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# The British Public School and the Imperial Mentality:

# A Reflection of Empire at U.C.C.

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**Abstract**

The focus of this work is on how the educational elements that made up the institution called the British public school developed to form an "imperial mentality" among its students and how these elements were transported, albeit with some modification, to the periphery of Empire. The existence of a broad and varied curriculum worked to form an imperial mentality that supported the aims of the British Empire from the mid-eighteenth century through the First World War. The use of a case study featuring Upper Canada College, one of the oldest Canadian "public" schools, further illuminates the influence and legacy of the public school model. Throughout the research, references to Upper Canada College will serve to focus the attention of the reader to the manner in which the British public school shaped the curriculum and the ethos of the College.

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## I. Introduction

The British Empire succeeded in subjugating and controlling colonies in every corner of the globe for the profit and the glory that imperial benevolence allowed for. To maintain hegemony over its subjects, both white and non-white, the British elites used social and political regulation to achieve its goals. Education became an important institution to serve the expanding needs of State and provided a regulating mechanism. The use of education to expand and maintain the Empire has been less than significant historically in the discussion of British Imperialism.

I am not focusing on the economic machinations or the psychological relations of colonialism on the colony or the colonized, but rather on the development of 'Imperial' mentalities among the colonizer. I speak of a mentality that projected cultural supremacy, exhibited self-confidence, strove for dominance and sought with a religious zeal to convert through leadership and order. These qualities were cultivated in the British public school through its leadership, school organization and curriculum. This thesis explores the degree and depth that education played in the interests of the British Empire and its far reaching influence.

Historians have looked to economic and political explanations for British imperialism, yet, the role of educational institutions in informing this debate have been neglected. Public school contributions to imperial service have been acknowledged and well documented however, the research has fallen short in exploring what the public school student learned and how they learned it (Thornton 1959 and 1966). The British public school has not only significantly shaped the economic, political, social and cultural fabric domestically, it has also served as an highly effective model for countries on the periphery.

Because of their historical prominence and influence, my exploration of British imperial education is limited to the all-male bastions of elitism called public schools. The case I will make is for the existence of a broad and varied curriculum as well as formal and informal organization that worked to form an imperial mentality that supported the aims of the Empire from the mid-

eighteenth century through the First World War. More specifically, I will argue that the following features inculcated the prevailing ethos: the role of the headmaster, the Classical curriculum, juvenile literature, prefect system, cult of athletics, living conditions, student participation in cadet corps.

To further illuminate the influence and legacy of the public school model, I will use a case study featuring Upper Canada College, one of the oldest Canadian "public" schools. It is through exploring the institutions of the British public school that gives context to the institutional development of Upper Canada College as an extension of Empire.

The importance of this research lies in what schools do. Schools provide a nation's ideology and common training. This inquiry will also seek to explain the public school's role in the control of knowledge, education's role as a social stratifying agent and how power structures shape educational policy. These questions, or rather threads weave into a greater question, the role of educational institutions in the expansion and maintenance of Empire.

The focus of this work is on the educational. I will show how the educational elements that made up the institution called the British public school developed to meet the particular circumstances of their country and how they were transported, albeit with some modification, to another country where social, economic and political circumstances were different. Throughout the analysis of the first section I will provide a conceptual road map through references to Upper Canada College. These sign posts will serve to focus the attention of the reader to the manner in which the British public school shaped the curriculum and the ethos of the College.

**My Location in the Work**

After reading Memmi (1967), Said (1988) and (1993), Fanon (1966) and Friere (1972), I became familiar with the criticism of colonialism from the perspectives of the colonized. The genesis for my interest in this subject is the result of reading the above mentioned writers. Their point of view is a radical departure from the more conservative and historical approach taken in past treatment of this subject. Criticism of past research concentrates on the limitations of scholarship described as representing almost exclusively the view of the dominant European culture. With victory and dominance go the writing of history. Writers presenting the views of the colonized have attempted to give voice to the otherwise silent or silenced majority. The knowledge generated from this bottom-up perspective has deeply enriched the discourse and our knowledge on the relationship between conquered and conqueror.

Their views are steeped in Marxism and polemic in nature. I had difficulty with their guiding philosophies but I was sympathetic to many of their claims and grievances. The focus of much of their research is on the negative aspects of colonialism and its legacy. I neither condone the Marxist perspective against which all things colonial, Western and British are corrupt nor am I an apologist for the extremes and excesses of colonialism. My common sense or 'realist' approach to this subject I hope will cut through the Imperial jingoism, dispel the fog of contemporary political correctness and avoid the quagmire of post-imperial guilt.

As a counter balance to the above-mentioned perspective, I have looked to the historical analysis and criticisms by Feuer (1986), Belhoff (1996), Porter (1996), James (1992) and Berghoff (1990). The attempt is to move beyond blame. The public school system and its subsequent incantations throughout the Empire were not predicated on maliciousness. There is a growing body of research that has catalogued the various impacts educational colonization has had on the colonized. My interest is bringing the same critical approach to the pedagogy of the colonizer. The training the public school boy underwent was as virile and complete as their colonial counterparts.

On another level, my interest in the subject of private education is more than the historical intrigue. Having attended private schools and taught in private schools in the United States, I have often wondered why schools do what they do. This thesis, although not its focus, is for me a personal exploration to answer some of the questions I had as a student and teacher, to understand the origins of the curriculum I was subjected to, the reliance on rituals, the stripped down Christian feel to daily events and the fixation on athletic accomplishment. The British public school effected my education and inspired some of my teachers to take up the language, pedagogy and the challenge of Thomas Arnold to produce a manly, Christian gentleman. What is significant is how a system of education, the product of decades of evolution, has crossed cultures and time to influence my life chances.

## II. Creating an Imperial Education

### Imperial Education

Imperial education took place inside as well as outside the gates and walls of Winchester, Eton and Harrow. Public school students learned the ethos of the time through music, literature, newspapers, and organizations like the Boy Scouts. It is fair to describe Victorian and Edwardian cultures as having been fixated on the development of attitudes necessary to promulgate the imperial ethos. It is *sine qua non* to understand the origins of imperialism and its covert and overt racism to challenge and redirect its legacy. According to Albert Memmi in *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (1967):

> Having chosen to maintain the colonial system, he (i. e. the colonizer) must contribute more vigor to its defense than would have been needed to dissolve it completely. Having become aware of the unjust relationship which ties him to the colonized, he must continually attempt to absolve himself. He never forgets to make a public show of his own virtues, and will argue with vehemence to appear heroic and great. At the same time his privileges arise just as much from his glory as from degrading the colonized. He will persist in degrading them, using the darkest of colors to depict them. If need be, he will act to devalue them, annihilate them. But he can never escape from the circle. The distance which colonization places between him and the colonized must be accounted for and, to justify himself, he increases this distance still further by placing the two figures irretrievably in opposition; his glorious position and the despicable one of the colonized. (54-55, brackets added)

Memmi (1967) goes on to say, "... it is not just a case of intellectualizing but the choice of an entire way of life" (55). The Victorian and Edwardian systems of education were a bourgeois way of life; an imperial way of life that sought to insure the existence and continuation of the Empire. "The mechanism is practically constant. The colonial situation (as existed in England's elite and non-elite schools) manufactures colonialists, just as it manufactures the colonized" (Memmi 1967, 56, brackets added). The development of an imperial mentality among children of the middle classes was the result of

overt methods, as well as subtle and perhaps unintentional but effective means which still affect the former colonized and colonizer today.

The education of the colonizer complements the education of the colonized. If the education of the colonized consisted of learning servitude and self-loathing, the education the colonialist learned in public school instilled the opposing beliefs of moral superiority and benevolence. It is through education that distance between the colonizing power and the colonized can be accounted for, it is through education and the shaping of it in the image of those colonized that will cut this distance.

**A Definition of 'Public' Schools**

The term "public" as it is used in this paper refers to what in North America would be described as private education, education that requires a fee to be paid and is marked by autonomy from government. The use of public to designate elite, private education has been attributed to the educational benefits to the general public of such a system that produced clergymen, civil servants, judges and generals. The term came into fashionable use during the second half of the nineteenth-century. "In its loose sense, the term was widely and indiscriminately applied for much of the nineteenth-century" (Simon-Bradley 1975, 23).

There existed elite schools that prepared its all-male populations for the duties demanded of their class. Many of these institutions were established centuries ago to also educate boys for the clerical ranks and to educate the poor (e.g., Charterhouse, Winchester). Just who defines which schools are public is left to the social conventions of the elite. The Clarendon Commission (1864) was formed in 1860 to investigate charges of fiscal corruption in several leading public schools, particularly Eton. The Commission sampled what they believed were the top institutions. The selection of the eight schools by the Clarendon Commission lead to the affirmation that these schools were distinctive.

The public schools "proper" according to Headmaster Norwood (1928) consisted of seven original schools: Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Westminster,

Rugby, Charterhouse and Shrewsbury. Outstanding day schools usually included in the elite set are: St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', King Edward's, Birmingham, Manchester, Bristol and Bedford. These schools were more similar than they were dissimilar. Even so, schools "were not always willing to recognize each other as being public schools" (Simon-Bradley 1975, 24). Perhaps this is the result of elites engaging in snobbery or petty jealousies. Shrewsbury was one such school that was not always recognized by its peers.

It has been suggested that a cleaner definition of a public school to be any school that is "like Rugby." Norwood continued to define the public school as one distinguished by its training in the Classics (Latin and Greek), independence to direct its own policy, in charge of students until they are eighteen or nineteen, have direct and developed relationship with "Oxbridge." A public school also could be identified as a school organized into Houses, employs upper form boys in leadership roles and self-government, values the educational qualities of games, fosters a spirit of service, has a Christian orientation and graduates students to University. Headmaster Thring of Uppingham maintained that these schools allow for innovation, experimentation, freedom from the ignorance of the community as judge and the skilled teacher from the "ignorant official" (Norwood 1928, 29).

After 1840 the use of "public school" became equated with the elite and ancient foundations because of their perceived and actual leadership training and role in the governance of society (Reid 1987, 297). Public schools elicit strong feelings of both hostility and loyalty. These types of schools have been the domain of the well-to-do, an exclusivity that has come at the expense of interaction with the rest of society. The exclusivity has fostered privilege that has developed into social elitism. This social/educational phenomenon was not isolated to schools in the heartland but also occurred in the periphery of the Empire.

The private schools of Canada (e.g., U.C.C.) were at the center of leadership training and in maintaining social order. Families that took advantage of this education might have had first-hand experience with British public school but certainly they understood the advantages that the education could provide. As humble as U.C.C.'s roots were, like the top public schools, it grew into an institution for the training of elites and thus the target of social criticism.

**What was the Mentality/Ethos**

The mentality or ethos communicated through the public school was a mentality that championed the virtue of a strong body, "godliness and good learning." The public school system favored conformity to a stereotype, fostered the subordination of the self in favor of the greater good (Simon & Bradley 1975, 5). The 'stiff upper lip' (a part of the manliness ethos), the showing of emotions– temper and crying– would not according to Newsome (1961) be good for an Empire builder to show. The sublimation of self to the greater body was an important component to this mentality. To stand out from your peers was discouraged. Modesty was a cardinal virtue. "Modesty, the denying or understating of achievement, the concealment of feeling is not the results of English hypocrisies but developments evolved at public schools in the interest of general peace" (Gathorne-Hardy 1977, 108). Strong feelings are contagious and must therefore be suppressed.

It was one form of paternalism that easily lead to the paternalism found in the colonies. It was an elitist mentality. The formation of 'character' was in many ways the paramount aim of public school education. In the Colonial Office the force of example was valued over physical force. This mentality or ethos was like (Parker 1987) a complex piece of music, a symphony in which the various elements overlap, combine and reinforce one another. Although the instruments and the interpretations varied, this symphony would be heard around the Empire in places like Upper Canada College.

"Many of the ideals they [i. e. the public schools] aimed at, the qualities they worked to instill in their words -- notions of service, feelings of superiority, habits of authority– were derived from, and consequently depended upon, the existence of Empire: of colonial subjects to serve, feel superior to and exert authority over" (Mangan 1986a, 8, brackets added). To this extent the upper and middle classes and the schools that nurtured their educational needs, had a vested interest in the Empire.

> The tribal experiences undergone by boys at public schools resulted in the emergence of a pattern of behavior and attitude, an ethos that

> seemed applicable to the world beyond the school gates and which was shared by former pupils however far they might disperse after the end of their final term. The rituals, the argot, the songs and anthems, and the uniform reinforced this sense of solidarity, and are characteristic of sections of the community that have been set apart from the majority. (Parker 1987, 43)

This mentality also encouraged deeper psychological issues among its students. I speak of the youthful fixations of narcissism and fatalism encouraged by the poetry, mythology and literature of the day. These mentalities were popularized by the works of Lewis Carroll, J.M. Barrie, Rupert Brooke and A.E. Housman. These writers captured the views that "to have reached thirty was to have failed" and celebrated the boy who never grew up. Cyril Connolly theorized that the state of permanent adolescence that the public school boys experienced was so "intense as to dominate their lives and to arrest their development" (Enemies 235, 239). The golden days of youth were viewed by many as the apogee of their accomplishments. *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* became a motto that represented a generation lost in the First World War.

The art-work of Burne-Jones, the writings of Ruskin, Lord Tennyson and Sir Walter Scott captured the chivalric notions of the time. There was a rich romanticism of Victorian England that had mesmerizing powers. It was a sentiment created by males and manipulated by adults. The merger of the heroic and poetic was thought to make a nation great. Medieval styled architecture, chivalric codes of conduct, heraldry all worked to create this aura. The historical and the romantic merged to form the romantic mystique. Headmasters venerated the former school boy turned hero/martyr in battle. Headmaster Skrine of Glenalmond put forward the idea that the public schools were modeled after medieval court life (Parker 1987, 104) in their training in the warrior arts and in the codes of conduct, 'fagging' can be drawn back to historical roots in medieval England. This romanticizing of history was embraced by Headmasters Norwood of Harrow and Thring of Uppingham as well as others.

Sacrifice of the self was an important aspect of the public school mentality and was deeply embedded in the imperial ethos. When a boy went off to school he

gave up relationships with his siblings, nanny, mother and father, women in general and the comforts of home life. The school became all of those things. Boys subordinated themselves to their house, fagmaster, prefect and athletic teams. The model for their sacrifice hails from the religious lessons hammered out of the school chapel pulpit about the life of Christ and on the playing fields.

The ethos or mentality that developed from these public schools should come as no surprise. What complete, insular institution has not been able with ease to instill in its captive audience its goals and ideals? What is special about this system is in the strength of the mentality, its longevity and influence as a model to those it controlled at home and those in the colonies that they sought to control. The dark side to this system of education was that it has taught racism, replicated and created various stereotypes, and fostered ethnocentrism of the most repellent form through casting the relationship between Empire and colony in terms of civilized and uncivilized.

The lessons learned by the public school student were also learned by the graduates of schools modeled in their image. Upper Canada College, as I will discuss later, was an institution that instilled similar notions of service to Empire and world view through the adoption of the British public school model. The institutions of the public school carried the seeds of the imperial mentality. Lessons that otherwise would have been difficult to replicate because of the degree and age these lessons were communicated. Graduates from the college like others in the periphery of Empire responded to the same challenges to defend and expand the Empire that their British cousins faced. These lessons were learned in the classroom, in the dormitory and on the playing fields.

The lessons learned in the public school were to be introduced throughout the Empire by public school "Old Boys." The legacy of the British educational system is a source of great anguish for those in charge of policy development in former colonized countries where its powerful components are still entrenched. "The rich symbolism of schooldays prepared colonial administrators for staging the Imperial drama. The British rulers recreated their adolescent triumphs, to the discomfort of their helpless subjects" (Rich 1989, 13).

**Imperialism and the Anti-Imperialist**

From the end of the last century, the use of the term imperialism has fallen into disrepute. According to Milner in 1913, no term has been more completely misunderstood than imperialism owing to some of its associations (xxxii). It is a term full of meaning, most of which represents the most base of intentions of the colonial (Nimocks 1968). Imperialism has become regarded according to Gann (1987) "as an unmitigated evil, apt to engender almost all the ills known to mankind-- pride, war-mongering, economic exploitation, psychological degradation of colonial subjects, and even 'underdevelopment' in the Third World" (145).

Imperialism as identified by Milner had been unfairly maligned as a political doctrine as being "something tawdry and superficial" (1913, xxxii). It was a policy more sophisticated than what Cecil Rhodes described it as being "philanthropy plus five percent." For Milner (1913) it contained,

> all the depth and comprehensiveness of a religious faith. Its significance is moral even more than material. It is a mistake to think of it as principally concerned with extension of territory, with 'painting the map red.' ... It is not a question of a couple of hundred thousand square miles more or less. It is a question of preserving the unity of a great race, of enabling it, by maintaining that unity, to develop freely on its own lines, and to continue to fulfil [sic] its distinctive mission in the world.... For the British race has become responsible for the peace and order and the just and humane government of three to four hundred million people, who, differing as widely as possible from one another in other respects, are all alike in this, that, from whatever causes, they do not possess the gift of maintaining peace and order for themselves. Without our control their political condition would be one of chaos, as it was for centuries before that control was established. The *Pax Britannica* is essential to the maintenance of civilized conditions of existence among one-fifth of the human race. (xxxii-xxxiii)

Much of the literature on imperialism is cast with this definition in mind (Semmel 1993). The criticism of British Imperialism, colonial influences and the role of elites in the construction of Empire has overwhelmingly been defined by the anti-imperialist, drawing its grounding in Marxist philosophy (e.g., Lenin's 1910, *Imperialism*). So imperial history becomes anti-imperial history.

My definition of imperialism concerns its manifestation in the British public school lies within what Feuer (1986) describes as progressive and regressive imperialism. The use of "imperialism" needs to be clearly defined. Often there is confusion as to the type of imperialism. For Feuer there is a duality in the motives of the British imperialist. This duality characterizes the history of the major imperialist policy decisions. Was it economic or was it cultural or was it a blend of the two (Feuer 1986, 105)?

*Progressive imperialism*– elevates living standards and cultural life. It brings education, medicine and the arts to its "backward" areas. It establishes universal rule of law and security of person. Not all ventures are cruel but are often guided by Christian evangelism and notions at the time deemed as civilizing. *Regressive imperialism*– represents a perpetual exploitation or extermination of peoples whether less or more advanced; echelons of its military and civil services and government are permanently closed to the conquered peoples; restraints are enforced against their cultural and technical development, and their social and even physical existence may be eliminated by the imperialist force (Feuer 1986, 4). Imperialism I believe is not power immorally used. The failures of post-colonial governments, the abuses under socialism and non-Western involvement in the slave trade are considerations largely ignored in general discussion of the legacy of colonialism.

According to Bergson, imperialism is an inherent urge. Imperialism is at the bottom of the soul of individuals as well as the soul of peoples (Feuer 1986, 25). I am aware of the duality of conviction: that Empire fostered a sense of "superiority and racial arrogance, as well as a liberal and humanitarian sense of responsibility and mission, that strove to educate and improve alien societies seen as backward and often degenerate" (Porter 1996, 30). It is not a matter of simple aggression or pushing someone around. It is a creative motive to develop civilization, even a heroic conception of duty. I believe this is the 'imperial' instinct instilled in the public school youth primarily. According to Hans Kohn, "inequality in the level of civilization and civilizing energy is the very essence of imperialism" (Feuer 1986, 121).

By the 1880's an Imperialist Ideal had emerged, reflected by such influential books as Seeley's *The Expansion of England* (1895). "Imperialism became invigorated by an ardent patriotism and invested with a mysticism akin to that which shrouded the conceit of the English Gentleman" (Parker 1987, 54). Parker argues that this civilizing mission was a thin camouflage for what otherwise might have appeared entirely an exercise in self-interest. The expansion of Empire had more to do with the shaping of the public school than did Thomas Arnold's Rugby (Strachey 1918). The land grabs for the materials to drive expansion coupled with fierce expansion from Russia, Germany and France required a justification perhaps unique to nineteenth-century England and that was to dignify this participation in the ungentlemanly game of economic expansion through the guise of Christian altruism (Hopkins 1993).

"Imperialism's achievement was not in its imposition, but in its winning ready and lasting acceptance from the ruled. Its cultural hegemony was accepted long after its political side was denounced" (Rich 1989, 17). This accomplishment was in large part the result of image construction which placed culture into positive and negative attributes. Ashis Nandy writes that the colonialism as practiced by liberal and modernist "colonized the minds in addition to the bodies, released forces within the colonized societies that altered their cultural priorities forever" (cited in Mangan 1993, 6). This approach was used to colonize the minds and bodies of its own children.

Colonization of the minds of the colonizing power took place in the public schools. The needs of the Empire demanded a leadership that was more than favorable to the expansion of empire, it needed willing participants to grow and maintain it (Hyam 1993). The guiding philosophy needed to be deeply ingrained so as to avoid the damage that results from introspection. The public school played a critical role as a powerful extension of Empire-- the result of broad and specific educational, economic, social and political demands. These various forces came together to shape the public school into a highly prominent and influential institution.

## III. The Role of the British Public School and its Development

### Needs of an Expanding Empire and Nation

Middle-class prosperity, rapid industrialization and the expansion of imperial conquests were to influence the development of the public school in the second half of the nineteenth-century. The demands of the emerging middle-class led to a renaissance and a creation of new public schools in the 1840's and 1850's. From the 1850's on there was a gradual transformation of the old public schools as well as an expansion of schools modeled after these schools to meet the needs of the Empire and the emerging middle-class. The demands for greater access to educational opportunities was also found in the dominions which were experiencing similar economic prosperity. Emigration and economic growth accounted for the creation of schools modeled after the British public school (e.g., Canada's Upper Canada College and Ridley College).

Economic growth spurred on by the 1851 Corn Law repeal, dominance in industry, trade and finance (e.g., leading in coal, woolens, steel, world's shipbuilding, banking, communications), low unemployment, rise in wages and level price increases (see Hobsbawm 1968). Increase population, movement to urban areas, the haunt of social revolution subsiding placed England in a confident and powerful position. A position that allowed for the further expansion of Empire.

The public school furnished common training, perspective, language and experience. The national image of the public school character was of a gentleman-- noble, decent, honorable, loyal, dutiful, calm and collected under pressure. Schools "... tended to encourage the production of a recognized type-- loyal, honest and self-confident, but liable to undervalue the qualities of imagination, sensibility and critical ability" (Heussler 1963, 89).

It is not difficult, according to Parker (1987), "to see how a nineteenth-century public school education prepared boys for service to Empire" (54). "The more ennobling features ascribed to Imperialism were dominant within the schools. The subordination of self to the community, personal striving for

the common weal, the upholding of traditions and loyalty to the community, all acted as training for the administration of Empire" (54). Another element to be added is the leadership training provided in the public school;

> It would be impossible to dispute that the growth and reputation of the public schools in the nineteenth century was connected with the preparation of boys for the new professions of the home and overseas civil services, the officer ranks of the armies of Britain and the Empire, the Church, and other exalted and prestigious areas of the British establishment. (Bamford 1967, 59)

The English public school created a core leadership that drove the imperial machine. Public school students were sculpted to be the leaders of the Empire. Institutions like Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Winchester and Haileybury, and preparatory schools such as Twyford and Temple Grove were where the imperial ethos gestated. These cradles of imperialism produced generations of leaders that crafted and executed the policies that governed the colonies and dominions as well as influenced the functioning and structure of public schools well after colonial rule ended.

Between 1870 and the 1890's, most of the public schools had special courses for those entering the Colonial Service as well as the army (Gathorne-Hardy 1977). This 'work' suited aristocratic sensibilities. Schools in keeping with responsibilities of producing civil servants, during the last quarter of the century most schools developed "Army and "Modern" sides. One might note, however, that Eton, Harrow, Wellington, Clifton, Cheltenham and Marlborough were particularly busy here (Gathorne-Hardy 1977, 101).

Each individual counted. The Empire was not run by a large staff of civil servants. The Indian Civil Service (I.C.S.) had about 1,000 active officers at its peak. The Empire employed throughout the late nineteenth-century an average of 20,000 colonial administrators, 146,000 soldiers-- of whom 8,000 were officers as well as various professionals including trade advisors, doctors, solicitors and clerks (Walvin 1987, 248). These individuals, recruited from the public-schools, did not leave behind their schoolboy loyalties. "The school inculcated lifelong ways of thinking and acting" (Rich 1989, 21).

The Colonial Service (C.S.) had a direct pipeline into the public schools to recruit their top students. They fostered relationships with specific headmasters and housemasters for their intimate knowledge of their students, especially as to the quality of their character. It was said that the universities trained the mind; the public schools trained character and taught leadership (Heussler 1963, 82-99).

The importance of the public school in turning out the 'right' type is expressed in the accomplishments of their alumni. Graduates from these schools dominated all branches of the establishment, parliament, the military, the law, the church and the professions. In 1939, 85% of senior Civil Servants, 75% of Ambassadors, 80% of High Court judges, 71% of Bishops and 68% of Bank Directors were former public school boys (Heussler 1963).

Emigration among public-school alumni or Old Boys to positions in the service of the colonial mission was substantial. Between 1840 and 1880, the proportion of emigrants having attended schools such as Rugby, Clifton and Marlborough increased from almost twenty percent to as high as one-third (Dunae 1988). Some men emigrated in service to Empire, in search of wealth, for adventure, for fame and others in pursuit of a career (e.g., teaching). Most often, emigration was the result of limited opportunity at home. The colony was the perfect place for the 'second son' to find his own and "make a name" for himself. A message not unfamiliar to most boys who had been weaned on a rich diet of romanticism and the mythology of Empire taught in school and communicated through popular culture. What these patriots, second sons and adventurers brought with them were their nostalgia and institutions.

Canada was a region in the vast Empire that a better lifestyle could be obtained and childhood heroics could be reenacted. Canada attracted the business adventurer as well as the teacher adventurer. Where there were obstacles to success at home, places like Canada, New Zealand and Australia offered a place for a "fresh start." A fresh start that curiously involved the construction of institutions that they would have otherwise have struggled to be apart of back home. In the new country they were the leaders and members of what they considered prestigious. Masonic organizations, social clubs, sports teams and in time British public "styled" schools were replicated. Strong was the connection to home.

**Growth and Impact of the Public School**

As the Empire expanded, the old public schools (like Harrow and Shrewsbury) flourished. Defunct and derelict schools were resurrected (e.g., Uppingham) and new ones (e.g., Marlborough, devoted to the education of the sons of clergy, Wellington for the sons of officers and Cheltenham) were established and modeled after the elite schools. The number of public schools during the mid to late nineteenth-century increased from a few dozen to over one hundred and fifty by the late 1870s. The increase of public schools had much to do with the rapid industrialization of England that created a fast growing middle class that demanded access to better education.

Nearly all the "great" boarding schools, excluding the seven (i.e., Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Westminster, Rugby, Charterhouse and Shrewsbury), were founded in a twenty-year span beginning with Cheltenham in 1841 and ending with Malvern in 1862. Many of the proprietary schools modeled themselves on Arnold's Rugby and were soon accorded the designation of being a public school, although not given the equivalent status of an Eton or Winchester.

The public school was its own justification because of its social and cultural hegemony. Subsequently, endowed schools or public schools should be viewed as social agencies rather than educational agencies (Simon & Bradley 1975). Lyttelton, headmaster of Eton, eugenicist and later, Colonial Secretary contended that the social training these schools provided was far more effective than educational training (MacKenzie 1986).

The greatest and only unchallenged function of the landed gentry was to provide the ideal of the English gentleman. Much of the country aspired to this ideal through the acquisition of wealth, or land or of the appropriate education in the classics. Later in the century, when public schools' emphasis on the classics became unfashionable and impossible to maintain, the school's emphasis on accent, manner and slang provided an alternative hallmark of an exclusive, gentleman's education (Shrosbree 1988, 58). These ideals had a far reaching impact, influencing society beyond its shores. The British public

school and the attributes of its institutions influenced for example, Canadian private education. A further testament to the power established in these educational institutions (Bamford 1967).

Until the mid-nineteenth century, political power lay absolute in the hands of the landed gentry. Land ownership brought political and social control, the children of the land owning class went to public school, then perhaps back to manage the estates or if not enter the clergy, military or law. Industrial expansion, according to Parker (1987), had led to an emergent plutocracy, generally regarded as a threat to the landed classes' supremacy. Along side this was a growing bureaucracy that required administrators at home and abroad (Weiner 1981).

"The middle-class were making their way to power, and seeking equal privileges for their sons. Railways were being built, and transit was becoming easy. Wealth was growing, and there was a very large increase in the number of those who were earning up to a thousand [pounds] a year and beyond" (Musgrave 1968, 27-28, brackets added). Economic prosperity throughout the Empire fostered similar demands for better educational opportunities in places like Eastern Canada. There were further demands that resulted from the expansion of Empire. "The service of the Dominions and beyond the sea and foreign trade were augmenting the number of those who, compelled to live abroad, yet demand an education at home for their sons" (Musgrave 1968, 28). In time this demand would give way to providing adequate educational opportunities in the Dominions.

Tradition dictated that any attempt by a new, wealthy class to infiltrate the ancient haunts of young gentlemen should be disdainfully resisted. However, administrators were needed and it was clearly in the general interest of the middle-classes to have gentlemen in such positions. Consequently the bourgeois were gradually admitted to the schools where it was hoped that they would become imbued with the ethos of the English Gentleman" (Parker 1987, 51).

The subsequent social change from events like the French Revolution, industrial revolution, colonial expansion, heightened the awareness of elites of the country to take a more active interest in the production of leadership

and administrators to fill and thus maintain their cultural and political hegemony (Grace 1995). Thus, according to Rothblatt (1976), a shift begins from "civility and sociability to Victorian virtues of duty and responsibility" (45-46). This move also protected any such social unrest that troubled France as the middle-class were separated from social and economic communion with the working class, insuring preexisting privilege. "By educating and absorbing the cream of the bourgeoisie, the landed classes ensured that they retained supremacy" (Parker 1987, 51).

> When a system of education is exclusive, available only to a small minority, it has the effect of making pupils aware of their similarities with their fellows and their differences from the rest of society. This sense of exclusiveness persists throughout life, with the result that the Old Boy Network has been this country's [England] most powerful freemasonry. (Parker 1987, 43, brackets added)

There developed a greater "willingness to support organizations such as schools because of their role in consensus building and production of the virtues demanded of those involved in civic roles (Reid 1987, 287). The demands of the government and administration "outran the willingness and ability of the aristocracy to supply them [administrators]" (Reid 1987, 298, brackets added). The new cadre had to come from another class, so the emerging middle class was taped. The means to secure collaboration of the middle class was reliant on the public school. The Clarendon Commission expressed the importance of a common education "in kind, though not in degree," to generate sympathy between different departments and leadership and its followers.

A developed rhetoric that the aristocracy as well as the new class could identify with and give meaning to their position was created. It was the use of rhetoric that Reid argues, connected curriculum with "standards of honour and loyalty by which the new group could recognize itself" (Reid 1987, 301). The net result was to produce cohesion between these two social groups, solidifying class power and furthering of the institutional prominence of the public school.

Parvenus created by the growth in industry and Empire were interested in the new opportunities obtained through increased social mobility. The growing

middle class in Britain wanted the advantages for their children that they did not have. The public school was one such perceived advantage maker that also signified advanced social status. It is significant that institutions modeled after the public school were sought after in the dominions by parents that perceived the same advantages (e.g., U.C.C.) from this education (Batchelor 1981). The public school served as a broker in the consolidation of wealth and power and extended possible advantage for the nouveaux riche to benefit socially and economically from their children's friendships with the aristocracy (i.e., royal patronage).

Parents bought into most everything these schools represented and were willing to overlook major issues that could greatly effect the child's social, physical and psychological well-being. Parents believed the advantages these institutions offered outweighed such drawbacks as the high risk of exposure to life-threatening diseases (e.g., cholera, scarlet fever), the incidents of 'immorality' and the use of beatings as means to discipline and to teach (e.g., build character). Whether it was cultural myopia, ignorance or selfishness, the abdication of parental responsibility perpetuated many of the evils pandemic in these institutions.

Public school parents in the periphery of Empire exhibited similar demands as those found in the homeland. There was the willingness to sacrifice parental control for the perceived advantages of a private education in an elite school. Entrusting the institution as parent is a significant characteristic of the public school education. Parents who sent their children to Canada's Upper Canada College sought not only to educate their children but valued how the institution served to establish social order and consolidate power.

The subsequent collaboration of the two groups jointly produced the concepts of 'manliness' and defined 'gentlemanly' qualities. It was popular culture and the public schools that solidified and justified this new social arrangement.

The "salient features of the rhetoric joining" the two classes in a "shared consciousness of affinity with nationally defined responsibility and privilege were an emphasis on Christianity, on loyalty and devotion to duty, on the value of solidarity and consensus (Honey 1977). To be a gentleman brought

with it moral obligations as well as privileges. Those seeking the gentlemanly qualities were not immune from false piety and social snobbery, the spirit of which was counter to the educational philosophy of Arnold's Rugby. The demand for the trappings of the gentleman out distanced the supply of institutions offering social advantage.

"The Christian Gentleman was one that combined a Tory respect for social order with a Radical desire for social justice. Properly structured and sensibly governed, the English class system was seen as a rational, workable basis for society in which everyone knew, acted according to, and kept his place" (Parker 1987, 100). The lessons learned at an early age in taking responsibility and through leadership training were much needed as the boundaries of Empire were expanded (Musgrave 1968, 16).

With the development of Empire and the expansion of it, linkages needed to be maintained. As the various parts of Empire developed and became established beyond being outposts of commerce, a demand for institutions that met the needs of families and communities were required. Public "styled" schools, like those found in Canada (e.g., U.C.C.) served the practical-- educating the children of elites for newly generated positions, maintaining established privilege, bringing the well of imperial knowledge to the outposts because of the great distances involved in traveling to England and the demand for local autonomy. The formation of the public school also served the symbolic-- as linkages to Empire.

Institutional recreation made sense, not just as symbols of Empire but as a means of maintaining control of knowledge and power. How shockingly similar were the public schools developed throughout the Empire in form and substance in perpetuating a pro-Empire feel and imperial ethos. Yes, there were differences and interpretations in the periphery-- curricular differences and sports played but in terms of turning out the "right" type, these schools were near copies of the British public schools.

## The Shaping of the Public School

### Clarendon Commission and School Reform

The Clarendon Commission of 1860-1864 investigated the following schools: Eton, Westminster, Winchester, Charterhouse, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, Rugby and Shrewsbury to look at the quality of private education they were providing. The Commission was promoted by general criticism of the curriculum and by several public scandals involving Eton College and several recently founded schools: Marlborough, Cheltenham and Wellington (Gathorne-Hardy 1977, 97) brought the greater role these schools played into a public debate.

Fiscal scandals at Eton promoted the inquiry. The 'Paterfamilias' letter to Cornhill Magazine in May 1860 published in part to address outrage over fiscal improprieties was an example of early criticism of public schooling (Shrosbree 1988). At issue were incidents of fiscal corruption (i.e., the misuse of school fees and endowment money) at Eton. Besides the settling of these scandals, the Commission had the effect in selecting the above-mentioned schools the introduction of 'class' categorization into English secondary education. There had been previously no essential legal difference between Eton and many local "endowed grammar" schools (Shrosbree 1988, 3). The result was the establishment of class differences.

The state of academics in these schools was a source of concern as the Classics were poorly taught to uninterested and often sluggish thinkers. "Hardly any amount of ignorance prevents a boy's coming to Eton" (Clarendon Commission 1864, volume 2, 127) was one of the more contemptuous yet memorable admissions concerning the anti-intellectual environment all too common in public schools like Eton.

The Commission had little immediate effect on national education or even on those families who sent their children to any of the schools investigated. In time, subsequent Educational Acts (e.g., of 1869, 1870, 1871) brought minimal reforms to the curriculum, living conditions, teaching methods and

discipline. The effect of reforms suggested in the Commission may be seen most clearly in schools not subject to their inquiry (Shrosbree 1988, 2). The evolution of public schools was marked by greater independence from public concerns and governmental control.

Clarendon marks "the successful fusion of upper and upper middle-class elements through schooling" (302). School examinations served as legitimizing the curriculum which benefited new schools. The sixth form became tied to the preparation for these exams and entry into the higher status careers. This allowed for communality, standardization and variety.

The expanding national press made it more difficult for scandals (e.g., abuses of college revenues by masters and wardens at Westminster) to be covered up. Increased literacy inspired greater questioning enhanced through the publication explosion of newspapers and magazines. By 1861 school reform reached its limits-- legally accomplishing reform without the need for government legislation (Shrosbree 1988, 35). Following Arnold's example, living conditions improved where it could be done at little expense and within the legal constraints of ancient foundations.

The Taunton Commission which was set up in 1864 and reported its findings in 1869, was concerned with the fundamental issue of secondary school financing. Its recommendations were embodied in the Endowed Schools Act of 1869. The 800 schools the Commission included, were schools that charged high fees, provided largely Classical education for university entrance, catered to upper-middle classes and were, in consequence, 'successful.' If there were problems with the great schools, it was reasoned that there would be a need to look into the many new schools being founded.

These Commissions allowed select schools to flourish on the capital of great public endowments. The independence of these schools was notional and established on favorable financial terms by the Public Schools Acts of 1868 and 1870. Their subsequent achievement was bought by financial security insured through these various Acts (Shrosbree 1988, 4).

**Headmasters Conference**

The formation of the Headmasters Conference (H.M.C.) in 1869 brought private schooling into a coherent structure, with standardized administration and curriculum procedures as their chief goals. It was a structure, as Weinberg puts it, as important to the British as the invention of the factory, for it was a "powerful device for insulating and socializing an elite and for protecting the values of the aristocracy, moral fervor and gentlemanliness" (Richards 1988, 11). "These schools had a strong desire to preserve their freedom from state intervention" (Musgrave 1968, 50). Endowments could otherwise be directed to provide more technical, vocational skills. What caused the greatest concern was the proposal made by Taunton to redistribute on a national scale the endowments (excluding the nine schools included in the Clarendon Commission investigation), some quite sizable, and form a national system of secondary education.

The formation of the H.M.C. was the brainchild of Mitchinson, King's College, Canterbury. He wanted to collect a "very superior set of men" (Gathorne-Hardy 1977, 99) to give power and prestige to this group. Mitchinson pre-selected Thring of Uppingham as its first leader. What the H.M.C. on a practical side accomplished was important. They discussed, and advised each other on, a number of issues ranging from discipline, games, how to deal with 'moral' problems to the pronunciation of Latin. The H.M.C. became a prestigious and educationally powerful club. The new foundations were especially watched to make sure they complied once they were accepted to this esteemed group. In time, the nine Clarendon schools were included in this set (Eton and Harrow in 1874) and eventually dominated the decision making. By 1903, 102 schools were members of H.M.C. representing 30,000 students. The impending infringement to the operating freedom of these schools brought together a range of schools into allied clans founded on a common culture to curb any change to their status (Gathorne-Hardy 1977, 97).

Another result that developed out of this scrutiny and the various commissions was in establishing the principle that secondary education in England was a privilege to be paid for. Thus, securing access to power structures in the comfortable control of the upper-classes and out of reach of

the poor. Elementary education was developed for those who could not bear the entire costs.

There was a fear among the established classes that reform would benefit the poor but not the "real" poor. The concern was with the hard workers from educated classes (non-landed gentry) who would displace the aristocracy and take all their scholarships (Shrosbree 1988, 10). Reforms had the adverse effect of displacing foundation scholars (students on academic scholarship based on merit) and local children. These children were being edged out of their educational rights as proscribed in the founding charters of many of the elite schools in favour of the less needy and talented aristocracy.

The summation of the reform movements, the demands for greater educational access, economic and social considerations, the influence of Arnold's Rugby, the various Commissions and Educational Acts had deep and far reaching impact. These various events in the life of the public school accomplished the following: maintained the status quo, elevated the status of these schools, further divided the differences between classes and expanded the role of the public school to serve the needs of the Empire. The public school "halo" was not disturbed.

> So long as their boys received some useful knowledge, for those institutions to continue to teach the classics and through games and the prefect system to turn out self-reliant, narrow minded, athletic upper-class gentlemen, educated to obey orders and to defend unquestioningly the standards of their class was acceptable for many until the First World War. (Mack 1941, 10)

The introduction of common management practices and organizational structures into their schools produced greater institutional homogeneity. The 'group think' of these schools and the basic unity of mission leads me to discuss in general terms how an imperialist ethos was engendered through the public school and then later, how institutional replication influenced the development of Upper Canada College.

## IV. Imperial Characteristics from the Public School.

What I will outline in this chapter is just how the public school communicated what I have termed an imperial mentality among public school students. The success of the indoctrination experienced by the average public school boy was the result of a system of education that communicated imperial concepts overtly, covertly and by accident. The public school boys imperial training came from a range of daily experiences that were present from their first day. Inside the schools, the prefect system, school leadership, physical treatment, curriculum, student travel opportunities, cadet corps, athleticism and externally, the influences of patriotism, juvenile literature, Victorian values conditioned the mind and body to receive and develop a mentality that served the interests of Empire. These influences covering internal and external pressures forged a highly influential system that left obvious impressions, life-long ways of thinking that were reflected in a cultural and political hegemony over the white and non-white members of an Empire that covered one-fifth of the World's land mass.

What these schools were effective in producing were a recognizable 'type.' I want to emphasize the richness of the imperial ethos these boys were steeped in. I will not say that public school boys were helpless victims but I will impress upon the reader the extent of what went into their training.

### Prefects-- School Organization

The uses of prefects are the distinguishing feature of the public school system. Prefects were upper form boys who usually were selected by the headmaster to maintain order around the school and within the houses (i.e., dormitories). It was an influential system because it was cheap, it reduced costs thus enabling schools to expand their numbers (Shrosbree 1988, 19). This autocratic system of rule gave the prefect the power to punish and set house rules. Corporal punishment was essential to control a large school population and was valued for its inherent 'virtue.' The absence in the ability to discipline would have reduced prefects to minimal influence.

Prefects often felt their power of control and understanding of the school to be greater than the masters in charge of the house. A change in school leadership or a new housemaster was a threat to their control. Much like the power of the civil servant today, the change of administration is a tense time because of possible challenges to their authority and in breaking in the new staff or leadership to the way things are done.

The prefect system left the greatest possible responsibility, moral and administrative, to senior boys; so that boys of all ages were encouraged to stand on their own two feet, defend their own rights and loyalties. The leadership qualities this system produced were valued in the Empire and adopted by institutions in the periphery of Empire like U.C.C. because of the same leadership qualities.

The fagging system was a partner to the prefect system. Upper form boys had younger boys perform domestic services for them and for the house. This could take the form of boot cleaning, morning wake-up calls, the preparation of tea and school work, warming of toilet seats in the Winter and in a cruel vein, the recipient of verbal and physical abuse for its entertainment value.

A 'fag master' would often have several fags engaged in his forced service at no pay. Among fags there would usually exist a hierarchy. It was a form of slavery that the student could rarely escape. One agreed with the practice, it was reasoned for the eventual day of having one's own fags and lording over them. Fagging, followed the 'might makes right' philosophy (Lamb 1959, 195), a philosophy grounded in superiority theories attributed to Darwin. Fagging indicated a system of organized rank and was therefore essential as a memento of monitorial authority. It was a social system which constructed hierarchy (Gathorne-Hardy 1977). The benefit to the Empire in this master-servant relationship was in the development of leadership skills. "Leading fags at school was like leading nations in Africa and Asia" (Heussler 1963, 97). The control, however, that these boys held was rarely repeated in adult life but not without earnest effort. Service in the Empire offered opportunity to attempt to regain or continue this power relationship.

The house system, broke down the school into more manageable units and with the delegation of discipline to prefects made maintaining control by the headmaster easier. Rivalry between houses was seen as healthy rivalry. The best houses were those identified by the boys as not having the best scholars or athletes but the greatest 'House Spirit', a spirit that meant heightened reliance on one's housemates. Loyalty to the house outweighed loyalty to even the school as represented in *Tom Brown's Schooldays*.

The "Sixth Form" is another aspect of school organization that has its origins in the public school. A term originally referring to the benches upon which school boys sat, copied from institutions like Winchester, represented the best students in that given subject and most often exclusively the teaching domain of the headmaster. High status was given to the instructor and its students. The sixth form represented a source of exemplars and a source for school leadership.

The quality of the character-training in public schools was mystical as it was hidden from view and rarely discussed outside the select few (Shrosbree 1988, 8). Secret societies tend to have codes and this one was no exception against talking about internal politics. It justified what might otherwise have seemed indefensible: which was the acceptance of pain and the infliction of punishment as educational virtues. Leaving boys alone was thought (Mack (1941) to produce self-reliance that was one of the primary ends of public school education.

The lessons learned which proved useful in imperial service were general. First, patience was taught, often years would pass before a student could assume a position in the upper from or become a prefect and wield his power. The system taught service and sublimation of self to one's seniors, house and ultimately country. Leadership was the most frequently identified skill thought to be the product of all this, but this was hardly good leadership, rather it was dictatorial and not the benevolent variety.

**Physical Treatment**

The physical treatment of the student was considered an important component of the public school experience by educators and families. The physical treatment of public school boys has historically been extreme and oppressive. Cost cutting to subsidize the income of a master was not uncommon. With the Arnoldian 'reformation' much of the obvious abuse was toned down while a continuance of other practices found justification under a different name. Reforms were far from providing a nurturing environment.

Harsh physical regimes were viewed or justified as a way to toughen and prepare the student for the sacrifice and austerity required of a good public servant. Corporal punishment (i. e., caning), Spartan living conditions, inadequate heating and food and bullying were widely viewed as aiding in the development of morally superior beings, real men fit through these hardships to run the Empire. Almond of Loretto whose interest was in moral and physical health "inaugurated a 'Sparto-Christian' ideal of temperance, courage and *esprit de corps* that was supported by a regime of all-weather exercise, cleanliness, comfortably informal dress, and fresh air" (Vance 1975, 124).

The austere, impersonal relationships, conditioned boys to look outside the family for sources of affection and for loyalty (Heussler 1963, 91). A troubling thought, when one considers the psychological fallout from the deprival of the maternal influence and the estrangement from the biological father. This arrangement left young, impressionable boys to seek and initiate the relationships that would fill these voids. This channeling of relationships to meet emotional needs often had unhealthy outcomes. The schools had a much greater impact upon a child's development than did his family.

The lack of the female presence would often be a recurrent theme in the lives of men who chose a life of imperial service. "A vast majority, doubtless, of imperial servants remained celibate during the long, lonely years away from their homes ... the sexual pattern ... well in keeping with the mores of the public school (Wilkinson 1964, 106-107). "Such a separation was useful to a

bureaucracy whose codes stressed dedication, industry, and emotional detachment" (Wilkinson 1964, 107). The monastic experience in the public school was strong preparation for work in the Empire.

The isolation from family along with the Spartan conditions and harsh physical treatment beginning at an early age and for extended periods of time "inoculated the individual against extreme homesickness" and the need for physical comforts (Lambert 1968).

**Beatings, Bullying and Good-natured Hazing**

Floggings were a pedagogical tool to which the chief goal was to build character. As entrenched as the study of Latin and Greek were in the curriculum, so to was the use of physical punishment as an educational tool. "Conform or be kicked" was the command of the day Arnold Lunn (1913) ascribed to the form of regulation employed by most public schools (43). Flogging, swishing, whopping, bumming and whacking were the terms used at various public schools for the discipline with which public schools have become associated.

What Collins in 1894 suggested when referring to preparatory schools as nurseries "for hardening young cuttings, not a hot-house to force exotic plants" (cited in Leinster-McKay 1988, 61) could be equally applied to the public schools. In most societies today, such behavior as the use of a beating to maintain order or to punish would be considered nothing less than child abuse.

To speak of beatings one is identifying the existence of an atmosphere of aggression. Gathorne-Hardy further links the beatings with the evolution of a bullying climate. Student-on-student violence was often the most extreme and took place more often than abuse at the hands of their masters. In this Darwinian world, the weak were found out and quickly abused. For Bertrand Russell, this represented a physical world where, "The bigs hit me, so I hit the smalls; that's fair" (Gathorne-Hardy 1977, 42). Besides the beatings for obvious breaches of conduct a new boy could be guaranteed rough and cruel initiation rituals, like "tin gloves" (from Winchester) or the "blanket toss"

(from Marlborough). Violence as a solution to problems was the lesson learned from the beatings and abuse (Gathorne-Hardy 1977).

The punishment boys received for the breach of school rules and conducted by the headmaster was often cruel and sadistic (Chandos 1984). Boys were left with both emotional and physical scars. Headmaster Moss of Shrewsbury gave 88 lashes to a boy in 1874, Keate of Eton would work himself into such a "white heat" to foam at the mouth, it was said of Headmaster Rowden of Temple Grove that he "thrashed the double bass and the boys' breeches with equal relish" (Lunn 1913, 32) and even Arnold of Rugby gave a flagrant thrashing of 40- some lines to a boy who was later vindicated of his crime.

Nevinson (1937) reflects in his autobiography *Paint and Prejudice* his experience at Uppingham in the years after Thring. The beatings and kicks were so acute as to cause an appendicitis, leaving him "in a wretched state, septic in mind and body" (cited in Mangan 1987, 155).

> No qualms of mine gave me an inkling of the horrors I was to undergo ... the brutality and bestiality in the dormitories made life a hell on earth. An apathy settled on me. I withered. I learned nothing: I did nothing. I was kicked, hounded, caned, flogged, hairbrushed, morning, noon and night. The more I suffered, the less I cared. The longer I stayed, the harder I grew. (Mangan 1987, 143)

The stories of abuse are too numerous and vile to recount here. The point is, that many of the beatings were unjustly brutal, were for random reasons and conducted arbitrarily, rendering the instructive quality limited if not useless to disciplining. "In some cases there were masters in charge of boys who by twentieth-century standards would be deprived of their living and probably prosecuted for cruelty" (Leinster-Mackay 1976, 245). The act of being flogged brought students into a closer bond with each other (Gathorne-Hardy 1977) with their stripes of pride and fostering psychological bonds.

The psychological impact of the harsh treatment must have had profound impact on the student's development. To be removed from the family at seven as opposed to twelve, to be beaten at seven as opposed to twelve creates various levels of psychological reinforcement. "On the whole, it is true to say

that the effects of the same experience in early childhood to have monumental negative impact on future development" (Gathorne-Hardy 1977, 35).

Can not the seeds of emotional disinterest in the conditions of the colonized be seen in this early training? A conditioning to the violence is learned at an early age, perhaps as seen in current youth population where television violence and even worse the violence of urban America has desensitized and deadens certain emotions. Could not the colonial experience be the natural return of favour, bubbling out of the experiences of childhood and youth?

**Living Conditions**

The living conditions of the boys had an important and practical usefulness in developing character. It was a life "that was frequently a physical and psychological struggle for survival against hunger, cold and callousness in one form or another (Mangan 1987, 152). Cold baths were viewed as necessary to building strong character. They were also viewed as a necessity in driving any youthful passion away (Gathorne-Hardy 1977, 91). Keep the students chaste and focused. Plain meanness was later justified not only for instilling 'character' but also as preparation for the untold hardships encountered in the service of the Empire.

Spartan living conditions were a complement to the invigorating morning baths. Heat was usually a luxury in the 'barn-like' accommodations provided. Students until they reached the upper-forms were herded into large rooms housing dozens of students with minimal privacy and maximum discomfort. Beds were often old, dirty, void of comfort and often shared (a source of further depravity). "Old houses or draughty mansions were characteristic of the earliest school buildings" (Leinster-Mackay 1976, 245).

"Throughout Winter's rages, the windows of the dormitories were always kept open so that one sometimes woke up to find that one was sleeping under a coverlet of snow." Nevinson goes on to reflect that the cold was his "sharpest and most immediate" recollection. "After the cold the accent was on cruelty" (Mangan 1987, 151).

Poor sanitation accounted for many deaths in early Victorian schools as did primitive medicines and the prevalence of diseases (Gathorne-Hardy 1977, 110) that the young were especially vulnerable to (e.g., cholera, scarlet fever, diphtheria, influenza). Epidemics were devastating in these environments because of the concentrations of students, the age of the boys and the poor treatment facilities for the sick. Facilities were slow to develop (e.g., infirmaries) which elevated some of the misfortunes as did better transportation that could bring a child back to the watchful care of their families (Chandos 1984).

### Nutrition

The public school boy when reflecting on his school experiences would invariably include a story or rather stories about the quality and the lack of sustenance offered. As one school boy remembered (Mangan 1987, 150), the "wolf of hunger" was ever present. "Evidence abounds in biography, of the poor food that was served as breakfast, consisting often of stale bread and rancid butter" (Leinster-Mackay 1976, 245). Edward Lockwood (1893) described a not so uncommon culinary experience, "On Wednesday and Fridays my only food was stale bread washed down by water from the pump" (cited in Mangan 1987, 150).

Some improvement to the nutrition of boys occurred with the elevation of athletics for its constructive character-building properties. Almond of Loretto School made a study of the science of health. His revolutionary findings found that feeding the body properly produced a more vigorous body.

Students would invariably supplement their morning meals with food provided from home or acquired from local merchants aware of their condition and propensity to gorge on sweets. Food could also be had through the school buttery but at a price. Students would also resort to poaching food (e.g., raiding orchards, poultry from neighboring farmers, hunting game through trapping and shooting, the thieving of cattle). The theft of food was also common and according to a general student's code of conduct, a justifiable act. A locked trunk was considered fair game. Only the theft of

money was considered the act of a bounder, worthy of exposure and punishment.

The younger students were especially at risk of poor nutrition because they would lose out to the older, stronger students when it came to getting a crack at the better food. At the main meal of the day, lunch, the senior boys or rather the strongest (or those with power) would get the choice meat and the largest portions, leaving the stringy greasy seconds for the weak.

Poor nutrition, comfortless accommodations and harsh physical abuse at the hands of their peers and masters have become hallmarks of the boarding school experience. These conditions were replicated in schools modeled after these institutions in Britain as well as in schools established far off in the Empire, like Canada's Upper Canada College. Even when issues of economics were not the cause for poor conditions, schools would adopt or allow these practices to flourish because of the perceived character-building benefits.

**Headmasters**

The role of the public school headmaster in the formation of an Imperial mentality was significant. Their ability to mold young minds was heightened as they willingly accepted or not the roles of surrogate father, spiritual leader and teacher. Headmasters envisioned themselves as Empire builders, their exclusivity allowed for the defining of culture and control of power structures. In order to achieve prominence, one had to first pass through their gates.

Decision-making in these schools was not accomplished through consensus building. The responsibilities of "headmastership," according to Ball (1987), in *The Micro-Politics of the School*, placed "him in a unique position of licensed authority... his school becomes the expression of his authority" (81). The revitalization and creation of public schools during the mid nineteenth-century marked the consolidation of the headmasters internal power (Grace 1995). It was the strength of their absolute rule that brought many public schools out of debauched pre-Arnoldian times.

The styles of leadership throughout the public school system were no doubt many, however the leadership style was strikingly authoritarian (see Grace (1995), for the headmaster tradition). The authoritarian head is concerned with asserting his will. In these schools, the authority of the head was absolute. Maintaining order was essential as it was not far from the Victorian headmaster's mind the school riots that took place earlier in the century (e.g., Eton and Winchester). The last rebellion took place at Marlborough in 1851 (Leinster-Mackay 1976, 248). At the heart of the authoritarian leader "... there is an evident commitment to the status quo, to defend, almost at all costs, the established policies and procedures of the institution. This is found especially in schools where 'traditions' represent cherished values strongly held by the dominant coalition" (Ball 1987, 113).

Through the mechanism of internal hiring of alumni and selective hiring of Old Boys from equally elite schools, inclusive of Oxford and Cambridge, maintenance of the status quo was insured. These schools reflected limited goal diversity among its staff because the masters were products of these schools, were drawn from the same universities, were drawn from the same social classes, the same religion (The Anglican Church) and of the same career orientation. The demands and requests for reform were from the same orientations. A stronger argument can be made for a collective will or philosophy among the headmasters after the formation of the Headmasters Conference in 1869.

Masters moved from one leading school to another and to assume the head of schools aspiring public school status (Simon & Bradley 1975). This relationship maintained the control of the system and insured against radical reform. As a result of the intimate and closed academic community characteristic of these schools, an argument for 'a common culture' can be convincingly made despite the many schools of varying status categorized as public schools.

Boarding schools were valued for their role in the formation of national character. Make them good, make them healthy, not intellectual (Benson

1908) was a recurring public school philosophy and one valued among Empire builders.

The public-school headmaster served as both designer and instructor of imperial mentalities. Without the assistance of the leadership that ran the public schools of England and Scotland, colonial expansion would not have been successful. Headmasters such as Arnold (Rugby), Gray (Bradfield), Welldon (Harrow), Lee (King Edward VI), Rendall (Winchester), Warre (Eton), Hutchinson (Loretto), Vaughan (Harrow), Almond (Loretto), Sanderson (Oundle), Moberley (Winchester), Percival (Clifton) and Thring (Uppingham) were empire builders. Empire building headmasters could also be found in the many public school incantations spread around the Empire (e.g., Grant and Parkin of U.C.C.). They understood their role and took their mission seriously. Thring believed the value of the boarding school in forming national character. These headmasters commanded life-long devotion from their students.

It was quite common for a headmaster during summer holiday to visit various colonial outposts to check-up on their alumni and promote the virtues of their school. Headmaster M.J. Rendall of Winchester was one of the better traveled. Headmaster J.E.C. Welldon of Harrow was another traveler and champion of Empire who eventually became the head of the Anglican Church of India. It was common for headmasters of public schools to go on to assume prestigious posts in the Empire. One of the most prestigious posts, Secretary of the Rhodes Trust, in the Empire went to Parkin of U.C.C. (Parkin 1912). A man inspired by Thring, educated at Oxford, head of a school modeled after Rugby and located in the periphery of the Empire. These headmasters continued to spread the virtues of the public school while also shaping new schools in the colonies in their image.

Headmasters of public schools were often on a clerical career path. "The leading public schools were self-consciously Christian foundations" (Studdert-Kennedy 1990, 127). Christianity was a live force in British intellectual life in the Victorian period. The clerical headmasters were conscious of their obligation to protect Christianity as an informing presence both in domestic politics and in imperial trusteeship (Studdert-Kennedy

1990). It was only in the late nineteenth-century that lay teachers broke into the structure of the private school. As of 1898, twenty-percent of public school masters, including headmasters were in holy orders (Simon & Bradley 1975, 13-14). This trend followed the general trends of Victorian England that saw the growth of secularism and the super-worship of games, patriotism and militarism.

Headmasters of public-schools subscribed fully to the ethical imperative that "the training they provided was the substance of success. Imperialism they argued was a moral endeavor and they were of course the repositories of effective moral education" (Mangan 1988, 21).

Headmasters along with families and Old Boys bought land in rural areas to expand their institutions services and meet the growing demand for athletic fields. The expansion and relocation reflected an imperialist interest. The use of preparatory schools to feed and maintain a supply of students and the adoption of the rhetoric of the colonial administrator reflected mini-empires in operation. With the interest to insulate in order to rule in absolute terms, schools like Charterhouse and Shrewsbury left their ancient grounds in the city for greater freedom and insulation in the country.

**Influence of Thomas Arnold**

No discussion of Victorian public schools is complete without a treatment of the contributions of Thomas Arnold. Arnold, renowned pedagogue, reformer and cultural icon served as headmaster of Rugby School from 1828 until his death in 1842. Dr. John Keate, headmaster of Eton (1809-1834) was the only educational rival in the nineteenth-century to Arnold's popularity. Eventually, Arnold (his last name is sufficient from here on) represented the ideal from which aspiring educational leaders would claim as their model.

Arnold believed that to save a boy's soul one had to save him morally. "His motives had more to do with souls than with scholarships and he was more interested in reforming society than he was with reforming the public-school system" (Parker 1987, 45). Until Arnold came on the scene, public school education was both morally and intellectually desultory in its curriculum and

inconsequential to moral development. He championed the virtues of the ruling class even with the degeneration of popular support for their leadership role.

Arnold believed that the linking of educational ideals to the needs of the nation to be the duty of a Christian society. Arnold, like many of the future headmasters he trained or inspired, contended that education was worthless without the *leaven* of religion. According to Arnold, "education and religion were really two aspects of the same thing – a system of instruction towards moral perfection" (Newsome 1961, 2).

Arnold was guided by prayer, and placed his faith in spiritual authority of the church. Arnold understood the power of the pulpit, the history of slack jawed preaching and lazy uninspired messages that rarely breached the skulls of its inmates. Through example, Arnold sought to instill a reverence and spiritual maturity that compelled himself and which he believed was to be the proper 'tone' for Rugby. The moral sanction of God was in theory the replacement for the more tactile approach to disciplining (i.e., the thrashing). Arnold also maintained that 'jawing' or talking with the students and the use of the prefect (i.e., students as monitors) system was an effective means to keep order. Credit for the system of prefects has been given to Arnold.

The realities of Arnold's contributions have been lost in the charge to attach a leader to the public school movement. He was more of a mystagogue than he was a pedagogue. *Tom Brown's School Days* (1857) popularized and mythologized Arnold and the practices of Arnold's Rugby. This book opened up the hidden world of private, elite schooling to a larger market. The voyeuristic intrigue made this book popular to school boys and their families who consumed it and accepted its images and messages in total. The biographical work on Arnold by A.P. Stanley along with the 'faction' of Hughes became the standard descriptions of what a public school was judged to be. These two works served as a mechanism in the transference of culture- the public school culture to public school boys and public school boys to be.

Those taught by Arnold or influenced by him upon his passing, had a considerable role in the expansion of the public school ethos. Men such as C.

J. Vaughan, headmaster of Harrow, A.H. Clough, the poet and A.P. Stanley, Dean of Westminster, J. Percival of Clifton, all former assistants at Rugby were champions of Arnold. The disciples of Arnold were highly desired in new proprietary schools with upper-middle-class aspirations. The second half of the nineteenth-century saw the following schools with ex-masters and pupils of Rugby as headmasters: Harrow, Marlborough, Sherborne, Cheltenham, Lancing, Haileybury, Berkhamstead, Felsted, Bromsgrove, Monkton Combe, and Rugby (Parker, 1987). Assistant masters under Arnold also took head positions at King Edward's Birmingham and Warwick.

His accomplishments, or those attributed to him have been exaggerated. He did not invent the prefect system, reform the use of physical discipline, reform the curriculum to include the sciences or proselytize the use of games for teaching Christian virtues. The production of Christian gentleman was a doubtful legacy of Arnold's. What is important is that Arnold stood for many of the ascribed virtues that the public school had come to represent. The most significant was a love of loyalty to one's school fellows over all else, even loyalty to the truth.

**Student Travel, Scholarships, Speech Day and Awards**

The awarding of prizes and the establishment of awards day and awards day speeches mirrored what took place in the Empire and the military service. As there was a proliferation in the awarding of military medals during the Boer War and the granting of official titles to colonial administrators so too was there the awarding of prizes to students for their skill at Greek and Latin translation, essay writing on themes especially germane to the interests of the Empire and of course the rewarding and acknowledging of talents on the game fields. If the award given was not a gaudy silver cup it was a book of an Imperial theme bound in leather, embossed with gold lettering and heraldry. The works of Kipling (1897), classical works or imperial tomes recounting the achievements of almost mythical figures as Nelson or Clive were not unusual. Southey's biography of Nelson seems "to have been a common item on school prize lists by the end of the (nineteenth) century" (Best 1975, 138).

Awards Day was also another opportunity to bring in Old Boys, military leaders (e.g., Curzon and Kitchener) and assorted imperial figures (e.g., Storrs and Parkin) to pump up the congregated with the jingoism and pomposity that all children, parents and school types enjoyed hearing like the greatness of the school, the singular accomplishments and the value of the accomplishments of student and school to the Empire. What swollen heads these children must have had when turned out of these places, let a lone a false sense of accomplishment.

Scholarships granted by public schools served a couple of purposes, of which benefiting the poor was not one of them. Scholarships originally arranged to give opportunities to the poor were transferred instead to the needs of the middle class (Rich 1989). The poor and disadvantaged could not protest what they were unaware of. Schools and parents conspired to misuse these awards and were nonplused about doing so (Mack 1941). Keeping the tone of the school 'upper class' meant keeping the 'lower' orders out.

Further scholarships were set up with the intention of assisting those in Imperial service to educate their children in their public school or one of like kind. Most schools had such scholarships (e.g., St. Paul's, Tonbridge, Wellington, Rossall and Rugby) (Rich 1989). Often preference for a scholarship would be directed to the child of a parent in service in a particular region like India or in a specific branch of the military like the army. Elizabeth College, in Guernsey had a scholarship to assist boys with the interest of entering the I.C.S. (Rich 1989, 59). Scholarships of this type and government financial assistance to send boys home to be educated further encouraged the education of the administrative elite to take place back in the home country where the quality of character training was assured. The scholarships designated to children (i.e., boys) of the civil service or military "ensured a continuing supply of those whose families had associations with both the public schools and with serving the Empire," (Rich 1989, 60) but further solidified the link and indebtedness to the Imperial cause.

The public school link to the Empire was accomplished through overt means. Just as the headmasters of these great schools traveled the Empire, so too did their students through travel awards. As mentioned previously, Rendall of

Winchester, a well-traveled headmaster chaired the *Public School Tours to the Empire* that organized "twenty large-scale expeditions" for public school boys to various colonial outposts (Rich 1989, 62). Individual schools also offered travel grants (e.g., the Dewar Traveling Scholarship at Rugby, Traveling Bursary at Taunton) thus giving the impressionable boy an Old Boy's view of Imperial rule and the glimpse of possible work opportunities. These visits were not dangerous expeditions. They were "khackified" garden party socials in exotic locals. Hidden away from view were the gritty realities of daily life.

Students also had further opportunity to experience and partake in the spirit of imperial benevolence through early work with urban and rural poor through the organization and coaching of athletics. The virtues of the public school in a water-down form were communicated through the organization of sporting clubs. Poor children were encouraged to play soccer and other games thought to be highly effective in communicating an ethos and winning over the poorer classes to be partners, albeit inferiors, in the pursuits of Empire. Officers need men to lead, especially willing ones.

**Patriotism/Jingoism**

The middle classes who were saturated with imperialistic notions accommodated the spirit of aggressive patriotism. The receptiveness to patriotism helped allay fears of German militarism, insecurities concerning the maintenance of world dominance the result of international commercial and industrial rivalry. The intellectual climate of these schools (e.g., which valued the virtues of the sports field and a curriculum that placed memorization as critical thought) was fertile ground for the seductive qualities of patriotism and imperial jingoism to grow (Samuel 1989).

Patriotism was promoted through most avenues of public school life as well as through the popular culture of the time. Advertising for consumer products, songs, plays, novelettes and parades pushed a very superficial yet influential ethos that championed the virtues of the British race. "Patriotism was a virtue widely promoted not only through the obvious and familiar

agencies, for example, the public schools, but no less potentially through printed material that permeated through all social classes" (Walvin 1987, 242).

To accept the spirit of patriotism was to buy into moral superiority of the British. We rule the world because we are British. We are victorious because what we represent is superior, superiority springing from moral strength. The influence of Darwin's writings provided a means to rationalize feelings of superiority over less 'developed' cultures. It is therefore the civilizing mission of the British to spread our distinct and ennobling virtues. Where this is too difficult to impart, it is our mission to rule.

Patriotism and imperialism according to Lord Rosebury needed to be protected and promoted. These ideas became an integral part of every aspect of the public school boy's life with the introduction of rifle companies, officers training and cadet corps (Richards 1988, 13). It was institutions like Wellington that must produce the leaders and defenders of the Empire (Newsome 1961, 202). Wellington School, "... was an uncommonly good place during these years', a splendid institution for the Nation and Empire" (Newsome 1961, 201). Its main aim was to turn out a hardy and dashing breed of young officers (Newsome 1961).

**Cadet Corps, Rifle Companies and Military Prep**

Parker (1987) argues the strong similarity between the military or Army lifestyle and the public school. Once officers training or cadet corps were introduced in public schools, patriotism and imperialism became an integral part of every aspect of their lives (Richards 1988, 13). The general Victorian awareness of military things and Christian militarism represented a marriage of strength and virtue. Hero-warriors of the past were praised for their qualities as Christians as well as soldiers (Best 1975, 138). Christian duty found its way into justifying the preparation for conflict.

The focus of schooling through most of the nineteenth-century was focused on preparing administrative types. Games playing supported many of the skills required for success in the military. The Boer War however changed the "type" that was now required and that was the "gentlemen warrior." It

was after the war that the military took on a more active interest in schools. Lecturers from the Navy League and the National Service League "made the rounds of the public schools, no doubt with the objective of arousing enthusiasm" (Best 1975, 136). Lord Robert's victory in South Africa made him especially popular on the lecture tour. He said in 1906:

> I look to you public school boys to set an example. Let it be your ambition to render yourself capable of becoming leaders of those who have not your advantages, should you ever be called upon to fight for your country.... Public school training inculcates just those qualities that are required in leaders of men: self-reliance, determination, and a certain amount of exchange, exacting obedience to authority more by an appeal to honour and sound common sense than by severity, and by a happy mixture of prudence and audacity. (Best 1975, 137)

Loyalty to school was transformed easily into a loyalty to country. This transfer of loyalty was not restricted to institutions in the heartland but was evident in students from public styled schools established throughout the Empire (e.g., U.C.C.). Students from these schools established cadet corps and participated in all the major military endeavors of Empire. The contribution of students educated in peripheral institutions was valued and rewarded with naval and army set-aside commissions.

There is some controversy over which school started the first Cadet Corps. Certainly the Eton Volunteers, rifle corps was a model program but the first to establish a program was Rossall's Rifle Corps during February of 1860. Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Marlborough and Winchester all began a program later that year. The Government organized Officer Training Corps (OTC) programs in these schools in an effort to standardize the training.

Schools like Eton under the headmastership of Warre built special drill halls and barracks for the new programs (Drage 1890). The popularity among schools for this instruction stopped short of making it compulsory, with not some regret of a few headmasters (e.g., Warre of Eton). There was even parliamentary lobbying for military training to be made compulsory in public schools so as to have a readily equipped military to meet perceived threats in a post-Boer War Empire. Until the Boer War, the number of public school boys entering the military service was negligible (Parker 1987, 55).

As of 1900, 16 percent of army officers were public school boys compared with 71 percent of government administrators (Parker 1987, 55). Schools were not prepared to educate the student interested in a military career. This was to change as the needs of Empire grew. Wellington, dedicated to the memory of the Duke of Wellington, Haileybury, which took over the defunct East India Company College, Cheltenham, founded 1841 for the children of retired colonial service employees and the United Service College founded for the sons of indigent army officers all sent large numbers to the military colleges of Sandhurst, Royal Military Academy and Woolwich. It was not militarism that took hold in the post-Boer war public school but rather a narrowly defined patriotism that placed school above nation.

"Every boy ought to learn how to shoot and to obey orders, else he is no more good when war breaks out than an old women" (Baden-Powell 1908, 177). The writer J.G.C. Minchin (1908), author of *Our Public Schools*, highlighted the achievements of recent heroes of the Empire like Baden-Powell. He argued that more attention should be applied to military training, and that riflery should be considered as manly as cricket or rugby. Military training was a reflection of public school life. "The new boy, like the new officer, would be stripped of his individuality that would be subsumed in a broader group loyalty— the team" (Reid 1987, 22, Strike this book review) "In the army, as at school, the entire edifice was supported by a system of punishment" (Parker 1987, 37).

> British officers attributed their power of leadership to character, that amalgam of bravery, selflessness, adherence to duty, team spirit and prowess in games that had been instilled in them by the post-Arnoldian public schools. (James 1992, 49)

The jingoism of that time was passed off as military and leadership training. These training programs organized and maintained by the War Office led to a self-fulfilling tragedy in the trenches and mud fields of Europe. As the world was to learn, war was not a glorious thing. Perhaps Britain not having engaged in any major wars from 1815-1914 played into the inevitability of war. But certainly, fanatical patriotism, military training in school, hero

worship, 'doing ones part for Queen and Country', the mythologizing of war and the cult of youth made the possibility of war inevitable.

The contribution of public school boys to the efforts of Empire reached its zenith with the calamitous results of the First World War. Approximately 1,157 Old Etonians perished in the War, some twenty percent of Etonians who served. Schools with stronger military traditions figured even worse. "Wellington had an average of 500 pupils before the War; 699 Old Boys were killed in action" (Parker 1987). At Haileybury, one in three boys who entered the school during the years of 1905 and 1912 died in the War. Elsewhere the numbers were equally grim: Shrewsbury, 322; Uppingham, 447; Malvern, 457; Dulwhich, 518; Cheltenham, 675; City of London, 350; Winchester, 500; Harrow, 600; Charterhouse, 686; Marlborough, 733 (Berghoff 1990).

It should be remembered that the patron saint of England is a soldier. Saint George was also a knight, Crusader, chivalrous rescuer of the maiden in distress and dragon slayer. If the military training of the young and the ideals of chivalry could be synthesized and made to justify the Boer War, it is thus not unrealistic to expect the many champions of empire to caste the Great War in terms of a religious crusade or an imperial one at that.

**Rituals, Talismans, Totems and the Old Boy Network**

Students from public schools were bombarded with evocative rituals and symbols. Ritualism and secrecy were part of public-school life and would be re-enacted around the Empire (Rich 1989). "Through rituals, the public-schools defined social position, emphasized the location of power, and molded group behavior" (Rich 1988, 176) and in later life provided strong reminders of lessons learned. Hansen (1986) in *Their Deeds*, discusses this molding and myth-making, concluding: "In any school, myth plays a crucial role in establishing and maintaining what is seen to be legitimate and in labeling certain beliefs as being unacceptable. Myths are employed to anchor the present in the past: myths have qualities that may reinforce the present solidarity and stability that the school is seen to have" (Hansen, 1986, 249).

The rich symbolism and flair for pageantry observed in prefectoral wands, hierarchy of colours and Empire Day celebrations were preparation for the unfolding imperial drama in store for the colonized people. The imperial ritualism learned early in life was more effective than gunboat diplomacy and "kept millions of people in their place" (Rich 1989, 18). Rule by symbols. The British preferred the use of pageantry and the superiority it communicated. It instilled legitimacy and instructed both leadership and "follower ship", depending on which side of the hemisphere you lived on.

This propensity to dress-up was learned in school and practiced further in fraternal organizations (e.g., Masons). The influence of ritualism in childhood and youth could be found in the popularity and prestige of Masonic organizations throughout the Empire. Memberships in Masonic organizations were largely recruited from the public school set.

Schools taught with "equal conviction and success the housemaster credo of King and country" (Mangan 1993, 13). Schools were the forum whereby students learned what William Golding (1967) in *The Pyramid* described as the "Look."

> It was the sort of Look that kept the Empire together, or quelled it at least. Armed with that Look and perhaps a riding crop, white men could keep order easily among the clubs and spears. (Rich 1989, 21-22)

This 'Look' was made up of several qualities learned in school-- the acceptance of public school ritualism, leadership training as a prefect, athletic hard work and an acceptance of British moral superiority. The Hindustani word hikmatalami describes these qualities. "As Indian Civil Servants used it, hikmatalami meant tactful management, the light touch and a background hint of force" (Wilkinson 1964, 103).

Later in life, the blazer badge, initiations, bookplates, heraldry, the school colors and the dressing for dinner were to remain as powerful reminders and comforts of their public school training while in service. They were also a testament to the degree of their commitment, however misplaced and to the

ingrained attitudes of superiority they held, even among their own countrymen and women.

Public-school rituals were the substratum that reinforced the lessons and ideologies learned in school and were the creators of hierarchy (Rich 1988). Ritualism was also a mechanism that insured the reproduction, continuity and security of the public-school. For these reasons, schools like U.C.C. in the periphery of Empire obsessively replicated public school ritualism and pageantry. These pieces were deliberate in linking the boy to his classmates, to his school and to the ideas promoted in school (i. e., the imperial message of dominance and deference -- clannishness and self-satisfied superiority).

Group conformity was imposed through the wearing of uniforms as well as other paraphernalia associated with these schools. Badges, caps, special flannels, blazers and ties were more greedily included as further marks of distinction. The summation of all the dress requirements, the elaborate rules and codes of personal and group conduct was to foster a corporate identity. The pressure to conform was intense. "The more closed the group, the greater the conformity; as the public schools became more concentrated, so the pressures became stronger" (Gathorne-Hardy 1977, 113). There was also ever present pressure to suppress the self through all of this.

Glorification of Empire, militarism and school pride were conspicuous in tributes to Old Boys who served and lost their lives in the various wars of Empire. War memorials, cenotaphs, memorial chapels dedicated to the fallen in Crimea, South Africa and the First World War incorporated a romanticism that was wholly void in these events but nonetheless celebrated the accepted chivalric notions and fatalism of youth. These mini-altars reminded the student of fallen 'heroes' and their responsibilities, duty in times of crisis.

The school tie was an important reminder of their school-boy past. These reminders were carried off to the outer reaches of Empire and served as talismans held throughout their life. The strength of indoctrination and the symbols they carried had religious quality. Old Boy alumni organizations evolved into the continuity maker and de facto gatekeepers that kept tabs on their own after they left the public school nest.

**Academic Curriculum**

An obvious means to indoctrinate the student was through the curriculum but by no means was it the most overt means of accomplishing the establishment of an imperial mentality. Make them "good," make them healthy, not intellectual (Athenian ideal) typified the emerging pedagogy of the mid-to-late-Victorian public school according to Benson (1908). One means to achieve the national ideal of a young man that was a mixture of the Judeo-Christian and Spartan traditions was through the content of the academic curriculum.

Eisner (1979) is useful in dissecting the school curriculum into ways of understanding what is and is not communicated. This separation is especially useful when looking at the public school curriculum. Eisner (1979) breaks down the school curriculum into three parts: the explicit, implicit and the null (i.e., the hidden curriculum).

The explicit curriculum is that which the school advertises. Each course has specific goals and aims of the teachers that students strive to achieve. There is an accepted body of knowledge that is deemed worthy and necessary for that groups future achievement. Students learn the alphabet, computational skills and how to communicate. These are the expected essentials.

The implicit curriculum for Eisner is more than what schools purport. It is the perception by students of what counts, the value given to specific subjects (the result of time and placement in the schedule). The implicit curriculum also teaches social virtues, punctuality, willingness to work hard for deferred pleasure--this is the non-formal side of learning. The implicit curriculum is not only carried by the organizational structure and by pedagogical rules but in more subtle ways. School architecture communicates certain values. "It is a pervasive and ubiquitous set of expectations and rules that defines schooling as a cultural system that itself teaches important lessons."

Perhaps the most significant part of this dissection is what Eisner describes as the "null" curriculum or what is left out. Others (Ball 1987), in contrast, refer

to this aspect as the "hidden curriculum." These terms describe what schools do not teach, either willingly or unwillingly. What schools do not teach is as important as what they do teach. This was especially the case with the lessons communicated in the public school curriculum. This breakdown of curriculum makes a useful guide that I will refer to again in this section.

### The Classics

The Classics formed the foundation of the public school curriculum. Its function originally was to educate those entering the clergy. The curriculum consisted of Latin and Greek Grammar, Rhetoric, written work in Latin and Logic. Renaissance England brought the need for a common language. English served these purposes as an accessible language for popular discourse. The study of Greek language and history was a popular second to Latin, especially with several significant archeological discoveries having been made in the century. The study of these subjects as their utility diminished became the trappings of the cultured. The Classics as claimed by the upper classes, were taught not with thoughtfulness but as a way to pass the time (Campbell 1970).

The prominence of the Classics as described by Goodson (1987) occurs when high status becomes associated with a curriculum that is formally assessed, taught to the 'ablest' children and taught in homogenous ability groups who show themselves most successful. The training of the public school student is not unlike the education of the Mandarin in China (Weber 1952). The Confucian pedagogy emphasized propriety and "bookishness." The aspirant memorized classical literature to pass a rigorous exam that would grant access to powerful administrative positions. Excluded from this 'education' were the sciences, mathematics, astronomy for their vulgarity and non-academic qualities as determined by the cognoscenti.

The Clarendon Commission addressed the role of the Classics in the public school curriculum and decided that because of the lack of utility in its study, the bourgeoisie were placing themselves in a subordinate position to the middle-classes. Middle-class education tended to be more practical and open to innovations like the study of Math and Sciences. Even with the criticism

that the Classics were not taught well, they were still viewed as the best mental training.

For the Greek there was only one set of customs, only one literature, one language, one way of life that mattered: according to the Aristotelian usage that reflects the almost sublime snobbery of the Greeks, barbarian things were unreal– that is to say so obviously imperfect that they should be considered only as waste products involved in the production of the Greek, the real, thing (Gallie 1949, 96). The impact of these lessons was meaningful. The common codes of honor, the 'common cause' and the life of the soldier were messages reflected in the lessons learned in school.

The Classics, according to Parker,

> as perceived by the schools, was a binding agent that held together the various particles of an ethos. Ancient Greece, in particular, was regarded as a model civilization founded upon ideals suitable for emulation. As the long years of peace began to be threatened and as expansionism became a popular ideology, so the example of the Greeks as a warrior nation was held up for comparison. War became ennobled, Death lost its sting, Youth became an object of worship. Emasculated and prettified, the Classics provided a precedent, or an excuse, for the activities and ideals of these very English institutions. (1987, 99)

Much of what was taught was misused or misrepresented serving other purposes. The way the heroism of Homer in the Iliad was portrayed glorified war and elevated it to the most noble of acts. The Classical heroism of the Iliad was in fact a misrepresentation of this work. A more conscious effort would reveal the craven destruction and futility of war as well as the darkness and uncertainty that "heroes" faced (Lamb 1959, 168).

J.W. Mackail's, *Greek Anthology* , first published in 1890, was the public school textual standard for Greek. The text was a celebration of youth, featuring the worship of sports and military accomplishment, strong relationships among men and inclusive of fatalistic and narcissistic emotions among youthful heroes.

At Harrow, there were 26 to 30 hours of class time. The Classics and associated subjects accounted for 18 or 19 hours. At Rugby, 21 hours were devoted to the Classics. In general, 3/4 to 4/5 of a students time was devoted to the study of Latin and Greek (Shrosbree 1988, 33). The time devoted to this subject is significant as it explains the values of its protectors and guides the critic in understanding the guiding forces moving these children.

Eisner identifies that on average, a child spends 480 weeks or 12,000 hours in a public (non-private) secondary day school by the time he/she graduates. The immersion in a culture is so intense and complete as a result of the amount of time that it becomes "a natural way of life that is taken for granted" (1979, 74). What would Eisner say of the British public system that had its students 24 hours a day, seven days a week, 48 weeks a year, for ten years! "School boys spent most of their [pre-adult] life at school. Holidays were twenty or thirty days a year" (Gathorne-Hardy 1977, 34) in the summer. They had holidays at Christmas and Easter as well receiving about two weeks. However, before the expansion of transportation, boys would not typically go home for all three breaks. A public school boy could spend over 50,000 hours at school, a time incomprehensible when considering the ability of the school to shape its charges. If 12,000 hours is sufficient to sculpt children in the culture of the school society, how then could a child resist the endless hours of public school indoctrination?

Math instructors had similar status as French, Fencing or Drawing masters. The status for these masters was low, an inferior position to the Classics master. The non-Classics master was not given the right to wear academic garb, were paid a lower wage and would often be denied direct access to the headmaster (Shrosbree 1988, 33). The Classics master was territorial, and as the majority of headmasters were Classics men, pay and status parity was not forthcoming, even with the obvious faults and acknowledged criticism of the impracticality of the Classics and the rigid methods of instruction. Well over half the time and half the masters were devoted to the study of Classics (e.g., at Eton). The clear majority of headmasters (92 of the 114 listed in 1914) were Classicists. With this intimacy and bond with this discipline it is not surprising that innovation was slow to take root (Wilkenson 1964, 65).

"The use of the Classics was sustained by class pride in the gentlemanly attributes of an education completely useless for anything but cultural or scholarly purpose and which, if pursued only to the common mediocre level, was useless even for that. Its importance was in the maintenance of social order" (Shrosbree 1988, 58). There were however those educators that believed in its value. According to Thring in 1894, "Though it is quite immaterial what subject is taken as the most perfect illustration of the theory... languages, and Greek, and Latin are the most perfect training-ground in the world for training mind" (Stray 1988, 46).

It was this unwillingness to abandon their overwhelming concentration on the classics or to admit that their teaching could be improved that drew public criticism. Criticism fell into two camps, one, classics were badly taught and classics were taught exclusively to the exclusion of science, modern languages, history and geography (Shrosbree 1988, 24). Not all instruction was hopeless or void of men willing to be innovative. Butler of Shrewsbury introduced systematic examinations and a teaching style less reliant on memorization.

"How could businessmen believe that a system of education, utterly disconnected as regards local setting and curriculum of studies from the world of industry and commerce, would equip their sons to play leading parts in industrial and business life" (Gallie 1949, 24)? This reasoning made the export of the curriculum to schools beyond the heartland like U.C.C. difficult. In Britain, the "non-vocational subject area put the stamp on the aspirants claim to status" (Musgrave 1968, 16). Elsewhere in the Empire where the needs were more practical this bias was not so dominant.

The persistence and primacy of the Classics in school curriculum represent the emergence of its public nature over the private, its national significance over its provincial nature in the past (Reid 1987, 302). It becomes a symbol of shared experience and solidarity among those from different schools and backgrounds in their service to the Empire.

"The role of classical knowledge for most of this period was a symbolic badge of elite membership, and its recent detachments from that role, make its history of more general interest" (Shrosbree 1988, 19). The study of the

classical curriculum is a study of cultural transmission and social reproduction. The decline of Classics began in the late 1950's, when Oxbridge abandoned their insistence on a pass in "O" level Latin as a general entrance requirement.

Classical culture was not the thrust of the study, rather a drilling and mastery of grammatical and syntactic paradigms (Shrosbree 1988, 19). Stray argues that Classical "content and status have been linked by a succession of corporate self-images held by dominant social groups: noble elegance, gentlemanly moral integrity, and bourgeois orderliness and self-control" (1975, 46).

**The Curriculum in General**

The superficial treatment of history and geography provided greater weight to the Imperial lessons learned– allowing jingoism to replace thoughtful criticism. Geography lessons catalogued imperial possessions. By adventure stories and pictures, the economic importance of colonial possessions was linked to the continued World dominance of England. "The very curriculum of the public schools supported the Victorians' moral faith in empire.... it seems to have been widely assumed in Victorian classrooms that the British Empire was a splendid thing, for ruler and subject alike" (Wilkinson 1964, 102).

The strict crunching of names of kings and queens and coronation dates was replaced with a sanitized version of history that included only great victories and one-sided routes. Textbooks initially the privilege of the elite, ran-down the working classes. History texts stressed the importance of good character, hard work and sacrifice, that each individual had a part and that emigrants to these lands had the noble spark of the adventurer, that the daring man could gain new experiences, wealth, and conquests for the Nation (Parkin 1892b). The Empire was not just for the individual but for mankind!

The indoctrination of the student to the goals of the Empire was deliberate and evident throughout the curriculum. The development of the cult of Empire and the preparation of children for the battle of life was achieved partly through the slanting of the school syllabus and in myth creation.

Myths were the embellishment if not the creation of stories found in academic subjects that portrayed the British as righteous and naturally superior. Myth-making was an important ingredient in maintaining British cultural hegemony throughout the Empire. History, English, religion and geography were the disciplines that contained the most explicit and overt goals and were at the core of the imperial curriculum.

What was and what was not included in school texts about other cultures is worth noting. The rich histories of the colonized were misrepresented, if not largely ignored. History for most of these cultures began after colonization. What was included after colonization, as the example of India would suggest, was an ethnocentrism that bolstered the cultural superiority of the British, and racist in that it based differences between the British and Indian not on history and location but on biological factors. The Victorian imperial view on race and culture found its way into the non-public school curriculum through textbooks, Board of Education handbooks and manuals on teaching methods had profound impact and a vigorous life until educational reforms in the 1960s and 1970s. A further reflection of the strength of the odorous racial theories of the day and the strength public school as an educational model.

The public school curriculum reflected trends in the greater society of which its concerns were patriotism, militarism, adulation of the monarchy and imperial expansion. Subjects such as History and geography were whittled down to "a series of stark and simple statements about development, progress and racial superiority" (178). Furthermore, the history of England was reduced to a series of unavoidable wars in school texts (MacKenzie 1986). Students again learned the value of patriotism, good citizenship and moral justification. War was justified. The protection of the relationship where the uncivilized were exposed to the civilizing mission of British morality was a repeated message and one echoed throughout the Empire, including U.C.C.. School children were hit with repetition and simplicity. They were not to be confused by complexity. The historian and school textbook writer Seeley was a zealot for such simplicity in his discipline.

Resistance to innovation attests to the conservative nature of these schools and 1000 years of tradition. The sixth form and the lower University forms influenced the curriculum and protected the erosion of its status out of obvious self-interest. Rothblatt (1976) studied nineteenth-century Cambridge for strategies employed by the Dons to insure the dominance of Classics in the tertiary levels of academia. The strength of the Universities in their commitment to the Classics had a trickle-down effect through the training of public school masters and value attached to it. Rothblatt writes (cited in Goodson 1987):

> So deeply rooted was the disdain for commerce and industry, for the values that they were supposed to represent, that numerous dons and non-resident M.A.s decided the worth of an academic subject by its usefulness to commerce and industry. In their view no subject that could be turned to be benefit of business deserved university recognition... whenever it was suspected that the impetus for curricular reform came from commercial or political sources, Cambridge dons arose to denounce the proposed changes as technical, illiberal, utilitarian and soft options. (256-257)

The inclusions of the sciences or modern languages were quickly dismissed because of their practicality and questioned for their utility. Any subject that had the odor of professionalism or the trades was rejected outright as being ungentlemanly pursuits and vulgar. The languages of England's 'enemies' (e.g., French and German) were equally regarded as inferior subjects and "openly derided as 'tinpot' subjects" (Honey 1977, 135). French was believed to lack academic rigour and that the French were not gentlemen by nature. Classroom discipline in these 'non-academic' courses was riotous. The low status of these disciplines was further marked by inferior pay and the prohibition of the wearing of academic robes. Math had been given grudging acceptance in large part due to its acceptability as a serious discipline at Cambridge.

"Masters try to make you imitate, and not think for yourself" (Waugh 1917, 87). He goes on to say: "I own that the Public School system has its faults; but not because of games. It stamps out personality, tries to make types of us all, refuses to allow us to think for ourselves. We have to read and pretend to like what our masters tell us to. No freedom" (Waugh 1917, 156). Teachers

besides serving as models "legitimate their curricula through their shared assumptions about what we all know universities demand" (Goodson 1987, 6). They enhance and maintain the structures in place. According to the Mimetic theory, the role of the teacher is not in providing knowledge or skills but in providing an example for students to imitate, internalizing their values and manners.

Eventual change in the curriculum was out of a competition with Germany and France (rivals on the colonial expansion front), the "march of time," the chipping away at the dominance of the Classics by scientists, through the leadership of individual headmasters and credibility gained as a result of specific scientific discoveries and the force of men of science.

The curriculum served the purpose of creating generalized and simplistic archetypes in the interest of the colonizer. At the most basic level, the curriculum perpetuated control through stereotypes. What is more important, "the school curriculum is an integral part of the culture of society and an effective source of political power" (Mangan 1993, 16).

The outcome of such training was to produce an unassailable self-confidence in the superiority over black, brown, and yellow races. Textbooks and adolescent literature were replete with powerfully crafted and racially demeaning images such as "the self-indulgent, lazy and corrupt African," "the clever and inscrutable Asian" and "the mystical, monkey worshipping Indian."

Curriculum is the medium which Mangan (1993) believes expresses political relationships and represents the distribution of power in a society. The imperial curriculum was a way of establishing and perpetuating political inequalities. The establishment of educational hegemony is the ability to define knowledge that is valued and that shapes collective awareness. School knowledge became imperial knowledge. This knowledge was effective in creating self-belief among the colonizers and self-doubt among the colonized. In short, according to MacKenzie (1984), the curriculum, textbooks and popular literature promoted and sustained political images *inter alia* through well-crafted image construction. The public-school engaged in power control,

knowledge and image shaping which constituted the sum and substance of British colonial education.

Boys when challenged into meaningful thought were capable of challenging the status quo, yet these chances and examples are few. An enlightened educator and a broad curriculum in the case of Repton School were enough to make them aware of a reality different from the popular. A civics course was offered which allowed for topical issues to be discussed freely and with a historical perspective. The boys began to rebel against the simplistic notions that dominated current understanding of the affairs in the Great War through the publication of a school paper. Its controversial nature made it popular but its staying power was ethereal as stronger forces sought to quiet its influence (Parker 1987, 23).

The lack of reflection in a limited curriculum produces negative results. The lack of reflection leads Eisner (1979) to describe the resulting effects on the student.

> The neglect of the cultivation of the imagination can lead to a strictly literal construction. Students can't consider what they do not know. The joys of intellectual self-discovery are restricted when certain disciplines are ignored. These restrictions have consequences in the kinds of lives they can expect to live. (64)

"That the process or style was more important by the end of the century than the actual content is vividly illustrated by a remark in a speech to Old Etonians in 1916 by Lord Plumer, who had been at Eton in the 1870s: 'We are often told that they taught us nothing at Eton. It may be so, but I think they taught it very well' " (Honey 1977, 23). What they did teach well were the beliefs of superiority and self-confidence. A dangerous duo when void of content. The public school emphasized the development "of a restricted conception of thinking" (Eisner 1979, 63). He goes on to say, "a parochial perspective or simplistic analysis is the inevitable progeny of ignorance ... ignorance is not a neutral void" (Eisner 1979, 83).

> Failure to link in curriculum past with perspective of curriculum present. We then have sociological snapshots of contemporary curriculum juxtaposed with periodized histories of past curriculum:

> two kinds of study developed by different scholars in different places at different times. As a result past and present seldom meet. (Goodson 1985, 1)

"This historical linkage is important because the 'designations and interpretations through which people form and maintain their organized relations are always in degree of carry-over from their past. To ignore this carry-over sets a genuine risk for the scholar" (Goodson 1985, 1).

Such work according to Goodson (1985) will "improve our knowledge of school curriculum and will answer questions as to why traditions in school survive. He goes on to impress the point that "greater knowledge of historical precedents, antecedents and traditions can facilitate more sensitive management and implementation of contemporary curriculum" (7). The value for countries that had placed over them the educational framework of the colonizing powers is in challenging, informing and generating new theory to deal with this legacy (Heussler 1963, 100).

**Victorian Values and Christianity**

Public-school education was infused with Christian morality. Students were compelled to listen to the sermons given by their headmasters on the great truths of Christianity. These sermons were also laced with references to the British Empire in the service of which, no doubt, many of the boys' parents were then active (Leinster-McKay 1988). While students learned of their Christian responsibility to bring those in far-off lands into contact with British morality, the general conditions and their treatment fit the intentions of imperial schooling that valued the qualities that sacrifice produced.

Sacrifice as learned from the life of Christ held power over the philosophy of public school life. These institutions did not have it as their chief goal to produce clergy as they once did in ancient times. Rather, the Christian gentleman was the wished-upon result by headmasters and families alike.

The majority of top clerical positions in the country and Empire were filled by public school boys. Moving from the headmasters position into a clerical post

was common, if not the natural extension of the public school life. Butler of Shrewsbury became the Bishop of Lichfield, Tait and Temple of Rugby and Benson of Wellington became Archbishops of Canterbury. The religious affiliation and orientation of the majority of public schools were Anglican. Its students were mostly Anglican as were most of the masters and headmasters.

The movement of the chapel to the campus marked an integrated system of social and ideological control. (Simon & Bradley 1975, 15). The school became more self-contained and its social control complete. The construction of chapels on the school campus had an insular effect. Schools meshed Christian responsibility with civic responsibility. Make the marriage work for good. Mangan, (1986b) stated that imperial enthusiasm was really Christian militancy in the guise of imperial philanthropy. This produced the aura of moral superiority. To Christianize the leadership would also mean the salvation of English society against revolutionary change that affected France earlier (Parker 1987). Many public school leaders shared Arnold's panic that without Christian education, civilization would collapse (Gathorne-Hardy 1977, 101).

The reality of this training and the expected results from men like Arnold in the production of Christian gentleman was not actualized. Religious instruction was given through class and a routine of religious observance in the school chapel, morning and evening prayer. Much of this instruction was a farce, and that, far from contributing in any way to religious life and knowledge, they definitely militated against both (Gallie 1949, 135). The idea that the public school boy's code of honour forces him to own up at once is entirely erroneous. Boys only own up when they are bound to be found out; they are not quixotic (Waugh 1917, 56). "All he [the school boy] saw was that life was built of shams, that no one worshipped anything but the god of things that seem" (Waugh 1917, 280, brackets added). What with the confusion that was fostered by brutality, neglect and the victimization of the weak, it is understandable the doubt that could develop in this environment. Where is the love of Christ in an unwarranted thrashing? Christianity was offered up simply and used to perpetuate moral smugness.

Religious practice was more ritual than substance, what was learned was corrupted and distorted. The "Golden Rule" was transformed into the "Golden Rod" that fit nicely into the popular "might maketh right" philosophy of the imperialists. Christianity became a framework for cults to adopt. The Christian influence would eventually be displaced by the worship of athletics and games.

The school hall became a secular chapel, whereby the days announcements, sporting results, awards and guest visits were held. The hall and the playing fields became a rival to the chapel for the satiation of spiritual needs. Alec Waugh (1922) observed in *A Public School Life* that "religion plays, and will play, a small part in a boy's life at school. A boy has been told to believe certain things by his parents... they are not real to him... his religion, if he has one, is an unswerving devotion to his house and school" (cited in Mangan 1987, 147).

> Life in the schools frequently owed little to the Christian values and can be better understood by reference to a simplicity decoded Darwinian interpretation of existence that harmonized with the wider social values of the time. (Mangan 1987, 152)

"Schools represented places of worship, with headmasters and their staff (frequently in holy orders) representing priests, uniforms and old school ties provided vestments, and the verses of the *Eton Boating Song* or *Forty Years On* serving as hymns" (Parker 1987, 19). Criticism of the public school, its theology and rituals was minimal for the same reasons criticism of the church was to engage in an act of blasphemy and sacrilege.

**Cult of Masculinity, Darwin and Athleticism**

The virtue of manliness was a fixation of Victorian England and one that had strong roots into the public school. It is an idea full of ambiguity, "a concept that was always changing in the Victorian public school" (Vance 1975, 115). Vance distinguishes "at least four basic types: the chivalric, the sentimental-benevolent, the sturdy English, and the Moral" (1975, 115). The meaning of this concept for Thomas Hughes who lectured on the "Manliness of Christ" was openness and transparent honesty (Newsome 1961, 195). For Arnold

manliness represented moral maturity. "His ideal owed little to the games field" (Vance 1975, 119).

"Concerns about vigorous action were heightened by the demands of the Crimean War (1854-56) and the needs of the nation that was engaged in empire-building.... The body may serve as a symbol-or-icon for communicating customs, role expectations, and perceived relationships to nature and even the cosmos" (Mangan 1987, 11). The human body may symbolically convey deeply held cultural convictions and values. The mind is the seat of the "will." The will performs a decisive role in the formation of character. Since mind and body are connected, it is assumed that to strengthen the body one strengthens the will (Mangan 1987, 9).

"I act therefore I am." Kingsley saw manliness as more than fulfilling potential and high moral tone, rather it was robust energy, spirited courage and physical vitality. According to Kingsley, a love of athleticism stemmed from the needs of the schools and the all pervading ideology of 'muscular Christianity' that he approved of and found appropriate to a nation engaged on imperialist expansion. "Too frequently, there was an ideology for public consumption and an ideology for personal practice; in a phrase muscular Christianity for the consumer, social Darwinism for the constrained" (Mangan 1987, 139).

"Darwin in short had discovered a highly ingenious way by means of which not only biologists but ordinary intelligent reading public of his day could 'catch up' with modern science" (Clark 1948, 75). Clark asserts that the acceptance and the spread of evolution were favoured because it "offered a philosophy of optimism" (Clark 1948, 75). Darwinism appealed to the industrialists "who saw in the doctrine a universal law of nature that would serve to justify their own practices" (Mangan 1987, 141). The schools were receptive to the spirit of the times, "embracing athleticism, adopting aggressive patriotism and reflecting a post-Darwinian agnosticism" (Mangan 1987, 141).

According to Himmelfarb (1968), "Darwinism has spawned a multitude of contradictory social theories. It is the ancestor of Laissez-fairism and

socialism, racism and anti-racism, segregation and desegregation, militarism and anti-militarism, Marxism and evolutionary socialism, social engineering and eugenics" (cited in Mangan 1987, 139).

In the theories of Darwin, Spencer and "eugenicists" like Francis Galton and Karl Pearson the ideal of superiority of moral, racial, and cultural could be justified. The origins of this superiority according to Walvin (1987) can be traced to the British campaign against the world slave trade. The anti-slavery movement became a potent symbol of British moral superiority. The world was simply broken down into the civilized and the uncivilized based on their own self-serving criteria (Searle 1976).

Superiority of things British, especially the British accomplishments at games contained a deeper, darker side, which is the logical offspring of cultural superiority and that element was racial superiority (Mangan 1992). Men of education, leadership and influence adopted and promoted deviations of Darwin's theories as well as the most repugnant elements of eugenics (e.g., the writer and anti-papist Charles Kingsley). Headmaster and popular novelist Farrar of Marlborough a supporter of Darwin believed in the inferiority of the African races. "The savage races are without a past and without a future, doomed as races infinitely nobler have been before them, to a rapid and entire and perhaps for the highest destines of mankind, an enviable extinction" (Mangan 1987, 251). Headmaster of Eton, Lyttelton was a prominent leader in the eugenics movement. The Butler family through marriage was related to both Galton and Darwin, making the connection of these ideas directly to the public schools through their leadership . Thus partiality to a curriculum that supported these views would come as no surprise (Musgrove 1978).

The ability to dominate the environment through hunting, killing and classification was popularized through the return to a healthier athletic ideal (Searle 1971). Hunting reflected the perfect expression of global dominance, requiring the most virile attributes of the imperial male; courage, endurance, individualism, sportsmanship, resourcefulness, a mastery of environmental signs and natural history.

Sexual separation is often a characteristic of dominant societies and was a key dynamic in the development of the manliness ethos. Young boys were separated from women often at the age of eight, the minimum entering age for most public schools. Before entering school, some boys were often placed in the care of nannies and nurses. The sexual separation as experienced in public schools, youth organizations, juvenile literature, the social club and military mess were pervasive and persuasive (Mangan 1987, 180).

The concept of manliness was compatible with Empire building. Manliness was a frequently used term to describe one of the more readily identifiable Victorian values. Other Victorian values included clean living, abstinence, good health both physical and moral, Spartan living conditions. These values were in resistance to the "debilitating materialism" ascribed to city living. Energetic action was championed over unhealthy reflection. It was purported by men like Baden-Powell that urban living had made men "soft and feckless." This was especially the sentiment in a post First World War England.

As the century was coming to a close, the manliness ideal "tended to be diverted more and more into military channels. Militarism fused with, or even supplanted, the games cult as the chief manly ideal" (Vance 1975, 127). Best (1975) takes this further by linking militarism with sports in two ways: producing strength and physical health, "indispensable to a good soldier" and the "special value attributed to team games in training the essential qualities of the officer and leader" (141). Both rather dubious justifications.

**Games Playing**

The condition of living and traveling among the colonial possessions was not made easy with the simplicity of medical knowledge, sanitation and transportation. A strong and lithesome countenance was needed. "Fortunately, British schools had developed the perfect tool for perfecting and honing the physical and collective qualities needed in such a venture-- school games" (Walvin 1987, 248).

Games playing became organized around 1860. Games (e.g., Cricket and Rugby) had coaching, proper fields and competitions within and outside the school. A schools success was the result of vigorous headmasters and "a particular stern athleticism and its cult of long distance running and rugby football" (Gallie 1949, 23). The development was a by-product of British capitalism. Between 1880-1900 most schools made participation compulsory. Many schools required students not directly involved in the sport of the day to participate as fans, to cheer on their house or school. "At Bedford by 1899 it was noted that 'all those who like to participate [in games] may participate, and all others must' " (Honey 1977, 114). The study of Classics had a rival in Athletic participation.

"Moral lessons of both the battlefield and life were taught in the Victorian and Edwardian public school through games-playing and the endless stream of poems, rhymes and songs which were rife with the language and metaphor of self-sacrifice and character developed in games-playing" (Mangan 1988, 10). Games mania coincided with the dominance of imperialism, and the public schools became, in Mack's words, mints for coining of Empire-builders (Mack 1941). The Sudan, for example, was described as "a country of blacks run by blues" (Richards 1988, 14).

The influence of imperial objectives and materialistic industrialism was expressed in the rise of athletics interest. This spirit of athletic supremacy in the public school is captured by Waugh (1917) in *Loom of Youth* when he said, "Fernhurst taught me everything; made me worship games, and think that they alone mattered, and everything else could go to the deuce" (53). According to Gallie, "the great landmarks in our lives were periodic tests of physical skill and endurance, or of 'smartness' in the case of parades" (Gallie 1949, 13). The standard defense of the British games tradition is based on team sense and fair play.

> There is the tendency to confuse team sense with a sense of fair play or, in more general terms, sense of justice. I have said that team sense is very intimately bound up with an appreciation of the rules, written and unwritten, which define fair play within a given game. But when the idea of team sense is applied outside games there is always the question of whether 'the other side' really wishes to play this 'game', or

> to play in accordance with the rules one's own side accepts. Here we come against a weak spot in an Englishmen's political morality. They may play their 'game' fairly enough, according to its rules: but they may at the same time show a perverse or callous blindness to the way this game looks to the other side. And this brings us to the important point, that team sense is not in itself a moral quality or asset at all; rather, it is more like a psychological technique for effective group action— action that can be directed either to worthy or unworthy ends. To take extreme examples: My country, right or wrong. (Gallie 1949, 37)

Athleticism functioned as a highly effective way to inculcate the public-school student with the imperial ethos. The suggested values taught through athleticism included stoicism, a sense of mission and team spirit. "The imperial culture formulated by men during Victorian and Edwardian times were soundly based on athleticism" (Brownfoot 1990, 47-48). The chosen means for fostering these imperial virtues were team sports. T. C. Worsley summed up the function of athletics in the development of the student as "the wheel around which moral values turned" (Mangan 1986a, 18). Athletics was a decisive instrument in training a boy's character. Woe to the child who did not participate in these public school rights of indoctrination.

Athletics with its elevation in status grew the popularity of the student athlete as a hero. The hero status and the leadership position of the athlete gave these leaders further power as the source for prefects. The result of forging physical and moral courage led to "an even less tenable proposition that moral worth was a concomitant of athletic prowess" (Parker 1987, 81). That this was not the case is seen in the development of the "blood." The bloods being a swaggering, vain, imperious athlete who held sway over the school as he mistreated fags, caned wantonly, were a law unto themselves. These were representative qualities of the malignant imperialist.

The Rev. E. L. Browne, headmaster of St. Andrew's School, Eastbourne captured the zealous sentiments of the Victorian era and that of many of his colleagues for the instructive importance of cricket and contempt for those who did not join in when he wrote this tongue-and-cheek poem called *The Feminine Boy:*

> If cursed by a son who declined to play cricket
> (Supposing him sound and sufficient in thews),
> I'd larrup him well with a third of a wicket,
> Selecting safe parts of his body to bruise.
> In his mind such an urchin King Solomon had
> When he said, 'Spare the stump, and you bungle the lad!'
>
> For what in the world is the use of a creature
> All flabbily bent on avoiding the pitch?
> Who wanders about, with a sob in each feature,
> Devising a headache, inventing a stitch?
> There surely would be a quick end to my joy
> If possessed of that monster— the feminine boy!
> (Leinster-Mackay 1988, 69)

Cyril Norwood, headmaster of Harrow School from 1926 to 1934, considered that "the acquisition, maintenance and development of the Empire was the product of the English tradition of education" (Newsome 1961). This tradition relied heavily on the use of games. Norwood, much like his peers, firmly believed that cricket "had supplied a new conception of chivalry to the common stock of national ideas, but rugby football promoted the cardinal virtues appropriate to the imperialist: unselfishness, fearlessness and self-control" (Mangan 1986a, 23). Cricket was viewed as a noble game, of which even a master ignorant of its rules was expected to value the virtues it communicated.

The core aim of these sports was to build character. It was considered by public and preparatory school masters as providing a balance to the classroom learning of Greek and Latin. Athletics, it was believed helped to prepare the student to deal with life situations both at home and abroad. Again, I will let the words of another public school headmaster explain the importance of athletics. Headmaster J. C. Dowding stated in a Special Report of 1900:

> It is the spirit that loves these games and in turn is fostered by them, that has made England a dominant nation— to be covetous of honour, slow to admit defeat, appreciative of discipline, self-reliant, ready of resource, quick to catch an opportunity, prompt to accept responsibility, and above all, to be willing to sink the personal in the public interest, is to be English-like, and we pride ourselves on the foreigner's inability

> to understand the mad Englishman who finishes his game of bowls within sight of an Armada, or who while his rivals are hurriedly raising earthworks and sinking rifle pits, levels himself a cricket ground. (Gray 1913, 167)

The fixation on games, according to Parker was self-generating. The flow into University by athletic types perpetuated the cult of athleticism often producing a keener athletic type desired by public schools with a tradition and prowess in sports, further elevating the virtues of athletics over cerebral exercises. This vicious circle dealt another blow to the quality of instruction, as these new masters had to teach something-- usually the Classics. "A rugger blue had replaced the first-class degree as a qualification for a career as a public-school master" (Parker 1987, 78). Eton had on staff professional sportsmen (not unusual), a selling point for the school that did stir the concern of their provost (Vance 1975, 12). Headmasters although not hired for their sporting ability were often great cheerleaders for their use as a character building tool (e.g., Almond of Loretto School).

Critics voiced their concern over the creeping dominance of games. "Matthew Arnold, son of Thomas Arnold of Rugby, inveighed against sporting barbarism in the schools, deeming it a threat to culture" (Vance 1975, 125 and Connell 1950). Oscar Browning came to regard the "rising tide of Philistine athleticism as disastrous for the school and the country" (Vance 1975, 122).

Preparatory and public school games not only prepared a boy for public service abroad, but also instilled in him this essence of imperial Darwinism-- the cult of manly athleticism. E. S. Dunning, Headmaster of Wolborough Hill School observed: "The boy who learns to play for his side at school will do good work for his country as a man" (Leinster-Mackey 1988, 72). Games playing and athleticism was a critical part of the public-school curriculum; excessive displays of emotion were regarded with contempt and as bad form; patriotism and serving the Monarchy and Empire became the main sentiments that the system sought to inculcate (Newsome 1961).

Athletic competitions between schools became great social events (e.g., Eton v. Harrow cricket match at Lords Cricket Grounds, Henley Rowing Regatta). Athletic events between public schools even took over the non-public school consciousness. Scores and details of competitions (e.g., cricket, rowing and rugby) were well covered in the weeklies and newspapers of the day.

Competitions between houses, and then between other schools was patriotism on a small scale. The games were played not for money but for the glories that went with victory. The athlete participant learned in theory leadership skills, to organize and execute plans and so on. Did these lessons translate into success in the field? Physical fitness is the only personal development that satisfied basic military needs. At the onset of the First World War, recruitment of public boys who were skilled at the bat were known to have received commissions. A minor improvement from the pre-Boer War days when an officers commission could be bought. All other lessons learned from sports are less tenable. As First World War was to show, war was not a game.

*The playing field of Eton* mantra was based on what scholars now identify as an anti-intellectual cult of masculinity. Like most cults, this one failed to equip many of its followers to meet the rigors of living in the colonies and did not ensure success. There are countless stories about the muscular, Christian Old Boy scratching out a pathetic existence in far off lands. Skill with the cricket bat was no substitute for knowledge about farming, veterinary science, empathy or compassion (e.g., *Burmese Days* by George Orwell).

'Fair play' became the motto of a nation whose ideology and religious faith was subsumed in Imperialism, with its belief in the British as the elect who had a "God-given" duty to govern and civilize the world" (Mangan 1987, 104). Athletics was a potent piece in the framework of imperial education and an extremely exportable one as seen in the success and popularity of cricket and rugby around from Upper Canada College to Mayo College, Ajmere. But it was not the only piece. The multiple layers of educating and reinforcing the messages of the divine and natural rights of British imperialism are fascinating for their completeness and longevity. How else could the British

Empire hold on to its possessions for as long as it did if it were not for the training provided by the public school and the replication of these schools in the periphery.

**Juvenile and Adult Literature**

Juvenile Fiction continued where the learning in a formal setting stopped. Many educators used juvenile fiction such as the stories and poems of Kipling, Frank Richards, and the popular *Boy's Own Paper* that featured serialized stories steeped in military and racial pride to reinforce their imperial notions. Juvenile fiction also reaffirmed the values and importance of games (Goody & Watt 1970). The influence of the *Boy's Own Paper* reached beyond the upper-classes to the working class. Athletics and games playing were a staple feature of these publications.

Team sports were viewed as having the most beneficial group good (Mangan 1987, 66). The link between sports and the perpetuation of the imperial mission was constantly made in the *Boy's Own Paper*. Such ideas as the reputation and supremacy of the Empire reliant on the skills developed in public school sport were reiterated ad nauseam in stories and features.

George Orwell criticized publications like *Gem, Boys' Weeklies, Magnet* (published by Amalgamated Press which also published several "right-wing" newspapers) for their intentions of spreading the upper-class ideals of patriotism, chivalry and honor (Parker 1987, 126). What concerned Orwell was the orchestrated infection of the working class with the above-mentioned upper-class values and aspirations. The price of these publications made them accessible to all social levels. They were also sought-after publications for families and children with social aspirations providing a romanticized and distorted insight into public schooling. The public school and school boy as represented in the public school magazine or novel rarely were recognizable to the physical/ living flesh example.

"Fiction had the advantage of a much more nearly universal availability" (Bratton 1986, 76). Bratton explains that the strength of this form of indoctrination (i.e., juvenile fiction) is its provision of "... privacy, enabling

the direct messages inculcating imperial ambitions, and national, familial and racial pride, to be received without a blush .... so that no one need feel repelled by being forced to undergo indoctrination" (1986, 76).

Juvenile literature was an escape from the more obvious, repressive and direct forms of indoctrination found in school and equally powerful in its image construction. The writer and poet, Sir Henry Newbolt believed that fiction geared towards the youth of Britain was far more potent in eliciting imaginative identification with English history and in creating a particular emotional response, than the messy and unsatisfactory reality could accomplish (Bratton 1986).

The public school novel should be viewed for its factual insight into what went on in these institutions. I pick up with a conversation between several public school boys reading and commenting on an article from a public school oriented magazine to highlight the usefulness of fiction in gaining further understanding of the powerful community nurtured in the public school.

> Critics complain that education and the more serious issues of life are neglected; that a boy is discussing averages while his German brother is interested in Shakespeare. We reply that the Public Schools aim at something higher than mere culture. They build up character and turn out the manly, clean-living men that are the rock of empire.... They teach boys something which is more important than the classics. They teach them to play the game.... don't matter him taking five years to reach the upper school if he's a clean-living manly Empire-builder like Cadby. (Lamb 1959, 56)

**Concluding Remarks**

It is in a remark made by Lord Lugard in 1922, cited by Carnoy (1974) in *Education and Cultural Imperialism* entitled, "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa," that captures the lessons taught and the lessons learned in the British public school.

> As Roman imperialism laid the foundation of modern civilization, and led the wild barbarians of these islands {Britain} along the path of progress, so in Africa today we are repaying the debt, and bringing to the dark places of the earth– the abode of

> barbarism and cruelty-- the torch of culture and progress, while ministering to the material needs of our own civilization... we hold these countries because it is the genius of our race to colonize, to trade, and to govern. (Carnoy 1974, title page)

I have argued that the role of the headmaster, Victorian Christianity, athleticism and rituals, had as individual components, a profound impact. The public-school packaged these components together into a highly efficient unit of indoctrination and imperial training that produced champions of the Empire. Every pore of the public school community was suffuse with the imperial version of reality. Public schools were effective devices in shaping the character of students who became colonial rulers. The seeds of self confidence instilled the faith that the Empire could be run like a public school. The student was equipped with the self-importance and "unflinchingness" needed to lord over tribal chiefs and fierce Bedouins (Rich 1989).

The blending of the academic with the spiritual produced what has been commonly referred to as the learning of "godliness and good learning." The religious environment and moral training further influenced the rationalization for the colonizer to colonize. It produced another justification for the British mandate of imperial rule. Students learned through their evangelical, Victorian education the inherent messages of imperial philanthropy and to do so with missionary zeal and enthusiasm (Newsome 1961). The lessons of youth were never far from hand or distant in mind. Often with no 'real' training prior to imperial duties, decisions were based on their public school experience alone.

It was the use of rituals as effective tools in every aspect of public school life that constructed life-time adherence to principals that sustained the Empire. Rituals (i. e., school pageantry and later in life Masonic alliances) had a lasting impact. Athletics fit nicely into the ritualistic practices through inculcating the young with the maniacal passions that the Empire came to represent. The cult of athleticism does not necessarily explain public-school imperialism, rather it is a manifestation of it. Clearly, ritualism found in athletics, chapel and school organizations were as important in developing imperial mentalities as was indoctrination through academics.

The British imperial mentality was vigorously forced on the public school student and readily ingested. Remnants of this mentality continue to exist today among the former colonizer and the colonized from the malignant to the benign. As countries, liberated from colonial control seek to develop more inclusive educational systems the question of what role will educational practices, shaped by the public school model, influence policy choices. How then do we make changes to these frameworks?

Changes start by first identifying and then correcting the frameworks that produce these imperial mentalities. Through research, discussion and debate well informed decision could be made that can lead to curricular reform and lead to changes in how we view these hidden and fortified institutions. Edward Said (1993) in *Culture and Imperialism* makes the point how one must look to the culture of the dominant power to understand the effects of colonialism. To which I agree.

The person or rather group that controls language wields power. The public school education and the imperial ethos that were effectively communicated through the curriculum, school leadership and organization were in part about the monopoly of language discourse. The public school system on another level reflected the one-way traffic between the European and the native, between the English bourgeoisie/middle class and the ruled as found through out the Empire.

The development of the mentality described in this previous section was not an unique occurrence isolated to the British public school. The institutions of Empire of which its educational system was a significant part, was envied for what it was perceived in turning out. The institution was perceived by the white and non-white populations under the thumb of Britain as something of value, however appropriate or inappropriate it was for their situation. I will explore in my case study of Canada's Upper Canada College the sum and substance of the influence the British public school had on developing an imperial mentality through its exported institutional attributes and also how the encouragement of this mentality supported the objectives of the college and country.

## V. Upper Canada College: A Case Study

### Introduction

The British public school model was rigidly copied by colonial administrators for the education of the colonizers and indigenous elites. The creation of public schools for the native elites was out of a mix of Victorian motives--imperial calculation (e.g., divide and rule), ethnocentric self-confidence, the civilizing mission and well-meaning benevolence (Mangan 1987). As powerful as the public school model was in preparing leaders, so too did it provide a convincing model for colonized elites to follow.

Public schools designed for non-white elites sought (e.g., India and Malaysia) to secure compliance "to the gubernatorial standards of the imperial race" (Mangan 1987, 107). The aim of Malay College was to educate the sons of the Malays of the Rajah and higher classes "to be trained on the lines of an English public school and be fitted to take a share in the government of their country" (*Illustrated London News* 1961a, 97). Cadet Corps and rugby were mechanisms whereby the students learned British ideals and virtues.

The use of cricket, rugby and rowing, prefects, Victorian architecture, school uniforms, the Classical curriculum and rituals in quasi-public schools organized throughout the Empire were attempts to pass on the character building lessons that made the British a "great and moral" nation. Malay College (1905), Kuala Kangsar, Malaya and Mayo College (1872), Ajmere, the "Eton of India" were two schools based exclusively on the British model (*Illustrated London News*, 1961a). "The imperialists were sure of their own moral strength; firm in the conviction of oriental moral infirmity; certain of the gifts of character they had to bestow" (Mangan 1987, 106-107).

The adoption, acceptance and maintenance of these educational structures in the non-white colonies were not out of filial respect for "things British" but rather it provided greater self-control, it was an avenue to economic opportunity and access power at the expense of their identity. Ward (1959) writes of an experience he had at a West African school that illuminates this point. At this school, styled in the fashion of the British public school, he

advised a boy to drop Latin because he had no capacity for it. The boys father wrote in reply requesting his son continue his studies because "all Englishmen studied Latin, ... to have the chance in life as if he were English" (194).

A further example that reflects the urgency and influence of the British system has to do with the form in which it was delivered. "Staff recruitment from England was not resented but demanded" (Rich 1989, 40). At King's College Budo in Uganda, students rebelled when a headmaster was named from a neighboring school. "Naturally in the opinion of every Budo boy, an interior-school, was a blow to Budo *kitibwa* (pride)" (Rich 1989, 40). The colonized regarded western knowledge as power and western educators as the legitimate communicators (Whitehead 1981).

Some whites unable or unwilling to send their children to British public schools, founded their own "public" style schools. Allowing for the creation of a local leadership class sympathetic to the demands of empire. In 1879, the British Minister of Education, Hon. William Rolleston stated that the aim of education was to give the children of New Zealand an education not inferior to that which could be obtained in the primary and public schools of England and Scotland (Whitehead 1988). Schools in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa (e.g., King's School (1832), Parramatta, New South Wales, Christ's College (1859), New Zealand, St. John's College (1898), Johannesburg, South Africa) adopted the British model (*Illustrated London News* 1958). These institutions reflected through their imitations a strong belief in the inherent superiority of single sex education over co-education, in the prefect system, sports (e.g., especially rugby) and in the manly values instilled in boys through caning. (*Illustrated London News* 1961b, 745-748).

Traditions in the overseas 'public' schools were quick to be created and readily accepted (*Illustrated London News* 1961c). These schools adopted all the trappings that have come to be equated with the elite schools like Eton and Winchester (Gathorne-Hardy 1977, 123). A good example would be Plumtree in Rhodesia, founded in 1900. Those organizing the school sent for a Mr. Hammond, a Wyckamist, who introduced fagging, school colours, prefects, athletics and beatings.

The formation of hundreds of schools styled after the Victorian public school across the Empire was done so with enthusiasm and the absolute belief among imperialist educators that these schools would meet the needs of the colonies and dominions. "These were reproductions of their British originals, and like them dedicated to the cultivation of 'character' " (James 1992, 413). The growth of public school styled institutions can also be attributed to the lack of innovation and integration of the social and pedagogical demands of the local community (Barman 1984). These schools did not dramatically tailor themselves to the needs of students, rather students conformed to the standard of the school, as alien as that might have been.

A large component of imperialism is the process of imitation not innovation or cultural sensitivity. The strength and vigor of the public school curriculum and the quality of its product were captured in the degree and depth its imitators, like Canada imitated. The most prominent and "British" was Upper Canada College founded during Arnold's tenure at Rugby and modeled after Eton-- supplying Canada with the necessary leadership to maintain and grow the Empire.

Upper Canada College (U.C.C.), Toronto was an exemplar of what the British public school sought to nurture among its students (i.e., an institution in service to the country and Empire). The importance of the public school was in its inherent power, in its structure and ideas to influence and establish control. Access to knowledge and the value attached to it were mechanisms of imperial control. The educational model adopted by U.C.C., as in England, insured power, conferred status, influenced the nation's ideology and made judgments on what was valued. U.C.C. developed into a reflection of its "Mother" country.

The school identified service to the Empire as one of its important goals. The first principal of U.C.C. stated that the philosophy of the college was to assist in "building up our young Canadian nation, ... and to take part in the illustrious service of the Motherland, in the wider and grander interests of the Empire" (Dickson 1893, 9). There is little doubt as to the country of influence. The model for U.C.C. has been identified from various sources as

Rugby, Uppingham and Winchester. It has also been known as the 'Eton of Canada.'

At U.C.C. the classics were the pedagogy of choice, inspired by Oxford and Cambridge and taught by its graduates. The college was Anglican, patriotic, catered to the middle and upper-class. It relied on prefects, organized in forms, suffered from Christian-masculinity and the cult of athleticism and ruled by great champions of Empire in order to produce a needed intelligentsia. The college was criticized throughout its history for being elite, slow to change in every aspect of school life and a "hot-house for non-intellectual conservatism" (Howard 1979, 227). Its very essence (producing leaders for Canada and Empire) was sculpted by the British model from its conception.

The list of graduates of U.C.C. or 'Old Boys,' as they refer to themselves, who served the Empire was impressive. Military men fought with distinction in the Crimea, Indian Mutiny, Maori War, Boer War, W.W.I and W.W.II along side their imperial brothers. Old Boys also served as members of the Imperial Parliament, Dominion House of Commons, Chief Justices and as Academic Chairs, Presidents and Surgeons. They have been recipients of Rhodes Scholarships and Royal titles. U.C.C. boys have distinguished themselves in the pulpit, have been successful explorers, geologists and engineers; they "have upheld the honour of their country in civil government, diplomacy, and 'stagecraft'; distinguished themselves in art, literature, and poetry; ... have held high commands in British and Canadian armies" (Thomson 1893, 69-70).

One of the most celebrated Old Boys was Alexander Dunn. Alexander Dunn "was among the 'Six Hundred' of deathless fame who charged at Balaclava, and who had the honour to win the Victoria Cross" (Thomson 1893, 70). "With such a record to look back upon, Upper Canada College can surely claim, with justice, to be an institution for the training of Leaders" (Dickson 1893, 5).

As quick and self-promoting as Old Boys and headmasters were in claiming achievement, they were also ready with comparisons to the British public schools. Most new private schools, including those in England used the

ancient public schools as the standard of comparison. In Canada the use of the comparison was also an effort to show their social equality. I return to the hyperbole of Dickson (1893), when he compared the accomplishments of his U.C.C. with the great public schools of England.

> We may not be able, for example, with veracious chroniclers of Westminster School, to boast, that a headmaster could once number among his pupils sixteen judges on the bench or that out of eight field-marshals in the British army, five had been educated during his regime at school. (10)

However, Dickson speaking of U.C.C. goes on to explain,

> its Canadian *counterpart* ... may shine with a lustre of its own, – with the reflected light of Old World scholarship, and the aid of such local suns as have given it vitality, and guided it with the glow of the west... Upper Canada College ... has been the fruitful mother of such talent as a great lusty Province can claim as the source and stimulus of half-a-century's prosperity and honour. (1893, 10-11)

Not only did U.C.C. copy the public school model and its characteristic parts, it also accepted how the working of these parts produced a recognizable type. They wanted to produce the 'type' of graduate the public school was lauded for turning out which was the manly, Christian, athletic, morally superior, self-less, patriotic leader of empire. These traits, ideals and virtues typified the mentality of the Victorian and Edwardian imperialist in Canada, England and across the Empire in different proportions and incantations. The college reflected the demands of Canadian imperialists and served as a means to reproduce these values in the boys who passed through its gates. No school in the Empire contributed more to, or embraced more fully, the imperial ethos than Upper Canada College.

**Imperialism in Canada**

Canadian imperialism was infused with religious emotion and idealism. "Parkin of U.C.C. and Principal Grant of Queen's University defined the Canadian 'mission' as the duty and responsibility of bringing order to the dark places of the world and uplifting the 'weaker races' " (Berger 1966, ii). Canadian imperialism was also infused with nationalism. "Canadian imperialists were able to reconcile Canadian nationalism with imperialism because they were convinced of Canadian character, history and 'mission' in a definite and peculiar way. They hoped that in the future, transformation of the Empire, Canada would attain full national stature and become a great world power" (Berger 1966, ii).

There were various forms of Canadian imperialism. There were imperial federalists who "believed that certain cohesive forces (e.g., common race, history, tradition, moral ideas) provided the basis of a rudimentary form of imperial unity, and they conceived their task as one devoted to arousing the popular consciousness of these forces and strengthening common material interests" (Berger 1966, 5). As outlined by Berger another interpretation of Canadian imperialism focused on economic considerations. Based on economic insecurity and opportunity there was a willingness of these imperialists to support measures contributing to imperial defense which had provided the country with many advantages (Berger 1966, 8). Still another interpretation was "the belief that imperialism, far from being in disharmony with Canadian nationalism, was but an amplification of it" (Berger 1966, 11).

Canadian imperialism and British imperialism were different in terms of the power they wielded globally (Penlington 1965). However, the dominant themes of imperial unity, racism (i.e., "northernness"), militarism and social Darwinism as they appeared in Britain were also the ingredients that made up Canadian imperialism (Berger 1966, 12). Racism manifested itself from the belief that there existed an innate aptitude of certain races over others. Social Darwinism was an accepted reasoning adopted by imperialists for its justification of leadership positions and social position.

Before the First World War, "adherents of the Canadian imperial movement championed extensive military preparations not only for reasons of defense, but also because they were convinced that military training would combat the degeneracy of an urbanized and effete generation" (Berger 1966, ii). Imperialism changed its tone in the late nineteenth-century. As Berger notes in *Sense of Power* (1970), "empire was transformed from the noble crusade of the 1890's to the military alliance of 1914" (Page 1970, 43). Imperialism was becoming far less rational, "taking on a more military flavour" (Page 1970, 43), the start of which was also linked to Canadian participation in the Boer War.

Unity was critical to the Canadian imperialist (Penlington 1965). "Imperialism meant consolidation of the Anglo-Saxons, a perfection of existing unity in order to continue their powerful mutual agency for peace, liberty, and prosperity" (Cole 1970, 47). Principal Grant believed it was Canada's destiny to be a member in a 'holy' unity with Motherland England (Cole 1970, 47).

Another form of Canadian imperialism stressed the benefits of a long-term and close alliance with the Empire, a relationship needed until Canada had reached maturity or its maximum potential (Penlington 1965). Only then would Canada assume a greater leadership role within the Empire and the world.

"Behind the seeking of power and prestige ... lay a nationalism which the public schools help foster. Nationalism, of course, does not automatically lead to imperialism, but it does marshal the individual energies and create the outlook that imperialism requires" (Wilkinson 1964, 101). Wilkinson argues that the public school community was nationalistic. The collective aspects of the house system and team sports elevating the group over the individual followed this nationalist spirit. "As well as merely inculcating nationalism, the public schools helped to create a fusion between the nationalist spirit and the motive of imperial philanthropy" (Wilkinson 1964, 101).

There is a remarkably similar pattern in the assumptions of social superiority based on ancestry and patriotism between Canada and England. "One of the

most impressive features of the Canadian imperialists was in their extensive ties outside Canada, largely in Great Britain, but to a lesser extent, in the other colonies. They corresponded, they traveled, they hosted, they joined societies like the United Empire League, they subscribed to journals; they went to school or sent their children to school, in other parts of the Empire" (Cole 1970, 45). U.C.C. Old Boy Stephen Leacock (1940) shared the concern of others that Canadian boys not forget their British roots. Leacock wrote extensively on Canadian nationalism, the importance of the British Empire and its "worth to the world" (1940, v). The strong feelings of commonalty especially of race, culture and ethnicity were acute.

The idea that their existed a 'northern race' factored into the defining of Canadian imperialism. This social construct "supported the notion of the tutelary role of the stronger races in extending order and liberty to southern peoples.... because of their inherent weakness" (Berger 1966, 356). Boys were taught to take pride in their hearty Canadian race. "Because of the vigour implied in its northernness, Canada could exercise within the imperial framework a dynamic influence on the future, perhaps even exceeding that of the home land" (Berger 1966, 356). The ideal of a more vigorous lifestyle mirrored the concern in Britain over the softening and degeneracy of urban life. Canada represented the fountain of youthful, honest and hearty living.

The imperialist was concerned with preferential trade, the distrust of domestic government, common history and anti-Americanism. There was a dual desire to be a unit within the great alliance of the Anglo-Saxon race along with the interest of not being a subordinate unit. There were imperialists who saw the benefit in remaining a part of the Empire for the day when Canada had built itself up economically to assume its leadership, eventually displacing the motherland was viewed by this group of imperialists as a natural unfolding of empire. Canadian imperialism was a curious mix. "There were ... almost as many varieties of imperialism in Canada as there were imperialists, and these variations were by no means confined to minor differences" (Berger 1966, 13).

**The Rise of Private Education in Canada**

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, a Church of England missionary organization was responsible for establishing some of the first schools in Eastern Canada (Gossage 1977, 19). A religious influence on education has been present and a force in the initial Canadian forays into education and in the growth of private education. Schools in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were established to educate and to give a greater presence of Protestantism in the Dominion. King's College, Nova Scotia established in 1788 was the first school in Canada with government involvement in its founding (Burnet 1980).

A few of the schools established before 1850 were precedents for the establishment of Universities. King's College School, Nova Scotia, Bishop's College, Sherbrooke and Upper Canada College. The Universities of Mount Allison and McMaster operated schools, long since defunct. The beginnings of these private schools were quite humble. St. John's-Ravenscourt, Winnipeg, which started out as a log cabin mission school along the Red River, was founded in 1820 by the Church of England (Gossage 1977, 34). The histories of these schools were stormy: suffering from scandals, demographic shifts and fiscal challenges.

The education of Canadian children in the early nineteenth century was a low priority of the government owing to the thinly populated Dominion and regional conflicts. With educational policy and responsibility in the hands of each province (Gossage 1977, 15) and with a minimal government expenditure for education, schools were by nature a private affair. Prior to Confederation in 1867, access to education after the elementary level was negligible and religious in orientation.

Prior to economic growth in the mid nineteenth-century, middle and upper class families from cities and towns educated their children at home or to the level they felt sufficient to their needs. Upper Canada newspapers carried frequent advertisements for governesses and tutors (Gossage 1977). Families of some means in rural areas would often solicit an itinerant teacher to work a part of the year, leaving sufficient time for the children to take part in

seasonal work (Gossage 1977, 20). Affluent families would often send their children back to England to be educated in a public school. Families unable to afford these options could attain a level of literacy through Church Sunday Schools (Gossage 1977, 21).

Immigration and the growth of urban areas increased the demands for more organized education. Loyalists from the United States and immigrants from Britain at the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century brought with them their commitment to Britain and their self-interest. "They brought the English public school system to Canada and encouraged and fostered its development in their own interests. Their support for a state system of education was muted. They proved reluctant 'to vote money for the tentative beginnings of public education in Canada' " (Mangan 1986, 145).

Canada offered a sporting life and farming opportunities unavailable or fiscally prohibitive in England (Newman 1975). Organizations, clubs and schools opened that had the prestige found at home yet were financially accessible. It has been observed often enough of the "Britishness" of places like Toronto and Victoria, B.C., to the extent that these institutions were more British than those in Britain. The nostalgic expatriate community in Canada had a zest for institutional replication equal, if not more, to the other colonies and dominions. Their socially conservative mentality was compatible with the philosophical heritage of British imperialism.

As Canada grew from colony to Country, so too did the need arise for the creation of elites from within. Canada was establishing itself within North America and within the Empire, with thoughts of greater accomplishments to come on a global scale as a dominant player, not as a subordinate. Private schooling was a proven means towards this end of establishing independence and independent leadership (Purdy 1972). The creation of a "gentlemanly type" was the desired outcome of the public school tradition shared by Canada and Britain. The establishment of their own public schools also placated the nationalist spirit of the Canadian imperialist.

**The Founding of U.C.C.**

When Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Colborne established U.C.C. in 1830, he was fresh from having resurrected Elizabeth College, Guernsey, England (Scadding 1873). As a graduate of Winchester, he was strongly impressed by the influence the public school had on shaping leadership, believing that a similar institution would further develop the position of Canada within the Empire, give it status, educate, meet the growing needs of the colony and champion the goals of and glorify the British Empire (Young 1917). U.C.C., was founded to counter-act republican influence from the United States, insured stability-- halting any further erosion of privilege and talent to other parts of Empire. It would safe-guard against this and be a bulwark of class distinction. On a practical level, the British public school was too far to train the elite needed in the Dominion.

U.C.C. was designated as a "College" because the intention was not to establish a secondary school but rather a University. It has been a title that has lent itself to accusations of elitism (Sowby 1971). It was the lack of qualified students to fill a university which led to its role as a secondary school. The title of "principal" hails from these same roots. The principal is the head of a University at McGill, Queen's and Bishop's. The winning of the initial competition for limited educational funding gave the college its start .

U.C.C. was a school which attracted students from around Canada, the United States and British Colonies. From 1839-1847 the College enrolled several sons of Indian chiefs "to have them trained like white boys of good families" (Young 1917,15). The school in its first half of existence attracted (largely because of the cheap tuition) students from the less privileged classes (Final Report 1852).

The diffusion of Old Boys from the school to Western Canada and active recruiting across Canada attracted a steady stream of students. Through advertisements in Western newspapers U.C.C. sold itself as "Canada's National School for boys" (Barman 1984, 14). U.C.C. was popular and had a national following through self-promotion (a key to any school's success), its British traditions and a reputation for producing leaders. U.C.C. "more than

any other is regarded as the cradle of the Canadian Establishment" (Gossage 1977, 39).

U.C.C. has benefited from having been one of the first schools of its type in Canada. Their philosophy of education and uniqueness attracted dynamic educators, critical financial support and imperialists. U.C.C. became the standard within Canada of the way a private school should function. U.C.C. directly influenced private education through the significant number of graduates and former masters going on to head and teach in the other provinces (FitzGerald 1994).

## U.C.C. : Reflection of Empire

### General Tone

The mission of the college followed many of the British public school educational ideals. Character development and leadership training were advantages associated with the education provided at U.C.C. (Porter 1965, 285). Pride was also at the center of the Canadian imperialist- pride in school, history, in athletic accomplishment, in country and in service to empire. The college, according to Principal Dickson, who served from 1885-1895, was:

> to all who take an interest in education and feel a natural pride in the history of an institution which perhaps more than any other in the country has been instrumental, not only in training the mind and molding the characters, but in sensibly influencing the manners, of generations of public men in Canada in almost every path of life. (Dickson 1893, 11)

Concerted emulation of British practices began at Toronto's U.C.C. in 1895 under Principal George Parkin, who considered eastern Canada superior to the West and assumed the superiority of Britain and the Empire over his native country (Barman 1984, 15). The influence of the British public school on U.C.C. had much to do with the leadership of the school as did its historical links to England (FitzGerald 1994). The tone of the College was first set by the head of he school and seconded by masters selected for their like-kind philosophies. U.C.C. successfully hired and developed school leadership

that not only maintained a pro-Empire institution, its exemplar being George Parkin, but expanded it, becoming more like its public school counterparts.

U.C.C. has historically had a bias towards principals and masters trained at British public schools, Oxbridge or its approximates in Scotland and Ireland. The first principal, Harris was selected from Cambridge, the second Principal, McCaul, a Classicist from Trinity, Dublin, the third, Barron from Queen's, Cambridge, the seventh, Cockburn, the Scottish public school of Merchiston and former master of Fettes, the eighth, Parkin attended Oxford, the ninth, Auden, Shrewsbury and Cambridge and Grant, son of Principal Grant of Queen's was a graduate of Queen's and Balliol, Oxford (Scadding 1873). In the early years of the college, before the selection of a principal, the Archbishop of Canterbury or the heads of Oxford or Cambridge were consulted. Oxbridge masters brought their bias for the Classics, cricket, the house system, flogging and the character building mission of education.

Under Parkin, the college achieved financial independence. Separation from government intervention gave freedom to the College to expand and control over its mission. The necessity for self-determination was viewed by the British Headmasters Council, lead by Edward Thring as critical to the survival of the public school (Rawnsley 1904). Parkin learned this lesson through his close association with Thring and as his biographer.

Principal Grant brought U.C.C. through the difficult years following the First World War as Empire was on the decline. Grant, having been educated at U.C.C., Oxford, having taught at St. Andrew's College, University of Paris, Oxford and Queen's, as a former military man, and son-in-law to Parkin brought to the post of principal great expectations. "Grant's plan was to make an ideal school, then turn to the government and tell them to follow the model" (Howard 1979, 191). He accepted the responsibility and the role of the school as a leadership producing agent.

If U.C.C. was to be a fountain from which the leadership of Canada was to spring, then it needed superior talent to run the college. Concern expressed by a colleague to a newly elected Grant reflected this preoccupation with the need for leadership. "At no time in its [Canada's] history has the Empire been

more in need of ... leading and you are one of its leaders" (Howard 1979, 191, brackets added). The school functioned as an island of idealism, leadership, hope and Empire.

Another principal also had high-minded educational goals for the boys of U.C.C.. What made a "good" school for Principal Auden could be divided into five areas. Religious devotion, discipline of the mind and body, knowledge, courage, endurance and public spirit were the characteristics which made the Empire great (*College Times* 1916b, 15). The leadership of the College did not arbitrarily select these ideals, rather these were the base elements on which the gentleman's education was constructed.

**Masters**

The educational philosophy of U.C.C. and the school leadership that championed a pro-Empire philosophy within was carried out on a day-to-day basis by a loyal teaching staff. There has been a bias at U.C.C. to recruit masters from Oxford and Cambridge. The first "cargo of masters" came from Cambridge, with one fellow from Oxford who was already in Upper Canada at the time. From this base started a legacy that continues to the present. "There was a time when no headmaster of a Canadian private school was acceptable unless he had studied at Oxford or Cambridge. Anglophilia permeated the institutions ..." (Newman 1975, 399). The bias towards Oxbridge masters is evident in advertisements for the College (e.g., *College Times* 1901, 1911) promoting a teaching staff that had graduates from the elite British Universities and public schools. Guidebooks also celebrated this bias through listing where masters received their degrees (Stephen 1938, 122-124).

The success of the training boys received and the nature of the teachers experience at U.C.C. was reflected in the number of Old Boys and school masters that went on to found similar institutions (e.g., Schools in British Columbia) and teach in Canadian private schools (e.g., Trinity College School, Ridley College, Bishop's College).

Principal Grant, was an innovative leader, constantly improving educational opportunities. His penchant for innovation included the invigoration of

teaching. Beginning in the 1920's, Grant would bring over a master from one of the leading British public schools for a year. Schools represented in this arrangement came from the top public schools of Rugby, Winchester, Stowe, Marlborough, Mill Hill, Eton and Felsted adding "to the spice of College life (Howard 1979, 207).

**George Parkin**

One principal of U.C.C., because of his accomplishments for the College and Empire, merits closer attention. Of the great "Bagmen of Empire", according to Lord Rosebury, Principal George Parkin was its most prominent. He has been called the "Apostle," "Missionary" and "Evangelist of Empire." Before his tenure at U.C.C. he was an headmaster in New Brunswick, a student of Greek, Latin and history at Oxford, a student of the British public school, a friend of other great imperialists (e.g., Lord Milner and Lord Rosebury), a disciple of educational imperialist, Edward Thring, an Imperial Federation League member and a stump speaker for British imperialism throughout the Empire. Parkin, who served as principal at U.C.C. from 1895-1902 represented the apogee of imperial thought.

In speaking about the power of the principal of U.C.C. in the affairs of Empire, it was Lord Milner's "assertion that Parkin's impact on imperial affairs would be enhanced by speaking from the authority of a fixed and Colonial position" (Cook 1977, 381). Board of Trustees members Colonel Denison and Vice-President of the British Empire League, Frank Arnoldi, were in intellectual agreement over the role the College had in producing leadership and character preparation needed for Empire (Cook 1977, 384). Which is why they felt so strongly about securing such a champion of the British Empire as Parkin was to the post of principal.

Towards the end of the century, there was concern by Parkin (Head of U.C.C. from 1895-1902) that politicians had lost their commitment to imperial unity and an unwillingness, if not abdication to cultivate the necessary leadership to effectively run the country. The education was a moral mission to Parkin. He would meet this challenge by filling the leadership void through the College. It has been suggested that Parkin placed greater value in British

culture, its institutions like public schools and the goals of Empire over his native country.

Parkin attempted through public speeches, Sunday evening sermons and college addresses to "instill a patriotic love of the British Empire to which each Canadian boy belonged and to inculcate those idealistic virtues of duty, manliness, and honour, of 'character' and 'citizenship', required in its future leaders" (Cook 1977, 399). "Character did not depend upon brains, strength, or manners. By character Parkin meant manliness" (Berger 1966, 467). "Parkin was intensely conscious of both the religious basis of the imperial ethic and insistent upon the civilizing mission of the Empire" (Berger 1966, 2).

Religious and moral training were essential ingredients for students. "He attached great importance to the building of a school chapel. As the biographer of Headmaster Thring at Uppingham, he knew the importance of a school chapel around which the school grows and develops" (Sowby 1971, 37) and how cricket served "as the greatest bond of the English-speaking race" (Berger 1966, 462). Parkin was also convinced of the "moral imperative behind the schools existence" (Cook 1977, 386). Parkin's inaugural speech addressed the 1895 necessity of the school to be noble and good, producing strong minds and bodies (*The Globe* 1895a, 7). He professed to be carrying on 'Gods' work, which was "for the highest interests of the country (*The Globe* 1896a, 4). He believed the essential means to achieve moral education was through the British boarding school tradition.

Parkin believed that there was a moral purpose behind education, based on a religious spirit (*The Globe* 1896b, 7). He made an effort to explain to the public the value of the college in turning out the right type of leadership. He expressed the importance of "making the college a place where the conditions were favourable for leading a pure, manly and truthful life" (*The Globe* 1895b, 6). He hoped to turn out boys with the "habits and manners of a Christian and a gentleman" (*The Globe* 1895b, 6). The importance of Christianity as a source of educational inspiration would be reflected in the future educational leadership of the school. The 'model' gentleman, for Principal Grant, was that of Christ (*The Globe* 1897, 2).

Parkin promoted with missionary zeal pride of race and moral acceptance of the white man's burden (Cook 1977, 402). Unity meant racial unity of the Anglo-Saxon. He was a student of Darwin and Kidd. His theories were poorly defined and his use of terminology ever changing. He consistently promoted from the college pulpit the virtues of the northern races and the need for them to remain the moral leaders within the Empire.

It was during Queen Victoria's Silver Jubilee celebrations that Parkin used the opportunity to remind the boys that greatness British imperial supremacy was based on the moral character of the Anglo-Saxon, a greatness nourished in Christian homes and in Christian schools. He cited Wellington, Nelson, Gordon and Kitchener as national models (Cook 1977, 403). Parkin was steadfast in his assertion that "British supremacy must be maintained through imperial federation in order 'to further the evangelization of the world.' " (Cook 1977, 402).

Colonial conquest was not just the result of the power of superior arms, military organization, political might or economic wealth, as important as these were. Imperialism was maintained and strengthened, as much by educational models of rule as it was by the more obvious and brutal modes of conquest that were first established on foreign shores.

## Aspects of the British Imperial Influence

### Cult of Masculinity

The cult of masculinity existed at U.C.C. as it did in the British public school. The adoption of the rhetoric that extolled the necessity of masculine constructs for the safeguarding of society was vigorously accepted. U.C.C. shaped this fixation into something they could clearly identify as their own. It was a masculinity celebrated with a Canadian style. Their concern mirrored trends in England towards a return to robust living, validating again the strength of the British public school system and the power of the imperial umbilical cord in the transference of its many messages (FitzGerald 1994).

A return to robust manliness in Canada coincided with the criticism going on throughout the rest of North America and Europe that the mind and body soaking evils manifested in growing urbanization were making men weak. City living was seen as a softening agent and one that alienated man from his natural state. The boarding school life served as a mechanism to protect boys from becoming too citified and extravagant. Later in the century, the day boys from the city were an agent in this corruption putting temptations and expectations in the minds of their boarding school mates. It was in this post-war time that serious consideration was given to moving the school away from the encroaching city life.

The action to get back to a more healthy, masculine lifestyle was captured in the movement of the school to a rural setting. Adolescent-oriented literature sought to again bring young people back to the virtues of robust living. Literature geared towards students reflected and exalted the themes of the adventurer and the outdoorsman. Recreational journals: Canadian Athlete, Pastoral, Rod and Gun, Canadian Outdoor Life and Outdoor Canada promoted vigorous activity while also reaffirming the association of Canada with the outdoors. U.C.C. featured in its library the obligatory selection of Classics but also less academic school boy novels and books which championed the imperial heroic and masculine ideal (e.g., the authors Henty, Farrar and Kipling).

Literature that engaged the interests of the young supported the general societal value of the masculine ideal. Juvenile literature affirmed the qualities of the rugged masculine achiever through stories and poems. The issue of northernness was reinforced and promoted through literature, poetry, travel writing and art. Adventure stories by London, Ballantyne and Macdonald, travelogues by Agnes Cameron, the poetry of Kipling, the poet-laureate of imperialism and also traveler to Canada were ingested by the Canadian public with gusto. Canadian artists and writers were also popular. Robert Service, dubbed the "Kipling of Canada," the art work of Tom Thomson and the 'Seven' celebrated the manly and hearty qualities of Canada (*College Times* 1921).

U.C.C. went further than its British counterparts in promoting a vigorous physical regime through the establishment of summer canoe camps. The growth of these camps paralleled the success of the Boy Scouts in Britain and too were in reaction to the perceived softening of society. The proximity to a vast lake system made these camps a natural choice for summer recreation. The first such camp was founded by a U.C.C. master named Cochrane who at fifteen ran away from home to join the Grenadier Guards. The Temagami Camp for twenty-five years had a close relationship with the school and was considered a U.C.C. summer session. These camps placed boys in the outdoors in a more expansive masculine training. Other schools in Canada would follow suit and open their own camps where swimming, life-saving, wood-craft, fishing and boating would continue to mold children in a distinctly Canadian fashion (Glazebrook 1968).

The imperial mentality manifested itself in an advocacy of manly athleticism, adventure, martial preparation, self-sacrifice and stewardship of the weak. These were forces associated with imperial expansion but believed to be in atrophy. Canada represented imperial characteristics of "hardiness, strenuousness, endurance-- so vital to dominance" and worthy of protection (Berger 1966, 358).

The imperialist was an impassioned supporter of the ideal of the masculine achiever. According to Mott it was through manly games that the British gained their "physical and moral strength to acquire and govern their vast

Empire" (Mangan 1986a, 143). U.C.C. also embraced these objectives. The merging of the cult of masculinity allied with the cult of games led to training of Canadian boys in the art of imperial craft.

**Cult of Games**

"Headmasters of the Canadian 'public schools' admired the same virtues, enunciated the same pieties and adopted the same means of realization as their English counterparts" (Mangan 1986a, 147). Brown asserts that these school leaders "were persuasive and significant agents in steering their institutions in pursuit of the virtues imbued in manly pursuits like sports. Headmasters and masters ... right across the country ... were more often than not the driving force behind the athleticism movement; they initiated, nurtured, monitored and guided it" (Mangan 1986a,146). The uniformity among headmasters and schools had to do with the societal demands. "They were Platonists who saw, or claimed to see, virtue in the efforts of athletics. Such efforts epitomized in their myopic eyes late-Victorian Christian manliness" (Mangan 1986a 147). Much like the British public school tradition, U.C.C. also embraced athletics because of the physical and character training element.

The primacy of sports in the Canadian private school milieu was reliant on the influence of headmasters and assistant masters. The Principal Barron (1843-1856) "encouraged all to engage in outdoor sports; cricket, rounders, hockey, running, leaping and jumping" (Wedd 1893, 90). Quarrels, although not a sport were settled as if they were. A ring made up of monitors and seniors would be formed so as to assure fair play. A practice "never too closely inquired into either by Principal or by Masters" (Wedd 1893, 90). Sports and fisticuffs helped meet the principles of "uprightness, truthfulness and self-respect ... The higher manly qualities dormant in youth, he sedulously sought to evoke" (Wedd 1893, 90). Barron believed cricket to be an effective means to morally indoctrinate the student and instill manly character (Mangan 1986a).

As the enthusiasm for cricket declined in Canada with the development of the Canadian identity as reflected in the growth of ice hockey, as a whole it

still remained an essential and prominent component at U.C.C. and in the Canadian private schools. The playing of cricket, the quintessential British public school sport was the natural umbilical cord that connected U.C.C. to the rest of the Empire. The most enthusiastic supporter of cricket at U.C.C. was Parkin. Parkin followed a long line of principals at U.C.C. who supported sports going back to its founder, Colborne. Colborne was expressly interested in the masters he requested from Cambridge to have the interest and the will to pass on the manly virtues sports could stimulate (Gossage 1977).

Over the ensuing years, the leadership of the college has taken on different roles in the establishment of athletics. Colborne brought over the first masters and began the sporting history. Barron, an athlete himself (e.g., a skater, yachtsman, boxer, fencer), promoted participation, especially cricket, Cockburn expanded the sports facilities and activities, Dickson formalized competitions, Parkin promoted and made cricket compulsory (as was done in British public schools at the time). Parkin was a champion of athletics and believed, as did his mentor Thring, as a great means to build character. Auden maintained the sporting presence in the school through the First World War. All of these men and including the masters and sports masters were invaluable in perpetuating and promoting the ideals identified with sports. They helped collectively to "promulgate games for reasons of control, affiliation, idealism and elitism" (Mangan 1986a, 153).

Cricket was not the only sport which schools engaged in. Rugby, soccer, rowing, squash, tennis, gymnastics, track and the Canadian sports of lacrosse (copied from the indigenous North American game) and ice hockey were apart of the athletic regime. The latter two sports reflected the growing self-confidence of Canadians and a spirit of nationalism. School sanctioned boxing tournaments go back to the 1890's and bayonet fighting provided entertainment and "thrills" for a brief time (*College Times* 1917b, 23).

There should be no surprise that recent arrivals to the country held on to their past. British Canadians were no exception. The playing and promotion of "manly" British games served according to Mott to nurture "a sense of duty they felt to establish and maintain British culture in their new, still semi-civilized part of the world" (Mangan 1986a, 142).

Not only did U.C.C. import the cult of games playing, they also imported coaches skilled in cricket and rugby because of the significance of games playing in the culture of the college. Employing the athlete teacher was common practice in the British public school. As in the public school, the competency of the master to teach was a frequent complaint but one hardly held against the individual if he were successful at sport.

There was a militarist tone to athletics at U.C.C. as exemplified in the language used in the *College Times* to recount sporting events. Sporting events were caste as military struggles-- good verses evil (*College Times* 1916a; *College Times* 1916b). School life was accepted as a constant struggle against evil for the good of the house, empire, school and race. The connection between sport and military accomplishment is best recognized in the well worn "playing fields of Eton" mantra. The saying has become a classic piece of imperial jingoism that even today has life. "The expression that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton is almost reproduced in the pride with which U.C.C. claims that so many of its old boys obtained the rank of brigadier or higher in W. W. II" (Porter 1965, 285).

The participation in sports also reflected the superior qualities that they believed were inherent in their "race." Superiority in one area can lead manifestation of racial superiority. The U.C.C. school yell of, *Nigger, Nigger hoe potater, Half past alligator, Ram, ram bulligator, Chippewana duck. College! College! Rush'er UP!* gives a glimpse of the contempt for other races (Newman 1975, 403). Superiority bred in the mind of a child will invariably produce the conditions for intolerance to take root as an adult. A racist school cheer or a demeaning "black face" drama production are not to be taken as just a reflection of the time. These are telling examples of the "tone" and training that went on in these cloistered and guarded communities. They learned physical prowess was equal or superior to accomplishments in the classroom. The muscular Christian was an imperial mentality effectively communicated to the U.C.C. student and British public school student alike. As important as athletics was in cultivating the imperial mentality, the U.C.C. boy was also conditioned through the curriculum.

## Curriculum

The curriculum at U.C.C. reflected, as it did in the British public school, the widely accepted imperial philosophy of superiority and pride. The proud consciousness of a common race that was supported, in the imperialist mind, by consciousness of common heritage and history (Cole 1970, 46) was also reflected in the curriculum. The academic curriculum reflected the pedagogical interests of its master that held Latin and Greek as the center from which all learning revolved around. The lessons drawn from the study of Classics did not deviate from the imperialist notions mentioned previously, as the text, methods of instruction and the training of the masters were the same as their counterparts in the British public school.

The school was founded on the Classics. Masters from Oxford and Cambridge came supplied with the text and teaching styles they were comfortable with and grounded in the Classics. The first texts used at U.C.C. came from Eton (Scadding 1893, 30). The staff was well regarded for their Classical scholarship. The Rev. Charles Matthews, a former master at U.C.C., published in London a well received poetical translation of Horace's work. These men were strongly committed to the Classics and no more willing to be swayed by innovation than their public school contemporaries.

Criticism of the Classics has always followed the subject for reasons of its utility and the effectiveness of its instruction. Principal Grant of Queen's University believed the greatest hindrance to Ontario education "was compulsory Latin at matriculation" (Howard 1979, 192). The time spent on the subject did not justify the results, especially at the expense to the student who upon graduation was "unable to utter three grammatical sentences or to write a grammatical business letter" (Howard 1979, 192).

The curriculum more than that of the British public school reflected a greater practicality. The interest of the schools leadership from its conception favoured the Classical curriculum but allowed for a salting of the practical. This is not to say that the Classics were all dominant, for they surely were not. The curriculum allowed for the inclusion of math, science, modern

languages (e.g., French, German) and history. The reasons are many. U.C.C. lacked the historical connection to the discipline, the influence of the parents, a less entrenched social structure, the influence of competing educational influences from the south and east.

The demands of the parents were partly responsible for innovations in the curriculum. I say innovation because the British public school was all but friendly to non-Classical study as a serious academic pursuit. Parents were less inclined to accept the reasoning that the Classics alone were sufficient knowledge to lead to a prosperous life. Many parents did not have Classical studies in their background. It was regarded as useless to make boys grind away at Latin and Greek if they were going into business, while certain other branches would be of more practical benefit to them (Young 1917).

Educational institutions like U.C.C. lacked the history that made slaves out of many and acted as insulators to change. The older the institution, the less likely of change occurring. However, the lack of the overt bias against the trades as existed in Britain, to study subjects that would facilitate preparation for a career in business was tolerated. The general acceptance of practical studies although accepted was mildly tolerated.

College leadership was sensitive to the needs of the parents. I think they had to be sensitive because during much of the College's early history the institution was not fiscally secure. Unlike its well-heeled counterparts in England, U.C.C. lacked the endowments and land holdings that provided much of the insulation from contemporary demands and requests for reform. Tuition payments were of greater importance to the day-to-day operations than were those of its British counterparts. It was also necessary to have a wealthy patron to pay for "big ticket" items, like a gymnasium.

Students learned that not all subjects were equally important. There existed a curricular hierarchy with Classics at the top. The requirement of Classics for University admissions and the number of awards for accomplishment in this area reflect this ranking. Yet the Universities lacked the institutional history to dictate the curriculum of secondary education as Oxford and Cambridge had done in influencing the pedagogy of the public schools.

By the 1880's a modern language department was established. Students who took up the challenge of French were labeled a "French Fag." "The epithet was considered to carry so much opprobrium that the linguistically-inclined pupil was deterred from persevering in the course" (Wedd 1893, 94). Drawing, music, gymnastics, and drill instruction were listed on the curriculum. Under the leadership of Grant, music and drama were introduced. The merger of the British public school ideals of gentlemanly and heroic conduct with music and drama saw the forty-year tradition of Gilbert and Sullivan performed at special school celebrations (Howard 1979, 207). Other disciplines continued to challenge the primacy of the Classics.

Where the Classics carried much of the burden in committing lessons of imperial control, history, as taught at U.C.C. shouldered much of this burden. Under the leadership of Parkin, History became prominent in the curriculum. "The old, dreary history course at the College was replaced by studies of the imperial past with the explicit purpose to show the nature of the links which bind the various colonies together" (Cook 1977, 401). George Parkin's history/geography travel book, *Round the World* (1892) expressed the need for school children to understand the interdependence of the various parts of the Empire and the economic role each played.

The parts would be less than the whole if not for the Empire. That is where I believe the acceptance of the Classical curriculum was important. A common education provided to the leadership class assisted in binding all elements of Empire to the same plight. Replication had a symbolic element- a unified Empire in every respect was a more powerful Empire.

Curricular differences with the British pubic schools were superficial, in that the inclusion of math or German did not go far enough to raise the intellectual tone of the school from the anti-intellectual mire that the poorly taught Classical curriculum offered. The U.C.C. student did learn the lessons of "noble elegance, gentlemanly moral integrity, and bourgeois orderliness and self-control" (Stray 1975, 46), through the hidden, overt, and covert curriculum.

The replication of the curriculum at U.C.C. had a deeper attraction then face value acceptance. Replication of the Classical curriculum gave the appearance of social equality. U.C.C. students could speak the secret language with their British counterparts. Institutional credibility with their British counterparts was also drawn from offering Latin and Greek. Finally, replication of curriculum reflected unity of mission.

The control of the curriculum was also about the control of knowledge and the pathways to power. U.C.C., and in particular the curriculum were gateways erected to maintain social and cultural order. The curriculum choice distinguished U.C.C. from Catholic and American institutions, a further reflection of the effort to align themselves with the mission of the public school and the goals of Empire. It should be remembered that it was the goal of many Canadian imperialists that one day, Canada would take the lead in the affairs of Empire.

**Prefect System**

The prefect system signified the difference between the public school (typically a school that is endowed) from the private (a school which is proprietary). The system also was significant because of the leadership lessons communicated that supported the imperial mentality. Whether a school was an endowed or proprietary was yet another status distinction made between schools, the former being of higher status than the latter. "The main legacy of the British influence is the prefect system" (Newman 1975, 399). A Ridley College, Ontario headmaster expressed what other private school leaders believed and that was how valued the prefect system was in promoting social order and promoting the "burdens" of leadership (Newman 1975).

Parkin, who was instrumental in establishing the system, trumpeted its virtues. The use of the prefect system in developing leadership and service skills was made clear to him during visits to the public schools of Rugby, Harrow and Uppingham when a student at Oxford. The prefect system worked in tandem with the house system as a substitute for the family.

Fagging and the prefect system were programs Parkin believed were important enough to implement at U.C.C.. Fagging included fetching hot water in the morning and shining and blackening the bottom of their boots (Howard 1979). Prefects were held in high esteem if not hero-worshipped by their underlings (Howard 1979).

Again, the prefect and fagging system reproduced an inchoate mentality that prized order and entrusted responsibilities to exert power over their weaker peers. A lesson carried into adulthood. There existed an order, an order not questioned but accepted. The prefect system taught students to be "headboys" in society not subordinates- it was about leadership not "followership". Boys were to learn benevolence and those ruled by these prefects learned deference to those with "higher" status and power.

The relationship training experiences learned from the prefect and carried into adulthood also had the function of preparing a mentality compatible to imperialist thought. Boys were instilled with the mentality that everyone in society had a place, or rank, that could be classified. They of course, were at the top of this order.

**Boarding School Conditions**

The boys were further conditioned through the structuring and the quality of their living conditions in preparation for a career in the Empire. The boarding accommodations were Spartan. The attempt to condition the boys to a life of hardship and denial of physical comfort did not carry the weight it did in the British public school. The boys in general were neither the scions of the tremendous wealth that characterized its counterparts in England nor heading off to the Sudan in service to the Empire although many did. Many boys came from the rough and tumble West while others came from farming families, where comforts were few.

Why then provide a living style void of comfort? The answer is in the life lessons long associated, via the British public school, with boarding school rustic. The simplicity of boarding school accommodations allowed for the lessons of self-sacrifice to be absorbed. The residential school, like the

military, works as a complete institution, where 'group think' and a common philosophy can be cultivated. A residential school served as a unifying agent that would be difficult to otherwise achieve as a day school. Residential experiences tend to intensify both academic and social learning.

The College suffered like the rest of the population from outbreaks of cholera in the eighteen thirties and scarlet fever in the forties. The chance for an outbreak, common in schools, did not dissuade families from sending their children to the College. Students were sent home instead of keeping them on in the event of an outbreak. It was a cheaper option than keeping them in College and protected the College from mass destruction that an epidemic could cause in such an environment.

Even with the dangers and some of the excesses that go on in residential schools, it was still seen by generations of U.C.C. principals as the best condition to educate young men. Physical toughening effected the strengthening of the psychological as it did in the British public school. The toughening of the boys of U.C.C. for careers in the Empire and in their young and growing Empire were accepted by the College as a core virtue of imperial training.

**Discipline**

Acts of cruelty at the hands of masters were of the same excessiveness found in British public schools (Leacock 1899). "Excellent as it was, Upper Canada College was then literally ruled by the rod. The discipline exceeded justice. It was harsh, and I think cruel. Petty faults ...were punished by from two to six strokes of the barbarous bamboo cane across the bare hand" (Thomson 1893, 68). Like the British public school, harsh and abusive treatment was condoned by parent and teacher for its character-building attributes.

Dickson did not believe that the College suffered from the fervent use of the cane that characterized the British public schools that predated the founding of U.C.C.. "Upper Canada College, for instance, is older than Marlborough School, England, of whose pupils it is said, that it is as difficult to meet a flogged Marlburian as, according to tradition, it is difficult to find an

unflogged Etonian" (Dickson 1893, 10). Dickson suffered from the selective memory that most school administrators have when discussing the negative aspects of their responsibilities.

The lessons of the rod were accepted by masters and students, later in life for the instructive value. The lessons learned are best captured in a segment of a Kipling poem quoted in the *College Times* (1917b),

> There we met with famous men
> Set in office o'er us.
> And they beat on us with rods--
> Faithfully with many rods--
> Daily beat on us with rods--
> For the love they bore us! (2)

Many of its masters found value in the practice of physical discipline. De la Haye, a French master had a reputation for disruptive classes and his fondness for flogging his students. Stephen Leacock, humorist, Imperial defender, master and former U.C.C. boy wrote in *College Days* of his experience with physical discipline.

> I do not like to think that I was in any way brutal or harsh ... in beating the boys I taught.... Yet I do know that there are, apparently, boys that I have licked in all quarters of the globe.... I have licked, I believe, two Generals of the Canadian Army, three Cabinet Ministers, and more Colonels and Majors than I care to count. Indeed all the boys that I have licked seem to be doing well. (Leacock 1923, 23)

Early in a student's life the lesson was learned that physical force and the threat of physical force was the chief means to maintain order. The utility in maintaining this order was enhanced when indiscriminately used, fostering a paranoid unease and conformity. As seen elsewhere in the Empire, the imperialist was comfortable with the use of physical force as a method of social control.

**Speeches, Ceremony and School Rituals**

Awards Day presentations, the speeches which accompanied them and the pageantry of such events reflect the imperial pageantry of the time. Awards were of the same order and intentions as their British public school counterparts. The awards far exceeded the accomplishments, they were highly manipulative, giving a taste for pageantry that was early training for imperial service. A token could be exchanged for a life time of financial and spiritual devotion.

Books were embossed with the school motto and crest, often appended with a selection from Horace. The copies were of "first class editions of the Greek and Latin Classics" (Scadding 1893, 43) and standard English works ordered directly from England and handsomely bound. These book awards were to influence the literary tastes of the country, encourage studies of a superior kind, and foster a spirit of loyalty towards the institution (Scadding 1893, 43).

Trophies and awards for sporting accomplishments and academics were numerous (e.g., A.A. Macdonald Trophy for cross-country and the Hendrie Trophy for steeplechase). Prizes were often named for Old Boys and masters (e.g., Harris History Prize, the John Martland Scholarship for English and the Parkin Prizes for Greek and Athletics). One athletic cup embodied the imperial virtues of clean and manly sport and to be won by the 'lad' who also stood for "the principles of British fair play which have helped to bring respect to the name and flag of the Empire" (*College Times* 1918, 60).

Award day celebrations would include speeches from the principal and a guest of prominence. One of Parkin's policies was in inviting prominent Canadians and men of the Empire to speak to the students. Parkin was a dynamic orator himself, having made a career previous to taking over the lead of U.C.C. as a lecturer on various aspects of Empire. In his 1901 address he recounted the accomplishments of Colonel Dunn, an Old Boy and recipient of the Victoria Cross in order to inspire the generations to come. Parkin collected the portraits, medals and swords of College heroes to place on display as "a storage battery ... of inspiration to noble life and deeds" (*College*

*Times* 1901, 4-5). The Prize Day of 1914 delivered by Principal Hutton was entitled "Canada's Duty to Empire" (*College Times* 1914b, 24).

Parkin's connections and friendships brought notable men of battlefield glory like Lord Roberts, or fellow imperialist Lord Milner to visit the College. U.C.C. principal Grant remarked to Leacock whether his father-in-law, Parkin, had any friends below the rank of Viscount (Berger 1966, 469). The tradition of prominent visitors although carried on by Principal Auden were less frequent and imperial in tone but still august events (Howard 1979).

Visitors to the school were numerous and likely to be military heroes, members of the aristocracy and of literary acclaim. In 1842, Charles Dickens visited the school and conferred his blessing as a school providing "a sound education." Lord Elgin who visited in 1847 was addressed upon his visit to U.C.C. by the students in Latin and he in fine form replied in Latin (Howard 1979, 51). The Duke of Devonshire as Lieutenant-Governor compared the contributions that U.C.C. had made to Canada to be equivalent of those made by Eton to England. The College lived up to the traditions of the British public schools in the academic work and athletics but most of all in the "record of the Rifle Company and the Roll of Honor of sons who had answered the call of the Empire" (*College Times* 1917a, 48). The heroic Captain Slocum from Nova Scotia lectured the boys in 1901 on his successful solo circumnavigation of the globe on his sloop the *Spray*.

The messages of these speeches would touch on the superior nature of U.C.C. in turning out gentlemen and other imperial virtues. Prime Minister Massey and the former premier of New Zealand compared their public schools with U.C.C., identifying their importance as Empire-building institutions (*College Times* 1918, 76). Other lecturers (e.g., Bigelow) spoke of the virtues of the British flag and why 'natives' were attracted to what it represented and of Hong Kong and Singapore as examples of British paternal protection (*College Times* 1918, 82).

> The messages, as one would expect, were concerned with values: patience, honesty, purity of life, moral courage, unselfishness, self-respect, teamwork, discipline, loyalty. There was also some emphasis on the high reputation of the school itself; the work of the Old Boys was praised time and again. (Howard 1979)

The contribution to U.C.C. by the successive principals of the institution were not in their educational innovations. Rather, what they were successful in doing was improving the preexisting conditions whereby the imperial mentality flourished-- transforming events like awards day presentations and athletic competition into the service of imperial pursuits. Institutions like the Rifle Corps and prefect system successfully geared students toward imperialist goals.

U.C.C. like its British public school counterparts adopted the characteristics that made their institution a reflection of Empire. The ritualism reflected in school crests, colours, songs, chapel and dress were designed as reminders of the boy's connection to the school and to focus their attention to issues of conformity. The school claimed the motto circa 1833, *Palmam qui Meruit Ferat* . The motto was incorporated into a crest appended with Lord Nelson's coat of arms (Scadding 1893, 41). College rugs were designed and sold to the boys featuring the College crest to add "a touch of refinement to the furnishings of the boys' rooms" (*College Times* 1914a, 5).

The adoption of school colours, dress codes, school songs and crests signify the strength of the College's relationship with the British public school tradition. There was also an instructive quality to these rituals. They reminded boys of their historical links; they served as unifying agents within the system and as distinguishing elements from the general population.

A certain way of thinking, a particular way of behaving, could be drawn from these practices. The Old Boy Association, founded in 1891, was yet another avenue for the continuance of control, keeping Old Boys informed of school events but also in exerting their will. As a body they served as governing agents on the College board, applying direct pressure on the College.

The preparatory school attached to the school allowed U.C.C. to groom students to successfully fall in once they reached the upper school. If there was resistance to conform, then they would be dismissed. A preparatory boy and also a son of an Old Boy was dismissed after refusing to wear his school cap outside the College grounds. The integrity of the school, its rituals and image were the responsibility of the trustees of the college to protect.

**Patriotism and Imperial Loyalty**

Patriotism was another component of the imperial mentality readily instilled by the College. In the spirit of the public school tradition, the patriotic enthusiasms of the U.C.C. boys were divided several ways. U.C.C. boys were taught to be patriotic to their house, to their college, to their Country and to the British Empire.

The house system, modeled after the public school system, was formally introduced by Principal Grant in the Fall of 1920. The school was divided into four houses, inclusive of day boys. The house system served practical purposes. It made the school more manageable, allowed masters to get to know students better and "harnessed the team spirit very well" (Howard 1979, 195). Service to house translated into service to country and empire.

Negotiations to move the college to a more rural setting prompted reflection on the preceding years. In the *College Times* of 1913 expressed what the school meant from a student's perspective, "... we may share in the transferring to a new Troy the ideals and traditions which have enabled three generations of Old Boys to contribute so much to the welfare of Canada and other parts of the Empire. Upper Canada College has always been the nursery of learning and patriotism" (40). Nostalgia won out and the college remained on its ancestral lands.

The legacy of U.C.C. and its Imperial legacy was apparent in the reflections of Old Boys as well. The contributions to the struggles of empire were a source of profound college pride. At an Old Boys' dinner in London, Major-General Robinson reflected,

> One remembers well how, in Dr. Parkin's time, the great truths of Imperialism were instilled into the boys. Here one saw on every side the evidences of those Imperial sentiments for which Upper Canada College has always stood. Several members of the London Branch had been all over the world– India, Egypt, South Africa, Australia, everywhere engaged in the work of building up the Empire. Many, of course, were in the Army, but almost all walks of professional and business life were represented. (*College Times* 1913, 57)

The participation of school children in Empire Day celebrations and the parades that took place during Victoria's reign represented a "love of country subsumed within love of Empire" (Mangan 1986a, 148). Empire Day, in a speech given by Governor-General Earl Grey in 1909 to Toronto school cadets, "is the festival on which every British subject should reverently remember that the British Empire stands out before the whole world as the fearless champion of freedom, fair play and equal rights; that its watchwords are responsibility, duty, sympathy and self-sacrifice" (Mangan 1986a, 148).

Doing one's duty, school pride, pride of country and Empire was reflected in the *College Times* Honor Roll published at the start of the First World War. The honor roll contained the names of Old Boys and former Masters who had died or were in military service. The participation of Old Boys and their achievements in the service of Empire was well documented. One former U.C.C. boy wrote from England in 1915 "speaking of the list in the Christmas number, said that it surely passed anything he has seen in the records of Canadian schools, and places Upper Canada College on a par with the best schools of England" (*College Times* 1915a, 2).

The involvement of Canada and U.C.C. in the First World War represented, as it did in the British public school, the culmination of the imperial influence on these institutions to participate in the various demands of Empire. The devastation of the war made for more circumspect participation in the business of Empire. The poem *Canada to England* by R.J. Stead which appeared in *College Times* (1915c), reflects this relationship.

> Then lead and your sons will follow,
> Or follow and we will lead,
> And side by side, through the world deride,
> We will show by word and deed
> That you share with me my youthfulness,
> And I with you your prime,
> And so it shall be till the sun shall set
> On the uttermost edge of time. (10)

The College paper reflected a sense of satisfaction in their service to the war in Europe and to the Empire. Those writing for the *College Times* (1914b) did

not want to "see England reduced to a third-rate power and this fair land of Canada a 'conscript appendage' of Germany" (1). The First World War was a synthesizing event that showed the extent and effectiveness of that imperial training. Students reflected the imperial lessons of *noblesse oblige* learned from decades of training. "High position carries with it the obligation of service to mankind, and the higher the station and the more fortunate the position in life, the greater is the obligation" (*College Times* 1914b, 2). During the Second World War, three-quarters of U.C.C. boys who enlisted won commissions of which 26 of them obtained the rank of brigadier general or higher (Newman 1975, 402).

> A certain sense of comfort in having done one's duty is highly gratifying; and this as a school we may feel, because we have done our part in furnishing men for the Empire, and done it well. Judging from the decorations gained so far, we are correct when we say that our Old Boys serving the country are among the most capable of Great Britain's volunteers, and quite naturally we inquire from what source they received their early military training. Only one answer is possible-- the Upper Canada College Rifles. (*College Times* 1915c, 1)

Like its British counterparts, U.C.C. took immense pride in the battlefield accomplishments of its former students. Accomplishments deemed worthy of memorializing The physical reminders of school history and the service expected from them adorned the walls of the College.

### Militarism

Much of the militarism and patriotism the college reflected springs from the centrality of cadet corps training in college life. U.C.C. has a rich history of military preparation. Once out of the institution, graduates made contributions to military service to the Province, Country and Empire equal to that of the British schools of Eton and Wellington (1868). The U.C.C. Cadet Corps was founded in 1829 and affiliated with the Queen's Own Rifles since 1866 (Sowby 1971, 238). The cadet service had the distinction of being called into service during the Fenian Rebellion of 1866 (the school provided Toronto's only military garrison) and led many students to participate in military events and careers in the military via the Royal Military College (Newman 1975, 402).

Military training at U.C.C. had a practicality to it, as Canada was a young nation still in the midst of regional rebellion and facing possible confrontations with its American neighbors. Military training in schools "appeared to many as an essential programme of Canadian imperialism" (Berger 1966, 570). The existence and prominence of the Rifle Corps at U.C.C. reflected the imperial concerns of the nation. The push for universal military training in schools as promoted by Canadian Imperialists like Colonel Denison and "other luminaries of the Imperial Federation League [were] to stir up loyalty and patriotism among school children in Ontario" (Berger 1966. 575, brackets added).

The imperialist was not only a patriot or a believer in the heroic ideal-- he was a subscriber to a mentality which includes the use of force in order to insure and protect his moral and civilizing mission.

> Thorough discipline was a characteristic of the College. The mental growth was steady, not forced. Games, gymnastics, and military drill were better at U.C.C. than anywhere else. But there was another reason: the development of character, which can only come from personal contact and influence of the true teacher upon the scholar. (Howard 1979, 113)

Military drill was an effective means to mold character and served as a rich environment where imperial virtues grew. Unlike the British public schools, U.C.C. needed to have military drill and organization because of the real threats posed by forces from within and the possible expansion of the United States. So the history of this training was out of real threat, not potential threat.

Reminders of the military and Empire connections surrounded the students. Gymnastics master Colonel Goodwin was a veteran of Waterloo (Keys 1893, 120). The total of all of these military influences had the effect of conditioning these young men to a favorable view of this career. The cadet corps reflected a tone familiar in the British public schools in serving the greater good and self-sacrifice to a nobler end.

Patriotism, militarism and Christianity were swirled into a convincing imperial mix. The link between Christianity and militarism was reflected in the participation of the Cadet Corps in the annual Spring Church Parade in Toronto. The College Corps marched with the Queen's Own Rifles and were typically complemented for their "smart and soldierly appearance" (*College Times* 1911, 4). The parades and the review by military men were frequent and a source of community pride. The Ross Rifle prize for marksmanship was annually awarded by the Daughters of the Empire (*College Times* 1910, 11).

So valued was the training that Old Boy and Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Hendrie was in favour of universal military training (*College Times* 1915c, 58-59). "Even in peace times the physical effect would be beneficial. Our own cadet corps have done marvels in improving the physique ... of many boys ... there is no doubt a wonderful improvement would ensue in the health of the race" (*College Times* 1915c, 59).

## VI. Conclusion

According to Podmore's (1977) survey of international private schools, English-speaking Canadian private schools conformed most to the British model (Mangan 1986a, 146). The schools of Canada, from Ontario to B.C. "faithfully and gradually reproduced the orthodox features of the lauded English public school - a house system, prefects, team games and fervent ideological subscription to the games ethic" (Mangan 1986a, 146). More important than U.C.C.'s adopting the British public school model-- they accepted an ideological position that had at its core during the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century the creation of an imperial mentality.

Former U.C.C. student and master, John Ross Robertson, in an address to the school in 1891, encouraged the boys to remember their days at the College and to tell their children,

> of the old school where you learned the rudiments of education, and where were formed your habits which have made you good, moral, truth-telling, and loyal citizens of the Empire, whose drum-beat is heard in every corner of the globe. (Adam 1893, 176)

U.C.C. has historically been a willing participant in the British "imperial game." This willingness and pride in doing "one's bit" was accomplished through accepting the imperial ethos; the imperial ethos which promoted the masculine ideal, the character training of games, Christian responsibilities, moral superiority and cultural supremacy.

Parkin's position as head of the school allowed him to blend Christianity, education and his views on imperialism into a "rich, evangelical mixture." He believed and preached the importance of imperial unity and the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon "race" (Parkin 1892a). "The Empire was a route to the realization of his Christian idealism which viewed man 'as an embodiment of spirit and ideals...' and the rationale for the maintenance of Empire was a moral responsibility for the elevation of the weaker races of the world" (Mangan 1986a, 149). Canadians were willing to identify with the British civilizing mission and the idea of the innate superiority of their race.

Like the British public schools, U.C.C. provided "both a unifying influence and a training ground for Canada's Establishment" (Newman 1975, 405). Public schools and the institutions inspired by them also served as a conduit for the training which produced champions of Empire and the belief of the essential role of the Canadian in the future of the British Empire.

According to Welldon of Harrow in 1899, "An English Headmaster, as he looks to the future of his pupils, will not forget that they are destined to be citizens of the greatest empire under heaven; he will teach them patriotism, not by his words only but by his example" (Wilkinson 1964, 101). The words of Welldon could be the words of Parkin or many other educational leaders of Victorian and Edwardian Canada or England.

"The sinews of British power were in the colonies, particularly the white dominions, which were an extension of Britain" (James 1992, 205). Until 1919, Canada allowed for aristocratic titles to be granted from the United Kingdom. U.C.C. boys were prominent recipients of these titles. The Rhodes Scholarships also insured a connection to the Mother country. With the economic challenges of the late nineteenth century, the strengthening of these bonds could help Britain maintain its possessions and dominate its rivals (Rhodes 1902). Canadian imperialists in converse saw the need for the maintenance of connections for the day when they would be the leaders within the Empire.

"Notions of racial superiority blended with arguments for imperial unity to produce an ideology for the new imperialism" (James 1992, 205). The imperialism at the end of the nineteenth and into the twentieth-century in both England and Canada championed the Anglo-Saxon race to fulfill its destiny was communicated through the public school curriculum which featured masculinity, patriotism, athletic accomplishment, leadership, selflessness and duty. "This psychological fusion between prestige and philanthropy was a familiar process to the public school gentleman" (Wilkinson 1964, 102) and the imperialist.

It was through the Canadian and British classroom of the imperialist boy and schoolboy fiction that served to create stereotypes of the English gentleman's superiority and the native inferiority. "They inherited in their schooldays a

language which offered a description of the British national character as active, moral and heroic, and which, translated into the business of governing the empire. provided an apparently convincing justification for its continuance" (Mangan 1993, 15-16). The public schools perpetuated imperialist views through the curriculum and amplified concerns of Victorian society of patriotism, "adulation of monarchy", moral superiority and militarism.

These schools were character building and leadership training institutions. The British public schools and U.C.C. were concerned with building 'character' that exhibited the manly, Christian and athletic imperial traits. Boys from these schools were reminded that they were a part of a long an noble tradition and of their responsibilities to the nation but also the greater good of a strong empire. These schools were not shills for the concerns of the Empire but nonetheless they functioned as transmitters of an imperial culture through the classroom, playing fields, school pulpit, school organization, school assemblies, awards days, special guests, leisure reading, living conditions as well as physical abuse.

The lessons learned were powerful, influential and life-long. The parts of the curriculum that communicated the lessons had similar effects on the students regardless of where they were adopted in the Empire. Whether it was games playing, the use of rituals, sermons from the headmaster's pulpit or the overt or hidden curriculum that had more power to shape, what they all effectively did was communicate the ethos of empire. In their totality they formed a highly persuasive model.

The debate over the legacy of colonialism, centers on the psychological control of the colonized that exists today. A control that has debilitated the members of these former colonies to loll about in a post-colonial malaise of economic political, cultural and social devastation. Educational systems are a target for reform. But what will be chosen to counteract past mind-sets and produce new ones based on greater equality? Are there aspects of the British model which have a value, or is the entirety of this model corrupt and void of value? I think the next step in future research is to explore how, if at all this model can be retooled to produce more equitable relations and results among those most disadvantaged by its earlier incantations.

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**Methodological Appendix**

What I will outline in this appendix is a retrospective on my research methodology. Where possible I have tried to bury my methodology in the text of my work but in an effort to make the research process I went through and the analysis of this thesis more transparent, I have included this section. In this appendix I will address the following: how I dealt with my potential bias; how I dealt with validity/trustworthiness in my study; what constituted my data and why; how I went about "gathering" data; what I did with the data to find patterns and themes; and finally, what I brought to the research process.

I would characterize my research as a contribution to historical studies in education, showing British public schools as institutions responsible for imparting a value-rich education. I describe how British public schools developed and encouraged an highly potent ethos in the heartland and in the periphery of Empire through a descriptive account. While my work is primarily Historical research, I have used qualitative methods to inform and explore my data (Patton 1980).

The convergence of methods used in this research provided what Geertz (1973) described as 'thick description'- a richly detailed, organized account. The research involved an investigative process much like that of the detective, having to sleuth out obscure texts and bibliographic material most often buried in work that was neither historical nor educationally oriented. My research method was guided by a philosophy concisely captured by educational historiographer, Brickman (1982). "The deeper one's acquaintance with the roots of an educational problem, the clearer in his conception of the historical forces and of the interrelationship of school and society" (2). This is not to claim that historical knowledge alone will provide a solution to educational problems but it does provide a foundational means by which our depth of understanding of the questions under consideration are enhanced.

I found the following analogy beneficial to my methodology not only in collecting data but in analyzing it. Carr (1961) described facts like "fish

swimming about in a vast and sometimes inaccessible ocean; and what the historian catches will depend, partly on chance, but mainly on what part the ocean he chooses to fish in and what tackle he chooses to use-- these two factors being, of course, determined by the kind of fish he wants to catch. By and large, the historian will get the kind of facts he wants to catch" (23). I have used a blend of historical and qualitative tackle to increase my efforts to catch an abundance and a variety of fish for the reader. Those were my limitations. The blend of methods (e.g., historical, case study, comparative and ethnographic) I used in my research allowed for the use of a variety sources to make my case.

During this process two key features of my method of analysis included reflecting on the data and the "interpretive character" of the analysis. According to Eisner (1991), qualitative research is "interested in matters of motive and in he quality of experience undergone by those in the situation studied" (35). By this, I was not hasty to classify all the data but allowed for a natural unfolding of emergent themes.

"A good researcher is not confined methodologically by being trained in- and limited to- a single strategy... Such a restriction limits the types of results he or she can obtain, and restricts the strength of the research" (Morse 1994, 223). As my research was primarily archival work and a methodology that was historical in nature, the qualitative element of this work came through the type of research question I asked, focusing on descriptive questions of values, beliefs and practices of culture (224), my analysis and data collection.

To say that this research is strict history would be to miscast what I have done and ignore the contribution of other approaches. The analysis of my data reflects the influence of qualitative methods. As Janesick (1988) describes, "The qualitative researcher uses inductive analysis, which means that categories, themes, and patterns come from the data ... The categories that emerge .. are not imposed prior to data collection" (215). "Qualitative research depends on the presentation of solid descriptive data, so that the researcher leads the reader to an understanding of the meaning of the experience under study" (Janesick 1988, 215). I replicated this method in my

work by using the words and poetry of the public school student and headmaster.

Good research is also about being meticulous about documentation, grounded in research methodology and theory as well as familiar with the previous research in the field under examination (Morse 1994, 226). It is about using multiple forms of evidence (Eisner 1991, 39). I have remained true to these procedures.

I have led the reader from the beginnings of the British public school, its transformations and its relationship to the British Empire to show the influence and power it had in the construction of elites, in the construction of a mentality and in the maintenance of power. It is through the development of background information and the various examples drawn from primary, secondary and tertiary sources that connect the creation of an imperial mentality to the British public school.

**Dealing with Bias.**

My initial reaction to questions about bias was to say it is up to the reader to decide and that issues of bias alludes to a scientific tradition of research. However, realizing the concern with this issue I would answer the question in terms of making my method of inquiry, research questions and my location in the work transparent.

The geneses of my research began with a ten page paper I presented at a conference. The focus of the paper was in reaction to course work and readings that took a critical view of Western contributions to educational development in the third world. From a theoretical position this was one starting point for my collection of data. Secondly and more importantly I began researching the institutions that I had first hand knowledge of as a student and a teacher. Keeping in mind that "openendedness" in my direction would give my work flexibility and allow the unfolding of the data to shape my direction over my preconceptions.

What I brought to this research is my first hand experience of studying and teaching in private schools in North America. I have felt the influence of

Arnold's Rugby as a student and teacher. In the private school environment it is not unusual to hear the name of that eminent Victorian invoked. The cult of games still dominates many private schools in North America and a bias towards "things" British is still a prep school reality.

From my first-hand experience, private schools still offer advantages. The advantages built on an ethos/philosophy shared among other private schools. Over time the mission of schools modeled after the British public school were infused with the enlightenment of time and experience but a world non-the-less requiring of our leadership. The mission may have changed but the delivery of the message through competition on the playing fields or through morning chapel lectures remain in the spirit of the British public school.

On another level, my interest in the subject of private education is more than mere historical intrigue. Having attended private schools and taught in private schools in the United States, I have found it curious why schools function the way they do. The thesis, although not its focus, was a personal exploration to answer some of the questions I had as a student and teacher, to understand the origins of the curriculum I was subjected to, the reliance on rituals, the 'stripped down' Christian feel to daily events and the fixation on athletic accomplishment. The British public school effected my education, it also inspired some of my teachers to take up the language, pedagogy and the challenge of Arnold to produce a manly, athletic, Christian gentleman. What I find significant after conducting this research is how the British public school, the product of decades of evolution, crossed cultures and time to influence my life chances.

**Dealing with Validity and Trustworthiness**

There are several points that I feel are important to acknowledge as they address the issue of the validity/trustworthiness as they relate to my study. I would first say that my research draws on the work of previous scholarship by historians, educational philosophers, ethnographers, sociologists, academics and writers. It is through this diverse, yet relevant collection of scholarship that I base the validity of my research. I am aware and have reflected upon the challenge of looking all these nineteenth century documents with my

twentieth century values, perspectives, and ideals. I acknowledge this reality. With that said, I have tried to immerse myself in the subject matter in an attempt to shorten the distance of time and better understand the mindset and institutions in my research. Ultimately, my research, characterized by rich description should provide the reader with enough information to determine whether the findings of the study possibly apply to other situations.

I have not let an historical account dominate my analysis but have permitted other methods to be counted. I have used examples as often as possible to illuminate my arguments. Initially I sought, often to distraction, to follow every lead no matter how tangential. I eventually learned to curb this urge. The two hundred sources used in the research are a significant part of the my research but in no way reflect the numerous titles that I did not include in my research. I excluded data that I used to provide background information and mood setting feel. To this body of work I would include various works of literature (e.g., Golding and Waugh), films on British public schools and numerous editions of *Boys Own Paper*. Importantly, photographs from the time, school pictures, lent personal validity to my work. The images, events and expressions confirmed my assertions.

The proof of the value of this research and its validity are reflected in the questions it raises. Can the public school system provide the needed leadership for a country that is developing? Is it a model that can be translated for the benefit of developing countries? Or, is it a system that should be feared and given greater scrutiny? I believe that a discussion of imperialism is an issue of educational interest (Carnoy & Samoff 1990). The trustworthiness of my research is also reflected in the debate that ensues and the providing of another perspective/voice in the field of research (Delpit 1988). My research illustrates how education cannot be understood separate from economic, political, social and cultural considerations. What do others, who are not historians or educators have to say about what they observed?

It is in the spirit of participatory research that I attempt to address in my research the concerns for power and powerlessness, to confront the way in which the established and power-holding elements of societies worldwide are

favoured because they hold a monopoly on the definition and employment of knowledge (Reason 1994).

Another methodological consideration that addresses the issue of validity and trustworthiness was in the identification and recognition of my perspective as it evolved through the study. My background experiences (e.g., having been a teacher) have no doubt shaped my analysis. "It is difficult to do a really accurate and meaningful study in educational history ... if one has not been exposed to the joys, and sorrows of daily classroom teaching; contact with children, adolescents, and parents; cooperation and conflict with supervisors, administrators, boards of education, and the community at large; and a multitude of other experiences which enable the historian to comprehend and appreciate the inner development of education" (Brickman 1982).

Good research should set out to assist reader to better understand the role of knowledge as a significant instrument of power and control (Reason 1994). The purpose of the research is to "inform, empower and change" (Kirby 1991). Along with this point I have also been guided by the tenet of good educational research being "accessible to interested people who do not ordinarily read research journals or who find the language of research journals hard to decipher" (Eisenhart & Borko 1992). It is with all of this in mind that I conducted my research and defend the validity of my work.

Keeping in mind that an M.A. is not the most accessible format for the general exposure of one's ideas, I have kept true to making my research accessible through the avoidance of jargon that is off-putting to the non-academic reader. I have led up to this final piece of research having presented my initial thoughts on the subject in a couple of venues that allowed for dialogue on my thesis and feedback in terms of suggestions and questions by practitioners and policy makers in education (Eisenhart & Borko 1992) as well as "stakeholders", teachers and fellow graduate students.

I defined my terms, like 'imperial mentality' on dictionary understanding, on social criticism, definitions accepted in sociology and education, through my

reading of history and then synthesized into a definition part my interpretation- part others. It was from this base that I built my arguments.

**What constituted my data and why?**

My data was gleaned from primary, secondary and tertiary sources covering from the mid-nineteenth century through the first twenty years of the twentieth century. The period covered roughly mirrors the peak influence and expansion of the public schools and Empire. The termination date also reflects the power shift from Britain to the United States in the wake of the First World War and the decline of colonial influence through out the world.

The British public schools I researched were located thousands of miles away and access to this archival information was guarded. When possible I used primary resources to begin the illumination of a point followed by secondary and tertiary sources to confirm a point being made. It was also through the use of secondary sources that informed me of potential primary sources, so as I conducted my research I looked for data in all types sources.

I used the following primary sources in my research; institutional records (e.g., school advertisements, speeches, instructional materials, directories, school year books and magazines); memoirs and reminiscences by educators and public school students about their impressions of their society and schooling; architecture, furniture, athletic facilities, book prizes were the physical "remains" used not as facts but as confirmation of them. The use of official institutional documents provided valued information. These materials reflected institutional biases and subjectivity. It is for those properties that I found them useful (Bogdan and Biklen 1988, 100). For similar motivations I found the occasional use of autobiographical work (*A Little Learning* by Waugh) and the novel (*The Pyramid* by Golding) to provide insight and for further descriptive detail (Eisner 1979). I did not allow the prevalent positivist bias towards primary sources dissuade my use of solid secondary source work.

Access to primary sources made me shift to a deeper study of secondary and tertiary sources. Secondary sources were useful as an introduction to the

research topic and were valued because they showed how others perceived public school education and the mentality it encouraged. Institutional histories have been rich in information even though some critics might be biased against such histories for not having been written by historians (e.g., Dickson & Adam 1893 and Howard 1979). Dissertations were useful for their extensive bibliographies (e.g., Berger 1969 and Cook 1975). Literature, both the serious and the satirical, were another form of opinion no less authentic in providing insight and giving voice to a discipline traditionally excluded from "academic" discourse (e.g., Golding 1967 and Waugh 1917). I have also used scholarly periodicals covering, history, education and sociology, as well as biographies and poetry to enrich my research through the inclusion of different ways of analysis and descriptive practices.

The use of tertiary sources allowed access to information that was otherwise inaccessible because of time and fiscal restraints. Selections from private papers, unpublished journals, interviews, curriculum information, textbook exerts, collected personal letters, statistical figures, reprinted commencement programs and reports by schools were used. Photographs of students at play and team photos from year books provided a good sense of individuals no longer living and the feel for what the setting of a particular event was like (Borden and Biklen 1982, 103). Keeping in mind the intentions of the photographer, the subject matter and the motivation for the photograph, the use of photography gave valuable insight into the "tone" of the public school where words were insufficient.

The tone of the public school was projected through the posture, grooming, the formal, confident poses, the wealth of sports images and the facial gestures. Photographs portrayed some sense of what, I thought, these people were like despite never having met them. Also, the reproduced illustrations of public school life and the portraits of headmasters found in texts gave further meaning to the names and context to printed information.

It was through initial research that I gained a sense of the depth of influence and the integral role the British public school had on society in Britain and abroad. There is continuous debate as to which schools were the most influential but what became clear as I researched the impact of the British

public school on educational systems throughout the Empire was that a few kept popping up as influences of the strongest sort (e.g., Eton, Rugby, Winchester etc.) because they were established in turning out elites.

The selection of Upper Canada College (U.C.C.), Toronto, Canada was the end result of an early investigative process. Having researched and compared private secondary institutions in Canada, I selected U.C.C. over Ridley, Lower Canada College, or Bishop's because of its seniority, influence on other Canadian institutions, influence on the development of the country, in producing generations of leadership and most importantly, it had the most detailed written history. The greater name recognition and the accomplishments of its alumni increased the chance that there would be more items (especially primary sources) written about the institution, which there were.

**The Collection of Data**

Long before I conducted my research and gathered data, I prepared. I prepared by becoming more familiar with British and Canadian private education and I bolstered my general knowledge through background reading (e.g., *A History of England* by Goldwin Smith, a graduate of U.C.C., and *A History of British Imperialism* by Cambridge University Press). My general knowledge was inclusive of an understanding of British and Canadian history, the history of curriculum development (e.g., Goodson 1987 & 1995), sociology, philosophy of education, economics (e.g., Hobsbawm 1968), psychology and popular fiction from the time period covered in the research. Even movies like James Hilton's *Good-bye Mr. Chips* or the movie *If...* provided a slice of public school life.

Affirming this effort to understand the differences between myself and the research- I sought feedback. Expert feedback from readings, discussions in Graduate courses with my peers and conferences answered what was out there while confirming my human as instrument process (Lincoln and Guba 1985). A process whereby I was responsible for both collecting relevant data (relevance which changes in the course of researching) and culling meaning from the data.

According to Eisenhart & Borko (1992), "the research question ought to drive data collection techniques and analysis rather" than the opposite (97). With the absence of human subjects I relied on written documentation. The historical nature of my research question necessitated broad and systematic archival work. An historical approach allowed me to initially caste a wide net to find out what was going on here.

As a guide to the case study section on U.C.C. I used the design idea put forward by Bogdan & Biklen (1988), represented by a funnel. The beginning of the study is wide-focusing and then narrows, developing a clear focus. I looked at the British public school at the widest and then narrowed my focus to exact points in the curriculum. This said, research often fluctuates between narrowing and widening of the focus of inquiry. Just as I thought to concentrate on the role of the curriculum in developing an imperial mentality, as broad as I thought that was it was still pinched. My concept of curriculum excluded the role of games playing or the codes of physical discipline in shaping this ethos. So, I had to expand the focus of inquiry to include such aspects of school life as the physical conditions of dormitory life, lessons learned from military training and the importance of accomplishment on the playing fields in creating the ethos.

My documentation methodology, listed in the next section, allowed for the flexibility to follow and adapt to challenges to my research questions. Revelations that occurred in the research process and data analysis were far from stumbling blocks, they enriched the work. "The concurrent processes of data collection and analysis allow the analysis to guide data collection in a process of theoretical sampling, so that excess and unnecessary data are not collected" (Morse 1994, 229). This was protection against getting lost in a forest of information.

**Finding patterns and themes that answered my research question.**

My research design was influenced by what Glaser (1967) described as the "Constant Comparative Method" in developing theory in conducting descriptive case studies. The six steps in this comparative method I found useful in guiding my analysis and served as my documentation methodology. The six steps of collecting data, looking for key events in the data, expanding on these dimensions, writing about them, working with emerging models and writing as the analysis focuses were taking place throughout the research- at the same time. A process that allowed the research questions to unfold rather than let the data fit a preconceived notion.

I started with what I thought would be the most influential aspect of public school training, the curriculum. I learned through the exploration of the data that the academic curriculum provided sound evidence but having remained unwed to any particular notions I was led to view the weight of athletics, military training and lecturing from the school pulpit as equally important in shaping the mind of the student as the academic curriculum (Mangan 1986a; Rich 1989).

Curriculum, school organization and leadership were three of the larger components of the British public school I analyzed. Within these components I made further breakdowns, the curriculum remained the largest section. According to Eisner (1979), in order to understand curriculum, it must be understood in terms of the hidden, explicit and implicit curriculum. This approach to analyzing this aspect of curriculum proved valuable in driving the research questions. It also helped me to understand the real power of the public school curriculum was in what it did not teach, the anti-intellectualism of many of its lessons and how it worked toward the control of knowledge, the key to the control of power.

With the emergence of these various categories and distinctions within these subject areas, I began looking at my data for themes and continued to look for more resource leads. The research did not focus on one institution but looked at the dominant British public schools as a collective-- looking for common themes among these schools. Purposive sampling not only

increased the likelihood that variability would be represented in the data, it also narrowed the focus of inquiry. Understanding the contextual differences between various public schools, there was a commonalty in their basic practices like the instruction of Latin, the importance of cricket and rugby for instilling the manly virtues and the lessons learned from beatings that emerged over the course of the data collection process. This commonalty afforded a level of generalizing to other time periods and places (e.g., U.C.C.).

When I initially looked at a specific school like Rugby, I read with general intent. Later, as themes and patterns emerged I went back into previously collected data searching for information that supported these emerging focus of inquiry. The role of sports in the life of the school or the weight of the classics in the curriculum were two themes quick to present themselves. I was systematic as I went through a source for all the parts that made my argument. I started my research with available institutional histories. Institutional histories, often be a collections of essays by former students or masters, produced multiple trails to follow. From these sources I not only collected the image the institution put forward, I also mined them for their bibliographic material.

This process of collecting and understanding the data allowed me to explore my research questions. Was there an imperial ethos? If so, was it perpetuated through the public school? What particular institutions in the public school communicated the imperial mentality and why? A further research question that emerged through the course of my constant data analysis was whether the public school model influenced institutions in the periphery of Empire the way it did in the heartland and why?

To further feature the development of an imperial mentality through the public school model, I used a comparative method to illuminate and identify emergent themes and patterns in the British public school and their potent manifestations on peripheral institutions. Having explored the influence of the public school model throughout the British Empire, I wanted to explore the possible influences of this model on the development of schools in the periphery of Empire. I focused my attention on the impact of the British public school had on the development of private education in Canada--

providing the context for the featuring of one school, Upper Canada College. Settling on a Canadian institution was the natural choice for the latter part of the research focus in large part because of the access to resources on Canadian private education.

The use of the case study not only illuminated my argument but also aided in the development of my previous work by returning to the data to validate my analysis. I found that the imperial mentality was encouraged at U.C.C as it was in the public school through similar means like the cult of athletics and the house system and to similar proportions.

This conclusion only came after general examination of Canadian private education and the focus of attention on U.C.C. because of the wealth of information and numerous references to this college as a major educational influence in Canada. I analyzed the Canadian institution as I think a British public school pupil or master would on arriving at the college. Placing myself in the context of the British public school gave my research guidance. I did not include this concept overtly but had it in mind as I explored the influences of the British public school on U.C.C..

I asked questions like, did mandatory sports playing or the use of discipline shape the behavior of its students, to what degree? This line of inquiry aided in establishing themes that I could then weave into an argument for the influence of the British public school in fostering an imperial mentality among its students and in influencing schools throughout the Empire.