless his name.



PORTRAIT OF DR. KENNEDY .

III

BENJAMIN HALL KENNEDY, D.D.

HEADMASTER OF SHREWSBURY, 1836-1866

OF all the schoolmasters of the nineteenth century, Dr. Kennedy was in many respects the most remarkable. His personality was extraordinary. Possessing a stupendous intellect, he stooped to mental frivolities that should have been beneath his notice. Wielding such influence over his pupils that he sent out from his school an unparalleled succession of great scholars, he did not always succeed in controlling himself. His character presents an amazing series of contrasts, but his qualities of simplicity, enthusiasm, generosity, and profound learning lift him into the ranks of the greatest schoolmasters of his age.

His high intellectual gifts were in large measure inherited, for he was the eldest son of the Rev. Rann Kennedy, who was a divine, a schoolmaster, and a poet. For many years Second Master of King Edward VI.'s School at Birmingham, Mr. Rann Kennedy was for a long period incumbent of St. Paul's Church in that town. In spite, however, of his busy life, he found time to publish a good deal of poetry, his best-known work being a poem on the death of Princess Charlotte of Wales. He also prepared and brought out several books on the

Psalmody.¹ His wife, Dr. Kennedy's mother, was a daughter of Holm Hall, the engraver, by a Huguenot lady, and Benjamin Hall was born at Summer Hill in 1804. There was therefore in Dr. Kennedy a mixture of blood which partly accounts for the curious contrasts of character above mentioned. The Kennedys were Scotch—an old Ayrshire family—his grandmother was a Huguenot, and his great-grandmother an Englishwoman. This latter lady was a Miss Maddox, a daughter of Mr. Illedge Maddox, the owner of Withington, a Shropshire village, about half-way between Wellington and Shrewsbury. There was thus an early link with the old county town whose school was to owe so much to the future Headmaster.

Mr. Rann Kennedy had accumulated a large and miscellaneous library, and therein Dr. Kennedy, as a boy, roamed at large, and acquired a taste for literature which may be described as practically omnivorous. It is recorded, for instance, that when a mere child he there mastered the whole of *The British Theatre*, a work contained in no less than thirty volumes, and so far from having a surfeit, he is supposed to have thus acquired his taste for dramatic literature!

Before describing his schooldays, a word must be said about his brothers. They were three in number, all younger than Benjamin Hall, and it is not often that a group of brothers can be found of whom no single one failed to become a distinguished scholar. The eldest of the three was four years younger than his eldest brother, and was, after him, the most

¹ See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

eminent of them all. He was Charles Rann Kennedy, who won the Porson Prize and the Browne Medal at Cambridge, and was Senior Classic of his year. Shrewsbury School cannot claim the whole credit of his education, for he finished his schooling at King Edward VI.'s School, Birmingham; but the influence of Dr. Butler, no doubt, made itself felt during the years that he spent at the former place. He afterwards went to the bar and obtained briefs in various celebrated causes. He published many works, including an admirable translation of Demosthenes and several books on legal questions.

The next in order was George John, who became an Assistant Master at Rugby, having first of all kept the family tradition of obtaining the Porson Prize and being Senior Classic.

The youngest was William James, who in his turn won the Porson Prize, but was not Senior Classic. He became first Secretary of the National Society, and afterwards one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. *His* son, Mr. Justice Kennedy, kept up the tradition, being the fourth Senior Classic of the name.

It will be seen shortly what honours the eldest brother obtained. It is sufficient here to notice that all four were Porson Prizemen and three of the four also Senior Classics.

But to return to the days when the future Headmaster of Shrewsbury was still a boy. There is no doubt that under his father's care he received a thorough grounding in classics, though his own reading and studies took a wide range. In 1819 he went to Shrewsbury, and it is recorded that his composition was, from the very first, marvellous.

In those days composition counted for almost everything, and so it was that in a year's time he became second in the school, and head boy in a year and half, when he was not yet sixteen.

There is some doubt as to who was his housemaster when he first went there. In the *Life of Dr. Samuel Butler* it is distinctly stated that he was for between four and five years in the house of the Second Master, Mr. Jeudwine. In support of this theory it is said that he declared that Jeudwine had no power of keeping boys in order: "they could do what they liked. They could almost pull his coat-tails and call him 'Jacky' to his face." If Dr. Kennedy did express this opinion, it is probable that he had had the personal experience of being for some period at all events an inmate of Mr. Jeudwine's house. At the same time it must be remembered that Dr. Butler and Mr. Jeudwine were not for many years on speaking terms, and that the story is one that Dr. Butler's biographer might have retained, even though the evidence in its favour were not specially strong.

The other theory, which is maintained by Mr. Fisher, in his *Annals of Shrewsbury School*, is that Dr. Kennedy was never in Jeudwine's house at all. This theory is supported by the strong evidence that no members of his family remember his mentioning the fact of being in that house, and further that he certainly was a præpostor (or, as he always spelt it himself, præpositor) at one time in Dr. Butler's own house. Of his school life little else is recorded. It may be taken for granted that he took little if any share in such games as were then in vogue.

His build was clumsy, and prevented him from excelling in athletics of any kind. In the more serious exercises, however, he quickly took the lead, and no boy of his age could compete with him in original or translated compositions. Not that his competitors were insignificant. He was matched against many boys whose future proved them to have possessed more than the average intellect. To mention a few of these, the list of Kennedy's schoolfellows contains such names as Edward Baines, who was head boy just before Kennedy attained that position, and who afterwards was Bell Scholar and Browne Medallist at Cambridge; Charles Whitley, who was Senior Wrangler and afterwards Professor of Mathematics at Durham; G. H. Johnson, Ireland Scholar, double first, Professor of Astronomy and of Moral Philosophy at Oxford, and afterwards Dean of Wells; Charles Darwin, the great naturalist; James Hildyard, a well-known Cambridge Fellow and Tutor, who actually won three Browne Medals in one year; Thomas W. Peile, who was second Classic and eighteenth Wrangler, and subsequently Headmaster of Repton; George Ash Butterson, third Classic and eighth Wrangler, who became Headmaster successively of Wakefield, Uppingham, and Giggleswick; and Sir William Yardley, Chief Justice of Bombay. One glimpse of his schooldays he gives himself in *Between Whiles*, a book of verses and translations, which he brought out in after years. He says there that he never *sat down to* do a copy of verses except in desperate straits, when inspiration would not come. His habit was to go for long, solitary

walks, composing as he went, and to write down the result on his return. The beautiful neighbourhood of Shrewsbury may well have suggested beautiful ideas, and filled him with the true spirit of poetry.

Kennedy remained at Shrewsbury School until the midsummer of 1823, but before he left he had not only added greatly to the fame of that already renowned place of learning, but had also created a considerable amount of curiosity and interest in Cambridge. This he had accomplished by sending up from school compositions to compete for the Porson Prize and for the Browne Medal for a Latin ode. *Both* were selected for the prize, such a double success on the part of a schoolboy being unheard of. The Browne Medal was restricted to members of the University of Cambridge already in residence, so that he was not qualified to receive this distinction. The same safeguard had not up to that time been applied to the Porson Prize, but the condition was immediately afterwards attached, so that he was the only schoolboy who ever won it, besides being, it is said, the first Salopian and first Johnian to do so. He would certainly have added to these successes the Bell scholarship, but Dr. Butler would not allow him to enter for it, considering that it would have been beneath the dignity of one who had already obtained higher honours. Dr. Kennedy always maintained that this was a mistake on the part of Dr. Butler, as he (Kennedy) was thereby deprived of some material assistance, and the scholarship was abandoned to an inferior scholar.

At Cambridge Kennedy carried everything before him. It was felt that there was little chance for

anyone else if he had entered for a prize, and he became an almost demoralising influence in consequence. Three times the Porson Prize fell to him, besides prizes for the Greek ode, the Latin ode, and the epigrams. He also carried off the Members' prize. Again it must be stated that his successes were not due to the lack of worthy competitors. Cambridge abounded in able men, among Kennedy's own personal friends being F. D. Maurice, Mackworth Praed, Alexander Cockburn, Christopher Wordsworth, and William Selwyn. The fact remains that he was a young giant in intellect, and stood a head and shoulders above the best men of his day. As a further proof of this it may be mentioned that he gained his University distinctions with consummate ease. He practised no composition, and, in fact, wrote no verses at all except such as he sent in for prizes or from time to time jotted down for his own amusement.

His chief relaxations at Cambridge seem to have been connected with various societies. After some hesitation, due, it is believed, to a misunderstanding of some words of Dr. Butler's, he joined the Cambridge Union, of which the debates were at that time held in the back room of a public-house in Petty Cury. Having joined it, however, he threw himself heart and soul into the work of the Society, and became president in 1825. It was here that he first developed his fluency of speech and characteristic gesticulation, such marked features of his subsequent utterances when Headmaster of Shrewsbury. He also belonged to the Cambridge Conversazione Society, better known as

“the Apostles,” and was an original member of the Athenæum. It is difficult to obtain much accurate information about his undergraduate days, but the impression conveyed by all that can be learnt is that he was by no means a mere learned recluse, but enjoyed the company in which he found himself and the legitimate pleasures of University life to the full.

In 1827 he graduated as Senior Classic, Senior Chancellor’s Medallist, and a Senior Optime. He hoped to be elected at once to a Fellowship of St. John’s, and had his expectations been fulfilled it was his intention to read for the bar. It is, of course, just possible that the short delay which occurred—he was elected a Fellow in 1828—turned his footsteps into that path of life which he followed with so great success, but it seems unlikely that a born teacher, as he undoubtedly was, could ever have entirely missed his vocation.

It was, however, the necessity that he should employ himself in some remunerative manner until his Fellowship arrived that impelled him to accept Dr. Butler’s offer of an assistant-mastership at Shrewsbury for one year. He was, as a matter of fact, to act as a warming-pan for the Doctor’s son Thomas, whose University career was not yet finished. At the end of this period he returned to Cambridge as a Fellow of St. John’s, and for two years acted as a tutor of the College, during which time he was ordained deacon and priest.

In March, 1830, he was offered, and accepted, an assistant-mastership at Harrow, of which Dr. Longley was Headmaster. Here he remained five

years, exercising a considerable intellectual influence on the school. But he was not altogether happy there. True, he was brought into contact with sundry sprigs of nobility, with some of whom, as, for instance, the late Lord Bradford, he kept up an acquaintance in after years, and this was a pleasure to him, for, like many learned (and, for that matter, *un*-learned) men, he "dearly loved a lord." But the atmosphere of the place did not suit him. Learning was of too little account. He considered that games were carried on to excess. There was a lack of the bracing air and keen competition of Shrewsbury. In describing the work at his old school, he once said that Dr. Butler "established an emulative system, in which talent and industry always gained their just recognition and reward in good examinations." No such thing was known at Harrow. It was in the days before Vaughan came to bring new life and vigour to the school. No wonder that Kennedy, with all his enthusiasm for learning, fresh from the influence of Butler and from the scenes of his University triumphs, should have become restless and depressed in the less congenial atmosphere of Harrow.

The close of the year 1835 marked a period of great change in the headmasterships of public schools. Hawtrey had been but one year at Eton. Arnold had, a few years before, been appointed to Rugby, Kennedy having been one of the candidates for the post. Moberly had just gone to Winchester, and now both Harrow and Shrewsbury were simultaneously vacant, Dr. Longley being promoted to the bishopric of Ripon, and Dr. Butler to that of

Lichfield. There is no doubt that Kennedy might, had he wished, have been elected to the headship of the former school, one of the most lucrative positions in the educational world. But two things prevented him. In the first place he could not reconcile himself to Harrovian methods. In the *Life and Letters of Dr. Butler* it is stated that Kennedy wrote to his old Headmaster, in February, 1836, in the following terms: "Not only would I not be a candidate for Harrow, but I would not take it if offered me. I would rather have Shrewsbury, if, after twenty years, I could retire with £1,000 a year, than Harrow with a prospect of a quintuple income. . . . Lucre cannot make me happy unless I feel myself to be doing good and can see the good I do. I can take no school where fagging is a legalised system. Learning cannot flourish in it. As to Harrow boys, I have not found them in any respect superior to those at Shrewsbury."

The second cause of his declining to be a candidate for Harrow was Dr. Butler's strongly expressed desire that he should succeed him at Shrewsbury. The appointment lay with St. John's College, Cambridge, and Kennedy states in various letters to Dr. Butler that, while he stood for the post in obedience to his old Headmaster's wishes, "for," says he, "believe me, I shall be more than satisfied to be the Pallas of your Jove," he thought that the College would appoint either Merivale or Isaacson in preference to himself. But this was hardly likely. His record at Shrewsbury and at Cambridge, coupled with the urgent representations of Dr.

Butler, made it practically certain that he would be elected, and in 1836 he returned to his old school as Headmaster.

It will be as well at this point to give some description of his personal appearance. Here is what an old pupil writes: "My remembrance of Dr. Kennedy dates from January, 1838, when he had been about two years at Shrewsbury. . . . He was then in the early prime of life, and his personal appearance was remarkable and impressive. His well-cut features, dark, flashing eyes, springing step, and dignified bearing are not easily forgotten by any who knew him at that time. By us boys certainly our Headmaster was admired, respected, and not a little feared." He was a heavily built man of square figure, somewhere about 5 ft. 10 or 11 in. in height. His "springing step" was the result of his great vitality, for, as has been already remarked, he was clumsily formed about the feet and legs. He was clean-shaven, and his massive face lent itself to considerable play of feature. He could be bland and playful on occasion, but on the other hand he could terrify a small boy almost out of his wits by the ferocity of his expression. In his prime he had a clear, healthy complexion, but in later life this changed to a fixed ruddiness of colouring. On the whole he was a man whose personal appearance was impressive and suitable to his profession. He was a fine-looking man, with no claim to be considered handsome.

Dr. Kennedy did not go to Shrewsbury alone. In 1831, when he had been for a year an Assistant Master at Harrow, he married Janet, daughter of

Mr. Thomas Caird, of Paignton, in Devonshire. Never did he do a better day's work both for himself and for Shrewsbury School. His old pupils, one and all, revere the memory of this lady, whose tact smoothed over many troubles, and whose kind, motherly sympathy was shown to all the boys, whether in the Doctor's house or not. Mrs. Kennedy has been described as his sheet-anchor, and in one respect, at all events, she proved to be so, for she kept all the accounts for her decidedly unbusiness-like husband. Her exercise of hospitality, too, will be remembered by many. On each Saturday night at nine o'clock all the Assistant Masters came to supper, an occasion on which business was rarely mentioned, and which Mrs. Kennedy did much to make thoroughly homelike and enjoyable. Then on Sundays there was a boys' supper, to which the præpostors and elder boys were invited in turn. At this function mutton cutlets formed so invariably the dish that the occasion was described as "going to mutlets."

In speaking of Mrs. Kennedy it is impossible to do better than to quote some words written by Dr. Gifford, who was at Shrewsbury in the early days of the Kennedy régime. He says: "In any reminiscence of our school-life at Shrewsbury grateful mention must be made of one, whom Dr. Kennedy would have described as '*animæ dimidium meæ*,' if he had not improved the phrase by saying '*animæ pars melior meæ*.' Before coming to Shrewsbury Dr. Kennedy had been an Assistant Master at Harrow, and it is said that in taking leave of his colleagues and pupils there he

made a characteristic use of the words of Horace, 'Linquenda tellus et domus et'—no, thank God! *not* 'placens uxor.' Mrs. Kennedy's character formed in some respects a striking contrast, but also a happy combination, with his own. Graceful and fair to look upon, gentle, calm, tender and considerate to all, she won not only the devoted love of her husband and children, but also the admiration and affection of his colleagues and pupils, and all who were happy enough to enjoy her friendship."

It is, of course, obvious that with Dr. Kennedy's deep reverence for his old Headmaster he would have wished to keep the stream of school affairs flowing in pretty much the same course as of old. It is, in fact, stated in the *Life of Dr. Butler* that he made no marked changes of system or discipline. This was, however, scarcely true, as will be seen on consideration of his work as Headmaster.

It must always be remembered that the many difficulties with which he had to contend and which he so bravely met during the whole of his thirty years at Shrewsbury began at once with the effort to restore the discipline, which in Dr. Butler's later days had been greatly relaxed. With this object Kennedy was obliged to start by getting rid of many troublesome boys.

It has been seen what Dr. Kennedy himself was like in 1836. What sort of a place was Shrewsbury School at the same date? Externally, a visit to Shrewsbury at the present day will show to some extent what the old school was, and will give a striking example of what it was *not*. Most of the old stone buildings, surmounted by their square

tower, are still there, capping the top of the hill on the right hand as the steep pitch is climbed from the station to the centre of the town. They are now used for a public library and museum, and, it may be hoped, will, in consequence, be preserved for many long years yet. The chapel, the long schoolroom ("top schools"), and many other portions of the original buildings are pointed out to the visitor who desires to know what the old place was like. What it was *not* like may be seen by a short walk across the river to Kingsland, where the new schools have been erected, conspicuous by their massive blocks of red-brick buildings, their many acres of smoothly kept lawns and cricket grounds, and their general air of modern prosperity kept within the bounds of excellent taste. In appearance and situation no greater contrast to the old school buildings could be imagined. If some of the special glory of Shrewsbury School seems to have departed, there is ample compensation in the conformity with modern requirements and in the absence of abuses inseparable from old and inconvenient edifices cramped in the heart of a beautiful, but not always savoury, country town.

The changes made by Dr. Kennedy were mainly six. Times were already beginning to change, and although the luxurious boarding-houses of the present day were undreamt of, yet the new Headmaster was not content to let the domestic arrangements for the accommodation of the boys in the two houses which were in his hands continue in the state which had seemed to Dr. Butler to be good enough. This was his first change. The

overcrowding was a thing of the past. Seventeen or eighteen boys occupied the space in which thirty or forty had formerly been penned. A separate bed was provided for each boy. Washing apparatus was inserted in every dormitory to supplement the accommodation of the common lavatory. So far, indeed, was Dr. Kennedy in advance of his time that he even caused the bedrooms to be ventilated! But for all that, when the Public Schools Commission sat in 1863, they reported that the chief cause of the diminution of numbers at Shrewsbury was the unsatisfactory condition of the boarding-houses! What must they have been in the days of Dr. Butler?

The second change to be noticed was the widening of the old scheme of education, so that it included both French and mathematics as part of the regular school work. The former study was introduced three years before the latter, possibly because it had been Dr. Butler's wish to make French part of the school teaching. In Mr. Fisher's charming *Annals of Shrewsbury School* occurs the following passage: "It was by Dr. Butler's advice, as well as at his own desire, that Dr. Kennedy at once made French a regular part of the school work. The first modern language master was Signor Albizzi, an Italian refugee." Two curious points must be noticed: First, that the Upper Sixth were not expected to include French in their course of study; and secondly, that the marks obtained for examinations in the language were not allowed to affect a boy's place in the school. A reason why mathematics were not so speedily

introduced may be found in the fact that Dr. Kennedy himself took so little interest in their study that he is said to have become unable to do a simple sum correctly. An amusing little story is told apropos of this fact. A youthful bride was dining in state at the Doctor's house. Being naturally not a little in awe of the great man, but anxious to talk on subjects in which he would be interested, she at last remarked, "I suppose, Dr. Kennedy, mathematical men are *much* cleverer than classical men, aren't they?"

But for some years after their introduction these two branches of study do not appear to have flourished. In Mr. Heitland's article, written after Dr. Kennedy's death and published in *The Eagle*—a magazine supported by members of St. John's College, Cambridge—it is stated that "French as a school subject was a mere figment," and that "the hours supposed to be given to mathematics were too often spent in pleasant conversation, in the doing of impositions, that would otherwise have encroached on our playtime, or sometimes in writing skits on subjects of school interest."

It should, however, be stated in fairness to Dr. Kennedy that those who knew him most intimately were aware that his views of education were by no means really limited to classics. He was anxious to start a "modern side," and indeed eventually did so, placing Dr. Calvert at the head of it, and he also wished to provide for the teaching of natural science, but for this he had not the means at his disposal. When boys showed good mathematical ability he occasionally let them off

lightly in their classical studies in order to give them more time for the special work for which they had a bent. But the mathematical department of the school was decidedly haphazard in its arrangement.

Geography and history had a certain place in Dr. Kennedy's scheme of work, but a curious one. To the former was given up a whole week in the middle of the half, all other lessons being suspended while Dr. Butler's ancient geography was being mastered. To the latter were given any odds and ends of time which might be left over when the classical books were finished at the end of the half-year! With these few exceptions, the whole time was spent upon classics with a small modicum of divinity.

Another change made by Dr. Kennedy was the introduction of college caps, or "mortar-boards." This sounds a small matter, but it was one that caused great irritation and excitement in the school at the time. One of the drawbacks to the situation of the school in the actual town itself was the opportunity which it gave to some boys of haunting the public-houses, consorting with loose characters, etc. Dr. Kennedy rightly conceived that it would be more difficult for such things to occur if the boys of the school were readily recognised by their caps, and so, in spite of the smashing and general abuse of the mortar-boards on their first introduction, he stuck to his point, and for many years they were the universal headgear of the school.

In connection with this subject must be mentioned the organisation of games. This constituted a re-

markable change from the attitude of Dr. Butler, who practically forbade boating (though it was carried on in spite of him), and who described football as only fit for butcher boys. Dr. Kennedy had disapproved of the extent to which games prevailed at Harrow, but he was wise enough to see that, properly regulated, they were of great service. For hard-working boys they were useful to keep them in health, for non-reading boys to keep them out of mischief, and to prove a legitimate vent for their energies. Probably the introduction of organised games did as much as that of college caps towards abolishing the loafing and drinking habits which had crept in among a section of the boys. Before the days when it became a boy's ambition to excel in cricket, football, or boating there seems to have been some more or less objectionable amusement prevailing in each public school. At Eton there was the hunting of small or unpopular boys, of which a conspicuous instance was found in the "Shelley-baits" and the continual tipping at the "Christopher." At Marlborough, the hunting of deer in Savernake Forest with pistols and squailers (a piece of cane with a leaden head) prevailed. At Shrewsbury, mention is continually made of "duck-hunting," an amusement which irritated the townsfolk immensely, and provided the boys with surreptitious suppers and (it would be thought) with a minimum of sport. It is the more creditable to Dr. Kennedy that he should have taken this view of the matter, inasmuch as he had never taken part in athletics. The only record of his playing any games of the sort is found in the recollection of his

now and then joining some of the masters and boys in playing bat-fives against what was probably the only wall in England used for the purpose in those early days. It is remembered that he was remarkably unskilful, but waxed extremely warm in the course of the game! The only other outdoor pursuits to which he was addicted were croquet, which he played with enthusiasm till it was too dark to see the balls, and riding, which, considering that he knew nothing about a horse and invariably rode at a great pace with a loose rein, might very well have terminated his career prematurely.

The fifth change made by Dr. Kennedy was not of any great importance, but it was in keeping with the ideas that were beginning to prevail in all schools at the time. This was the introduction of supervised "preparation," *i.e.* of a time set apart for preparing lessons under the control of a presiding master. For this purpose the boys were assembled in the big schoolroom for two hours daily in the winter, and for a rather shorter time in the summer. This preparation was commonly known as "top schools."

But the most important change was one due to the already widespread influence of Dr. Arnold at Rugby. On this subject Dr. Kennedy's own words must be quoted from the evidence which he gave before the Public Schools Commission. He said: "At Shrewsbury some reforms were needed, but I had very little difficulty in achieving them because I found a Sixth Form of high merit ready and willing to co-operate with me, as I was ready and willing to consult with them, for the good of the

school. . . . Dr. Arnold had shown (what previous educators, conscientiously fearing to profane holy things, or to promote hypocrisy, had doubted or denied) that it was possible to bring religious influence to bear on boys in public schools. Emboldened by his example, I took the first occasion of addressing the school in chapel on the duty of attending the Holy Communion, at the same time explaining the principle on which I should rigidly act, of severing this question from school discipline altogether, even to the extent of not allowing attendance or non-attendance to modify my reports of character and conduct. On the Sunday after the sermon twenty-eight boys attended the Holy Communion for the first time at school, and the practice has continued, lately at a higher average of numbers, from that time till the present."

This was a considerable improvement on old days, though it may be wished that Dr. Kennedy had seen his way to rather more personal influence with the boys on such matters. The impression that he gave to his pupils was that his religious teaching was perfunctory. He prepared the boys for Confirmation, but the classes were purely educational. He preached to them in the chapel, but there was apparently too much intellect and too little heart in his sermons. All the same, the attitude he took up on religious matters was a decided step in the right direction. The school chapel ceased to be used as a classroom or as anything else that might be wanted. During his own schooldays Kennedy had used the pulpit regularly as a convenient spot in which to prepare his work. He declared that he

did his best reading therein, and, indeed, within its shelter masteréd the whole of Thucydides. When he became Headmaster, boys were still in the habit of learning their lessons during the chapel services, and of cutting their names on the furniture. When Bishop Walsham How preached the first sermon in the new school chapel, to which some of the old fittings had been transferred, he found in front of him the carved name of one of his old school-fellows of half a century before.

While speaking on the subject of religion at Shrewsbury School it should be noted that the remarkable and beautiful custom obtained in those days of closing afternoon school with the prayer, "Lighten our darkness," and a benediction. Old Salopians are agreed that the standard of school honour, too, was high; and there is evidence that the boys kept up a right feeling as to interference with private devotions. They themselves not only insisted upon silence during the time that prayers were being said, but on one occasion, at all events, they compelled a new boy who had gone prayerless to bed to get up again and kneel down, as the others were doing.

It should further be noticed that, in his article in the *Classical Review*, Professor J. E. B. Mayor declares that much attention was paid during Dr. Kennedy's time at Shrewsbury to the study of the Thirty-nine Articles, which thus became well known and loved by many of his pupils.

Even though Dr. Kennedy was not a Vaughan or a Moberly in his power of religious influence, yet he, at all events, raised the tone of the school in

such matters, and definite instruction on religion was introduced by him in place of the accustomed "long lie" on Sunday mornings. The reason why the sanctity of the chapel had been so little respected may probably be found in the fact that the chancel of St. Mary's Church was occupied by the boys for all Sunday services, though they do not appear to have helped to form the choir or taken any special part. In the school chapel the services were extremely formal and dull until it happened that St. Mary's Church was closed for repairs. The boys were then obliged to use their own chapel on Sundays, and a choir was started. This occurred in 1864, and was the origin of a musical taste in the school, to which the annual school concert at the present day bears ample witness.

So much for Dr. Kennedy's reforms. He was forestalled in the introduction of the system of "marks" by Dr. Butler, who had also instituted a pecuniary reward for work called "merit money." This does not seem to have been appreciated by the boys, but to have been the subject of some scoffing. Dr. Kennedy, however, preserved it until it was condemned by the Public Schools Commission of the early sixties. This merit money was one of the peculiarities of Shrewsbury. Some others may be mentioned. It was, for instance, the most unusual custom for the Headmaster to hear all punishment-lessons, which were called at Shrewsbury "detentions." He also attended every "call-over." The only exception Dr. Kennedy made to this last rule was in the case of certain extra call-overs which he imposed upon lower boys to prevent

their having so much leisure for duck-hunts. Modern Headmasters would be much astonished at having to number punishment lessons and call-overs among their duties.

A matter must now be mentioned which greatly affected Dr. Kennedy's popularity in Shrewsbury. Exactly the same difficulty arose as was troubling the people of Harrow about the same time. The burgesses considered that they did not get all the advantages out of the school to which they were entitled. They knew that the school was called "free," and they thought that their sons ought therefore to receive a free education of a suitable kind, *i.e.* one not chiefly given up to classics. From the very first Dr. Kennedy opposed this view with might and main.

In 1882, when the school was removed to its present site, Dr. Kennedy issued a pamphlet called *Shrewsbury School, Past and Present*, in which he states his opinions on this question. Some extracts may be conveniently quoted here. He is arguing that Shrewsbury had always been a public school and not a mere local grammar school. He said: "The character of Shrewsbury as a public school has always belonged to it in fact and by title. The schools endowed by King Edward VI. were designed to be local centres of education for large districts in times when travelling was a serious business. Shrewsbury School, so founded and endowed in 1551 from escheated tithe, was . . . attended by a large number of students from the adjoining counties of Chester, Stafford, Worcester, Warwick, Hereford, and from North Wales. The

alieni (strangers) outnumbered the *oppidani* (town boys) in the proportion of five to one. . . . And not only in fact has Shrewsbury always been a public school; it was legally constituted such by its title in Edward's Charter, 'Libera Schola.' All who are well read in the terminology of mediæval law know that this term means a royally chartered school, a school free from all superiority save that of the Crown. This I proved more than twenty years ago in a letter to Lord Westbury, and numerous legal correspondents have from time to time recognised that my proofs are ample and irrefragable. It is equally well known that the other epithet in its title, 'Schola Grammaticalis' (grammar school), meant a school which, by teaching language (especially Latin), prepared boys for the higher teaching of Universities. Thus the title of Shrewsbury School declared it to be 'a royally chartered school preparatory for the Universities,' what is meant in Germany now by the word *gymnasium*. A school thus chartered, endowed, entitled, and constituted . . . open to the whole realm from the first to the present day, is surely not to have its publicity weighed in a doubtful scale against that of schools founded by private benefactors or companies for no better reason than this, that various causes have supplied such schools with boys numerically exceeding the annual lists of Shrewsbury School."

This was Dr. Kennedy's great contention against the burgesses, who maintained that "Libera Schola" (free school) meant a school in which their sons were to have special educational advantages. The

quarrel went on until, in 1853, the Court of Chancery confirmed a new scheme, by which certain exhibitions were provided at Oxford and Cambridge, for which those boys alone were eligible who were either legitimate sons of burgesses born in the town, natives of Chirbury, or at least natives of Shropshire. The whole matter in dispute was finally settled by the Public Schools Commission, which visited Shrewsbury in 1862, and afterwards reported that all local preferential claims to exhibitions and scholarships should be abolished, and that the right of education gratis, which had been enjoyed since 1798 by the sons of burgesses, should be at once limited to forty boys, and after twenty-five years should be entirely abolished.

Dr. Kennedy's object throughout was for the honour and advancement of the school. His fear was that it should get into the hands of the burgesses and become a mere local grammar school where tradesmen's sons should learn to do bills of parcels. But the position he took up made him many enemies in the town, and widened the breach between boarders and day boys. It is even now difficult to convince some of the latter class that they were not treated unfairly by Dr. Kennedy. Here is what one of them says: "I had the great misfortune to be a day boy living in Shrewsbury in my father's house, and it was the distinct policy of the school to discourage and belittle the town boys, for whom the school was founded, as much as possible. I need hardly say that the boarders took their cue from the masters, and made the life of the day boys miserable. I can remember when I was

in the sixth it was not an uncommon thing for the subject of the first lesson for the following morning to be given out after locking-up time in the head room. Of course, it was impossible for the town boys to get to know what the subject was, but that was not allowed as an excuse, and we were held responsible for our unavoidable ignorance." The writer of the above falls into the error, which Dr. Kennedy exposed, of imagining that the school was founded for town boys and not as a general public school. He also must surely be quoting a rare instance of hardship in the accusation he brings in the latter part of the above quotation. Dr. Kennedy was hasty, but he was not unjust. Another old pupil in writing of him declares that "his fairness was as unimpeachable as his judgment." There can be, however, no doubt that considerable soreness existed between the town and the school, a soreness which seems to have lingered to the present day. The townsfolk resented the moving of the school to its present situation, and still more the bringing of it into line with other public schools. The result is that very little support is given to the school by the town, although the latter must benefit largely from the presence of the former, and owes to it the largest share of its reputation.

It is now time to consider some of Dr. Kennedy's leading characteristics. One of the most striking of these was his extraordinary memory. Professor Mayor, an old pupil, in an article in the *Classical Review*, said: "He revelled over a wide range of modern literature, especially poetry and history,

which was always a favourite topic. Few members of the United Services could have vied with him in familiarity with naval and military annals. In Wellington's despatches he was as much at home as in Thucydides." This power of memory is well exemplified by the fact that Dr. Kennedy once met the late Commander Maynard at the house of his brother-in-law, Mr. How, when the conversation turned upon a certain naval engagement, in the details of which the Commander considered himself well posted. What was his surprise to find that the schoolmaster not only knew the name of every ship engaged, but their exact positions during the fight, and was in every way better informed on the subject than he was himself! Another instance of Kennedy's accurate store of knowledge occurred when a certain boy, who had to show up an original copy of verses, was so hard put to it that he searched out a certain rare and obscure classic, copied out a dozen or so lines and sent them up to the Doctor as his own. "Ah, yes," said Kennedy, "beautiful verses! And, if I remember right, they go on thus"—and he proceeded to quote the rest of the piece!

He was an omnivorous reader, and found time to devour most of the novels of the day, and, it is said, remembered them accurately. When abroad he used to lay in a large stock of French novels, which he spent a great part of his tour in reading. A former colleague who accompanied him on one of these excursions remembers the striking figure that Dr. Kennedy presented as he sat astride a mule, absorbed in a French novel. He invariably read

the whole time if he had visited the locality on a previous occasion, not caring to see the same scenery, however beautiful, a second time. Before starting upon this particular tour he had come across a pamphlet describing exactly what a man ought to take with him on such an occasion. He insisted upon being provided with every item, including pipes and tobacco, though he had only been known to smoke an occasional cigar, which he obviously disliked. On arriving at the top of a pass his comrade said, "Now I shall have a pipe." "Ah!" said the Doctor, "so shall I." He did not try a second.

The next point to be mentioned must be his great influence as a teacher. To this Dr. Kennedy's fame was mainly due, for he was probably the greatest teacher of his century. That sounds a bold statement, and needs proof. It may be putting the cart before the horse to exhibit the results of his teaching before describing the methods, but it will add greatly to the importance given to the latter if it be first shown how successful they were. There is, first of all, endless testimony from his old pupils. Mr. Heitland, in his article in *The Eagle* before mentioned, says that Dr. Kennedy's teaching sank in. He adds that this was "to a great extent owing to his astounding vigour and quickness. . . . He seemed to fill the room with his presence, a sort of incarnate *hoc age* which only long practice in Sixth Form life enabled one occasionally to disregard."

Mr. Hallam, in the *Journal of Education*, described him as the most singularly successful of

recent English schoolmasters; while Bishop Walsham How, one of his earliest pupils at Shrewsbury, speaking on the occasion of the opening of the New Buildings in July, 1882, said that "if there *could* be such teaching as he was wont to enjoy under his dear old master, Dr. Kennedy, he hoped its traditions would go on and that classical teaching would continue, however much scientific teaching might be added thereto."

Many more witnesses might be called to the same effect, but more convincing evidence is to be found in the lists of eminent scholars whom Dr. Kennedy turned out. To a middle-aged man it seems almost superfluous to refer to the extraordinary reputation for scholarship which belonged to Shrewsbury School in those days, but the years go quickly by, and there must be many who do not realise to what a proud position Dr. Kennedy, following upon Dr. Butler, raised the school over which he presided.

Mr. Fisher's *Annals of Shrewsbury School* gives full information upon this point, and from its pages the following information has been gleaned to show what sort of men were the product of Dr. Kennedy's teaching. "Between 1841 and 1870 thirty-seven Shrewsbury men obtained a first class in the Classical Tripos at Cambridge, of whom nine were Senior Classics, twelve were University Scholars, and eight Chancellor's Medallists. During the same years eighteen Browne Medals, nineteen Porson Prizes, three Camden Medals, and eight Members' Prizes were also adjudged to Salopians." This is a portentous list, and far exceeds the honours obtained

at Oxford during the same period, which numbered only fourteen firsts and five University Scholarships. But it must be remembered that Dr. Kennedy was strongly prejudiced in favour of his own University. In the course of a letter written in 1837 he said: "C—— turns out an excellent scholar. What a pity that he should throw himself away on Oxford!"

It is interesting to note some at least of the well-known men who were Dr. Kennedy's pupils. Of ecclesiastics, there were Bishop Basil Jones of St. David's, and Bishop Walsham How of Wakefield, Dean Luckcock of Ely, Archdeacons Gifford, Hamilton, Watkins, de Winton, Lloyd, Stevens, Morse, etc., the Provost (Dr. Inge) of Worcester College (Oxford), and many others.

Of others, noted mainly for their scholarship, such names occur as Cope, Bather, and Thring (who were the three to head the Classical Tripos of 1841), Professors Munro and Mayor, James Riddell (whom Dr. Kennedy considered the best scholar he ever taught), W. G. Clark, E. M. Cope, E. C. Clark, Arthur Holmes, H. M. Gwatkin, Osborne Morgan, J. E. L. Shadwell, H. Thring (now Lord Thring), J. T. Hibbert, H. W. Moss (the present Headmaster), G. H. Hallam, and E. L. Brown. Anyone with a knowledge of the leading scholars of the middle of the nineteenth century will realise at a glance what a formidable list that must be from which the above names have been extracted. In other walks of life Salopians are not seen in such prominent positions, though amongst them may be found a few Crimean heroes and a sprinkling of other soldiers of high rank. In

his evidence before the Public Schools Commission Dr. Kennedy declared that the bulk of Salopian names was to be found in the clerical profession, and that their fields of active usefulness have been the Universities, the schools, and the parishes of England.

Such, then, was the result of Dr. Kennedy's influence as a teacher. How did he do it? This is a question which many a schoolmaster has asked, and to which he has obtained no very definite answer. It was not that any special method was pursued. It was the spirit of the man himself that worked the miracle.

"The main strength of his influence was his enthusiasm for classical lore and poetry," is the verdict of one of his old colleagues, a verdict endorsed in almost identical words by those who came within the sphere of that enthusiasm as his pupils. He seemed to live in a classical atmosphere. If he made a joke, ten to one it was a play upon Latin or Greek words. If he met a friend his greeting was more likely than not to take the form of an impromptu Latin or Greek sentence. He one day met Dr. Calvert, an Assistant Master, on the Wyle Cop, which leads down to the English bridge, and instantly called out to him, "*στείχεις μονήρης ἐπὶ γέφυραν Ἀγγλικήν.*" He even so far forgot himself sometimes as to talk "shop" on social occasions. Thus he was one evening at dinner explaining to a young lady the use of the first aorist, when a friend put a stop to it by exclaiming, "It would be more to the purpose if you were to tell her about her first future!" He was always ready

with a verse or two on any subject that might crop up. At the time of the papal aggression, when Pope Pius IX. and Cardinal Wiseman were busy introducing Roman bishoprics into this country, he threw off the following elegiac couplet :—

“Cum Sapiente Pius nostras juravit in aras :
Impius O Sapiens ! Insipiensque Pius !”

Of this gift there is ample evidence in *Sabrinæ Corolla*, a book of translations, etc., which he brought out as the work of Salopians, and in *Between Whiles*, a later book entirely from his own pen.¹ In the latter work occurs a striking illustration of his readiness in translation. Messrs. Deighton and Bell have kindly permitted its insertion here. “In an Oxford common-room it was asserted that any intelligible English could be turned into Latin elegiac verse. A guest thereupon produced from his pocket this circular :—

““REVEREND SIR,—You are requested to attend a meeting of the Bridge Committee on Saturday, the 5th of November, at twelve o’clock, to consider Mr. Diffles’s proposal for laying down gas-pipes.

““We are, Revd. Sir,
““Your obedient servants,
““SMITH AND SON, *Solicitors.*”

¹ Of all the books that he wrote, the best known—at all events by the boys of the last generation—was his *Elementary Latin Grammar*. When the Public Schools Commission reported that it would be advisable that all schools should use the same Latin Grammar, this book was unanimously selected as the foundation for what came to be called *The Public School Latin Primer*. A grey-haired man in latter middle age remembers the arrival of Dr. Kennedy at his home on a visit to his father, who was one of the Doctor’s old pupils, and how the great man produced a copy of his Latin Grammar and pre-

Lactē redit mihi nulla dies: sed Lactō, Arice,
Quod iuvat cępote' hę memine venis.

MM.

ELEGIAC COUPLET SENT BY DR. KENNEDY ON A POST CARD

“This was sent to Dr. Kennedy, who returned these lines :—

“*Consilio bonus intersis de ponte rogamus
Saturni sacro, vir reverende, die.
Nonæ, ne frustrere, dies erit ille Novembres,
Sextaque delectos convocat hora viros.
Carbonum luci suadet struxisse canales
Diphilus : ambigitur prosit an obsit opus.
Hæc tibi devincti Fabri, natusque paterque,
Actores socii, vir reverende, dabant.’*”

The habit of ready composition continued to the end of his life. Mr. ——, an old pupil, wrote him a congratulatory letter on his eighty-second birthday, and received in return a post card bearing the lines of which a reproduction is here given.

It will thus be seen how deeply saturated Dr. Kennedy was with classical lore. The conductor, or means of communication by which this same spirit was infused into the boys, was his personal fire and enthusiasm. Dr. Gifford writes : “It was in school-time that Kennedy was seen and heard at his best : to stand beside him after ‘repetition’ at first lesson and watch the ready ease with which he improved a copy of Greek iambics, or wrote a couplet of Latin elegiacs, or a stanza of alcaics, and afterwards to study the reason and style of his corrections, was an invaluable lesson to the young composer. . . . Of the classical authors which we read, Pindar and Sophocles were, I think, Dr. Kennedy’s especial favourites, and it is needless to

sent it to the awestruck little boy. It was bound in bright green cloth, and smelt strongly of bookbinder’s paste, a smell which the small boy firmly believed to be that of “Latin,” and disliked accordingly !

say that his translations were always most vigorous and poetical, while his sonorous voice and 'eye in a fine frenzy rolling' could hardly fail to inspire the least sympathetic hearer with something of his own enthusiasm."

To quote another old pupil, Mr. Hallam, in the *Journal of Education*, wrote as follows: "The secret of his (Kennedy's) success lay in his own strong and simple nature and its contagious enthusiasm, in his love of the Greek and Latin literatures, and in the fact that he believed in what he taught. . . . He believed with all his heart, and his pupils could not but believe with him, that classical scholarship was a living and enduring interest, worthy of a man's best energies. The kindling of such a spirit was like a new birth in the mind of every boy who was touched by the sacred fire."

The fact is, that the boys were intensely interested in Dr. Kennedy himself. He was never dull, never commonplace, and so he inspired them also with an interest in the things for which he cared so much. And what an interesting teacher he was! Take, for example, a scene to which more than one old Salopian has referred, and which is graphically described by Mr. Hallam: "The lesson one day was a hard chorus in the *Antigone*; the edition before the Doctor was, as it happened, Brunck's; the form was waiting at the end of lesson for the Headmaster's construe. But minute after minute passed without his uttering a word, his brow frowning and overcast, his teeth clenched, his eye rapt and absorbed, as he rocked himself uneasily in his

chair. At last it could be seen that the light had dawned, the cloud passed away from his brow, an expression of triumph beamed over his face, and he looked round exultingly on his præpostors: 'The audacious Brunck has actually—inserted a comma!' This would be said without the slightest idea of a joke, in the most tremendous earnest." Mr. Heitland, too, in *The Eagle*, tells how the Doctor interested the Sixth in his translations. A passage has just been construed by one of the boys, Dr. Kennedy remarks, "Thank you," "and now the thunder begins. Tilting back his chair, the Doctor at once translates the lesson in his own way. He does not attempt any painful elaboration of his sentences, but speeds along through everything. The effect is much weakened if you write it down. But it sounds well, and is wonderfully attractive to boys. This is chiefly because it is dramatically delivered. He is not merely translating Demosthenes: he is Demosthenes speaking extempore in English. The voice is modulated in a most expressive manner—description, question, dilemma, invective, sarcasm—all are rendered in their most appropriate tones. But the voice gets louder and the pace quickens as he nears the end, and when he stops 'you might hear a pin drop.'"

How interesting, too, it must have been to watch the play of those expressive features seldom still, and to listen to such outbursts as "Peter I know, and Paul I know, but who is Wesley?" or "Tell it not in Oxford, tell it not in Cambridge, there is not a Shakespeare to be found in the Shrewsbury Sixth Form!"—this latter on an occasion when he

had ordered the boys to bring in their Shakespeares, but only one solitary copy was produced, which specimen he did not see! Or, again, when in a fit of sudden exasperation at the sound of a false quantity he threw up his hands and cried, "Ah, the anguish of my soul! I'll give up education altogether!"

But he not only interested his boys, he also encouraged them and made them care enormously for good marks or words of praise from him. And here, again, he was never commonplace. On more than one occasion on a Saturday morning during the mathematical lesson he is remembered to have come into the schoolroom and to have walked up and down in a state of evident excitement, muttering to himself, and now and then exclaiming, "Extraordinary!" At last he stopped opposite to some particular boy, and producing a copy of verses, asked in stentorian tones: "Did you do this yourself, W——?" On receiving an affirmative reply, he turned to the rest and said, "I'll give you all a half-holiday for it!" He thus made a boy feel that to do a really excellent exercise was an event in his life—a proud moment not soon to be forgotten.

Holidays were pretty freely given for such things, and it was an advantageous method of reward, for, so far as the Sixth Form was concerned, the time was usually employed in working at the various compositions of the week. Three of these were expected from every boy in addition to all his other work. Latin prose was always one of the three, the other two being either Greek verse,

Latin lyrics, or Latin hexameters and elegiacs alternately. In these matters, too, Dr. Kennedy took pains to make the work interesting. Professor Mayor says, "Our master took advantage of any passing event to give variety to our work. If Van Ambrugh¹ visited the town his feats supplied matter for the next week's elegiacs. One morning we were bidden to bring at second school (ten o'clock) a version of an epitaph seen by Dr. Kennedy's nursemaid in a country churchyard, and taught by her to his children. "I think," he said, "it does great credit to her taste." The lines, with the Doctor's rendering, are to be found in *Between Whiles*.

Dr. Kennedy used to say, "My Sixth Form is the hardest Sixth Form in England, and *I intend it to be so.*" Certainly he spared no pains with his clever boys—the Upper Sixth. An old pupil writes: "I recall one thing which struck me very much at the time—me, perhaps, more than others, because I was a day boy and so felt the strain more, and felt also that the distraction was more to Dr. Kennedy than the head-room knew. As the reduced numbers of the school forced him to take the præpostors and the Lower Sixth together, he felt that the former were not getting as much of the more difficult Greek as their future rivals from larger schools, so he instituted "late lessons," which were no doubt to be considered voluntary, but were too evidently valuable to be neglected by any of us. So from nine to ten every

¹ A lion-tamer who used to visit Shrewsbury with performing lions and an elephant.

night, beginning as soon as prayers were over, he lectured on Aristophanes or Aristotle, I do not remember any other authors. . . . The effect of these lectures is curiously illustrated by the fact that the only two Greek quotations which remain to me are from one of the books of the Ethics then read."

One of the remarkable things to notice in speaking of the success of Dr. Kennedy as a teacher is that it was gained in spite of certain drawbacks which would have proved fatal to many men gifted with less personal vigour and enthusiasm. He was, for instance, extremely unpunctual. He rarely began his ten-o'clock lesson till a quarter past the hour, and it was frequently half an hour after the time before he appeared. His want of method, too, was apparent in his correction of exercises. He often failed to notice glaring grammatical errors, though he punished them severely enough when he did see them. What he cared for was the spirit of the composition; anything to his mind was better than dulness, or what he called "ditch-water." Then, again, his outbursts of temper and alarming voice and appearance were enough to take the heart out of a timid boy. There was a platform, called the "rostrum," in the middle of the room, and upon this a boy had to take his stand when called upon to construe. It was an alarming situation for a nervous lad, and it is recorded that once a boy called Smith was so terrified by the looks of the Doctor that he fainted away. A scene is also remembered which, while extremely funny to the onlookers, was not an altogether pleasant experience to one of the actors. A very small boy had been

summoned to Dr. Kennedy's desk to be reprimanded for some trivial offence. In a trembling voice the little fellow offered some excuse, on which the Doctor, rising from his seat and leaning his imposing form over the desk, roared out, "Do you want, sir, to bully the Headmaster?" Lastly, there is a well-known incident that cannot be omitted from such a context. A boy was construing on the rostrum, and the Doctor, not in the best of humours, was subjecting him to a considerable amount of harrying and eventually sent him back. So greatly had this sort of treatment got upon the nerves of some of the boys that one of them rose in his place and indignantly said, "You only have boys up there to cavil at their words!" Angry almost beyond words, Dr. Kennedy ordered the offender to leave the room and the school. Subsequent reflection, however, may have shown him that there was a spice of truth in the accusation, for he in the most forgiving way made it up with the boy, and invited him to supper that evening, thereby laying the foundation of a lifelong friendship.

This introduces naturally another quality which the Doctor possessed in large measure, and by which he endeared himself greatly to his boys. This was generosity. Dr. Gifford has so well described this side of his character that a quotation must be made from a short paper kindly written for the purpose: "Dr. Kennedy's disposition was most generous, affectionate, and forgiving. All his feelings were quick and impulsive. A sudden flash of anger, or a mighty storm of indignation, passed off almost as quickly as it came, and if it ever led to an

unmerited punishment or too harsh a reproof, the acknowledgment of his error was so earnest and so generous, his pain and regret so evidently sincere, that any sense of injustice at once gave place to increased affection and respect. An amusing anecdote is told of his kindly humour and readiness to forgive. On the first of April a mischievous boy had put the clock forward and caused the bell for morning chapel to be rung an hour too soon. The delinquent was discovered, and much alarmed by an invitation to call on the Doctor a little before noon, at the usual place of execution. Swish! But, strange to say, the culprit was untouched. Swish! as before. The boy was still trembling for the third stroke, when there came the words, "Go away, you April fool!"

Many and many a time did he exercise the same kind of generosity, but in most instances it was called forth not by an appreciation of the humour of an offender, as in the above case, but by a sense that his own impetuosity had led him further than he intended. He would not seldom be so carried away by an ebullition of wrath as to expel the whole Sixth Form, going so far on one occasion as to tell them by what coaches they were to leave for their homes. But they were invariably forgiven and taken back again into favour. An example of this occurred when an uproar arose one afternoon because the kettle had been mislaid and the boys could not get hot water to make their tea. In stalked the Doctor to know what the noise was about. The servant told him that some boy had taken away the kettle. Back he came in dire

wrath, and expelled the whole of the præpostors on the spot. Shortly afterwards their sentence was commuted to a heavy punishment, which in its turn was altogether remitted. This is an excellent example of the slight grounds upon which he would lose his self-control, and of the readiness with which he withdrew from what he felt to be an unjustifiable position.

As may be imagined, with a disposition such as this he disliked exceedingly having his opinion—especially upon any point of taste or scholarship—opposed. In the course of a lesson a boy, whose father had produced an edition of the book being read, gave a certain rendering of a passage with which Dr. Kennedy disagreed. The boy maintained his father's version, and the atmosphere grew sultry, so that the moment school was over he picked up his books and marched out of the room. The Doctor detained the others for a moment while he said, with benign emphasis: "Poor boy! I did not like to say so before him, but *his father's no scholar.*" The following story further exemplifies this point.

It is said that Dr. Kennedy once met Charles Dickens, when a dispute arose as to the use of the word "mutual," the former rightly maintaining that it was wrong to use the expression "mutual friend." Not long afterwards the great author produced a new book. What was Kennedy's wrath to find it called *Our Mutual Friend!* He was furious, and declared that Dickens had done it on purpose. After an outburst of wrath he said, "I suppose people don't like to say a 'common' friend! Then,"

in a voice of thunder, "how *dare* they call it the Book of *Common Prayer*?"

It will be readily seen that a nature so impulsive and a temper so easily aroused made it all the more wonderful that the success of Dr. Kennedy as a teacher should have been so phenomenal. There was yet another trait which might have been expected to have marred his work, but which failed to do so. It was mentioned at the outset that he stooped to mental frivolities which should have been beneath his notice. Not a few of these occurred in school, and though of themselves they are not worth recording, yet no picture of Dr. Kennedy would be complete from which all mention of them was excluded. Here are a few examples. When the present Headmaster of Shrewsbury came to the school as a boy, he was put straight into the Sixth Form, occupying at first the lowest position. The Doctor, sending another boy down, remarked: "You needn't be afraid of falling to the bottom. There's moss there!" Again, there were certain marks against a boy's name which signified how he had progressed during the week. Of these T stood for tolerable, I for idle, B for bad, etc. A culprit was brought up to Kennedy with T, I, B, I against him. "Ah!" said the Doctor,

"Tibi to thee, boy,
A flogging shall be, boy."

He perpetrated perpetually shockingly bad puns, but nothing further would be gained by holding them up to execration at the present day. The point to be observed here is that in spite of so

many drawbacks Kennedy was the greatest teacher of his day.

A word must be said about his discipline, though a good deal will have been already gleaned from what has been written. It was the days of flogging, and Dr. Kennedy did not depart from the fashion of his times. During his first years there were executions on most days after second school. One old pupil declares that the Doctor enjoyed it, but as he (the pupil) was by his own showing an idle and impudent boy, that need not have been to Kennedy's discredit. Flogging was the punishment for idleness or extremely bad exercises, and was not reserved for moral offences as at the present day. The last detention day of the half was greatly dreaded, as those boys who still had punishments to do had them "flogged off"! A story is told which illustrates the outbursts to which the Doctor sometimes gave vent. A boy had been unjustly accused of falsehood by one of the Assistant Masters. Notoriously an honourable boy, he was stung to such resentment by the false accusation that he rushed up to his accuser's door, wrote "Snob" upon it, and was caught almost in the act. Thereupon he was, of course, flogged. But so enraged were the other boys at the treatment that their comrade had received that they set up a dismal howling, and continued it all through the flogging. The Doctor was furious, and, as he could not get the names of the offenders, he sent for six boys to his study, and burst out to them as he stalked up and down the room. He poured torrents of abuse upon the unknown offenders, and declared that he would

expel *all* to the last boy, "for," he thundered, "I would rather have five gentlemen at school than five hundred ruffians!"

At the same time, it is fair to state that in some respects Dr. Kennedy had ideas on the subject of discipline that were possibly due to the influence of Arnold, and were certainly in advance of the age. Thus he showed implicit trust in a boy's word. The sort of conversation that not infrequently occurred was this: "W——, I have sent for you on suspicion that you did such and such an act. The suspicion is so grave that I must ask you, did you or did you not?" "I did not, sir." "Very well; I believe you." And there the matter ended. It was not the common practice of his day, but the Doctor showed thereby that he understood the nature of boys and the readiest way to inculcate a true spirit of honour. Then, again, he used the system of præpostors to assist in keeping order. Here there seems a discrepancy between his action at Shrewsbury and one of the reasons which, it will be remembered, he gave for not desiring the headmastership of Harrow. "I can take no school where fagging is a legalised system," he said. But at Shrewsbury the præpostors might fag anyone below the Lower Sixth, and it is remembered that when he admitted a præpostor he used to say, "If any boy should disobey a præpostor he would be considered to have broken a rule of the school."

One of the most remarkable things to notice about the headmastership of Dr. Kennedy is the extremely small number of boys at the school during the whole of his time. He says himself, "I began

with 228 boys. From this point the number steadily declined, falling at one time below 100, in spite of great successes at both Universities. And during my whole headmastership of thirty years I am sure my average numbers did not exceed 150." Now, remembering the extraordinary fame of Dr. Kennedy as a teacher, how is this to be accounted for? In the first place, doubtless, by the reason given by the Public Schools Commission, viz. the unsatisfactory condition of the boarding-houses. But besides this there was the renown of Dr. Arnold. Rugby was the nearest big school to Shrewsbury, and the railway reached that town long before Shrewsbury enjoyed a similar privilege. It must also be remembered that it was the time when several of the larger schools of the country were either founded or revived, so that to the rivalry of other places may be ascribed some share in the reduction of the numbers at Shrewsbury.

But what is more remarkable still is the fact that with a school numbering little more than a hundred boys such countless successes were obtained. There is some explanation of this in the fact that the curious and objectionable custom prevailed of clever boys coming there for the last two years of their school life in order to get the benefit of Dr. Kennedy's teaching in the Sixth Form. These boys were often allowed to live in lodgings under no special control—a plan scarcely to be recommended. The fact that this custom prevailed is a tribute to the Headmaster's teaching powers, but a condemnation of the general discomforts of the school, to avoid which it was no doubt adopted.

With all his immense amount of work, Dr. Kennedy always had some hobby, which he rode hard while the fit lasted. Mention has been made of his devotion to croquet when that game first came in. Another of his hobbies was the study of criminal trials and the value of circumstantial evidence. Not only could he, with his marvellous memory, give the details of most of the great murder trials of this country, but he was continually quoting a German work answering to our Newgate Calendar. "I think, if anything, I have a judicial mind," was a favourite saying of his, which often brought a smile to the face of his hearers who knew well his impulsive disposition. For some years he devoted himself largely to the collection of riddles and charades, bringing out two editions of a book called *Christmas Comfits*, which contained many contributions from himself as well as from some of his friends, such as Mackworth Praed, Walsham How, and others. So keen was he about these verses and conundrums that to hear him talk about them at the time it seemed as if he had no other interest in life!

Such, then, was Dr. Kennedy, the greatest teacher of his day. "Adored by his Sixth Form," whom he interested and encouraged, and for whose intellectual welfare he spent himself. So hot and impetuous that no one liked to be his partner at the whist-table, a game of which he was particularly fond, though he played it on principles of his own. "Why did you not return clubs?" he once said. "Did you not see that I led them *most emphatically*?" So simple-minded and unequal to an

emergency that when he came in suddenly one day and sat upon a chair in which Mrs. Kennedy had laid the baby, he did not move, but screamed, "Janet! Janet! I've sat on the baby!" So generous that he forgave the offender almost as soon as the echo of his own roar of condemnation had died away. A personality to be first feared, then loved, and ever remembered by all who came beneath his influence.

With regard to the length of time (thirty years) that Kennedy was Headmaster of Shrewsbury, it is interesting to note that his predecessor, Dr. Butler, began to rule in 1798, and his successor, Mr. Moss, is still on the throne. Thus, three Headmasters have seen three centuries! How far this has been beneficial is open to argument. It will be seen that Vaughan thought fifteen years a sufficient length for a Headmaster's rule.

There is not much more to be said. His son-in-law, Mr. Burbury, had become rector of West Felton, about twelve miles north of Shrewsbury on the Holyhead Road. When he died, in 1866, Dr. Kennedy succeeded him, but remained there for a few months only. This was (with the exception of a prebendal stall at Lichfield, which he received in 1843) his first ecclesiastical preferment. It was followed very shortly by another, for in 1867 the Regius Professorship of Greek at Cambridge fell vacant, and, at the desire of many of his old pupils, he allowed himself to be nominated, and was duly elected. This post carried with it a canonry of Ely. It is worth noticing, as showing how large a number of the leading scholars of the day were

Salopians, that the other candidates for the Professorship were all old pupils of Dr. Kennedy. This is again shown by the fact that when a large testimonial was raised to him on leaving Shrewsbury, part of which was devoted to the chancel of the New School Chapel, and part to the founding of a Professorship of Latin at Cambridge, the two first occupants of this chair (Professors Munro and Mayor) were also old members of his Sixth Form. It showed a pleasant trait of modesty that the Doctor should have given £500 to the fund on condition that the Professorship should not bear his name.

At Cambridge his work consisted mainly in writing and examining. He lectured, of course, but he had fallen behind the times, and though his lectures were thought interesting and amusing, chiefly on account of the manner of their delivery, the attendance was very small. From 1870 to 1880 he spent some of his time in the work entailed by his membership of the Committee for the Revision of the New Testament. But the years that he spent at his old University were to some extent a necessary rest after the toil of his headmastership. He realised very thoroughly the burden of responsibility which he had borne for thirty years. Writing to an old friend in 1885, he speaks of a young man just about to undertake a mastership, and says, "I hope that his nerve and controlling power will be firm and strong enough for the trying work of government."

He was a strong supporter of advanced education for women, and a good friend to both Girton

and Newnham, the result, no doubt, partly of his inherited Liberal views.

He was elected an honorary Fellow of St. John's in 1880, and an ordinary Fellow in 1885. This latter honour came to him for the second time after a gap of fifty-eight years.

During the last few years of his life he was troubled with bronchitis, and of this complaint he died at Torquay, in April, 1889, having survived Mrs. Kennedy just fifteen years.

He did not often return to Shrewsbury after he resigned, but his affection for the school never wavered, and he looked upon his headmastership as his life's work. An old pupil meeting him in the streets of Cambridge greeted him as "Doctor," and immediately apologised for not saying "Professor." "No, no," said Kennedy, "I love the old name best."

IV

CHARLES J. VAUGHAN, D.D.

HEADMASTER OF HARROW, 1844-1859

ONE of the most impressive portraits of modern times hangs at the end of the Vaughan Library at Harrow. Painted by George Richmond, it is beautiful in both draughtsmanship and colour. But its great charm lies in the conviction that it brings to the spectator that he is learning to know something of the mind as well as of the form and features of Harrow's greatest Headmaster, Dr. Vaughan. The first impression is that of a man scarcely yet in the prime of life, with clear complexion and earnest eye, carrying himself with dignity, in academic garb. After a moment or two other qualities claim chief attention. Gentleness in its best sense, refinement, scholarliness, all are seen. Then a certain firmness about the mouth tells of the strong man, the ruler, whose word was law. It was Lord George Hamilton who, speaking at the meeting held at the Church House to promote a memorial to Dr. Vaughan, declared that "his soft, quiet manner was the screen to a reservoir of great reserve power; his soft voice gave expression to the ideas of an inflexible will; and his genial, cultured utterances were the expressions of a saintly



PORTRAIT OF DR. VAUGHAN

man, slow to wrath, but who, if he found himself face to face with wrongdoing, was fearless in his denunciation and punishment." All this the painter conveys in the portrait at Harrow, for besides the gentleness and determination, there is an expression of "goodness"—simple holiness—in the face which is most striking.

Such, in brief, was the character of the man who began and almost perfected the regeneration of Harrow School.

Of his early life little need be said. He was the second son of the Rev. Edward Thomas Vaughan, Vicar of St. Martin's, Leicester. His mother also belonged to Leicester, being a daughter of Mr. Thomas Pares, a banker of that town. He was born in 1816, and educated at home until his father's death, thirteen years later. He then went to Rugby, where he is described as belonging to "the inner circle of Arnold's favourite pupils." In due course he went on to Trinity, Cambridge, where he was ultimately bracketed Senior Classic,¹ and equal, as Chancellor's Medallist, with the fourth Lord Lyttelton, in 1838. He obtained his Fellowship of Trinity in the following year, and, as so many other schoolmasters and divines have done, he tried the study of law for a time, but in 1841 gave this up and took Holy Orders. He was almost immediately appointed to the family living of St. Martin's, Leicester, which has since been held by two of his brothers. He married a sister of Dean Stanley, his old Rugby school-friend, in which latter connection

¹ In this examination he performed the unprecedented feat of making no single mistake in the accents of his Greek papers.

it may also be mentioned, on the authority of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, that another, though slightly junior, schoolfellow was Clough, the poet.

He was a candidate for the headmastership of Rugby on the death of Dr. Arnold, but Tait (afterwards Archbishop) obtained the post. Vaughan was still a very young man, and when in 1844 he was elected to Harrow, some doubts were not unnaturally expressed as to his fitness for the post. But others knew him well and understood his powers. "Don't be afraid," said one, who saw the stuff of which the young man was made, "Vaughan's yea is yea and his nay is nay." Not only was the new Headmaster young in years, but he was young in appearance also. He is described by a resident of Harrow, who remembers him well, as "a very young-looking, smooth-faced boy, with extremely gentle manners." With such an appearance it no doubt seemed to many people a great risk to appoint him to a school which had sunk low in numbers and reputation. That the selection was amply justified is now a matter of history.

Mr. C. S. Roundell, who was head boy at the time when Dr. Vaughan arrived, in the course of a most valuable paper written for the purposes of this book, says, "His (Vaughan's) first experience at Harrow and of Harrow was remarkable. The then Vicar of Harrow, who was also one of the governors of the school, gravely advised him to expel the whole school, numbering at that time sixty-nine, and to express his willingness to receive them back upon his own terms. This advice Dr.

Vaughan, with the common sense and judgment, with the good feeling and delicacy of appreciation which always animated him, resolutely brushed aside and refused to act upon. And he was justified; for he was the first to acknowledge, and not without deep gratitude, that in the monitors who came down to him from Dr. Wordsworth he found large, if not his chief, support in his measures for reform and for the improvement of discipline."

In the same paper, speaking of the small numbers to which the school had fallen, Mr. Roundell tells how different was the external appearance of the school in those days. There were but three boarding-houses, the Park, Mr. Oxenham's, and Mr. B. Drury's. The last Dame's House was closed at the end of the year 1841, and The Grove, under Mr. Steel, and then for one year under Mr. Shilleto, was also closed before Dr. Vaughan's arrival. The Headmaster's boarding-house, restored in Dr. Vaughan's time by the subscriptions of old Harrovians, had been burned down in the time of Dr. Wordsworth. With the exception perhaps of the addition made to the school building in Dr. G. Butler's régime, the outward aspect of Harrow in 1844 was probably very much what it had been in the time of Sir Robert Peel and Lord Byron. "And," adds Mr. Roundell, "it is a curious fact that some of the school books used in those earlier days seemed to have survived to the time of Dr. Wordsworth."

Such, then, was the school to which Dr. Vaughan came at a psychological moment. Dr. H. M. Butler, the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Dr. Vaughan's successor at Harrow, has used these

remarkable words: "The opportunity presented to him was unique; the response which he made to that opportunity was unique; the character with which he met it was unique." If the numbers of the school may be used as evidence of the power of its Headmaster, they afford convincing proof that he was the right man in the right place. In 1844 there were 69 boys; in 1845 there were 97; in 1846 the number was nearly doubled, and in 1847 it rose to 283. From this point the progress was steady, until in 1859, the year in which Dr. Vaughan resigned, there were 466 boys, or seven times as many as he found on his arrival.

He came, of course, with a double reputation. It was well known that Arnold had considered him one of his best pupils, and the brilliance of his career at Cambridge showed him to be one of the greatest scholars of his day. But besides these matters he was no doubt greatly assisted by his personal advantages. Upon these writer after writer has dwelt, especially upon the quiet dignity and calm of his appearance, which made boys at first a little suspicious and afraid of him until they were won by his absolute fairness and gentleness, and upon his carriage as he walked to school or chapel. Of this last characteristic several descriptions are given. In Messrs. Howson and Warner's *Harrow School* it is said: "His personal demeanour helped him greatly. As the boys saw the Headmaster walk up the hill to school, with a gracious dignity all his own, it was instinctively felt that he was supreme. It used to be said that he saw behind him." Again, an old pupil writes: "He

walked to school like an *ὄνος ἄγων μυστήρια*, or, let us say, a Lord Chancellor." Lastly, a quotation may well be made from *Essays and Mock Essays*, in which appeared a series of articles on "Headmasters I have known." The "Dr. Mostyn" of this series was easily to be recognised as Dr. Vaughan, and here is the description which it contains: "He was below the middle height, but no one would have described him as a short man. He always towered a head and shoulders above common mortals. His gait was perhaps the most striking outward characteristic. Day by day for three years I used to see him moving at the same funeral pace from his home to the school, looking neither to the right hand nor to the left, but returning each schoolboy's salute with military precision. Even when he rode his horse seemed to have caught his master's even pace, and never relapsed into an amble."

It is not easy to realise the task which Dr. Vaughan undertook when he came to Harrow. Under both Longley and Wordsworth discipline had been extremely slack. It is said that the former was too tender-hearted to punish the boys, while the latter planned reforms, but never carried them out. Anyhow, it is certain that the new Headmaster needed all the advantages above described, together with a courage of no common order. When the headmastership had previously been vacant Dr. Kennedy had declined to be nominated, so unsatisfactory did he consider the state of the school. When Dr. Vaughan stood for the post in 1844, and applied to Dean Turton, of Peterborough, for a testimonial, he was warned "not to throw himself away on

Harrow." It is to be feared that this evil reputation was not undeserved. Old inhabitants remember how parties of the boys used to go off day by day to drink in a public-house at Wembley, while in the streets of Harrow itself there was so much stone-throwing and general misconduct as to create a positive scandal. "Yes," said someone the other day, "I can remember a pony of ours having its eye put out by a stone thrown at it by a Harrow boy."

It need hardly be said that one of the first matters to which the new Headmaster applied himself was the checking of such abuses as these. He ordered all the boys into Speech-room, and told them in the plainest language what he thought of such behaviour. He said that drink was the curse of the school, and that he meant to take any and every means to put a stop to it. He told them that he should get evidence whenever and wherever and however he could, for such grave ills required extraordinary remedies. Finally, he assured them that any boy found to have offended in this way would be instantly expelled.

But it was not single-handed that he proposed to cope with the evils he found. He was deeply imbued with the principles of Arnold and with a sense of the advantages of the monitorial system. There is some little discrepancy in the various accounts of how far the Rugby system was introduced at Harrow. It has already been seen that Mr. Roundell's evidence goes to show that Dr. Vaughan found ready support from his monitors, but while he (Mr. Roundell) was head boy it does not seem

that the monitorial system as known at Rugby was accepted, for he writes : "Vaughan was wise in his generation. He proceeded cautiously and gradually in his reforms. He respected the *genius loci* of the place and the school traditions. No better proof of this could be given than his dealing with the monitorial tradition. It was his wish to have introduced the Rugby system of præpostors ; but when he found in his interview with the head of the school that the feeling of the school was strongly opposed to any such innovation, he wisely and considerately gave way and no longer pressed his own view."

As Mr. Roundell was himself the head boy in question, the above statement is doubtless accurate, and the various accounts of the introduction of the Rugby system which are given must refer to a later date. Not that, so far as can be seen, Dr. Vaughan deferred the matter for very long.

In 1844, the very year of his appointment to Harrow, the *Life of Arnold* was published, and created a deep impression everywhere, and especially upon all public schools. It is only probable that this would be markedly the case in a school ruled by one of Arnold's favourite pupils. It may, then, very well be the case that, although for a time Dr. Vaughan deferred to the conservative sentiments of the boys, yet that, as is recorded, the influence of Stanley's *Life of Arnold* made itself so deeply felt that within two or three years the Sixth Form fell in completely with the spirit of the book.

This explanation would agree with the account given by another old Harrovian, who was in the

Sixth Form at the same time as Mr. Roundell. After saying that the change was not made all in a moment, but that Dr. Vaughan was a man of supreme tact, and felt his way, making friends first of all with the boys into whose hands he proposed to put so much power, he writes: "It is more than fifty years since I was a Harrow boy, but still I have a vivid recollection of the four happy years spent in the old place. I well remember the excitement of the arrival of the new Headmaster, Dr. Vaughan. We heard that he was a first-rate Greek scholar . . . and that he was Dr. Arnold's favourite pupil at Rugby. I believe that he copied Dr. Arnold's modes of governing the school. I was in the Sixth Form, just passed into it, when Dr. Vaughan came. His mode of procedure was to make friends with the Sixth Form, so that they might become a parliament for the control and well-being of the school. He, accordingly, invited us to dine with him, and was most agreeable."

In *Harrow School and its Surroundings*, by P. M. Thornton, there are one or two observations which describe briefly and accurately the policy which Dr. Vaughan adopted. It is there said that he combined a trust in worthy boys with a stern resolve not to tolerate lawlessness, and further, that the strong measures with which he initiated his mastership became less necessary when it was discovered how strong he was himself. He was by no means destructive in his policy, but by his nature he revered the aims of his predecessors. He rather sought to reach in more effectual ways the goals which they had set before them, but to

which they had failed to attain. The greatest assistance to this end he expected to get from the monitorial system. As to this it is stated that he held that, "broadly speaking, the master is responsible for morals and the monitor for manners."

It was no light task to introduce such a change into a school in the state in which he found Harrow, but, as Mr. Thornton so truly says, "previous headmasters of Harrow had equalled his learning, but few, if any, vied with Dr. Vaughan in tact and intuitive knowledge of mankind." He was therefore the very man of all others to carry the matter through with success.

Nine years after his appointment an opportunity arose for a formal statement of his views as to the monitorial system. In 1853 two boys, by name Platt and Stewart, had an uncomplimentary exchange of sentiments on the football field. Now Platt was a monitor, and threatened to thrash Stewart. On this the latter appealed to Dr. Vaughan, who advised him to submit to the monitorial authority. This he did, with the result that Platt gave him thirty-one cuts with an eighteen-penny cane—a much more formidable weapon than that in common use. The little boy was so desperately flayed that he had to go to the doctor, who reported seriously of the state in which he found him. Dr. Vaughan, writing to Stewart's father, declared that his son had behaved nobly. Platt was removed from the school. Such, briefly, was the exceedingly unpleasant set of circumstances which caused Lord Palmerston, who has sometimes been called "the great Harrow Premier," to write

to Dr. Vaughan commenting anxiously on the method of enforcing monitorial authority. The reply to this letter gives a valuable summary of Dr. Vaughan's opinion. In the course of it he said: "Those who are acquainted with Dr. Arnold's 'Life'—a book regarded by many as one of authority upon such a subject—are aware that the right of his Sixth Form to the use of the cane was one for which he contended with the greatest earnestness as indispensable to the efficient working of that monitorial system to which he considered that Rugby owed so much. A master who consulted merely his own ease and present popularity would at once abolish the power in dispute. . . . Corporal punishment of any kind, by whomsoever administered, is inconsistent with modern notions of personal dignity and modern habits of precocious manliness. . . .

"There are in every public school certain minor offences against manners rather than against morals—faults of turbulence, rudeness, offensive language, annoyance of others, petty oppression, and tyranny, etc.—which, as public schools are at present constituted, lie ordinarily out of the cognisance of the masters, and might, so far as they are concerned, be committed with impunity. . . . To meet such cases there is no doubt a choice of measures. You might adopt what might with equal propriety be called the foreign school or the private school system. You may create a body of ushers, masters of a lower order, whose business it shall be to follow boys into their hours of recreation and rest, avowedly as spies, coercing freedom of speech and

action, or reporting to their superior what such observation has gleaned. This is consistent and intelligible—ruinous to that which has been regarded as the great glory of an English public school, *i.e.* its free development of character, its social expansiveness, in short, its liberty. . . . If not this, then the alternative must be some form or other of the monitorial principle. Ten, twenty, or thirty of these boys who are (generally speaking) the elder, at all events the abler, the more diligent, the more meritorious—selected by no favours—are empowered to exercise over their juniors a legalised and carefully regulated authority.”

The letter, which is too long to be quoted *in extenso*, then proceeds to argue that these monitors might, of course, be employed like ushers simply to report to the masters. That is to say, they would be spies pure and simple—a position which all *gentlemen* would repudiate. Or they might be monitors after the fashion that obtains in most public schools. If this latter course be adopted, they must have some means of enforcing their authority. In Dr. Vaughan’s opinion, the chief benefit of “fagging” exists in its being “a daily assertion, in a form which makes it palpable and felt, of a power which has been instituted for the good, not of the superior, but of the inferior in the relation.” But how is this power to be enforced? At one time Harrow monitors were allowed to set “impositions,” or writing punishments. But in Dr. Vaughan’s opinion this was open to several objections. It kept the boys in confinement, and was likely to interfere with the time needed for the

proper preparation of their lessons. This alone is a strong argument against it, but the further reason is adduced for its abolition that it was an exactly similar power to that ordinarily exercised by the masters.

Dr. Vaughan concludes by saying that he found caning established, and he evidently believed that nothing could adequately take its place. At the same time, he saw the necessity for imposing certain checks. He therefore arranged for the possibility of two appeals. In the first place, a boy might appeal from the proposed punishment of one monitor to the whole body of monitors. Finally, he might, should occasion require, lay the matter before the Headmaster.

As in almost all public schools about the middle of the last century this question of the monitorial system was the one upon which turned the moral reformation of Harrow, and to Dr. Vaughan (under the inspiration of Dr. Arnold) the school owes a deep debt of gratitude. Dr. Welldon, who succeeded Dr. Butler as Headmaster, once said that Harrow was practically what Dr. Vaughan made it. This is, no doubt, largely the case, but in this very matter of the monitorial system a change for the better has been made since his day. Instead of the whole Sixth Form being monitors, this body consists now of the first ten of the Sixth with others selected from the school for their special fitness for the position. This in great measure removes what is in many schools the weak spot in the system. When the whole Sixth Form become monitors or prefects, or whatever the term at the special school may be,

it is inevitable that a certain number of learned boys are invested with authority which, neither by strength of character nor of body, they can judiciously wield. The present writer remembers more than one instance at his own school. A poor little undersized fellow, whose heart and whose body both seemed to have shrivelled, had a brain which carried him rapidly into the Sixth Form, where he at once became a prefect. Bitterly jealous and spiteful towards any whose bodily gifts were greater than his own, he took an early opportunity of attempting to fag a big athletic boy, who, low down in the school, occupied a leading position in cricket and football, and was, by etiquette at all events, exempt from such things. That grievous trouble ensued, which caused a breach between the school and the Sixth Form (who were in duty bound to back up their puny member), will easily be understood. More than once, too, when the Sixth Form happened to be less influential than usual, it took measures to assert its dignity by trumping up cases of supposed insult on the part of some leading boy below the Sixth, of whose popularity the prefects were jealous. It is probably true that, while the monitorial system is an essential part of the government of a public school, the plan which has been adopted at Harrow since Dr. Vaughan's day of including among the monitors a proportion of boys not in the Sixth Form is the best possible solution of a problem which must from time to time present serious difficulties.

Of other changes made by Dr. Vaughan several were rather of a material than a moral kind. He

had a great eye for detail, and much disliked the variety of neckties with which the boys adorned themselves, so that he had not been long Headmaster before Harrovians found themselves reduced to either black or white as the only permissible colours. Then, again, he was staggered at the enormous charges which "foreigners," *i.e.* parents residing at a distance, were compelled to pay, and did all he could to reduce these within moderate limits. Probably he was not able to do very much in this direction, as Harrow is still almost the most expensive school in the country.

In the matter of buildings he made several improvements. Dr. Wordsworth had erected a school chapel, but his successor was anxious for a worthier building, and employed Sir Gilbert Scott to make plans for what has ultimately developed into the present chapel. Dr. Vaughan himself gave the chancel, and that and the south aisle were opened in 1855. The north aisle was erected shortly afterwards as a memorial to the Harrovians who had fallen in the Crimean War, so that before Dr. Vaughan resigned he had the satisfaction of seeing an excellent school chapel erected, which in itself has been a fitting memorial of his headmastership.

An old Harrovian writes: "A very happy change was introduced by Vaughan in our bathing-place, which rejoiced in the name of the 'duck-puddle.' This unpleasant pond was cleared of broken bottles and other débris and turned into a beautiful large bathing-place. I mention the broken bottles, as I once had the misfortune to tread on one when

bathing, and the pain of the occurrence I remember after fifty years."

Another improvement which he made showed his thoughtfulness for the comfort of certain boys who were not so strong as their fellows and not so well able to stand the racket of a large boarding-house. He erected two houses, now occupied by Mr. Warner and Mr. Roseveare, for the reception of some nine or ten boys each, whose parents might consider that they required special care and attention.

A curious little story has just come to hand which exemplifies the more domestic side of the care which Dr. Vaughan would extend to his boys. In 1856, so the story goes, a new boy, Archie C——, arrived from the Highlands of Scotland in the middle of the term to join the school. He was dressed in a kilt, and had never worn trousers! The Doctor had him locked up in his study until a tailor had made for him a pair of the conventional leg coverings, and thereby saved him from much trouble and chaff. What made the Doctor's thoughtful act all the kinder was that he never allowed the story to leak out, and it was only known eventually through being told by some of the boy's relations in after years.

On the other hand, it must be stated that as a house-master Dr. Vaughan was not a success. He knew little that was going on in his house, and trusted too much to a housekeeper who was not endowed with the qualities that would naturally have endeared her to the boys. Once a term the butler used to go round the rooms and say, "The

Headmaster is coming round to-night," and then cards, etc., were stowed away. But this state of things arose from the mistaken policy which allows the Headmaster to undertake the responsibilities of a large boarding-house, responsibilities which the many important duties of his position make it impossible for him to fulfil. In the article on "Dr. Mostyn," from which a quotation has already been made, occurs the following excellent exposition of the folly of such a state of things. "We take a Senior Classic, raw from the Tripos, and we expect him to give as many hours' teaching as a board schoolmaster, to organise and regulate a complicated machine—a federation of republics—to perform the same clerical duties as Professor Wace or Mr. Stopford Brooke; and then, as if this were not enough, we set him in *loco parentis* over half a hundred boys, to whom he has to act as caterer, counsellor, and father confessor. No wonder that the strongest shoulders bend under such a burden, that the interest of the fifty is sacrificed to that of the five hundred!" It is enough to say that if as a house-master Dr. Vaughan could not help being a partial failure, this does not in any way detract from his success as the Headmaster to whom Harrow owed almost everything.

Before passing to the more important subject of his teaching, it will help to give some further idea of his character if it be noted that Dr. Vaughan had his share of the sense of humour, without which a schoolmaster will assuredly fail to understand his boys or to be understood by them.

Mr. A. G. Watson, who was for more than five

years an Assistant Master under him, bears witness that he was a gracious host, discoursing of ordinary matters with a playful simplicity not unmixed with humour and occasional irony, but rarely showing a desire on social occasions to discuss with his company the deeper questions of life, *e.g.* politics or theology. Mr. Herman Merivale, in *Bar, Stage, and Platform*, gives more direct evidence on the point. He was devoted to Dr. Vaughan, and thus expresses himself: "Dear Dr. Vaughan! My master; more, my friend! . . . Oh—but he was humorous—to those who knew, he of the Rugby manner, as we called it, bred in the school of Arnold, with the velvet glove hiding the iron hand!" In proof of his assertion he quotes the story of the little boy called Dodd, who, being brought before Dr. Vaughan for some offence, was asked for his name. The Doctor proceeded to write it down, but paused to ask whether he spelt it with one "d" or two. "Please, sir, *with three*," said the frightened boy. This was too much for Dr. Vaughan, who had to cover his face with his hands to conceal his laughter, and let the little fellow off with a scolding.

Again, the author of "Dr. Mostyn," in speaking of his humour, says: "His wittiest hits were dropped as it were by accident, with the slightest perceptible quiver of the lips and twinkle of the eye. To laugh outright was as impossible for him as to run."

In the *Life of Bishop Westcott*, lately written by his son, there is further confirmation of Dr. Vaughan's possession of this quality. In a letter written in 1871 Dr. Westcott said: "Dr. Vaughan

was full of fun and Cambridge last night—of his degree and his undergraduateship.”

It may be taken as proved that Dr. Vaughan had his full share of that quality which relieves the monotony and lightens the burdens of life. It is possible that sometimes the irony, of which mention has been made, was misunderstood. Mr. G. W. E. Russell, for instance, clearly misunderstood Dr. Vaughan, for in *Collections and Recollections* he describes him as a man “who concealed under the blindest of manners a remorseless wit.” Compare with this estimate the words of Dr. Butler, of Trinity, Cambridge, Vaughan’s closest friend, who declared that for a period of fifty-one years he had never received from the latter one single harsh word or harsh look, whereas there had been simply innumerable acts of kindness and of the most delicate and beautifully expressed sympathy—expressed either in word or in deed—at every cardinal event of his life, whether in its joys or sorrows.

But Mr. Russell may be forgiven for a rather distorted view of Dr. Vaughan’s character by reason of his authoritatively ascribing to him (Dr. Vaughan) the well-known story which has been so often put down to the succeeding Headmaster, Dr. Butler. Though so often quoted, it gives a most descriptive touch to any account of Dr. Vaughan, and cannot well be omitted. No better version can be given than Mr. Russell’s. “One of the forms which shyness takes in boyhood is an inability to get up and go. When Dr. Vaughan was Headmaster of Harrow and had to entertain his boys at breakfast, this inability was frequently manifested, and was

met by the Doctor in a most characteristic fashion. When the muffins and sausages had been devoured, the perfunctory inquiries as to the health of 'your people' made and answered, and all permissible school topics discussed, then used to ensue a horrid silence while 'Dr. Blimber's young friends' sat tightly glued to their chairs. Then the Doctor would approach with cat-like softness, and, extending his hand to the shyest and most loutish boy, would say, '*Must* you go? *Can't* you stay?' and the party broke up with magical celerity."

The attempt which has been made in the foregoing pages to describe the sort of man who came to Harrow as its chief in 1844 has failed in its object if it has not suggested his power of attraction. That this was largely due to his personal holiness is no doubt true, and this side of his character must be mentioned again later when his influence as a religious teacher is treated. His attractiveness is a quality that is strongly marked in the portrait of him of which mention has already been made. It is proved not only by the rapidly increasing numbers of the school during his headmastership, but also, and especially, by the stamp of Assistant Masters whom he secured. An old Harrovian writes: "In the course of the fifteen years during which he presided over Harrow School Dr. Vaughan gathered round him an exceptionally able staff of Assistant Masters. Of these, Dr. Pears became Headmaster of Repton, Dr. Bradby of Haileybury, Dr. Farrar of Marlborough, and Dr. Westcott became Bishop of Durham. Not to mention many others, whom their old pupils regard

with affectionate respect, the influence and memory of G. T. Warner, Edwyn Vaughan, Edward Bowen, and John Smith are amongst the most precious possessions of the school." To this list it may perhaps be allowed to add the names of Messrs. F. Rendall, Hutton, and Watson.

With such men to help him it is no wonder that the teaching at Harrow reached a high pitch of excellence. Of Dr. Vaughan's own powers in this direction there is plenty of evidence. The old Harrovian quoted above has sent the following appreciation :—

"Harrow boys, especially the members of the Sixth Form between 1845 and 1859, cannot fail to recall Dr. Vaughan's luminous teaching, his personal sympathy, his interesting and helpful sermons. With a power of discipline, quiet but absolute, he combined a singular charm of manner, which, while authoritative, was always courteous, and a force of scholarship which was as attractive as it was exact. The range of classical instruction was, no doubt, narrower then than it is now, but the distinctions won by a very large number of Dr. Vaughan's old pupils at the Universities and elsewhere are the best evidence of his ability and of his success. His own attainments in the way of pure scholarship, both in translation and in composition, were, during the whole of his headmastership, assimilated and reproduced by an appreciative Sixth Form."

But he distinctly belonged to the old school. He taught scholarship, and nothing but scholarship of the straitest kind : but this he taught admirably. "During the three years I was in the Sixth," says

an old pupil, "I never did an hour of history, ancient or modern—in fact, nothing but Latin and Greek books, for modern languages were a recognised farce."

He was not a man of wide reading. Like most schoolmasters of his day, he considered classics and divinity the all in all of education, and he did not, as did Moberly, Kennedy, Hawtrey, and some others, interest himself largely in other forms of literature during his leisure hours. In this way it is possible to account for Matthew Arnold's jape—a story that can be vouched for—who once said of Vaughan: "A charming man; I enjoy a chat with him at the Club—only he is so brutally ignorant!"

Wherein, then, did his great power lie? First and foremost in the gift he possessed of reading the character of those with whom he had to do, and dealing with them accordingly. He was, in fact, a born diplomatist, and for the most part the boys were thoroughly under his influence. He read a boy easily, and with the greatest skill led him along the path he wished him to pursue. Secondly, he owed much to his power of sympathy. How many boys leave a master's room in a state of dejection, or plod on drearily and hopelessly from week to week, burdened with an unexpressed and scarcely intelligible feeling that they are not understood, or that their special difficulties are of no account to any but themselves! This was impossible for those who came into the hands of Dr. Vaughan, and many a boy took fresh courage and went on to better things just because he could

not help feeling that his master knew and cared. Thirdly, there was that indescribable quality, possessed by most great schoolmasters, which made big and little boys alike feel that it was impossible to take a liberty with him. No word or action of his could be set aside as trivial. His opinion mattered enormously. A word of disapprobation from him was overwhelming. He did not often set punishments. If a boy did not know his work it was enough for the Doctor to say, in that tone which he reserved for such occasions, "Sit down." It was not often that the boy risked a repetition of the disgrace. Lastly, there was, of course, Dr. Vaughan's own delight in classics. His favourite books are said to have been Sophocles and Aristophanes, but whatever the subject, if it brought into play his classical knowledge and exact scholarship, he imparted to his Sixth Form that enthusiasm, without the possession of which no teacher can be accounted great. He had one curious habit when teaching. He kept a large lexicon by his side to which he constantly referred. This will be recognised as most unusual by those who remember the lessons they received in the Sixth Form of other schools. It points, perhaps, to the fact that with all his scholarship he mistrusted his memory.

No fitter summary of his teaching powers can be given than some words of the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. They occur in the course of a sermon preached in Llandaff Cathedral on the Sunday after Dr. Vaughan's funeral, and are as follows :—

“As to his teaching, his brilliant scholarship and rare clearness of expression gave to almost every lesson something of the finish of a work of art. I have known many of the finest classical scholars of our day, many with whom in respect of mere learning he would never have thought of comparing himself; but for the sheer scholar’s instinct, the thinking and feeling in the great tongues of Greece and Rome, more especially the Greek, the exact perception of the force of words, whether separately or in their junction and their cadences, there are few, indeed, that could be placed by his side. Never were these gifts of teaching more conspicuous, or, I think, exercised with more satisfaction to himself, than when he took us in the Greek Testament, notably in the Epistles to the Romans and the Hebrews. He did not deal much with the larger questions which cluster, as it were, round these great writings—questions of theology, of philosophy, of history, or of ritual—but he had in the highest degree the gift of linking chapter with chapter and verse with verse, tracking the argument through its windings and seeming disappearances, laying his finger on the sequence of each sentence and paragraph and the exact mission of each word in its own order.”

This leads on naturally to the further—and, as he would have said, the more important—subject of his religious teaching. In the influence which he thus wielded he may be compared to Dr. Moberly at Winchester, but with one great difference. The mind of the latter was essentially ecclesiastical, while Dr. Vaughan was wider in his sympathies, and in

consequence better able to reach the hearts of boys. The Tractarian Movement was agitating England, and, while Dr. Moberly's High Church opinions were preventing some people from sending their sons to Winchester, the well-known fact that Dr. Vaughan had little sympathy with that party was a factor in the increase of the numbers at Harrow. To quote again from the words of a former pupil : "Of Vaughan's religious teaching in school and chapel it may be said that, whether in explaining one of St. Paul's epistles, or in giving lectures to the candidates for Confirmation, or in addressing the whole school every Sunday evening, his influence on all who came within the scope of such teaching was unique. There were few who could not carry away *something*, and many who to this day are thankful for having learnt *much*. Perhaps they hardly know how much they are indebted to the definiteness, earnestness, and Christian sympathy of their Headmaster."

The evidence of the effect of his religious teaching—mainly through his sermons—is overwhelming. Scarcely an Assistant Master or old pupil who sat in Harrow Chapel in those days fails to record some sermon which, after half a century has passed away, remains vivid in his recollection. The late Bishop of Durham, when he spoke at the meeting for promoting a memorial to Dr. Vaughan, gave so remarkable a description of these sermons that some of his words must be quoted. After describing how clearly thoughts and paragraphs followed one another so that the whole sermon was afterwards clearly presented to the mind, he said : "This admirable struc-

C

~~St Paul asks himself this question, & would
have his hearers ponder it with him.~~

With a miraculous conversion in memory,
all the signs of a chief Apostle in possession,
and a course of righteousness laid up for him
in prospect, ^{St Paul} ~~he~~ get asks, out of the deep
of a heart ^(I believe) never, charged with hypocrisy —
asks as if the question were wrong from him
^{some special} ~~some~~ experience of weakness —
by ~~his~~ ~~involuntary~~ ~~recognition~~

“Who is sufficient for these things?”

The things of which he spoke — if you look
into the context — were just the common things

ture of Dr. Vaughan's sermons was heightened in its effect by the beauty both of his language and his style, in which one could recognise the delicate precision of the scholar and the lucid simplicity of the clear thinker. . . . The power of Dr. Vaughan's sermons was not to be referred chiefly to perfection of form and expression, nor to breadth of view and soundness of judgment, but to something far more. Dr. Vaughan could make everyone to whom he spoke conscious of his real sympathy. One master-thought, which found expression in innumerable ways, was the thought of personal fellowship with God, for which man was made, and without which no man could find peace." It was, then, by three methods that these sermons did their work: by their clearness and directness, by the sympathy of which the preacher's heart was full, and by the personal holiness—the nearness to God—which became evident as he spoke. His utterances to his boys were marvellously tender, and showed that he understood their weaknesses and temptations. At the same time he set the highest possible standard before them, but by his earnestness and simplicity he made the most exalted life seem possible and real. His noble presence and silvery voice lent their aid to making him possibly the most impressive preacher to a congregation of boys of his own or any other day.

With such devotion and such gifts as these it is no wonder to find that many of those who were Harrow boys during his headmastership rose to occupy eminent positions in their various spheres. To mention a few only: among scholars and divines

are found the names of Dr. Butler, the Master of Trinity, Cambridge, and Dr. Wilberforce, Bishop of Chichester. Among statesmen and diplomatists those of Lord Lytton, Viceroy of India 1876-1880; Earl Cowper and Earl Spencer, both Viceroys of Ireland; Sir G. O. Trevelyan; Sir Frank Lascelles, Ambassador at Berlin; Viscount Ridley, Home Secretary 1895-1900; Lord George Hamilton, Secretary of State for India 1895-1903; and the Earl of Ancaster, Hereditary Great Chamberlain. Among lawyers are found Sir H. S. Cunningham, the well-known Indian judge; Mr. E. H. Pember, K.C., leading Parliamentary Counsel; Sir Francis Jeune; and Mr. Justice Ridley. Among literary and scientific names occur those of C. S. Blayds (afterwards Calverley), the Cambridge poet; J. A. Symonds, author of *Renaissance in Italy*, etc.; Colonel F. Burnaby, author of the *Ride to Khiva*; W. J. Courthope, Professor of Poetry at Oxford 1895-1900; A. J. C. Hare, author of *Walks in London*, etc.; Sir W. S. Church, Bart., M.D., and Lord Rayleigh, the discoverer of argon. Of soldiers there are many Harrovian names, but not a large number that have become celebrated. In the Boer War a good many generals hailed from Eton, but, with the exception of General Buller, who was at Harrow for a short time under Dr. Vaughan, and then was removed to Eton, none from Harrow. A few names, however, stand out among the celebrated Harrovians of Vaughan's time, such as those of General W. Earle, who commanded a column in the campaign to relieve Gordon; General Sir R. Harrison, R.E., K.C.B., Inspector General of

Fortifications; and (among naval men) that of Admiral Sir Michael Culme-Seymour, Bart., G.C.B. It should also be added that in the same era occurs the name of T. C. Baring, M.P., the refounder of Hertford College, and the head of the great banking firm.

But to return to Dr. Vaughan. It has been seen how great his influence was upon the boys as a disciplinarian, as a teacher, and as a sympathetic friend. But something remains to be told of the work he carried out for the school itself, and especially with regard to its position in the town of Harrow.

One of his greatest achievements in this respect was the reconciling of various factions or parties whose interests had hitherto appeared to clash. His success proved him to be possessed of great tact and resourcefulness, to understand which it is necessary that something should be said about the previous history of the school.

It was founded in 1571 by John Lyon, who, amongst other conditions, laid down the exact form of education which was to be given. This was to consist of Latin, with a very small modicum of Greek. Now this education was designed to benefit the inhabitants of the old parish of Harrow—an immense area stretching on the east and south almost as far as the eye can see—who were to send their sons to the school at a cost so low as to amount to their receiving their education free. The inhabitants of the old parish of Harrow who chiefly desired to benefit by John Lyon's foundation were at the beginning of the nineteenth cen-

tury for the most part farmers and tradespeople. Now this class of person had in those days no use whatever for a classical education. They wanted to get the benefits of the bequest, and had a sort of feeling that they were being left in the lurch. It was a continual source of conversation and grumbling, and no two or three men ever met together on business without a growl at the manner in which they considered that they were being done out of their rights.

At last, in 1810, things came to a head. A meeting was held, and the churchwardens, as representing the inhabitants, were instructed to bring an action against the school governors for mal-administration. This was done, but the malcontents got nothing by it. The Master of the Rolls informed the plaintiffs that in his opinion they had a grievance, but that it was not the one they thought it to be. It was not the case that the governors wrongly administered John Lyon's trust, but that they had over-strenuously kept to the exact wording of the statutes which confined the education to classics. This decision gave the governors an excuse for doing nothing at all in the matter for pretty nearly forty years. During the headmastership of Dr. Wordsworth the school had declined very much in numbers, and even the few local scholars fell away. It was at this time that a system came into existence which was resented by nearly everybody. People began to come and live in Harrow for a few years during their sons' schooldays, that so they might obtain the free, or nearly free, education under John Lyon's scheme, just as at the

present day they do in such large numbers at Bedford. This system, while it brought some money into the pockets of Harrow tradespeople, was unpopular, and Dr. Wordsworth at first declined to admit the sons of these temporary residents on the ground that they were not *bonâ-fide* parishioners of Harrow. An appeal was made to the governors of the school, who decided that Dr. Wordsworth was wrong, and that the boys were entitled to receive the benefits of John Lyon's foundation.

Thus, when Dr. Vaughan was appointed, in 1844, there were three sets of people all more or less at loggerheads. There were the farmers and tradespeople, who thought they were being deprived of their rights; there were the temporary residents, who enjoyed the benefits of the free education for their sons; and there were the foreigners, *i.e.* the people who lived at a distance and paid exceedingly high fees for the privilege of having their sons educated at Harrow School.

The dissatisfaction of the old residents found new expression in 1849. This time they avoided the law, which forty years before had brought them no redress, and tried more peaceable means. The Parochial Literary Institute petitioned the school governors for aid to establish a commercial school, hoping no doubt that they might thus obtain some of the funds from the John Lyon trust. The vicar of Harrow, who was one of the governors, was deputed to reply that the trust did not permit of any such subscription being given. Here, again, the governors refused to relax in any way the strict conditions of a classical education. Dr. Vaughan

now took the matter up, and determined that if it were in any way possible he would appease the not unnatural indignation of the middle-class inhabitants, who had, as he could not help feeling, some cause for complaint. He therefore, in 1851, asked for a special meeting of the governors, and proposed to them that they should *recognise* a commercial school in connection with the foundation. It should be noticed that he, in view of their refusal of two years before, did not ask for any financial support for the proposed school, but merely for its official recognition, and that under his scheme it was to be ruled by the governors. Again they refused; not, indeed, this time with so much promptness, but after taking counsel's opinion, which proved to be adverse to the project.

But Dr. Vaughan was not to be beat. In the year 1853 he took two steps towards reconciling the differences and satisfying the requirements of the various sets. In the first place, he got the governors, by an application to the Court of Chancery, to limit the privileges of the foundation to the children of those who had been resident in Harrow for two years. In the second place he actually started a school himself, and, what is more, paid for it, where the sons of the farmers and tradespeople might receive the sort of education they desired. He called this school "the English Class," and he established it at first in a ramshackle old barn which had been previously used as a temporary church. He paid the Master and Assistant Master out of the handsome profits which he made out of the sons of the foreigners, while most of the Harrow

masters took their turn at taking the lessons in divinity. There exists at the present time in the Vaughan Library at Harrow a manuscript, believed to be in Dr. Vaughan's own writing, which sets out the purposes and arrangements of this class, and must be quoted as giving a better idea than anything else would of the nature of this curious appendage to one of the great public schools.

“PROSPECTUS OF THE NEW SCHOOL AT HARROW.

“HARROW, *May 18th*, 1853.

“Parents desirous of sending their children to the ‘English Form’ in Harrow School are requested to observe the following conditions.

“The intention of its establishment is to meet the wants of a class of residents in Harrow who may not desire for their sons a High Classical Education, and who yet are reasonably unwilling to confound the mutual division of ranks by sending them to the National School.

“This being so, the object of Dr. Vaughan in the new arrangement has been to fix the terms at that point which might at once be easy to the class in question, and yet above the reach of those who are properly contemplated by the National School. The chief conditions, then, are these :—

“1. Every boy will learn Latin.

“2. Every boy will pay for his own books, and will be required to procure such books (in every respect) as are used in the school.

“3. Every boy who learns anything beyond Latin (viz. English Grammar and Composition, History, Geography, Music, etc.) will pay £5 a year in three equal payments, one at the close of each term.

“4. No boy will be admitted without previous examination by Dr. Vaughan to ascertain that he can read, write, and spell, and is qualified in point of knowledge and intelligence to enter the school.

"5. Every boy so approved by Dr. Vaughan will then make application to the governors of Harrow School to be entered on the foundation.

"6. Every boy thus admitted will be required to be punctual in daily attendance at school, except when he is kept away by actual sickness, and no boy will be continued on the school lists who is found negligent (through his own or his parents' fault) in this respect.

"7. All complaints on the part of the parents with reference to anything connected with the school must be brought not to the Master of the Form, but to Dr. Vaughan.

"8. The Vacations will be ordinarily the same with those of the Public School, but no extra holiday of the latter will affect the new Form.

"9. The hours, until further order, will be from nine to twelve in the morning and from two to five in the afternoon, Wednesday and Saturday being half-holidays. On Sundays there will be a Scripture lesson at ten in the morning, but the boys will accompany their parents to church.

"10. The boys will regard themselves as entirely separate in all respects from those of the Public School as at present existing. They will have (it is hoped) their own playground and bathing-place, and will on no account mix themselves with the games, etc., of the Higher School.

"This rule, being made for the benefit of the new Form (to secure them from any interference or annoyance from the Public School), will, it is earnestly trusted, be strongly enforced by the parents of the new scholars. [It had been customary for the boys of the Public School to refuse to admit the few boys of the middle-class residents who attended the school to the ordinary games and to use them merely as fags.]

"The new Form will be opened next week, and Dr. Vaughan is ready at once to receive applications."

This document is well worth quoting, for it brings out the skill with which Dr. Vaughan grappled with

a difficult situation, as well as the delicate tact with which in dealing with and describing a certain class of the community he avoided any expressions which could give offence. What, for instance, could be more happy than the phrase, "reasonably unwilling to confound the mutual division of ranks"? Then, again, how cleverly he arranges that, in strict accordance with John Lyon's conditions, every boy shall learn Latin free and that the rest of the education—the part in reality for which the boys came—should be paid for as an extra! Then it should further be noticed how he clearly describes the new Form as a branch of the Public School, and yet how in the last rule he sets up a barrier between the two, and sets it up with the explicit statement that he does it in the interests of the new Form.

But the governors were in some alarm. They could not fail to be aware of what Dr. Vaughan had done, for were not the new scholars to apply to them for enrolment on the foundation? At the same time they feared lest they should be held to be sanctioning a scheme which should go beyond the limits of the trust. Therefore they determined to guard themselves, and in 1854 they formally enquired of Dr. Vaughan whether the new scholars were admitted to full rights and privileges. To this Dr. Vaughan replied, "Yes—excepting such privileges as the parents expressly asked leave to forego." The governors answered by letter that they could not consent to any restriction of privileges even if voluntarily surrendered. Having thus provided themselves with such documentary evidence as might be supposed to exonerate them

from blame in the event of a legal enquiry, they let the matter alone, and Dr. Vaughan carried on the "English Form" with marked success.

The further history of this movement may be recorded in a few sentences. Dr. Butler, who succeeded Dr. Vaughan in 1859, reported that in his first year there were twenty scholars in the new class. Four years afterwards a Royal Commission on Public Schools reported, and amongst other matters ordered that the governors should build a new school (to be a sort of commercial school), and should give some £600 a year of John Lyon's endowment for its support, thus carrying out exactly what Dr. Vaughan wanted.

This school has since then grown to such dimensions that it has lately had to add to its buildings, and at the present moment the County Council are co-operating with the governors in a proposal to remove the school to a more convenient site, where it will be more easily possible for all boys resident in the old parish of Harrow to attend. Such is the history of a most important work started by Dr. Vaughan, and giving evidence of his far-sighted views on the subject of secondary education.

It is no wonder that Dr. Vaughan was a *persona grata* to the townspeople of Harrow. Besides the vast educational benefits he bestowed upon them he took considerable interest in local affairs, and was first Chairman of the Harrow Local Board. He was always trying to make the town and school more at unity; in fact, it has been said that he and Mrs. Vaughan "tied the place together." With this object he instituted "Town Speeches," *i.e.* a

rehearsal of the speech-day proceedings for the benefit of the townspeople only. The idea was borrowed from Rugby, and it was greeted with considerable enthusiasm when it was introduced at Harrow. He also started an annual lecture in the "old speech-room," to which townspeople were admitted, and he and Mrs. Vaughan gave parties at their house to all classes of society. An old lady still resident at Harrow in the same house to which she was brought as a bride over seventy years ago delights to tell of these parties, to which she and a lady, who afterwards became Lady Egerton, used to be invited to help to entertain the guests.

Mrs. Vaughan was a lady of great independence of character, and by her charity endeared herself to many of the inhabitants. She started and managed an industrial home for girls, and so generous was she that it is said that she would go without clothes to her back sooner than not give to the poor. She belonged to a notable family, being a daughter of Bishop Stanley, formerly of Norwich, and, as has been stated, a sister of Dean Stanley, Dr. Vaughan's friend and schoolfellow.

It will thus have been seen that, while busily occupied in restoring to Harrow School some of the prestige that it had lost, and in raising the standard of scholarship and of religious and moral tone among the boys, Dr. Vaughan was something more in Harrow itself than the ordinary Headmaster. It was with feelings akin to consternation in both town and school that the news came that he intended to resign in 1859. He had always said that he would

not stay longer than fifteen years, the limit he set to the usefulness of a schoolmaster's career, but the time passed so rapidly and his success was so great that it seemed scarcely credible that Harrow was to lose him so soon. But those who knew him best were aware that he would carry out an intention formed for the best interests of the school, and were not surprised when, at the early age of forty-three, he resigned his headmastership.

Of his own feelings of sorrow at the uprooting of fibres which even in fifteen years had taken a deep and firm hold it is possible to judge from the expressions of affection which he used towards Harrow during all the rest of his life. "Tell them I was not *half* kind enough to them," was the message he sent to a gathering of old Harrovians; and later still he spoke of himself in relation to Harrow in words of the utmost pathos, saying that he was an old man who would not be known there now, and that his chief sorrow was that he was laden with a gratitude which he did not deserve, and with love which he could only then repay by idly loving back.

But at the moment of parting his grief was greatly lessened by the fact that he placed the reins of government in the hands of his best-loved pupil, and that in Dr. Butler he knew that he had a successor who would be true to the principles he had tried to instil. There was, too, another cause which deprived the occasion of some of its sadness. A large part of the sorrow that commonly accompanies the resignation of a Headmaster lies in the fact that he acknowledges thereby that the main work of his life is over. With Dr. Vaughan this

was by no means the case. He was just in the prime of life. He resigned not because he was too old to work, but because he felt that for Harrow and for himself new things were better. He looked forward to seeing the fresh vigour of a new Headmaster give impetus to the life of the school he loved, and he also looked forward to bringing to the more direct work of the ministry powers of body and powers of mind hitherto unweakened by undue burdens and undimmed by the familiarity that breeds contempt.

As a matter of fact, his greatest work lay yet before him. It is not the object of these pages to describe more than the Headmaster's life, but something at least must be said of Dr. Vaughan's work in preparing men for Holy Orders—a work which he carried on for thirty-five years, more than twice the length of his headmastership of Harrow. In 1860 he had been presented to the vicarage of Doncaster, and in the following year he preached a sermon from the Cambridge University pulpit, in the course of which he said that it would gladden the heart of one parish priest if men from the Universities would come and read with him in preparation for the work of the ministry. Shortly afterwards there arrived at Doncaster the first of the long series of men who either then or at the Temple—to the mastership of which Dr. Vaughan was appointed in 1869—read with him for periods varying from six to twelve months before their ordination.

The preparation thus afforded was twofold, for not only did these men read divinity with him and

receive instruction in sermon writing, but, as in the case at some few of the clergy schools—notably that at Leeds—they also gained practical experience in visiting the homes of the poor and the bedsides of the sick.

In one particular Dr. Vaughan succeeded in pursuing a course which few men in his place would have found possible. He avoided any interference with a man's special theological bent. He let each one's mind work as freely as possible, and thereby avoided the narrowing of ideas or the turning out of men entirely of one pattern. He did, indeed, impart to them a large share of his own firm gentleness, seeking to become really intimate with them all. One of the four hundred and fifty who thus passed through his hands writes as follows: "He encouraged confidences in all matters of doubt or difficulty, and gave himself pre-eminently to the *spiritual* side of the ministerial work of those whom he trained. A beautiful Christian example was always before them, and their various gifts were consecrated under the guidance of the keenest and most profound discernment of character, and with a compelling earnestness that nothing seemed able to withstand."

There are on record two specially weighty summaries of this part of Dr. Vaughan's work, one from the pen of Dr. Butler, the other from the lips of the present Archbishop of Canterbury, neither of which can be omitted from any record of his life. The former, in a funeral sermon, wrote thus: "It was this part of his life's work, if I mistake not, that he specially prized, by this that he would specially

wish to be remembered. . . . Other men had been successful as Christian schoolmasters, Christian parish priests, Christian masters and preachers and chaplains of the Inns of Courts, Christian deans of cathedral churches. But in giving some thirty-five years without a break to the training of young men for the ministry of the Gospel, in becoming their lifelong counsellor, in keeping close and re-consecrating at not too long intervals the singular tie which bound them to him—in this he was doing a new thing. Here he struck out—may I dare so to apply the sacred words?—‘a new and living way’ of pastoral service. . . . In these young men the childless man found his children, the old man found his sons. They were the renewal, and more than the renewal, of his Harrow youth, the wings, as it were, of his active intellect, the support and comfort and romance of his age.”

The Archbishop of Canterbury, himself trained by Dr. Vaughan, spoke from the bottom of his heart when he said, “For a man to gather round him a set of pupils, year after year, not coming to him because of any official position that he had, or because of their membership in any corporation, college, or society—that I believe to stand absolutely alone, at all events in modern history. In that position Dr. Vaughan had no rival in the history of the Church of England, perhaps in the Church at large.”

That Dr. Vaughan had almost every possible qualification for this important work goes without saying. One or two little recollections of some of the men he trained may help to make this even

more evident. Somebody once said to him, "I believe you could go on anywhere quoting the New Testament." To which he answered, "I should feel ashamed if I broke down anywhere in English *or Greek*." Again, he was giving advice on preaching, and used these memorable words: "Don't make half a sermon doctrine and half practical application. Indoctrinate your morals, and season your doctrine with morality." Or, once more, what lesson in tact could excel the way in which he contrived to prevent the bells of Doncaster Parish Church being rung for the Leger? He had been greatly affronted at this custom, so when next the Leger came round he simply went away for the day with the keys of the belfry in his pocket. The custom was broken through and never resumed.

At the time of Dr. Vaughan's death a writer declared that he paid his curates at Doncaster with the fees he received from the men he trained. This was not the case. It was his special joy and pride that he never took a farthing from any one of them. It was, indeed, all the other way. His generosity was boundless. It is within the memory of some of those who read with him that gifts were often poured upon their tables or in their rooms. Sometimes it would be valuable books, sometimes wine or an armchair for an invalid, and not seldom a cheque where he knew that pecuniary help was needed.

It is interesting to notice how many of the men who have risen to responsible positions in the Church owed their training to Dr. Vaughan. It is

impossible to mention them all, but such well-known names occur as those of the present Archbishop of Canterbury, of Bishop Hoskyns of Burnley, Bishop Glyn of Peterborough, Bishop Turner of Islington, Bishop Fisher of Ipswich, Bishop Quirk of Sheffield, Bishop Yeatman-Biggs of Southwark, and Bishop Wilson of Melanesia. Besides these there are found the late Dean Stephens of Winchester, the present Dean of St. Albans, and Canons Claughton, Argles, Lambert, etc. Of the clergy who, following the example of their great teacher, have done quiet, self-denying work in their parishes, avoiding rather than seeking notoriety or preferment, there is no space to speak, but their number is very large.

In 1879, after he had been for ten years Master of the Temple, Dr. Vaughan accepted the Deanery of Llandaff, and held the two offices until 1894, when ill-health caused him to resign the former, and at the same time to give up all work of preparing men for Orders. This deanery was the only dignity in the Church which he felt himself able to accept. He had been several times approached as to his willingness to accept a bishopric, and Lord Palmerston actually offered him the see of Rochester. But he never could be persuaded to undertake the onerous post. Various reasons have been ascribed for this, but probably the best of all is to be found in the reply he once made when asked why he refused to be a bishop. "I was afraid," he said, "of ambition."

In the *Life of Bishop Westcott* there are many references which point to the closeness of the friendship between him and Dr. Vaughan—a

friendship begun at Harrow and perfected as life went on until the latter was brought to describe the Bishop as "the idol of my later life." It is pleasant to see that this feeling of affectionate reverence was reciprocal, for in the same book it is mentioned that on every Sunday afternoon during the last years of his life Bishop Westcott read one of Dr. Vaughan's sermons.

But the limits of this account of the great Headmaster of Harrow have been reached, and any further record would seem to belong to a regular biography—which Dr. Vaughan specially desired should not be written. All that has been with diffidence attempted here has been some short description of his educational work, for which the country, and especially the Church of the country, owe him a heavy debt.

After several severe illnesses, during one of which he was described as lying between life and death, he died on October 15th, 1897, and was buried at Llandaff.



PORTRAIT OF DR. TEMPLE WITH HIS MOTHER, TAKEN IN THE
SCHOOL-HOUSE GARDEN AT RUGBY

V

FREDERICK TEMPLE, D.D.

HEADMASTER OF RUGBY, 1858-1869

WANDERING through Rugby School Chapel one day in February last (1903), it was impossible to help being more than ever impressed by the names of the mighty dead recorded upon the walls. Arnold, Stanley, Tait, Benson, Henry Sidgwick, and many others have their monuments there, each in some special manner connected with the building up of the school's fair fame. But they seemed that day to be waiting for one to take his place among them, one who ruled there more than thirty years before, and who, the Primate of the Church, had lately been laid to rest at Canterbury.

Great Headmaster though he was, Dr. Temple was even greater as Archbishop, yet it is true to say that nowhere was he better known and better loved than at Rugby. More people, of course, were acquainted with him by sight and by repute when Bishop and Archbishop, but never again was he so intimately known as when he occupied the Schoolhouse, and lived from day to day and all day long mixing freely with masters and with boys alike. By force of circumstances each step that he took removed him further from close relations with his fellow-men, and latterly, with the exceptions of one

or two old friends and the members of his family, scarcely anyone caught more than a passing glimpse of the man that underlay the Archbishop.

It is to Rugby, then, that we must revert if we want a true conception of Frederick Temple, and a study of the eleven years of his headmastership will show his real character, his loveliness, and his strength in a clearer manner than that of any other part of his career.

But first of all a word or two must be said concerning his early life, if only to sweep away some of the misconceptions and careless statements which have from time to time appeared. It has, for instance, more than once been said that "he came from the ploughtail"! This is just one of those sayings in which there is to be found a grain of truth, but which, standing alone, are ridiculously false. As a matter of fact he was the second son of Major Octavius Temple, Lieutenant-Governor of Sierra Leone, and was born at Santa Maura, one of the Ionian Islands, on November 20th, 1821. His father on his retirement settled down as a small landowner near Tiverton, in Devonshire, and Frederick was destined by him to follow agriculture as a pursuit, and received some practical lessons in farming with that object. Here is found the first excuse for the legend of the "ploughtail." The boy was, however, sent to Tiverton Grammar School, founded by Master Peter Blundell, and, under the tuition of Prebendary Sanders, rapidly advanced in learning until, before he was seventeen years old, he obtained a close scholarship at Balliol, and matriculated there in October, 1838.

Besides the ordinary education there were two things which he gained at Tiverton School, both of which proved of value to him in his after life. It was here that he acquired and cultivated his great walking powers, with reference to which he stated at a public luncheon at Wakefield in 1901 that he had for many years been able to walk six miles an hour with comparative ease! Secondly, what was of greater service still, it was while he was yet a schoolboy that he gained that independence which was one of his most conspicuous qualities to his life's end. Four years before he left school his father died, leaving his family in straitened circumstances. Frederick Temple found thus early that he had largely to depend upon himself, and it is just possible that while his industry and rectitude commended him to his masters, they may have taken less pleasure in the independent manner which he acquired. It is said that Prebendary Sanders once said to him, "Temple, I do believe that you are the most impudent boy that ever lived."

This independence, or as it may better be called, self-dependence, besides helping him through such difficult periods as those of the publication of *Essays and Reviews* and, at a much later date, of the *Lambeth Opinion*, was of service to him in enabling him to live through a time of penury, and to form habits of simplicity which never left him. At the Nottingham Church Congress he thus described what he had to live through in his early years :—

"I have earned my own living since I was seven-

teen years of age . . . I have experienced many privations in my time. I have known what it was to be unable to afford a fire. I have known what it was every now and then to live upon rather poor fare, and I have known—what perhaps I felt most—what it was to wear patched clothes and shoes.”

Jenkyns was Master of Balliol when Temple went up as an undergraduate and Tait was the Tutor. It was a notable period in the history of the college, for such men as Jowett, Stanley, Goulburn, Clough, Coleridge, Rogers, Northcote, Hobhouse, Lake, Farrer, and Matthew Arnold were in residence during some seven years, overlapping one another and helping to give to Balliol the great name for scholarship which it has preserved ever since.

In 1842 Frederick Temple took a double first and his degree, and was almost immediately elected to be Fellow of his college and Lecturer on Mathematics and Logic, while three years later he was appointed Junior Dean. In 1846 he was ordained by Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, who, it is recorded, remarked him as a man of special promise.

Education had from the first a special attraction for him, and Mr. Aitken, in his *Life of Archbishop Temple*, says that his first great impulse on resigning his Fellowship was to do something to help the pauper children of this country. To this end he enlisted in the service of the Educational Department of the Privy Council Office, and was for five years Principal of Kneller Hall, Hounslow, an undenominational college for training masters of workhouse and penal schools. While here he might

be seen at the head of a line of students digging in the garden, for he was specially anxious that agricultural training, which he considered essential, should be properly encouraged. It is just possible that this fact may have helped to revive the "ploughtail" theory.

After the closing of Kneller Hall in 1855 he was for three years one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools until, in 1858, he succeeded Dr. Goulburn as Headmaster of Rugby. A characteristic story is told of the days when he acted as school inspector. The news had arrived at Rugby of his appointment to the headmastership, and one of the boys was on his way home for the holidays when he met a pupil teacher from an elementary school in his neighbourhood, who greeted him with the words: "Why, sir, you are going to have our old master as yours!" "What do you know of him?" was the eager question. "Oh, he's all right," said the pupil teacher. "I remember one day he came down to visit us when we were set to clean out the pigsties, and one of us went up to him and said, 'Am I forced to do this dirty work?' 'I suppose not,' he replied; 'you are not exactly *forced*.' 'May I go, then?' said the other. 'Yes,' was the answer. 'Give me the rake.' The man was just handing him the rake when he saw Mr. Temple beginning to take off his coat; so he stopped and said, 'I don't want you to do it, sir.' 'Someone must do it,' said Mr. Temple, so my friend did it and never grumbled any more."

There can be no doubt that the offer of the headmastership of Rugby was just the very thing

for which Mr. Temple would have wished. The appointment was slightly out of the usual course, for he had had no experience as an Assistant Master, and his selection must have been regarded as something of an experiment, an experiment, however, which was amply justified by its success. Ever since the time of Arnold the position in which he now found himself was a conspicuous one, and much was expected of its occupant. He had the disadvantage in a certain sense of following two such men as Arnold and Tait, but his immediate predecessor, Dr. Goulburn, a man of the greatest piety and learning, had not proved eminently successful as a schoolmaster. He was not particularly approachable, and kept up a degree of old-fashioned stateliness, which has had to give way to more modern ways and times. The contrast between him and his successor was extreme, and it is interesting to learn from those who remember the advent of Dr. Temple that the change was on all hands considered to be for the better. As soon as the new head came and made himself known to school and town alike the welcome he received was unmistakable. "The place sprang into life," says one of his old staff. "The whole place rose at him" is the verdict of another Rugby friend. But the best impression of all can be gained from the words of an old Rugbeian who was a member of the Schoolhouse at that very time. "I had seen," he says, "Temple once, having made an excuse for visiting Dr. Goulburn's study when I knew that his successor was with him, and had been amazed at the absence of dignity with which he had run up the School-

house stairs, and the strong accent of his rasping voice, neither of which, accustomed as I was to the dignified carriage of a cassocked Headmaster, had struck me favourably. I had heard, too, that he was interested in secondary education, and thought that every grammar school deserved to be called a public school, and (I was but fifteen) I went back anxious about the future. We met for evening prayers. In accordance with the then custom of the Schoolhouse, the sixty boys were seated on the tables with their feet on the forms, waiting to be called over. Dr. Goulburn had been accustomed to be preceded by his butler carrying a silver candlestick and bowing as he left him at the door. Mr. Temple, neither gowned nor cassocked, walked in by himself, blowing out his candle as he entered. He stared with a look of surprise at the boys on the tables as if to say, 'Are they trying it on?' but was instantly reassured as he saw the solemn Sixth Form waiting to receive him, and took his place on the dais with the characteristically short speech, 'I hope we shall all get to know one another well soon.' And it took a very short time."

It does credit to the insight of the Rugbeians of that day that they did not allow the abrupt change in external things to cloud their judgment. Their old Headmaster dined in a grand silk gown, their new one's gown was green with age. Their old Headmaster seldom relaxed in dignity, stories were rife about the new one climbing the elm trees in the close, taking his own boots to be mended, catching his alpaca gown against the coal-box as he rushed in to morning prayers, and tearing off the piece.

But in spite of all this, and in spite of a harsh voice and a rugged exterior, the boys discovered in their new Headmaster a genuine sympathy, a sturdiness of sense, and a transparent sincerity of character which they soon learnt to worship.

Another old Rugbeian states that as a rule no boy would ever have dreamt of taking liberties with the new Headmaster, but there is on record an occasion during the first fortnight of his régime when something of the kind occurred. The simplicity of his dress—a tail coat, open waistcoat, and low shoes—was in accord with the simplicity of his manners, and upon the supposed ease of the new rule, one of the Sixth Form in an unhappy moment presumed. The writer of an In Memoriam article in the *Meteor* tells how Dr. Temple flashed out upon the offender in an instant. “Conduct like that,” he said, “will alter the relations between us.” It is not improbable that that was the one and only time a Rugby boy ever tried to take advantage of him. The strength which lay behind the simplicity became quickly known, while the kindness and gentleness which lay behind the strength, and the absolute justice which permeated his every thought and action, were not long in endearing him to all the boys, especially to those of the School-house, who knew him best.

His extreme manliness was, of course, a quality which appealed greatly to the boys. They had many opportunities of observing this, but one occasion stands out in the memory of many old Rugbeians, when his strength, both physical and moral, was conspicuously exhibited. A fire had broken out

in one of the boys' studies in Mr. Smythies' house. The news spread instantly through the whole school, and all the boys and masters alike appeared on the scene. The fire brigade had already arrived from the town, and the men had taken possession of the house. Unfortunately discipline was not in those days quite what it is now, and they had found their way into the cellar and yielded to the temptation offered by the casks of beer. Needless to say, they became incapable of performing their duty, and volunteers had to take their place. Dr. Temple at once took the lead. He organised the boys as a relief band to supply the engine with water, buckets being passed from hand to hand. Meantime, he himself climbed up on to the roof, and thence issued his orders. He remained in this position till the work was done and the danger over. "The scene," says Mr. Hart Davis, who tells the story, "is still vividly before my eyes, and the impression of his strong character never left me." "His manliness," he adds, "appealed to the manlier side in us, and we were at our best in his presence."

It will, perhaps, be a new idea to many people that Dr. Temple was a kindhearted, genial Headmaster. Almost all the stories which have been circulated about him (most of which he declared quite recently to be untrue) have for their point to exhibit him as a brutally outspoken and often rude individual. It must be granted that his manner was brusque and as rugged as his appearance. Had it been otherwise the description of Dr. Temple would sound like that of an impossibly perfect man. It must be acknowledged that now and then he

wounded the feelings of those with whom he had to do by an abruptness of speech which was unfortunate. It was so during the years of his episcopate, and it was so sometimes during his Rugby days. For instance, a Sixth Form boy was leaving in the middle of the half-year. Those who have loved their school will understand the feelings of emotion to which a boy is subject at such a time, and will realise how keenly the boy in question longed for a word of affection when he visited the Doctor's study to say good-bye. His broken utterances were, however, cut very short, and he left the room with a sore heart. At first sight this would seem to show an utter lack of consideration and sympathy in Dr. Temple, and not a few people will be able to recall occasions on which they have left his presence with some such feeling of disappointment. But the whole evidence of his life, and certainly of that part of it which was spent at Rugby, contradicts this idea of him. Witnesses innumerable arise to testify to the real man. An old boy writes: "The one thing that I should like to say about him is that the general impression that he was very severe and stern as a master is quite wrong." One of his old colleagues declares with emphasis that he was "immensely and hugely genial." There were one or two reasons which may be given for the unhappy manner by which he sometimes wounded the feelings of others. In the first place, he was a tremendous worker, and frequently had some anxious and pressing matter on hand from which he could ill spare unnecessary minutes. In like circumstances he would not have wished another man to treat him

otherwise. Then he was exceedingly independent by nature, and did not, perhaps, care sufficiently for the opinion and sympathy of others, so that he failed to understand how anxiously a kindly word was looked for from himself. Thirdly, he had a keen sense of humour, and when this quality was lacking in his companion it must have often happened that a word spoken with a twinkle in his eye gave offence to one on whom that twinkle was thrown away.

But to those who really knew him it is unnecessary to continue in this strain. An old Rugbeian writes in the *Meteor*: "We saw that he was a right good fellow, who was absolutely just, who cared for us, and who always put the best construction on all we did, and who, if ever he made mistakes, always made them on the side of too favourable a judgment. But in this he acted on principle. 'Nine times out of ten the kindest judgment is the right one,' he used to say. Some one suggested that he should keep a black list, recording the misdeeds of every boy. 'Certainly not,' he said. 'I shall try to forget all about them as soon as they are dealt with.' To say that Temple was unduly severe in his methods, and that therefore he was not popular with the boys, is not a mere over-statement, it is absolutely the reverse of the truth." After this convincing statement we may well dismiss the subject with the words used in the memorial notice of the late Archbishop in the *Spectator*: "He has left us a lesson of that call to mutual forbearance and mutual understanding which the most high-spirited and courageous sometimes forget."

Little has been said about the personal appearance of Dr. Temple at Rugby, and little need be said. His portrait has appeared so frequently, and there has been so little change in feature and expression, that no description is necessary. Besides which it has been found possible to reproduce here the beautiful photograph taken in those far-off days when he was able to give his mother a comfortable home at the Schoolhouse, where until her death he devoted himself to her with unremitting tenderness, so that her last years compensated in some degree for her earlier days of difficulties and scarcity of means.

One little story apropos of his appearance may be told here. He was in the habit of sitting with his hands on his knees and his toes turned in. Someone once pointed out to him this latter fact, and he immediately replied, "I don't see why I shouldn't. I believe the Choctaw Indians always do."

There are some things, however, which no portrait of Dr. Temple has ever suggested. One of these is the fact that he possessed great animal spirits. It is said that when Dr. Benson, who had been Second Master at Rugby, was appointed to be Headmaster at Wellington Dr. Temple visited him there, and scrambled up several high trees, laughing with delight at his less agile companion, who was obliged to remain on *terra firma*.

"He was," says an old Rugby master, "a mighty laugher." There are instances on record of his using his mighty laugh as a means of making a delinquent ashamed of himself. A very small boy

was once "sent up" to him for smoking. Dr. Temple looked at him and said, "What! you smoking?" and lay back in his chair roaring with laughter, which doubtless made the boy feel rather smaller still, and was no little part of his punishment.

Again, it was once the misfortune of an under-master to incur his ridicule. At the beginning of each half-year it used to be the custom to hold a masters' meeting, at which the school lists were read out and the names of those boys who had left were struck off. On one of these occasions it happened that the name of a certain Honourable — was to be expunged, the boy having left. Now it so happened that the individual in question had not been a specially desirable member of the school, but for all that one of the masters present heaved a deep sigh when the boy's name was read out. "What?" said Dr. Temple sharply, turning to the place from whence he had heard the sigh. "It is a pity he has left; he supplied what we want here," said the master. "What?" was once more Dr. Temple's question. "Blood," was the answer, which the Doctor affected not to hear, and by means of a reiterated "What?" made the offender in a rather quavering voice repeat, "Blood, blood," till Dr. Temple could stand it no longer, but gave way to great shouts of laughter, which, better than anything else, expressed his condemnation of the utterances of his colleague.

This story leads naturally to a consideration of his relations with the other Rugby masters of his time. With them he was every bit as popular as with the boys. An old Rugbeian, who regrets that

his personal feeling for Dr. Temple is not as warm as that of many of his contemporaries, declares that "he was intensely venerated by the masters," and adds that his own house-master's sister never alluded to the Doctor otherwise than as "our glorious chieftain." In harmony with this is an expression used only the other day by one of Dr. Temple's old staff. He was talking of his many memories of his old friend, when he suddenly stopped, drew himself up, and with flashing eye said, "I could have followed him to battle!"

And yet it was not that the masters always agreed with him. When the idea occurred to him in his second year to start a rifle corps he made a proposal to that effect at a masters' meeting. All those present with one or two exceptions were opposed to the scheme. "Is that so?" said Dr. Temple. "Then we must certainly try it!" A remark so unexpected and so independent that it took the meeting by storm, and was greeted with a round of applause. It is interesting to note that the corps was started in the spring of 1860 with 125 members.

Another case in point was the introduction by him of an elaborate system of marks, unheard of hitherto in the annals of Rugby. Mr. (afterwards Archbishop) Benson was Second Master at the time, and strongly opposed it, stating that it would be the ruin of the place. For all that Dr. Temple carried his point, but lost no friends by so doing.

It was in all probability his willingness, and even eagerness, to take more than his full share of any specially hard stress of work which helped him to

gain the full sympathy of his colleagues. They saw that he was not a mere theorist, but that he spared no time or pains to carry out his ideas. An instance of this occurred when he first of all introduced grammar papers into the school curriculum. They meant a considerable addition to the usual work, and the masters grumbled. "Very well," said Dr. Temple, "then I will look them over." He did so on this occasion, and they took him seventeen hours' work straight on end. When they were finished one of the masters went into his room and found him looking a little grey and wrinkled, but he just passed his hand over his face, stroked himself down, and began poking fun at his visitor.

Then, again, the old system of examining the Sixth Form in all manner of extras, besides their regular books, entailed a great amount of labour, which he was always ready to take with one master to help him. The boys were allowed to bring up any book they liked—history, divinity, or whatever they pleased—and a quarter of an hour's *vivâ voce* examination was given to each. This brought out not only Dr. Temple's power of work, but also his extraordinary knowledge of every sort of subject, in which particular he may be compared to Mr. W. E. Gladstone. It is often said at Rugby to this day that no matter what subject was started in conversation he was sure to know all about it. Someone once began discussing the elm trees in the close, some of which were beginning to decay at the top. He at once showed that he had a thorough knowledge of the subject, and discoursed about the connection between the rotten wood and

the root fibre in a manner that would have been beyond the ken of most foresters. No doubt he had learnt up the subject when he was at Kneller Hall.

Enough has been said to show the sort of terms on which Dr. Temple was with those with whom he came most closely in contact at Rugby. It has been said with little exaggeration that every boy and master would have died for him, and died for him without his knowing it.

Two important points must now be considered, viz. what was Dr. Temple (1) as a teacher, (2) as a disciplinarian? As to both questions opinions differ greatly. In the first place, it should be stated that he had a horror of the "forcing" system, by which the chief attention is given to likely boys who may bring honour to the school by winning scholarships. His greatest work was, no doubt, in raising the average standard of the school. Then, again, he looked upon education as something more than the acquisition of a certain amount of classical lore and the power of turning out a neat set of Latin verses. He was continually introducing fresh subjects to the boys, and trying thereby to widen their minds and give them a greater interest in the world at large. Now this was quite contrary to precedent, and found little favour with some of the masters, and even certain of the boys. It is interesting to quote some words written by an old Rugbeian who failed to appreciate the innovations introduced by the new Headmaster. "Dr. Temple's method of teaching was a contrast to that of men like Benson (the late Archbishop), the two Evanses (Charles

and 'Tom'), Bradley, Hutchinson, and others—all Rugby masters under whom I had sat, and, I may say, had learned all that I ever did learn. Theirs was the exact, analytical, precise method—scholarship, in fact: his the synthetic, the relative, the associative. It struck me, I remember, that he did not care a great deal for exact scholarship, which was rather the Rugby ideal in those days. I remember that one of the first introductions into our curriculum in the Sixth Form was readings in de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* (I have the book still), which was quite a fresh line. The lesson really consisted of a *lecture*, political, social, geographical, by Dr. Temple, but, I fear, the only effect on *my* mind was amazement that anyone *could* be so profoundly interested in such an intolerably dull subject as he appeared to be! Politics are, or were, poison to boys, and most of us, I think, preferred something more obviously concrete (like grammar), however dry." Such was the view of some, no doubt, but there were probably more of the boys to whom he managed to impart some of his own keen interest in men and things, and who found his "lectures" more to their taste than mere grammar. Though he was not himself a really great scholar, yet his scholarship was sound enough, but his best lessons were no doubt on history, political subjects, Blackstone's Commentaries, Aristotle, and mathematics. His analyses were always wonderfully clear and interesting. His memory, too, was astonishing. A member of his old form recollects that in taking a Greek play lesson he would be provided with the text only, and had no notes. In spite of this he

was never at a loss, and would make numberless cross-references with complete accuracy. He had a great gift for teaching higher mathematics, and was able to make the learning of geometrical conics an enjoyable process. Latin and Greek verse he never taught, but it was quite an education for a boy to go to him individually to have essays, English or Latin, looked over and criticised.

When he first went to Rugby the Sixth Form found his rule easy in comparison with that of his predecessor, but it is going too far to state (as some old Rugbeians have done) that it became "a paradise for idlers." With no experience of the wiles of schoolboys, his object was to *teach*, not to catch out the shirkers. It was, therefore, some time before he found out that it was unwise to have a settled order in which to put the boys on to construe. It was his habit at first always to begin with a boy near the bottom of the form and to work on upwards, so that the bottom boys were safe if they had learnt the beginning of the lesson, and the top boys knew that they would only be required to construe some part near the end. It was an innocent plan, which no master with long experience of boys would pursue for a moment, but Dr. Temple, as a boy, would never have taken advantage of it to neglect his work, and he trusted too completely to the industry and honour of those whom he had to teach.

As against this there is evidence of his having a natural understanding of boys—especially of athletic boys—which enabled him to deal with them in a manner all his own. There is always a special

difficulty felt by a master in properly rebuking in school a boy who is a school hero and a leader in the playing-field. Here Dr. Temple was at his best. A boy of this kind had lost the school a football match by passing the ball too soon. The next day the same boy in school began to translate his Greek without reading it through to the end. "Ah, W——," said Dr. Temple, "if you waited till you were nearer to the goal before you dropped the ball, you would do better," a remark which made the whole form laugh at W——'s expense. To give some further idea of his methods of teaching, nothing can be better than to quote some words from a paper which has been written for the purposes of this sketch by Mr. H. Lee-Warner, who as a boy and master was privileged to serve under Dr. Temple. "Did he make the boys work? At first I thought not. When I cut the desk and my knife-blade broke on to his table, he gave me a look with his eye and said, 'Now you will keep quiet.' . . . If he found a lesson unprepared he would put his victim through a miserable ordeal of self-exposure and leave him to the mercy of his fellows, who were kept in school till they were a quarter of an hour late for breakfast. When he made up his mind to be angry, there was no mistaking it. But he never punished without leaving on your mind the sense of shame at having forced him to show his anger. He played a waiting game, treating the class as a class, avoiding unevenness of discipline or sensationalism, serving all alike, whether nimble or slow of foot, bringing them all along till, at the end of term or the conclusion of a book, he would

review the meaning of the author, analysing the argument, picking up the stitches, and making his hearers remember for life the last hour they had with Temple over that book of Plato, Thucydides, de Tocqueville, or Guizot.

“In the strictly Cambridge sense he was not a great scholar. In his first lesson with the Sixth he translated *δέξασθαι* as if it were a passive, to the horror of Arthur Sidgwick, then a boy. It was decided that it was the duty of the Sixth to call his attention to this grave dereliction of duty. I shall never forget the candour with which he acknowledged his mistake, said his Greek was somewhat rusty, and begged us to catch him out in any future mistake. But we did not.

“In after days, when I served under him as master, he would suddenly walk into our schoolroom, and either listen to a lesson being taken or take one himself. On these occasions the boys of the class invariably welcomed him with a cheer, and then settled down to their work. His remark to us junior masters was generally that we asked too hard questions, and on one occasion I remember his leaving my school after an hour's lesson with the laconic question, ‘Why do you frighten your boys so?’—a remark which chiefly interested me at the time as showing that in spite of the noise with which they received him he observed that their discipline was good.”

Possibly no more interesting fact is recorded of Dr. Temple's headmastership than that after some years' experience of him the boys received him with a cheer when he came to review them and their

work. Many old public school men will remember in striking contrast the silent awe not unmixed with alarm with which they received their Headmaster on similar occasions. It may surely be gathered that the rule of Dr. Temple was of that ideal kind in which love has a larger share than fear.

This naturally leads on to the subject of his discipline. It will have been gathered that at first he was considered a lax disciplinarian. But it is more true to say that his method was unusual. Some people drive with a tight rein, some with a looser. A light hand is not always less readily obeyed, and when once the school had grasped that they might expect absolute and complete justice they gave him little further trouble. It is, indeed, recorded by a former head of the Schoolhouse that once only was there in his time any trouble between the Sixth and the Headmaster, and that was not a very serious matter. It occurred on the occasion of a given half-holiday during the athletics, when all the Sixth, including the præpostors for the week, cut calling-over. The rule was that they were supposed to attend, but, if they had any good reason, might absent themselves without a written permission. However, when the whole number took this latter course, Dr. Temple thought it time to put his foot down. "You are not asked for notes (*i.e.* written permissions to be absent), because it is assumed that you are with a master for composition or something of the sort, but if you *can* go, why, you *must*." He then condemned the whole Sixth to write out a Georgic. "But," says the old head of the house, "we were so ashamed of ourselves

that we decided to keep the matter dark, and did our punishment with closed doors in our studies, so that I don't think the school ever knew of it, at least at the time. I can see the broad grin on Temple's face when the head of the school collected the vast pile of paper and placed it before him. Without looking at any of it he threw all into the waste-paper basket." But if on this occasion he thought fit to humble the Sixth Form, he put great trust in them, and allowed them great authority. He sometimes approved of offences being left for them to deal with which in most schools would be referred to the Headmaster. On one occasion a boy had got out of the Schoolhouse after locking up, and had come in late surreptitiously. The head of the house dealt with the offender himself, and caned him. The matter afterwards came to Dr. Temple's ears, who approved of what had been done, but added that if the boy had not been already punished he should have flogged him. In most schools such an offence would be considered too grave to be dealt with by anyone but the Headmaster.

On this subject, as on that of Dr. Temple's teaching, Mr. Lee-Warner writes delightfully. He says: "Whatever outsiders may have thought, I have seen him quell disorder with a look: 'You are getting rude,' was all he had said. I remember on one occasion taking an American friend with me into the school prayers when Dr. Temple had to make an announcement that fireworks were forbidden on November 5th. I remember his beginning his speech. 'I never could see why we should

remember remember the fifth of November!' and then going off to an interesting historical address on the Gunpowder Plot, and finally, after reference to a serious fire that had been caused the November previous, summing up his arguments historically and morally with the laconic phrase, 'And you are not to do it.' To the astonishment of my friend the boys broke into loud cheers at their sport being forbidden, and he said, 'That man is the biggest demagogue I have met in England!' The combination of absolute sympathy with strong will made the latter palatable.

"The sense that he saw through you made boys feel that there was no temptation to tell him a lie, rather than the feeling, which we are told was inculcated by his great predecessor, that it was a shame because he trusted you. He created an atmosphere of sincerity, in which such petty conventional ideas as that it is gentlemanly to tell the truth gave way to the more natural sense that society of all kinds is intolerable without it. But, of course, to do that he had to live among us. If there was a light lit in the bedrooms after dark one would hear a grim voice outside the door say, 'Put out that light,' and on the light disappearing, the words 'Good night,' as he went back to his study.

"But he could ensure discipline sometimes with a sense of humour. There was a particular study which I used to occupy assigned to the head boy of the house. When I left, and my brother was to succeed to the headship of the house, he was told that for the sake of discipline he was to occupy another room in a less attractive part of the house.

All the conservative instincts of the boys were against the change, and my brother resolved to stay in the old study. Dr. Temple, who only made changes when absolutely needed, reasoned with him till one evening my brother came into his study, and said, 'Sir, must I really go to that study?' 'No,' said the Doctor, 'if you really dislike it.' My brother was retiring with a look of triumph in his eye when Dr. Temple added, 'Send up the next in the house.' 'Why, sir?' said my brother, guessing ruefully at the meaning. 'Somebody must be head of the house,' was the answer. My brother changed his study."

Dr. Temple hated flogging. There was very little of it in his day. When he did flog, he *did*, but there would not infrequently be tears in his eyes, and he never determined on a flogging without again and again putting to himself his favourite question, "Is it just?" The evidence of a witness is interesting. Mr. Hart Davis writes: "I can call to mind only one occasion on which I had to mount the fatal steps up the turret staircase to the room in which boys were birched. I was one of the Sixth Form boys on duty to see fair play. The Headmaster seemed to feel his position more acutely than the culprit. But in spite of the tears coursing down his cheeks, Temple inflicted on the boy a good sound licking."

Justice came almost before everything with him. Once, when some financial scheme was under discussion which affected the masters as well as himself—but in different ways—there was some doubt expressed as to its absolute justice. Not for a single

moment would he let the slightest suspicion of such a thing rest upon the proposal. He neglected his luncheon and everything else till he had covered many sheets of paper with a conclusive proof that, whatever else it might be, the scheme was *just*. On another occasion the conversation turned upon the dividing line between human beings and the rest of the animal world, and he is reported to have said that if he could be shown a monkey with the most elementary idea of justice he would believe that that monkey might in time become a man. With such a strong feeling on this subject it is no wonder that he always took particular pleasure in the threadbare story of the "just beast."

But it was not only in matters connected with the schoolroom, or the discipline of the house, or the management of the masters that his wisdom and influence made themselves felt. He knew and saw everything that was going on, and by his keenness and sympathy in the games won his way to the affections of many a boy whom it was difficult to approach in any other way. He was frequently a spectator of the football matches in the close, and more than once a boy running with the ball has heard his excited voice shouting, "Take your drop! Take your drop!" It is also recorded in the *Meteor* that on one occasion, when walking across the close with one of the boys, the latter was just going to remove a rather high hurdle from the path, when the Doctor stopped him, saying, "What are you doing that for?" and over he went followed by the boy! It is difficult to appreciate the change that such a Headmaster must have been from his pre-

decessor. Having thus shown his sympathy with and comprehension of their games, he obtained the confidence of the boys in these matters also, in which schoolboys are especially sensitive of interference. Possessing this confidence, he used to make certain changes which would have otherwise proved very difficult. An excellent example of this is found in the old custom, which readers of *Tom Brown* will remember, of all the school standing in goal half-holiday after half-holiday while the "caps" played football. Dr. Temple found this traditional custom in full swing when he arrived, and no one knew better than he did how difficult it would be to abolish. At the same time he saw that it was bad for health, bad for discipline, and bad for character. In his own mind he condemned it from the first, but he waited a long time before he took action. He was above all things anxious to carry the school with him if he could, and he hesitated in a matter of games to use his undoubted authority. He tried gradually by argument and by derision to bring the school over to his view, but he found tradition too strong for him, and at last he had to make the change on his own initiative. It says much for the confidence which had already grown up between him and the boys that the alteration was successfully carried out.

This same patience which has just been mentioned was particularly shown in matters of religion. He was greatly afraid of what he called "out-running the religious feeling of the boys," a practice which largely prevailed in schools which have been founded on more or less ecclesiastical lines. He once

said, "I do not think the diminution of religious zeal an evil ; I think much of it unhealthy. What I want is a quiet sense of duty." He greatly disliked sensationalism. An example of this may be found in his conduct on the occasion of the death of the captain of the school cricket eleven. It was an event sure to call up the emotional side of the boys, and indeed many of the masters shared in their feelings. One of their number was requested by the friends of the boy who had died to ask Dr. Temple to preach a funeral sermon. He did so, but was received with so much coldness that he went out of the Doctor's study with a feeling of having been snubbed. Next Sunday, however, Dr. Temple preached the sermon on "Friendship" which is printed in the first series of his school sermons. It made an immense impression, and one who was present says, "I shall never forget the solemn pause before he began the sentence : 'Sometimes, again, it happens that a man or a boy is called away, and yet has sown seed behind him in the hearts of friends which shall spring up in his absence to a harvest of thanksgivings in the sight of God ; the example of a simple-minded and quiet discharge of duty, or of a steady effort to raise the tone of his own mind. Such are what friendships have been, such are what friendships may always be. Blessings they are, given by God's Providence ; blessings which we may sadly misuse if we will ; blessings which we shall be likely to remember for the rest of life, and to the memory of which God has attached the highest and purest pleasure, the bitterness and most stinging pain.'" With such words,

full of sympathy, but free from the slightest taint of morbid excitement, he turned the emotions of the boys into a thoroughly healthy channel.

In spite, however, of his fear of outrunning the religious feeling of the boys, he made a special point of giving them every opportunity of spiritual advancement, though he used no compulsion or even undue pressure to induce them to make use of the chances he gave them. Two points may be specially mentioned. He induced the Bishop of Worcester to give the school an annual Confirmation. It was a matter which was always very near his heart. He believed that the preparation for the rite and the service itself had a great effect in raising the tone of the school. The Confirmation was held in the spring, and he used to say that the effect did not wear off until the following Christmas, when it was time to begin the work again. A little story may be told here which illustrates his rather grim humour. He one day overheard a boy say to a friend, "Oh yes! I'm entered for the Confirmation Stakes!" "Well," said the Doctor, turning sharply round, "you're scratched now!" The second point was his method of helping the boys to prepare for Holy Communion. He never made personal appeals to individual boys to attend this service. He felt that it would be dangerous, inasmuch as an appeal from the Headmaster might be taken as a command, or, at all events, boys might thus be induced to go who were in an unfit state. His practice was to hold a service in chapel late on Saturday afternoons, when he addressed those boys who cared to go. It was understood that attend-

ance was absolutely voluntary. Further, the occasion was entirely informal. It was then that Dr. Temple spoke out most freely from his heart, and the boys, knowing this, valued the opportunity accordingly. Here is the evidence of an eye-witness: "Dr. Temple always came in alone from his study, his well-known Bible in his hand. . . . Nearly every communicant came, in any dress—football or cricket, how they pleased—and sat where they liked. Nobody noticed who was present. Often the chapel was nearly dark: no lights were lighted. And what a rough-and-tumble assemblage it was! Dirty often from the football scrimmage, they crept silently under the pulpit—and listened."

There is evidence without end in the letters and writings of old Rugbeians to show how great was his influence on this side of school life. "There was," says one, "a genuinely religious tone among the boys." "I think," writes another, "that his influence on the boys, even on the ordinary careless boy, was very real, and was chiefly the effect of his manifest integrity and directness. His sermons in chapel were delivered with such intense earnestness that they could not fail to make some impression even on the most thoughtless of us."

From the evidence of those who sat on the chapel benches of those days, it is clear that, while for the most part Dr. Temple's sermons were much thought of by boys and masters alike, yet there were some among the former whose minds were not attuned to his, and who failed to appreciate the

kindling words which fell from his lips. Thus some say that he was not simple enough for them, that there was a lack of illustration in his sermons, and so on. Others were struck by the fervour of his manner, and remembered nothing else. But by far the greater number tell us to-day that "Temple's work cannot be judged without Temple's sermons," and it is impossible to read the published volumes without perceiving that this must have been so. They were preached red-hot—brought straight from his study, where his preparation (never less than three hours on any sermon, however often he might have preached it before) went on to the last minute, and they will remain as witnesses to the fearlessness, the whole-heartedness, and the sincere Christianity of a Master who cared most of all for the eternal welfare of his boys.

Such was Dr. Temple as a Headmaster. To those who knew him as Rugby knew him there was scarcely a trace of the grimness which was by many supposed to have been his chief characteristic, while to us who hear what Rugby voices say there is told the story of a man of rugged mien and broad pronounciation, genial and sympathetic to boys and masters alike, just before all things, sparing himself in nothing, feared a little but loved greatly, in truth a great Headmaster.

One of his chief rules in life was to do the work in hand to the utmost of his powers, and it would have delighted him to have heard himself described by an old school servant only the other day in these simple words: "He was a man as would carry through his business in proper Headmaster's fashion."

This will not be a bad place to tell a little

story which illustrates several of his characteristics, mainly those of tact and humour, and is in strong contrast to the usual kind of "Dr. Temple story." He told it himself when staying at the School-house not many years ago. Headmasters are continually plagued by letters from fond parents begging that they will see that their darling boys wear flannel next their skin, or never go on wet grass, etc. But on one occasion Dr. Temple found himself with a rather more difficult letter to answer. The mother of one of the boys wrote to complain that in his report her son's house-master had described him as an "impostor." She wrote most indignantly, and declared that her boy never deserved such an epithet. "Well," said Dr. Temple, "I wrote to her and said that I felt sure that what the house-master meant was that her son could not possibly be the angel he looked."

Before leaving the subject of his work as Headmaster it is interesting to see just how Dr. Temple spent an ordinary day at Rugby.

- 7 a.m. Prayers in the Big School, remaining for part of call-over.
 - 7.20 ,, To take the Sixth Form, first reading Arnold's prayer.
 - 8.30 ,, Breakfast, after which came interviews with the Matron, and other business connected with the School-house.
 - 10.15 ,, School again for an hour, third school following between that and
 - 1.30 p.m. Luncheon.
- After luncheon he would give interviews in his

study, and then go for a long walk, part of which time would be spent in looking on at the games in the close.

On half-holidays there would be no more school, but he would be in his study till dinner.

Two evenings at least in every week were given up to dinner-parties, Dr. Temple considering that hospitality on a large scale was part of a Headmaster's duty.

Comments have sometimes been made as to the results of Dr. Temple's headmastership. It should be plain to those who have gathered from the foregoing pages what was the nature of the man and the bent of his mind that the results to be looked for are of a large nature, and must not be narrowed down to the mere question of how many scholarships the school obtained during his régime. His object was to enlarge the minds and interests of all the boys. Within his first year he started classes for the teaching of geology, physics, etc., Mr. (now Archdeacon) Wilson being appointed science as well as mathematical master. It is not altogether surprising to find that more distinguished scholars were turned out from Rugby during Goulburn's time than during that of Dr. Temple. There were several causes that accounted for this, besides the chief one of the latter being no scholarship hunter. It was a period of new schools. Clifton and Haileybury were coming into prominence; Marlborough was getting a good name under Cotton and Bradley; while Winchester saw a considerable revival under Moberly. This would account for the drawing off of a substantial num-

ber of clever boys. But there is another thing to be said: it is *after* some years' work that results show themselves, and if distinguished boys were more numerous in Goulburn's day it may be that this was the result of the traditions and influence of his great predecessors, Arnold and Tait.

It is, further, only fair to state that the Public Schools Commission of 1864 reported that the classical teaching at Rugby was unsurpassed; that it was the only public school where physical science had a regular place in the scheme, and that it was second to Harrow alone in the teaching of history.

There were, moreover, a goodly number of boys in Dr. Temple's time who were destined in one way or another to make their mark in the world. To name only a few of these, among ecclesiastics were the late Bishop Sydney Linton, of Riverina, who was also a member of the Oxford Eleven in 1860; the present Bishop of Derby; the present Bishop of Chester; and Archdeacon Sandford, who played in the Oxford Eleven of 1859. Among military men are found such well-known names as those of Major-General Meiklejohn, K.C.B., C.M.G.; Major-General Yule, of Natal Field Force fame; Major-General Brocklehurst, of the same force and Sir C. S. B. Parsons, K.C.M.G., whose services in the Boer War are fresh in the minds of all. Of lawyers there are such men as Sir William Selfe Sir George Farwell, one of the Chancery judges; and Mr. Eastwick, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, Eldon Law Scholar, etc., etc. Among great scholars must be mentioned Mr. Arthur Sidgwick, whose record is almost unique, comprising as it did a

scholarship at Trinity, Cambridge, the Senior Bell Scholarship, the Greek Ode prize twice, the Porson Scholarship, the Members' Prize three years in succession, the position of Second Classic, the Senior Chancellor's Medal, and a Fellowship of his college; Mr. Alfred Barratt, who, a scholar of Balliol, took a double first in Moderations, and followed it by three firsts in Greats; Mr. Thomas Case, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who played in the Oxford Eleven of 1864, 1865, and 1867, and would have played in 1866 but for an injury to one of his hands, who obtained a first in Moderations and in Greats, and who subsequently became Professor of Moral Philosophy; Sir Arthur Godley, K.C.B. (supposed to have been Dr. Temple's favourite pupil), who, after winning the Hertford, Ireland, and Eldon Law Scholarships, was twice private secretary to Mr. Gladstone, and is now Permanent Under-Secretary at the India Office; Mr. C. H. Sargant, Scholar of New College, who obtained a first in Moderations and in classical Greats, and who is considered by good judges to be the cleverest man educated at Rugby since 1860; Mr. H. G. Hart, lately Headmaster of Sedbergh; and Professor York Powell, Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. Amongst other men of mark educated at Rugby during Dr. Temple's time are found Sir Reginald Hanson; the late Right Hon. Robert William Hanbury, President of the Board of Agriculture; Sir William Lee-Warner, Secretary in the Political Department of the India Office; the Right Hon. A. H. D. Acland, formerly Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education; the Right

Hon. C. B. Stuart-Wortley, M.P.; Mr. F. C. Selous, the explorer; the Right Hon. Arnold-Forster, member for West Belfast and Secretary of State for War; and many others whose names there is not space to record.

There seems to have been no specially marked line of life in which Rugby men excelled. Rather are they found doing their duty thoroughly in their various callings, a fact which bears witness to the success of Dr. Temple's endeavour to raise the general level of the school and to interest his boys in as many things as possible.

To sum up the effect of Dr. Temple's head-mastership, it may be said that it was mainly in the direction of greater breadth. Liberty that never lapsed into licence, independence that never rebelled against discipline, these were the qualities he sought to instil into the boys. Breadth, too, marked his idea of true education. He had great predecessors in his office, so that fewer so-called reforms were necessary at Rugby than at many other schools in the middle of the nineteenth century. But when he laid down the reins of government he left many changes either completed or in progress, which all tended towards the above-mentioned end. The introduction of science classes with the building of laboratories greatly enlarged the scheme of study. The formation of a rifle corps, the building of racquet courts, gymnasium, etc., gave wider opportunities for the employment of leisure hours. The tender guidance he personally gave to the religious aspirations of the boys, leading, but never attempting to drive, them towards a

higher spiritual level, was a method of which the wisdom was proved by the success. Finally, he was one of the first Headmasters to say in effect, "I am a man like as ye are," and to abolish the old idea that "the Doctor" lived, and probably slept, in cassock, gown, and bands.

At the school concert in 1869, on the eve of his departure, the following farewell ode was sung to music by Sir Hubert Oakeley. The lines are from the pen of Mr. James Rhoades, and, if not poetry of the highest order, express well the intense affection of Rugby for Dr. Temple.

"Master, best-beloved and best,
 Ours for ever, as to-night
 Hands at parting may be press'd,
 Tears reluctant dim the sight ;
 But where'er thy name be known,
 Rugby hails thee first her own.

"Yes, she hails thee loud and long,
 E'er the kindly hour departs,
 One again with shout and song.
 Evermore with loyal hearts—
 Hearts too full to sing or say
 All their love and loss to-day.

"Much thou'st taught us : see ! we keep,
 Noblest of thy counsels, one—
 Not to waver, not to weep,
 Where there's duty to be done.
 Staunch we stand, O master, see,
 Ready e'en to part from thee !

"Wider fields await thee now,
 Richer corn-land, bleaker fen ;
 Forth to sweeten and to sow
 Haste, O chief of husbandmen !
 Where thou treadest still to bring
 Days of happy harvesting.

- “ England, take from us to-day
One man more of mighty mould :
Could we think to cheat thee? Nay,
Such thy hero-type of old ;
Strong and tender now as then,
Joy of youth and tower of men.
- “ Must we lose him? Must he go?
Weak and selfish thought, away !
This at least 'tis ours to show,
This our praise shall all men say—
Whereso' honoured, loved, and known,
Rugby hailed him first her own !”

The two last lines of the fifth verse are distinctly good from a descriptive point of view. There is, however, one criticism to be made on the main sentiment of the ode, and that is that it is just possible that Tiverton School may hail Dr. Temple as first her own !

Dr. Temple was by no means one of those schoolmasters who think that their duties end at the school gates. He could not live in a place and not share in the life of that place. And so the town of Rugby soon found out. He took, naturally, especial interest in any educational movement, such as the work connected with the Mechanics' Institute, of which he was for some time the president. And he was not a mere figurehead. He lectured there now and again, and he made a point of being present at the annual soirées which were held at the institute to raise funds. It is remembered that on one such occasion he brought with him Lake, at that time Professor of Poetry.

He was a decided Liberal in politics, and supported Gladstone's Irish Church Disestablishment

Bill. This brought him into trouble in several quarters, notably with the Trustees of the school. He was a man of strong convictions, but was never anxious to press them upon others. He wished to live and let live, and he, like Arnold, resented any interference in such matters by the Trustees. A keen politician, he felt that it was every man's duty to make up his mind about the questions of the day. In the town, too, on one occasion his politics brought him into trouble. He had been misrepresented in a political speech, and with his usual directness he went down to a Conservative meeting that he might put the matter right. When, however, he desired to speak, he was hustled off the platform. The matter is still remembered in Rugby, and one of the oldest inhabitants referred to it only the other day as "a lasting disgrace to the town."

But if his politics brought him into trouble with some people, it was never so with the boys, and this though schoolboys are invariably a staunchly Conservative body. It says a great deal for the affectionate regard in which they held him that, though they knew quite well that he was a supporter of Mr. Gladstone, it made no difference in their relations towards him.

In yet another way he showed his interest in his fellow-townsmen, especially in those who were trying to advance their position. A Rugby Land Society was formed with the object of buying land wholesale, and so enabling the members to obtain small holdings at a low price. He was president of the Society, and put £100 into it, afterwards handing over his shares to some of his servants. He was also a member of the Rugby Board of Health.

Besides these public ways in which he tried to do his duty to his fellow-men, there were many who could tell of acts of kindness and charity done in secret. He would take any amount of trouble where he saw that he could really help. One example will suffice. He went daily for some considerable time to the house of a poor widow whose son was ill with rheumatic fever, that he might lift him off the bed. The woman was too weak to lift him herself, and too poor to employ a nurse, so Dr. Temple came day by day to do this little act of mercy.

In 1869 Gladstone offered him, first, the deanery of Durham, and afterwards, on the death of Bishop Philpotts, the bishopric of Exeter. It is said that the Prime Minister had sounded him as to his acceptance of ecclesiastical preferment, and that he had expressed a wish to remain at Rugby, but coupled it with an expression of his willingness to go wherever he might be most useful. This was his one test as to questions of preferment, viz. will it give opportunities of better work? When Bishop Walsham How, then at Wakefield, was offered the bishopric of Durham, he wrote to consult Dr. Temple, whose reply was, "I do not see that you could do better work there than at Wakefield," or words to that effect, and it was on that advice that the bishopric of Durham was refused.

Many will remember the excitement caused by the offer of the see of Exeter to Dr. Temple in 1869, and to explain its cause it is necessary to say a word or two about the publication of *Essays and Reviews* in 1860. There is no need to treat the

matter at any length, for it had but little to do with his life as Headmaster of Rugby, yet something must be said. To this book, which caused an outburst of indignant protest from men of all parties (except the very broad) in the Church, Dr. Temple contributed an essay called "The Education of the World." This was generally admitted to be an inoffensive production, but in spite of the Preface to the book, which specially stated that each author was responsible for his own article only, Dr. Temple was covered with reproaches for his share in the work. Bishop Wilberforce, who had ordained him, was perhaps loudest in his condemnation, although he admitted that "the essay itself, as a whole, is different in tone from those around it, and contains nowhere any direct statement of such sophistries or scepticisms as abound throughout the rest." Bishop Tait, of London, his old Tutor at Balliol, and his almost immediate predecessor at Rugby, saw nothing whatever heretical in Dr. Temple's article, but he was urgent upon him to make a public pronouncement of faith in order to allay the fears of Churchmen generally. This roused Dr. Temple's wrath. He had always been most independent, and he felt that he was fighting for liberty. He refused altogether to make any public pronouncement, and a notable correspondence ensued between himself and the Bishop. In these letters, which are given at length in the *Life of Archbishop Tait*, there is evidence that for once Dr. Temple lost a little of his self-control and wrote in a manner which he would assuredly have resented from any correspondent when he had himself become a Bishop.

Dr. Tait tried again and again by the gentlest of arguments to convince his old friend that he was doing the best possible for him ; but at last, finding nothing of any use, he was obliged to write that he considered that Dr. Temple's view of the matter arose from his "somewhat arrogant overestimate of his own opinion." Thirty years and more have gone by since then, and it is possible now to see that Dr. Temple and some others of the authors of *Essays and Reviews* were rather in advance of their time than heretical in their views, and to this may be attributed much of Dr. Temple's extreme indignation at what he considered his bad treatment.

When the disturbance arising from *Essays and Reviews* was at its height, it is not surprising to find that some of the school Trustees, some of the masters, and some of the boys' parents became uneasy, and pressure was put upon Dr. Temple to make a statement on the subject to the Sixth Form, who had, of course, heard and read many comments on the subject. This he did, but not exactly in the manner expected, for he did not at all want the boys to enter into the subject. He told them that such questions would, no doubt, sooner or later be forced upon them, but that, as boys, they had neither the time nor the means which would enable them to form a judgment upon them, and that they had far better have nothing to do with such things till they were older. It was a wise course for him to take, and entirely in keeping with his usual line upon religious subjects where the boys were concerned. By this is meant that he greatly disliked forcing religious questions upon them, and desired

that their religion should be as simple and free from complications as possible.

It was this book, then, that was the cause of the outcry against his appointment to the bishopric of Exeter in 1869. This is not the place to revive all the hard things that were then done and said in the excitement of the religious controversy. Dr. Temple acted with great consistency. So long as any legal question as to his appointment was undecided he kept silence, and went on his way unmoved by attacks—the same independent, fearless man that he had always been. As soon, however, as he had been consecrated Bishop, he was able to allow full play to his consideration for the feelings of others. He withdrew his essay from publication, making it perfectly plain that he retracted nothing, but that he wished to avoid giving pain to many with whom as Bishop he would have to do.

It is an extraordinary thing to read the language used of him thirty-four years ago, and then to realise that only the other day the whole Church mourned him as a universally beloved and trusted head—one of the greatest archbishops who ever sat in the throne of Canterbury.

If he were loved by Rugby at all—and there were very many who knew him there—it is no less true that he was soon beloved by those—and they were fewer in proportion—who knew him at Exeter. The sky seemed thick with clouds when first he came, but in a marvellously short time they cleared away before the fresh breeze of his vigorous and whole-hearted personality.

Of his occupancy of the sees of Exeter (1869-

1885) and of London (1885-1896), as well as of the Primacy (1896-1902), other pens will tell. In connection with his work as a teacher it is, however, interesting to note that to educational matters he always gave a large share of his time and attention. The very next year after his appointment to Exeter the Education Act of 1870 was passed. He had already given considerable assistance to Mr. Forster in preparing the measure, and as soon as it was passed he gave it all the support he could, even to the extent of subscribing a large sum towards the funds necessary for starting the new scheme. He aided the cause of education in many other ways, such as serving on Lord Cross's Royal Commission, and attempting whenever possible to make the division between the narrowest ecclesiastics and the Dissenters as little felt as circumstances would allow. His liberal views and his never-failing desire for exact justice no doubt contributed to his success in this direction, and the knowledge that he was absolutely to be trusted was sufficient to prevent Churchmen from fearing that their interests would be betrayed.

He was an old man when the call to Canterbury came. Everyone felt this even as he did himself, but everyone knew that his great powers and qualities of mind were not yet upon the wane. The gladness with which the Church welcomed him as Primate would in any case have been intense, but it was increased by the feeling that great educational changes were impending, and that it would be everything to have his strong hand to guide and guard her in a time which might be fraught with danger. That

the Church was justified in her expectation the last years of Archbishop Temple amply proved. He worked for the best interests of the new Education Bill up to the very end. On Thursday, December 4th, 1902, he had sat for hours in the chair at a meeting of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and from that he went on to the House of Lords to speak for the Education Bill. The scene will never be forgotten by those who witnessed it. In the middle of a sentence he was seized with an attack of exhaustion, and sank back heavily into his seat. It was the beginning of the end. The last bit of work was done on behalf of the training of the young. It had begun more than half a century before, and had never lost its hold as his greatest interest in life.

Two characteristic utterances are connected with this his last public appearance. "Let us get to work and see how it acts," were his last words on the subject in the House of Lords. He was convinced that the measure was just and right, and as usual he wanted to be doing rather than talking. Subsequently, when next day he was laid on what proved to be his death-bed, he sent a message urging that Churchmen should act, in carrying out the new scheme, with the greatest possible consideration to Nonconformists. The two things taken together seem to say, "Do it, for it is right, but do it in the truest spirit of Christian charity."

During the thirty-three years of Dr. Temple's life after leaving Rugby, the school was never long out of his thoughts and never for a moment lost its place in his affections. A very few years before his

GIVEN TO RUGBY SCHOOL
BY AN OLD HEADMASTER WHO LOVES IT STILL

JANUARY 1897

F CARTER

INSCRIPTION IN THE LARGE BIBLE IN RUGBY SCHOOL CHAPEL.

death he gave a large Bible to the chapel, in which he wrote that it was the gift to the school of one who loved it still ; and many will remember the tone of his voice as, on a visit to Rugby, he said in the big school, " Nothing I like so much as a bye, and above all a Rugby bye ! "

VI

GEORGE GRANVILLE BRADLEY, D.D.

HEADMASTER OF MARLBOROUGH, 1858-1870

THE five Headmasters of whose work some record has been given in the foregoing pages all governed schools of long standing and high repute. This added largely to the honour of their position, but how far it assisted them in carrying out the duties, as each one saw them, of that position is an open question. Great traditions ought to be ennobling, but when they block the road to long-needed reforms, or when they include a form of school government which ties the hands of the Headmaster, they are by no means an unmixed good.

When Bradley—the beloved “G. G. B.” of three generations of Marlborough boys—came to be Master of the Wiltshire school he found a school as free as the winds which blew across its neighbouring downs. There were traditions, but they were merely those of the six years during which his old friend and Rugby colleague, George Edward Lynch Cotton, had pulled the place together by his force of character, and had imbued it with the best of Rugby ideals, just the very things that his successor most desired to inculcate.



PORTRAIT OF DR. BRADLEY

The sixth great Headmaster, then, is taken from the history of a new school, but one which, from the first year of his rule to the present moment, when it has lately welcomed the third Master since his day, has known none of the ups and downs which have troubled some of its contemporaries, but has occupied a consistently honourable and successful position among the great schools of the country.

George Granville Bradley was the son of a London divine, the Rev. Charles Bradley, formerly Vicar of Glasbury, and then of St. James's, Clapham, a celebrated preacher of the day, and his early years were spent at home in that suburb. Born in December, 1821, he did not go to Rugby, with which school he became so intimately connected, until 1837, when he was within a couple of months of sixteen.

Meantime he attended a neighbouring school—near, that is, to his home at Clapham—which was kept by Mr. Charles Pritchard, who died no great number of years ago, and occupied for some time the Chair of Astronomy at the University of Oxford. Of this period there is not much to record. In a letter received by the present writer, in August, 1902, Dr. Bradley says: "My life at Clapham with C. Pritchard as my teacher was very unlike that of most boys." Unlike it may have been, and less enjoyable perhaps, but when he went on to Rugby he was better prepared than nine-tenths of the boys who joined the public schools of that date. It is told that he was not only remarkably advanced in classics, but had a good

knowledge of mathematics, and was not without some acquaintance with the science of the day. In fact his mind had been more widely opened than that of most boys of his age, the result of which was evident all through his life. In his sympathies, in his pursuits, as well as in his reading, there was an unusual power of appreciation and enjoyment of other matters than those intimately connected with the routine of a schoolmaster's existence. One other matter of interest is recorded in connection with his first school. It was here—at Mr. Pritchard's—that he began his lifelong friendship with Sir George Grove, one of the most interesting figures of the nineteenth century, a friendship which was further cemented by Sir George's marriage with his sister Harriet.

On going to Rugby he fell, of course, at once under the influence of the greatest of Headmasters—Dr. Arnold—and became not only a devoted pupil of the Doctor, but a personal friend of Matthew Arnold and the rest of the family. At Rugby he made another notable friendship—also lifelong—with Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, who was a few years his senior, but of whom he saw a great deal subsequently at Oxford, where the friendship ripened, although in its origin it was due to the common Rugby association.

In 1840 he obtained an exhibition at Rugby, and immediately afterwards an open scholarship at University College, Oxford. His pleasure at the latter success was greatly increased by the fact that at the same time his friend Stanley was elected to a Fellowship and tutorship at the same college, thereby

ensuring the continuation of their intercourse in the pleasantest possible manner. In 1844 Bradley took his degree—a first in Greats—and was himself elected to a residentiary Fellowship at his own college. In the following year he added to his successes by obtaining the Latin essay prize—the subject being “The Equestrian Order at Rome”—an appropriate honour for one who was to become the greatest teacher of Latin prose of his own or any other day.

For about two years he worked as a Tutor in Oxford, and then, with the offer from Dr. Tait of an assistant-mastership at Rugby, the real work of his life began. Filled with the inspiration of the great teacher under whom he had sat some six or seven years before, he now came back to learn to be a teacher himself under the vigorous training of Dr. Tait. To this double set of influences, combined with the effect upon his mind of such friendships as those with Matthew Arnold and A. P. Stanley, may be traced much of the vigorous independence and full-hearted sympathy which marked him out from other men.

Small and slight in stature, he was naturally quick both mentally and physically. It is characteristic to notice that when a boy his athletic distinction was gained as a runner. He remained at Rugby, latterly in charge of one of the largest boarding-houses, for twelve years, just the same time that he spent afterwards at Marlborough. His active mind found plenty of occupation in his school duties; for his active body he provided the superintendence of a small farm about a mile and a half out of Rugby,

thus necessitating frequent walks or rides to see how things were going on, and indulging at the same time his natural love for animals and an outdoor life. He was not in Orders during his assistant-mastership at Rugby, but is remembered as a rather restless little man, usually dressed in a blue suit with a watch-chain hanging loosely from his waistcoat.

In 1849 Mrs. Bradley came upon the scene, and those who remember the Rugby days, as well as the more numerous body who treasure the recollection of "G. G. B." at Marlborough, will agree that it was a happy day when he took to wife Marian, daughter of the late Archdeacon Philpot.

And so his Rugby life went on, blessed with success in his work and happiness in his home, through the remainder of Dr. Tait's headmastership and the whole of that of Dr. Goulburn. In 1858 the latter resigned, and just at that very time Dr. Cotton, who had been for six years Headmaster of Marlborough, was appointed to the bishopric of Calcutta. So great had been his influence for good during those six years that the appointment of his successor was practically left in his hands. Without any hesitation he named George Granville Bradley, the brilliant colleague of his Rugby days. In order that an idea may be obtained of what sort of a place it was to which the new Headmaster came in 1858, it is necessary to say something about the previous history of the school.

It was founded in 1843 with rather over two hundred boys, the first Master being Dr. Matthew Wilkinson, who had previously been for a short time Headmaster of Kensington School. The

period of nine years during which he presided over the fortunes—or it would be more correct to say *misfortunes*—of Marlborough was not such very ancient history in the latter sixties, when the present writer became a member of the school. Nowadays, doubtless, the Marlborough boy hears little of that sad time, and treats the matter with levity. In those days the wild, undisciplined state of the school in its earliest years—the rough, poaching, free-booting days that culminated in the Great Rebellion—were spoken of with bated breath and with a certain degree of shame. The impression gained at that time was so unfavourable to Dr. Wilkinson that it is a relief to find from the writings of those who really knew what happened that he was almost as much sinned against as sinning, and that he was a really worthy though extremely unlucky man.

In 1852 Dr. Wilkinson resigned, and the Council went to Rugby for a strong man with the traditions of Arnold as the best hope of getting things put upon a new and better footing. And it was high time. As large as many a public school, Marlborough in 1852 had not a spark of public school feeling. No games were properly organised. No uniformity in dress was attempted. Loafing, relieved by frequent bullying and occasional poaching, was the normal occupation of the bigger boys. As for the youngsters, their time was fully occupied in trying to escape capture by the big boys, or, when caught, in aiding and abetting, under painful compulsion, the wickedness of their tyrants. There was scarcely any privacy possible in those days for big or little. Not more than two or three studies

existed, and a similar number of classrooms. Five forms used to be taken at once in the big "Upper School," and in this room most of the boys lived, the two fireplaces being, of course, monopolised by the biggest boys, and the little fellows being for the most part kept warm by fagging in all kinds of ways for their elders. Bad as such a state of things was, it was not worse than obtained a few years earlier in College at both Eton and Winchester, and rough as may have been the diet at Marlborough, the domestic arrangements were always better there than at either of the famous schools just mentioned so far as Collegers were concerned.

There is some similarity in the natural surroundings of Winchester and Marlborough; indeed, the two schools are not more than twenty-five or thirty miles apart. Each is surrounded by great chalk downs, each lies in a hollow, and through each runs a famous trout stream, where mighty trout may be seen basking near the bridges and fattening on the garbage of the town. Compared with Winchester, Marlborough is almost a village, but it is not so long ago that it could boast its two members of Parliament, and in its smaller way it presents many of the quaint, old-fashioned characteristics which beautify the former town. Then, again, it has within easy reach "pine-clad Martinsell," a hill which in many particulars may be compared with "Hills" at Winchester. This little comparison has been drawn in order that some who read this page and who have never seen Marlborough (and who does not know Winchester?) may have a faint notion of the kind of place where Bradley did his

greatest work. In one particular, however, there is a vast difference between the two towns. The air of Winchester is by some thought relaxing and the climate mild. At Marlborough, higher up among the downs, the air is cold and bracing, and in those early days, when small boys never had a chance of a place by the fire, they must often have been fully aware of the fact.

In the matter of school buildings Marlborough can lay claim to little beauty. The new chapel is magnificent, but that did not exist in Bradley's day. The school in those times consisted of three sides of a red-brick square, of which the unoccupied side bordered on the great Bath Road. The central building, which had been a famous coaching hotel, alone presented an appearance of architectural dignity. Until 1861 the whole school lived within these buildings, playing after "gates" in the quadrangle, which at Marlborough has always been called the "Court."

In 1861 the first out-college boarding-house was started by the present Master of University College, Oxford. It is said that this fact originated the use of top-coats and umbrellas at Marlborough, railway rugs having previously supplied the double need. This may possibly be the case, but it is certain that ten years later the use of rugs as a covering in bad weather had not gone entirely out of fashion. The other Marlborough peculiarity of carrying about a baize cushion to relieve the hardness of the benches exists to this day!

The several boarding-houses which followed ten years later were the direct outcome of the scarlet

fever epidemics, when it was thought wise to lessen the number of boys living in college.

But to return to the state of the school when Cotton took it in hand. The first thing that he observed was that there were some members of the staff of masters who were too weak to cope with the difficult and insubordinate spirit which had been allowed to prevail. The second was that a number of extremely undesirable boys, braggarts and bullies who acknowledged little law but their own desires, were still members of the school. It was not long before the weak masters and unruly boys found themselves located elsewhere. It was very quietly but effectually accomplished. Dr. Cotton appealed to his Rugby friends and others whom he trusted, and held out the bait of a species of missionary work in the educational field. Marlborough was to be reclaimed, and devoted men were needed for the task. It is only necessary to mention such names as E. A. Scott, who came from Rugby, saw Marlborough through her difficulties, and then returned to the older school, C. S. Bere, Jex Blake (Dean of Wells), Professor Beesly, F. W. Farrar, afterwards to be Master of the school, and C. M. Bull, who all came about the same time, to show how noble a response was made to the appeal for a strong staff of masters. And it was a self-denying work to which they were called. Luxurious quarters and high pay were out of the question. Sir Courtenay Ilbert, a Marlburian of the latter part of Cotton's day, writing in the school paper for April, 1903, says: "About the financial difficulties of the time, and how they were surmounted, we boys knew

little. We did not know that, in 1854, the school was on the verge of bankruptcy and dissolution, and was only pulled through the crisis by the pluck and faith of its governing body and by the self-sacrifice and determination of its staff." It is not difficult to believe this statement, for even so late as during the last years of Bradley's rule it was a common belief among the smaller boys that if an extra pat of butter were given on any one morning to each of the five hundred boys the school would (to use their elegant expression) go bust! To realise in a few words what was the effect of the six years of Cotton's headmastership it is only necessary to quote the next few lines of Sir Courtenay Ilbert's paper. "What dawned upon us gradually was that the character of the school was undergoing a change, and honourable traditions were being built up; that a self-respecting corporate spirit had been inspired; that the school had become to all intents and purposes a public school, fit to take its place among its older rivals. Should I be wrong in thinking that, in its essential characteristics, the Marlborough of 1858 was nearer to the Marlborough of 1903 than to the Marlborough of 1852?" Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the way was cleared for a great career, and that when Dr. Cotton left for Calcutta he had left nothing undone in the way of preparation. All was ready. It needed only that a man with skill and courage, vital energy and determination, should grasp the reins. It took a very short time to convince Marlburians that the fortunes of the school were committed into the hands of just such a man.

Bradley combined these qualities with others of the greatest value for such a position, such as keen insight into character, untiring devotion, immense sympathy, and a "straightness" which above all endeared him to the boys.

And now the writer is placed in a serious difficulty. His old house-master, Mr. F. E. Thompson, adding to the many kindnesses of thirty-five years ago, has written for him such a valuable paper upon the work of Dr. Bradley at Marlborough—so full, so appreciative, and so interesting—that he feels that he ought, in all fairness to his readers, to print Mr. Thompson's paper just as it is, without further note or comment of his own. But he has for so long looked forward to the privilege of writing something at least about his old Headmaster that he has not the strength of mind to lay down his own pen entirely, and must ask to be allowed to quote from time to time considerable extracts from the paper referred to.

First of all, it is interesting to obtain from various sources the impression that Bradley made by his personal appearance. "Small and frail," is the description of him given by one of the masters. "Of small stature and somewhat Hebrew look, with alert ways and quick speech," is that of one of the boys. Sir Courtenay Ilbert says: "I well remember my first introduction to him soon after his selection as Cotton's successor. I had been laid up with a serious illness, and it was to my bedside in the old comfortless sick-house that Cotton brought him. Nothing could be more striking than the contrast between the two men—between the

tall, gaunt, rather awkward, grimly kind senior and the bright, keen, vivacious little man who was so soon to take his place. One felt that the two were the fitting complements of each other, and that it was Cotton's perception of this which showed the discernment of his choice. If reserved strength was the note of the one, vitality, mental, not physical, for the body was frail, but vitality, exuberant, irrepressible, contagious, stimulating, was the note of the other."

The blue suit of Rugby days was discarded before his arrival at Marlborough, for he was ordained on his appointment, it being in those days rightly considered that a headmastership entailed an anxious and important cure of souls.

Such was the new Headmaster. Boys hate changes, and it was no doubt a little difficulty in his path at the outset that he presented a contrast (though not so great as his successor, Dr. Farrar, presented to *him*) to Dr. Cotton.

Believers in omens must have thought that the arrival of the Bradley family to take up their residence in the Master's lodge was singularly inauspicious. The holidays had been spent in the Isle of Wight, and the Marlborough branch line not being then open, it was decided to drive thither from Salisbury. It was a pouring wet day, and the spirits of those who were waiting to welcome the new Headmaster sank lower and lower as time went on and no one appeared. At last—three hours late—two Amesbury flies arrived with the party, who had started in a 'bus and pair, but been upset near Stonehenge, where they had to

wait in the rain until fresh vehicles could be obtained.

However, it took more than that to damp the ardour of Bradley. He was sacrificing a good deal in giving himself to Marlborough. Financially, the headmastership was not so good as the large Rugby boarding-house he had left. Then, again, he was a delicate man, and the new position, with its vast responsibilities, was far heavier than any he had hitherto occupied. But, as is so often the case, the very fact of self-sacrifice added enthusiasm to the undertaking.

It should also be stated that he felt the change from Rugby to Marlborough in other ways, which he mentioned with a freedom that was scarcely judicious. Although the six years of Cotton had done much to raise the tone of the school, it took some years more of Bradley's régime to civilise it thoroughly. An old Marlburian of Bradley's first years says that he showed too plainly at first that "he thought the boys savages compared with his cultured Rugbeians, and they resented it." More than once, too, he was heard to groan over the fact that he was doomed to teach a set of "country parsons' sons, drawn from the slowest-witted class of the community," whom he contrasted unfavourably with the sharp and open-minded sons of Manchester and Liverpool commercial men who went to Rugby. But this feeling passed off before long. Perhaps he didn't find the parsons' sons so bad after all! At all events, he let his big heart take in Marlborough and all who belonged to it, and was faithful to her till his death.

(It should perhaps be explained that Marlborough was originally started as a school where clergymen's sons could be educated extremely cheaply. How low the fees were may be gathered from the fact that early in Bradley's time (1860) they were *raised* to £52 10s. for sons of clergymen, and £70 for sons of laymen, while at the present day they are considerably higher.)

There were, too, some encouraging facts to put upon the other side. The staff of Masters left behind by Dr. Cotton was undoubtedly strong. Besides those of whom mention has been made, there were such men as Dr. Bright, the present Master of University College, Oxford, Dr. Robinson Duckworth, Canon of Westminster, and Edward Lawford Brown, one of the greatest scholars of the day. But an equal source of encouragement was the knowledge that among the boys of the school, and especially among the Sixth Form, there were many of sterling worth and the highest promise. Ilbert, Papillon, Alfred Robinson (afterwards of New College), Paravicini, Simcox, Edward Hume, were just a few of the names already honoured in the little world of Marlborough, soon to be well known in the wider circles of University and public life. With the exception of once or twice in the annals of Shrewsbury School, there is hardly to be found a record of so strong a Sixth Form as was waiting to receive the final instruction and polish at the hands of the new Headmaster.

On this subject a passage must be quoted from Mr. Thompson: "It was known that there was remarkably good material in the Sixth left by Cotton.

To this material Bradley applied the electric spark. In August, 1859 [the year Mr. Thompson went to Marlborough], I found a general expectation in the air of great things to come. The cricket eleven in the preceding summer had won its first victory over Cheltenham. In November, Ilbert, the head of the school, and Papillon, the third boy, were to go up for the Balliol. A 'Balliol,' as such, then was a far more select thing than it is now. Now about a dozen scholarships and exhibitions are given, but then there were only two scholarships. Ilbert and Papillon won the two.

"Marlborough at once took the world by storm. Next year Simcox won the first Balliol, and the year after Paravicini did the same. Besides these startling achievements, other scholarships were freely won at the best colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. . . . The Wiltshire school, not yet twenty years old, had taken the place of the Rugby of the fifties, for these initial successes, won straight from the school, were followed by first classes, University prizes, and scholarships, and Fellowships *galore*.

"Some explanation of these achievements—for their continuance precludes the idea of chance success—must be given. In the first place, there had been the trenching, the planting, and the watering by Cotton and his assistants. The teaching had been sound and scholarly, the Masters had made the boys their friends and companions, had helped them in their work out of school hours, and had joined in their games on the cricket and football fields. Several of the Assistant Masters were fine Rugby

athletes. Indeed, Marlborough can hardly repay her debt to Rugby for the two Masters (a third has just been added) and many Assistant Masters who came from Arnold's school. In the next place, as has been mentioned already, there was a remarkable set of able boys in the Sixth who must have done well even with moderately good teaching, but who, with teachers like Bradley and his assistant E. L. Brown, were bound to achieve conspicuous success. A word as to Brown. He supplied the Shrewsbury and Cambridge element. He was a remarkably fine scholar, Senior Classic, Senior Chancellor's Medallist, and Craven Scholar in Calverley's year. He was an admirable teacher, and his character was as beautiful as his scholarship. He died at Marlborough at the early age of twenty-seven, deeply regretted. His loss was very great, for undoubtedly much of the success in Latin and Greek scholarships was due to him. Such a combination as that of Bradley and Brown in Sixth Form teaching has probably never been surpassed, and rarely equalled.

"But, given all these conditions of success, Bradley was unquestionably the inspirer and the chief cause. He had keen, scholarly instincts, but the end of all his scholarship was school-teaching. He had not the health nor, I think, the patience to make a scholar of the type of Conington, or Munro, or Mayor. His generalisations in the use of words and constructions were based on too narrow premises to satisfy a student of wide reading. But for keeping a Sixth Form boy in the right way, for saving him time and making him move forward unhesitatingly, for incisive precision, they served their pur-

pose admirably. Bradley's lessons covered very little ground. 'I only got through seven lines of the *Aeneid* this morning,' he once said to me. This was an extreme instance, but forty or fifty lines would probably be the maximum amount. His method was minute and intensive. 'You found,' writes one of the greatest of his pupils, Sir Courtenay Ilbert, 'that, as Huxley's crayfish was made an introduction to all zoology, so the particular book or passage before you was serving as a guide to all Greek or Roman life, literature, and art.' . . .

"Bradley's instincts and suggestions for reaching the meaning of the Greek or Latin author through his words would have been helpful to many scholars of greater eminence. He had a special gift for teaching Latin prose. He loved the subject, and made it a real engine of liberal education, stimulating powerfully the observation and thought of his pupils in the endeavour to express modern ideas in the language of Cicero. There is a story of the time which makes a well-known Oxford tutor, engaged in examining for his college scholarships, say, 'We won't look over the Latin prose of the Marlborough candidates—of course they can write it.' This is not to be taken seriously . . . but it shows the belief entertained in Bradley's singular gift for teaching the subject.

"He took enormous pains in the preparation of a lesson, whether the subject was a Greek or Latin author, or history, or divinity. His knowledge of special periods of history, especially the Great Civil War and the Napoleonic epoch, was minute. Guizot's *History of Civilisation* was one of his

favourite subjects for a course of lessons, furnishing him with subjects for discussion. In divinity, Isaiah and Job in the Old Testament, and the great Pauline epistles in the New, were, to use the words of a distinguished old pupil, 'a fine mental gymnastic.' In his Old Testament lessons he read the Septuagint with his form.

"In all his lessons he tried to make words convey realities, to make names living and moving beings. Parallels, anecdotes, illustrations, and quotations were constantly asked for and suggested from history and poetry. In poetry, Bradley's sympathy with the nineteenth-century poets, not least with Tennyson, his intimate friend, was greater than with the masters of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, with the exception of Milton. He had also a great love for and considerable knowledge of French literature.

"Sarcasm and chaff played an important part in his method. He had a very sharp tongue, and a keen sense of the ridiculous. It must be admitted that his tongue was a whip which sometimes pained boys, and that the chaff was sometimes overdone. But this was all on the surface, for he had the tenderest heart, and would at once have been distressed at the thought of giving pain."

Such is the admirable estimate of Bradley's powers as teacher from the pen of one who was a leading Assistant-Master at Marlborough, coming there in Bradley's second year. It is hardly necessary to say anything further on the subject, but in the *History of Marlborough College* there are some words written by Professor Butcher—one of Brad-

ley's most famous pupils—which it is interesting to set side by side with Mr. Thompson's appreciation. Thus the verdict of Master and boy may be obtained at a glance. The words are these: "The Headmaster took our Latin, held it up to the light, turned it inside out, translated it back into its true English equivalent, producing a medley of incongruous phrases. He revelled, as it seemed, in our absurdities, and we ourselves shared the enjoyment. But in another moment he spoke with trenchant irony and all the force of moral denunciation; we felt guilty as criminals, and in confusion of face looked down upon our scrawled exercises, and withdrew them even from the eyes of those who were next us on the benches. Then again he fell back into playful invective and humourous illustrations. . . . Here was a teacher, born to the work, possessed by his subject, rich in experience, with an energy that seemed inexhaustible; teaching, indeed, Latin prose, but finding in it an opening for endless excursions into larger fields of language and literature. At last, when wit, learning, denunciation, jest, and earnest had done their work, he would dictate a fair version of the passage, in which every word seemed to have its exact value and to fall into its proper place."

Probably Bradley's great power as a teacher will be considered by many to have been the chief source of his success as a Headmaster, and it has therefore been given a first place. But there were many hundreds of boys who passed through Marlborough without coming under his immediate tuition except in occasional "reviews." What was his

power over these? How was it that they for the most part regarded him not only with respect and admiration, but with a certain affection and pride?

No one who knew the man would hesitate in giving the chief reasons for this. In the first place he had an almost unique gift—it is difficult to find another Headmaster possessing it in anything like the same proportion—of making his enthusiasm for Marlborough felt right through the school. He used to say that when he first came he thought the boys a little rough, but that he found them manly, and that Marlborough, with its strong, breezy character and originality, soon won his heart. An old Marlburian (C. J. S. Churchill) gives valuable evidence of the way in which even the smallest boys caught the Headmaster's enthusiasm. He writes: "When I arrived as a new boy, Bradley had established himself as Headmaster for more than a year, and his extraordinary powers of arousing a spirit of unflagging industry, keen enthusiasm, and true loyalty, had impressed themselves on the school. I can remember to this day my feeling as a new boy that I had become a member of a society full of life and full of earnest devotion to the best interests of the school, and I at once caught the infection, and felt proud of being a Marlburian before I had been a month in my new school. And yet those were rough days still, and my life was not wholly pleasant; but all was forgotten in the general atmosphere of the place and the pride I felt in the school."

A second reason for Bradley's influence over the whole school, and not merely over his Sixth Form,

may be found in the fact that he inspired that sort of allegiance which springs from both fear and love. One of his old boys, being asked to write some recollections of him, simply put down, "How we feared him—and how we learnt to love him!" words which will sum up the feelings of many a Marlburian of the sixties.

It has been said of schoolmasters that some make boys work by the enthusiasm they inspire, others by making the alternative extremely disagreeable. Bradley had the rare gift of inspiring both fear and affection. His manner was quick and decisive, and he laid down the law in a thoroughly dogmatic manner. In this way he sometimes frightened those who did not really know him. Also, as has been stated, he now and then let his tongue wound by its invective. Here are a few examples. He once was looking over the essay of a rather priggish Sixth Form boy, whose feelings he wounded by informing him that what he had written was a compilation and not original. The boy wrote a letter to defend himself, and took it to the master's study one day at an hour when he felt sure that Bradley would be out. But, unluckily for the boy, this was not the case. Letter in hand, he stammered out, "I came, sir, to defend myself against your charge of literary plagiarism." "Illiterate plagiarism, illiterate plagiarism!" said Bradley. "There, you would like to put your letter in the fire, wouldn't you?"

The present writer can supply another example from his own experience. He had to take a "leave of absence" for a particular Tuesday, to be signed

by Bradley. He was then a small boy, and spelt two important words thus: "Teusday" and "absence." He will never forget the sting of the tone in which he was asked where he had been at school, nor the master's voice saying, "Leave it on my mantelpiece, for the little children in my nursery to scoff at it!"

A stronger example occurs to the recollection of one who was both boy and Master under Bradley. When a lad he was not strong, and gave both his form Master and the Headmaster the impression of being idle. Bradley, when the boy arrived at the Sixth Form, quickly gave him to understand what he thought of him, and the boy, sensitive and discouraged, failed to do his best. At last one day he showed up a copy of verses from the English, "In vain on Father Thames she calls for aid," which began, "Fundit patri preces frustra Loddona Thamesi," pretty bad for Sixth Form, as its author now describes it! Bradley's wrath knew no bounds. The boy was told to write to his father to take him away. "You are only wasting his money! You will never get the worst scholarship at the worst college in the worst University!" Not long afterwards this same boy got badly injured in a football match against a team of old Rugbeians brought down by the late Lord Bowen. The kindnesses of the master and Mrs. Bradley were unwearied and innumerable. They had the boy's mother to stay at the lodge for six weeks, and when he was convalescent entirely different relations were established between Bradley and that boy, who had hitherto simply feared him. From that time forward his

devotion was unbounded, and his work improved so greatly that he won an Oxford scholarship. To-day he writes a letter which ends thus: "If it helps you to realise what 'G. G. B.' was to one who began by disliking him, learnt to love him, and now cherishes his memory, it may be of some use."

Every Marlborough boy of the sixties will allow that there were times when he feared the master. He will not even yet forget standing, one of a frightened crowd, outside the Adderley Library waiting for review. But if he be honest he will recognise that his terror was due to the fact that he had no confidence in his power to "go on" at any point in the Demosthenes, or Virgil, or whatever book it might be in which the proficiency of the form was to be tested. He will also allow that, except when he was conscious of idleness or continual breaches of school rules, his fear of Bradley gave way to that other feeling, that more powerful motive, love.

The next qualities by which Bradley attached *all* the school to himself were his straightness and courage. No one ever had the smallest doubt that what he said was literally true, and what he did absolutely just. "You knew where you had him" is an expression sometimes used by those who talk of him and the old Marlborough days. There was no palaver, no beating about the bush, no mock sentiment. And that is the sort of man whom boys adore.

As to his courage, there are plenty of examples of it on record, both physical and moral. To take

the latter first, and once more to quote Mr. Thompson: "In dealing with a 'row,' Bradley had the courage of an Alexander or a Cæsar, and would, like them, have quelled a mutiny in a moment. In the early days of the school, before games were organised, there had been a good deal of poaching carried on in Savernake Forest. The first signs of a recrudescence of this habit were reported to the Master by the Marquis of Ailesbury, or his agent. School dinner was nearly at an end, the doors had been thrown open, and we were all ready for grace. At that moment Bradley hurriedly entered, and walking quickly up to the high table called out, 'Shut the doors.' He then briefly stated the complaint made, and went on in vibrating tones, 'If you think that I am going to tolerate this for a moment you are mightily mistaken. The culprits must come to me within an hour, or I'll know the reason why!' The names were given up without fail. His pluck and display of prompt authority moved the school to admiration. Walking away across the court with me afterwards, he said, 'I was at luncheon in my house when the Marquis' messenger came. I thought it was too late, but I snatched up my gown in a moment and hurried across. My spectacles were so moist with heat that I could see nothing in the hall. I had no time to wipe them.'

There are some who still remember the great scarlet fever years at Marlborough, when a specially virulent form of the disease attacked the school. Dr. Fergus ("the beloved physician") school doctor since 1849, found that even his entire devotion

and that of his staff of Sanatorium servants was inadequate, and a number of hospital nurses was summoned—a most unusual course in those days. Everything possible was done for the boys who were stricken down, but the one thing that most will remember was the daily visit of the master to their bedside. His health was never robust, and he invariably got a bad throat from visiting the fever wards. But there he was, day after day, braving the infection and bringing hope and courage with him; while, if there were any who had hitherto feared him without loving him, they came back again to school to love him much and fear him just a little.

Then his physical courage was shown in one at least of his forms of relaxation. He had not learnt to ride as a boy, but when at Oxford he received a small legacy, of which he spent part in hiring a horse, and from that time forward his greatest delight was a good gallop. He was so active and untiring that no other pace suited him, and in the open downs round Marlborough he found plenty of opportunity. It would seem, however, that he did not by any means always stick to the safe course of the downs, but that a ride across country had its attractions for him as for others. One of his daughters says: "To my childish ideas riding meant galloping. Whether my father was a good horseman, judged by the standard of hunting men, I cannot say; but I have never known anyone else except a hunting man who habitually rode so fast and was so regardless of obstacles."

One more quality must be mentioned which had a good deal to do with the attachment of the boys. He had an extraordinary memory for each boy and for what that boy had done. The present writer can give an example from his own experience. It was the custom at one time for each boy to send up a piece of Latin prose to the master every half-year. This boy on the first occasion when he did so had the following sentence to translate, viz. "He ordered the soldiers to come up," and used the word "ascendere" to render the expression "to come up." This was the sort of mistake that Bradley hated, for it showed a want of understanding, and the boy was properly reprimanded. Four years afterwards, just before Bradley left, he met this boy as he was coming down from the cricket field, and taking hold of his arm, said: "Well, How, are the soldiers still going up ladders, eh?" It took the boy some moments to recall the allusion, for the mistake had passed out of his mind far more quickly than out of that of the master.

It was characteristic, too, to see that in writing to an old Marlburian who had the same surname as several other boys at the school, Bradley began his letter with the initials as well as the name, *e.g.* "Dear R. S. Adams," thus showing that he remembered the special Adams to whom he was writing and even remembered his initials. And this after a lapse of more than thirty years!

Another example may be given of his knowledge of the circumstances of individual boys. The subject of the Battle of Naseby came up in form one day, and Bradley turned sharply to one particular

boy and said, "*You*, of course, know the battlefield well." "No, sir," answered the boy. On which Bradley said, "Why, you live within twenty-five miles of it!" and proceeded to rate him soundly for never having visited the spot.

One of the most striking features of Bradley's rule at Marlborough was the way in which he dealt with his Assistant Masters. There are two systems of a very opposite nature which are sometimes pursued in this matter. The one, of which Harrow may be taken as an example, is that under which the Headmaster leaves his assistants practically to take their own way, uncriticised, and in considerable independence. The other, which was Bradley's plan at Marlborough, is to keep a constant surveillance of the work the other masters are doing, to help them at every turn, and, it must be allowed, to scold them pretty freely. And so it came about that it was just as true that he was both loved and feared by his Masters as by his boys. He was no doubt rather a terror to young Masters till they got to know him. But if he had to find fault with the work of a form, he would generally manage to say a word or two afterwards that took out much of the sting. One Master remembers how when he first came his form did badly in review, and Bradley wrote a rather savage report in the red book, where the record of such things was kept. Coming up afterwards to the young Master, he said, "Were you very much hurt? They were bad—shockingly bad! But if I had had them myself they would probably have been worse! There!" Just afterwards that same young Master was ill—terribly ill—

with rheumatic fever. It was the time of one of the epidemics of scarlet fever, and Bradley was completely worn out. Yet no day passed without his coming to that Master's room and chatting as he leant against the foot of the old wooden bedstead, in which position he often fell asleep from sheer exhaustion.

He was extremely strict with the Masters in spite of the sympathy and kindness he showed them. He was, for instance, so greatly opposed to their smoking anywhere or at any time that practically none of them did so. Then, again, he could not tolerate their wearing light coats even outside the school premises, but in school or hall or chapel he let it be understood that they were never to be worn. And yet with all his strictness his Masters loved him. He was so completely sympathetic. He seemed to bear the needs of each one in his mind. If he met a Master in the court he would say in his cheery way, "Well, how's the form? How are those stupid fellows So-and-so and So-and-so (mentioning the boys' names) doing?" just as if he had had that particular form in his mind and had reviewed it only the day before. To the Masters he was, in fact, just what he was to the boys, a continually inspiring influence towards activity, a terror to the idle and incompetent, but an absolutely fair and even sympathetic judge when he saw that real effort was being made. In the words of an old Master, "he hated all slackness in our work, and could tell pretty well by his review whether a man had done his best by his form. He spoke out his mind very freely in his report in the red book. We masters

all loved him, and it was a real pleasure working under him. You could not help doing your work to the utmost with such an example of hard work constantly before you. If a man did his duty there was no reason to fear him, however badly your fellows might do when up to him."

And now to turn to Mr. Thompson for further light upon this subject. He introduces it by speaking of the reviews of the various forms by Bradley. "Here," he says, "he was a veritable master, for he knew exactly what he wanted, and helped his assistants to produce the desired result. He was a perfect rabbi in *vivâ voce* work, that rare but most valuable Socratic art which is so inexplicably neglected. But it must not be supposed for a moment that he was satisfied with mere 'grind.' He required sound, thorough knowledge throughout the form, but it had to be intelligent knowledge, relieved and lit up, if possible, by illustrations, quotations, and parallels. Boys in the forms below the Sixth, especially the lower forms, unquestionably dreaded the ordeal, for they 'got it hot' if they were ignorant, dull, uninterested, or ill-mannered. Masters, too, knew that they must do their best. I have seen it said that his junior and probably all his Masters feared Bradley. Feared him! No: that is not the word. We knew that we must do our best, and that, if we did not, he would tell us plainly of our faults. But he would take any amount of pains to show us how to remedy them, and would encourage us at the first signs of willingness. How well I remember the first review of my form! 'This form did far from well,' was the

initial sentence of his written report. I was young, raw, not up to the 'tricks of the trade.' Bradley suggested a walk, in the course of which he pointed out wherein the faults consisted, and told me how to cure them. When the next half came and the report commenced in a different strain I was proud indeed—never prouder in my life before or since. On my first joining he asked me to go for a walk, and taught me the whole duty of a schoolmaster in a few pithy words: 'I don't want a man who will just give an hour's lesson and then go off with his hands in his pocket whistling an air as if he had no more to do with his boys.' Better this than a library of tractates on education. . . .

"He was the warmest of friends and the wisest of counsellors. One could, as I did, go to him, open up troubles and difficulties, and at once receive wise counsels and true sympathy. . . . More than once I came across him with a party in Switzerland. I took to Alpine climbing, and on one occasion, after an expedition, joined my father and mother, who were staying in the same hotel as Bradley, who had at once won their hearts. Next morning I was off early. 'Don't let him break his neck,' he said to my mother; 'we can't spare him; take care of him.' With this sort of touch he would attach you to himself.

"Surely this system was as near perfection as possible. But what knowledge of men, what tact, what courage it showed! Some of the masters were his own age or older, many were distinguished scholars, yet this keen, strenuous little man never hesitated to do what he felt to be his duty. He

was the Master of Marlborough, and that meant Master of Marlborough Masters as well as of Marlborough boys. The influence he had upon both boys and Masters may be summed up best in the words of his friend Dean Stanley, who, speaking at Marlborough soon after Bradley had become Master of University College, Oxford, said: 'If I were asked to name what most I learned from him—and there I speak not even as his pupil, but only as his tutor—I should say it is the sense of constant, stimulating, provoking, advancing pressure which he put on me and on all who had anything to do with him, whether in the performance of the duties of life or the studies in which they were engaged; that stimulated effort of constantly probing things to the bottom, that exactness of scholarship, that exactness of historical information, that discontent with anything vague or imperfect—that it is which I feel that we all have experienced if we have any knowledge of the Master of University.'"

Splendid words! which will be endorsed by all Marlburians of his day. But they will want to add that there were other things as well: that no one could sympathise as Bradley could, that no one could cheer in sickness or comfort in sorrow like Bradley. A boy's mother died. Bradley sent for him to his study and poured out his heart on the relationship between mother and son, telling him of his love for his own mother and his sorrow at her death—reviving his own grief that he might the better assuage the boy's. Dean Stanley, intimate friend as he was, touched one side only of the influence of Marlborough's greatest Master.

Having just referred to one of Bradley's greatest friends, this will be a fitting place to refer to another—Lord Tennyson—who was a frequent visitor at the Lodge. Mrs. Bradley's hospitality to both Masters and boys did much to sweeten the life at Marlborough, and some of the former would revel in the opportunity of meeting the philosopher-poet, and hearing him read "The Northern Farmer," or some other passages of his own or other poetry, in deep-chested, deliberate tones. He had strong theories about most things, and especially about reading, which he declared should be slow and measured. Turning to his host he once said, "Now you, Bradley, are a lively little man: I have no sort of doubt that you spoil your reading by being quick and jerky." This was, however, far from being the case. One of his daughters (Mrs. Woods) says: "It was a red-letter day when he read us poetry. He had a fine deep voice and a keen sense of rhythm and verbal music, but little idea of modulation or dramatic expression, so that his reading was a kind of chant, dull, monotonous, but conveying to the ear the true melody of lyric verse." Mr. Thompson, a frequent guest at the Lodge, declares that, "As in sermons so in his reading, the mercurial, restless element was in abeyance. Bradley was a beautiful reader, measured, musical, full of genuine sentiment without affectation." So that Tennyson's idea of what Bradley's reading would be like was far from the reality.

The Masters who were invited to meet the Poet Laureate sometimes had the great man to themselves. Bradley was not strong, and could not sit

up late. Besides, did not Tennyson light a long "churchwarden" and fill the room with fumes of the hateful weed? So that when midnight struck the poet would often be found discoursing a little group of Masters, who would lead him on to talk on his favourite subjects long after their host had gone to bed. The attempt, however, sometimes failed. Strauss' last edition of *Leben Jesu* had just been published, and Mr. Thompson remembers trying to draw the poet by saying, "Do you see that Strauss has abandoned his belief in the immortality of the soul?" But this was too much for him. "Big fool!" was all he deigned to growl, and withdrew into a cloud of smoke.

Other great friends were Dr. Temple, then Headmaster of Rugby, and the late Lord Lawrence. It is characteristic of Bradley's wide sympathies that these four—Dean Stanley, Lord Tennyson, Dr. Temple, and Lord Lawrence—should have been among his closest friends and most frequent guests. Two of them (Lord Tennyson and Lord Lawrence) had sons at the school. The story is well known of how when the former was asked why he sent his son to Marlborough, he replied, "I didn't. I sent him to Bradley."

As to outdoor recreations, Bradley indulged in three. His riding has been already described. Another great hobby was the breeding and flying of pigeons—the Belgian *pigeon voyageur*. This taste he had had from boyhood, and when Master of Marlborough he possessed a large number of these birds. No visitor leaving the lodge or Master going off for a couple of days' leave of absence was

likely to depart without a basket of pigeons to be liberated at Didcot or Reading, or even sometimes at Exeter. Mrs. Woods writes: "It was only little by little that these birds would be trained to fly such distances, and my father always believed them to be entirely guided by sight. In the course of the long drives which we used to take in the interesting country round Marlborough a basket of pigeons was sure to make its appearance from under the seat of the carriage, and half a dozen blue-grey birds would spring from it to a great height in the air, circle for a few minutes as though scanning the horizon, and then dart off in the direction of home."

Bradley's other outdoor recreation was watching the school games, in which he took the keenest interest. "There was seldom a cricket or football match but he was on the ground watching," writes Canon Bell, surely a good enough authority, for is he not one and the same as the Henry Bell whose lobs caused the downfall of many a wicket forty years ago?

Several good stories are rife concerning Bradley as a spectator of cricket or football. Here are two of them—both on the authority of Mr. Thompson. The Cheltenham match was being played at Marlborough, and the home side were in. Bradley was watching a big fellow knocking up a tremendous score, when he turned to his neighbour and said, "Look at him! Just the fellow to score—full-blooded with no imagination!"

The next story must be told in Mr. Thompson's own words. It runs thus: "Here let me tell a story

for which I alone am responsible, but which I have no hesitation in saying is spoilt in the form in which it appears in the *History of Marlborough*. Clifton, then a school some five or six years old, came over to play us at football. They had a good team for so new a school, but our team was remarkably powerful. Soon after the game was started, 'Hack him over! Hack him over!' was heard from the Clifton side. Marlborough did not allow the hacking game, and was taken by surprise. Blood waxed warm. I was standing by Bradley's side when the Marlborough captain, a splendid player and a fine fellow, came running up to him out of the game exclaiming breathlessly, 'I think we'd better stop the game, sir; there'll be a fight.' 'Nonsense, Boyle, nonsense!' exclaimed G. G. B. in a moment, 'Go back; lick 'em first and talk afterwards: they'll say you funked 'em—funked 'em!' These words, as below the dignity of a Headmaster and a Dean of Westminster, are softened down by the historian. I restore the original reading, for it shows how entirely Bradley understood the boys, because he had the heart of a boy, which accounts for the belief they had in him."

This story helps to show what a thorough sportsman Bradley was, and how he in this way, too, endeared himself to the boys. In the restricted use of the term it may, however, be said that he was no sportsman at all. There is no record of his hunting, or shooting, or fishing, though, by his own showing, he once killed a fish. Seeing one of the masters going out with his rod to try for the wily Kennett trout, Bradley stopped him and said, "I

once killed a fish—not perhaps in the recognised manner. I shot it!”

During the greater part of Bradley's headmaster-ship the school had the advantage it enjoys to this day of having Mr. W. S. Bambridge as organist and music and singing master. It was well that such things fell into hands so capable, for it must be confessed that Bradley neither knew nor cared very much about music. On one occasion Mr. Bambridge was late for chapel, and the organ was played in his absence by one of the boys. The organist made an early call at the lodge to apologise, but found that Bradley had been completely unconscious of his absence, or of the fact that a very inferior performer had taken his place! On another occasion, when Mr. Bambridge was in the drawing-room, Bradley said, “You didn't know I could play, did you?” and promptly sat down at the piano and rendered “Billy Taylor was a nice young fellow” with one finger and no undue number of mistakes!

Nothing has so far been said about the floggings which took place at Marlborough under Bradley. They were not numerous, and were confined to perpetrators of moral offences. The executions took place in the lavatory at the bottom of the house which had been the old coaching inn on the Bath road. This lavatory was below the level of the ground, and was reached by a flight of stone steps. The only witness to the scenes here enacted was Voss, the porter, but there is no reason to doubt the evidence of some who underwent the ordeal and who gave their friends to understand

that, like everything Bradley did, the process was thorough. It was said that he would stand at the top of the steps till the boy was duly prepared, and then running rapidly down administered the first swish as he got to the bottom, occasionally making some more or less stinging remark as, when flogging for drunkenness, he burst out with the words: "You made a beast of yourself like a Red Indian!"

But to turn to pleasanter subjects, there is one more point about Bradley's headmastership that requires notice. If an ordinary Marlburian of the sixties were asked what religious effect Bradley had upon him, he would probably answer off-hand, "Not much." But on thinking the matter over he would probably come to a different conclusion. Bradley was a great inspirer of some of the highest Christian virtues. To come in contact with him and to listen to him was to be impressed with a sense of the value of truth and honour, and the meaning of duty and responsibility. Do your duty, do it quickly, and don't make a fuss about it, was the sort of teaching of his own life and example. And then there were his sermons almost every Sunday in the chapel. The quickness and sharpness were entirely laid aside. The words he spoke were full of feeling, quiet, scholarly, and easily understood. A big boy, not by any means a model of excellence, but a good chap on the whole, once said to his house-master, "I can't understand any fellow going on being bad when he listens to the Master every week in chapel." Another, many years afterwards, liked to go to

I had intended & ~~intended~~ ^{intended} the whole
 It had been my intention to close the year, my
 last, in ~~some~~ silence. The call to undertake other duties
 had come upon me with exceeding suddenness, & the
 pang of quitting friends & scenes & duties which had
 become every year increasingly sacred was so keen
 that I shrank & shrink from any other farewell
 than that which was implied in this morning's service
 Yet ~~on this thought~~ ^{and at a time} it seems not to be silent in
 a place where I am in some way bound to speak not
 aware of too great indulgence of feelings but however
 natural we have their limit
^{very hard}

Yet it is hard to choose a topic at such a
 time - hard to fix my own thoughts, ^{hard also} & try to connect
 yours also, on any one text or scene of Scripture when
^{voluntarily} in the midst of work & care & sorrow one after another
^{natural grief} seem born in on the soul with each its own note
 of solemn warning or rebuke or comfort.

Shall I say you an acc^t of King Stewardship?

service at Westminster Abbey and shut his eyes, that he might hear the well-remembered voice and imagine himself once more in the old school chapel with Bradley speaking from his heart to his five hundred boys.

It is difficult for an old Marlburian to know when to lay his pen aside. He sees his old Headmaster so vividly in many circumstances which mean much to him, but would fail to interest a reader. His hope is that he has shown Bradley to have been a man full of inspiration and untiring energy, which he contrived to impart to the school, with the result that he was, as Sir Courtenay Ilbert says, "by universal consent recognised as the greatest schoolmaster of his time."

Among the many famous men whom Marlborough turned out in these years 1858 to 1870 mention must be made of the following:—

Sir Courtenay P. Ilbert, K.C.S.I., C.I.E, Hertford Scholar, Ireland Scholar, and afterwards President of the Council of the Governor-General of India.

Sir R. H. Collins, K.C.B., Comptroller to the Household of H.R.H. the Duchess of Albany.

Very Rev. R. M. Blakiston, Dean of Bocking.

Alfred Robinson, first in Mods., double first in Greats, Fellow of New College.

Colonel C. Wyndham Murray, M.P. for Bath, Gentleman-at-Arms to the late Queen. Saw much service.

Owen Ilbert, Scholar of Corpus, Oxford, Headmaster of Crediton.

William Henry Simcox, Scholar of Balliol, first in Mods. and Greats, proxime accessit Ireland Scholar, Gaisford Prizeman, Craven Scholar, Denyer Johnson Theological Scholar, Chancellor's Prizeman for English Essay, and Arnold Historical Essay Prizeman.

Walter Lock, D.D., Warden of Keble, Ireland Professor of Exegesis.

Canon Hervey, Rector of Sandringham.

General Sir R. C. Hart, V.C., K.C.B.

Sir Clement Hill, K.C.M.G., of Foreign Office fame.

Very Rev. W. M. Furneaux, Dean of Winchester, late Headmaster of Repton.

F. Paravicini, Scholar and Fellow of Balliol, Hertford Scholar, Gaisford Prizeman, etc.

T. L. Papillon, Scholar of Balliol, Chancellor's Prizeman, Fellow of New College.

Colonel H. H. Mathias, C.B., A.D.C. to H.M. the King.

S. H. Butcher, Bell Scholar and Chancellor's Medallist, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and of University College, Oxford, Professor of Greek in Edinburgh University.

J. G. Butcher, K.C., M.P., Bell Scholar, First Class Classical Tripos and Eighth Wrangler, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; M.P. for York.

Falconer Madan, Scholar and Fellow of B.N.C., Oxford, Sub-librarian of the Bodleian, etc.

R. E. Prothero, Fellow of All Souls, Manager of the Bedford Estates.

The Right Rev. Bishop Hornby, lately of Nyassaland.

E. Matthew Hale, distinguished artist.

Percy Macquoid, distinguished artist.

Adam Sedgwick, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, University Reader on Morphology.

C. L. Graves, author of *The Hawarden Horace*, etc.

Sir James Bourdillon and Sir E. C. K. Ollivant, both of the E.I.C.S.

W. Warde Fowler, Sub-Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford.

F. S. Copleston, Chief Judge of the High Court of Lower Burma.

F. H. Bradley, the noted Oxford metaphysician.

After he left Marlborough a memorial hall was erected by his old friends and pupils, and goes by the name of the Bradleian. It is used as a room

in which all scholars (foundation or open) may sit so long as they are not sufficiently high in the school to have studies of their own.

Over one of the fireplaces the following inscription is carved :—

“ In Honorem
Georgii Granville Bradley, M.A., LL.D. ;
Coll : Univ : apud Oxon : magistri
Qui huic Collegio Præpositus
Adjutores exemplo, præceptis pueros, moribus omnes,
Ita instituit, ut per XIII annos nullum
Usquam Collegium feliciore fama floruerit,
Hanc aulam exstruendam curaverunt
Discipuli, Collegæ, Amici.”

At the end of 1870 the mastership of University College, Oxford, fell vacant, and Bradley was obviously a possible occupant of the position. But he was a comparatively young man, and had not been more than twelve years at Marlborough, where it was earnestly hoped that he would remain, at all events, for a few years longer. But the twelve years were not the twelve of an ordinary master. On every day, and almost every hour of those years, he had spent himself for the school he had learnt to love. His strenuous nature and extraordinary activity had allowed him no rest. During the latter years, too, the strain and anxiety of the epidemics of scarlet fever had told heavily upon him ; so that when the offer came of the mastership of his old college he thought it best to go, and the years of Marlborough's greatest and most brilliant period came to an end.

At Oxford he was in many respects the same

man as he had shown himself to be at Marlborough. The *Oxford Magazine*, in an obituary notice, recalls his "slight figure, ready and friendly smile, and sparkling glance." But he was too great a Headmaster to be really a great head of a house at Oxford. There is no doubt that at first he treated the undergraduates too much like schoolboys. His tongue could still lash, and nothing irritated the "men" more. Just one example may be given: he one day sent for an undergraduate, whose batells had been very high—*i.e.* whose bill for meals, etc., at the college was excessive—and on the man appearing, Bradley apostrophised him thus: "I only sent for you, sir, to tell you that you are the typical glutton of the college!"—a remark remembered with indignation to this day.

But very soon he learnt his mistake, and won his position in the warm regard of the undergraduates by his affectionate sympathy, especially in times of difficulty and trouble, by his secret liberalities and by the variety of interests which made him ever a charming companion; in fact, he so far won them to friendliness towards himself that he was largely instrumental in promoting a better state of feeling between the undergraduates and dons of the college who had been for some time at loggerheads.

As may well be imagined, he was not content to be a merely ornamental master. He was one of the first heads of houses to take an active part in the management of college affairs, and "took an eager share in the instruction of the men." He was recognised as the greatest authority in Oxford on the work and management of public schools,

and was invariably consulted as to all important appointments connected with them. He was also (in 1880) placed upon the Oxford University Commission.

In 1881 he was given a canonry of Worcester, and later in the same year he was appointed Dean of Westminster in succession to his old friend Dean Stanley. Writing to Canon Norris, of Witney (whom in remembrance of Rugby days he calls "young Norris"!), on September 8th, 1881, he alludes to the new work which had come to him and to the predecessor whose place he was to try to fill. "I cannot," he says, "feel very hopeful about myself and Westminster; but at least I shall try very quietly and humbly to do what I can with God's help. . . . I shall take an early opportunity of visiting St. Paul's. There is plenty of work for both to do. There is no one living whose death would have touched the heart of London roughs as A. P. S.'s did, and he who can touch the hearts of publicans and harlots as well as of great men leaves behind him a sacred memory."

Of his work as Dean of Westminster this is not the place to speak at any length. Two or three points only must be mentioned.

First of all, he was of great assistance to the Chapter of Westminster in getting their affairs into a better financial condition. When he went there he was told he would find "a ruined fabric and a bankrupt Chapter." The depreciation of agricultural property was the primary cause of this condition of things in the Chapter, and it was a fact that parts of the Abbey were in an almost dangerous

condition. The first years of the new Dean were devoted to strenuous labours, by which he finally succeeded in getting an Act of Parliament passed enabling the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to meet immediately pressing needs and to provide a fixed income for members of the Chapter.

Secondly, he gave much attention to the monuments in the Abbey. He guarded them jealously, and with his two daughters (Mrs. Birchenough and Mrs. Murray Smith) brought out an admirable guide to all that, to use his own words, "gives to the Abbey its unequalled historic interest in the eyes of all who speak our language."

He added further to the diffusion of this knowledge by giving frequent lectures to visitors, and especially delighted in taking parties of working men round the Abbey on Saturday afternoons.

His lectures from the pulpit of the choir on weekdays, in the course of which he expounded continuously books of the Bible, were of great value, and he was extremely urgent that when his own strength failed these should be continued by his younger and stronger colleagues.

It is impossible to do better in conclusion than to quote the words of the present Dean, who writes :—

"Unlike as he was to his famous predecessor, Stanley, he cherished his memory with the most faithful affection. While Stanley was a conspicuous public man, and entered with zest into great ecclesiastical controversies, Bradley vied with him in his intense love for the Abbey and in his desire to interest all English-speaking people in this sacred shrine of their race. He was essentially

a "home Dean," and the Abbey gained much by his concentration upon its domestic affairs. He was even in extreme old age not at all averse to change, if he thought that it offered a hope of larger usefulness and served to keep the Church moving with the times. It is seldom that an old man shows so much genuine sympathy with the projects of his juniors and is so anxious, as he always was, to promote their schemes. A peculiarly generous and lovable spirit seemed to shine out from his venerable and beautiful face; and he has left us a precious legacy of sober enthusiasm and harmonious activity."

In 1902 Dr. Bradley resigned the deanery, owing to failing powers, and in March, 1903, he gained his rest.

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