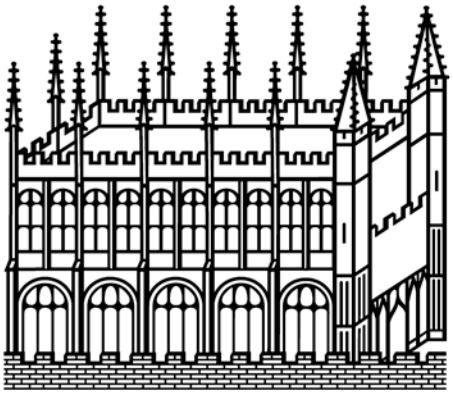

MISTAKES AND MISSTATEMENTS

IN A BOOK CALLED

THE BOOK OF RUGBY SCHOOL,

ITS HISTORY.

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RECTOR OF BILTON.

RUGBY:

CROSSLEY AND BILLINGTON,

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IN A BOOK CALLED

THE BOOK OF RUGBY SCHOOL—ITS HISTORY.

THE BOOK OF RUGBY SCHOOL, though published in 1856, did not fall into my hands so as to afford opportunity for reading it, till very lately: its bulk, a thick octavo volume, had appeared too large, altogether disproportioned to any known materials of accurate information on the subjects it treats of: the book, however, having been brought to me, and bearing the sanction of the late Head-master's name, I read it, and especially Chapter IV. professing to give the History of the Schools, and read with amazement. When the Head of an Institution comes voluntarily forward to give its history, uncalled for by anything but a desire to supply the supposed defects of tradition, we are entitled to expect from him correct and exact information; that he should have weighed well the credit due to the authorities he has consulted, and especially, if the documents and monuments on which one can most surely rely, be but few, that

he should have considered them with most thoughtful care, to ascertain what the truth is, they really tell. How far this has been accomplished by the writer of Chapter IV. which comes to us thus highly sanctioned, whoever may have actually written it, must be left to the public to decide: to the inhabitants of Rugby it cannot but be a matter of interest, to have a true and correct History of the School, intimately connected as its prosperity ever has been with that of the Town.

It must be confessed, however, the infancy of the School lies wrapt in much obscurity. We know indeed the dates of its Founder's death, and of his will, and of another document signed and sealed three days after his will, called his Intent, a declaration of his purpose respecting his School and Almshouses to guide those who were to carry it into effect: but of the year when this was effected and his buildings completed, no date is known.

In October, 1567, died Lawrence Sheriffe, citizen and grocer of London, having by will, made the July before, left for the endowment of a Grammar School and four Almshouses his estates in Warwickshire, described in a codicil and in his intent as his Parsonage of Brownsover, and his Mansion House at Rugby, the Brownsover estate being leased at that time to his sister and her husband, the Howkins, at a yearly rent of

£16, 13s. 4d. But the master of his school was to have, besides the mansion house for his residence, a yearly salary of £12, and each of his almsmen, besides a house, sevenpence a week; and the rent of the Brownsover estate was evidently insufficient for these payments. His first remedy for this was a bequest of £100, to purchase land yielding a rent of at least £2, 5s. per annum, and he ordered to be paid within convenient time after his decease, to his dear friends and trustees for this object, George Harrison and Barnard Field, £50 towards building a school-house and the almshouses at Rugby. His wife was sole executrix of his will with the help of his brother-in-law, Howkins, who was also to assist Harrison and Field in their trust, as to building the school, &c. But, fortunately, the provision seemed still insufficient: for the mansion house was to be well and sufficiently repaired, and the other buildings also were to be sufficiently maintained and repaired for ever. So he revoked by a codicil to his will, dated August 31st, the gift of the £100, and gave instead, one-third of his estate in Middlesex, the other two-thirds, he being the last male of his line, passing to the descendants and heirs of his sister, Howkins. This third of his estate in Middlesex, being about eight acres, but so situated that with the growth of the Metropolis, it became wholly covered with houses, is the source of the wealth of this now great foundation.

At what time this intent was carried out, and the school-house, or, as we should say, school-room, built, we are not informed. Lawrence Sheriffe indeed had been very earnest that it should be done speedily: in his declaration of his intent to his trustees, he desires that with convenient speed after his death, with the profit of the premises, and such other money as he should have given by his will, a fair and convenient school-house should be built near to his mansion-house in Rugby, and four neat lodgings for four poor men near to the school-house. It is assumed in "the Book"[a] that the School-room and almshouses were built and a master elected in 1570, three years after Sheriffe's death. It is just, and only just, possible, this may have been so, and that some twelve-pound-man may then and there have kept a grammar school; but a man of no note, and however diligently he may have done his duty, he has left not so much as his name behind him. De non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est ratio: the maxim is good, and well applies to this case. If Harrison and Field had thus fulfilled their trust according to Sheriffe's earnest desire, how is it that we are told,[b] that "they both misconducted themselves," and that on their death twelve Trustees from the principal gentry of the county and neighbourhood were appointed by decree of Queen Elizabeth? If they had thus fully carried out

[a] p. 180. [b] p. 120.

Sheriffe's intent in 1570, how is it that full ten years afterwards, in December 1580, the Intent was copied out, and the copy certified to be a true copy by E. Harrison, without one word to lead us to suppose it had already been acted upon? Observe, it is certified to be a true copy, not by G. Harrison who was most interested in it, but by E. Harrison, as if the other were no longer living.

On turning to Crossley's Memorials we find this was so; George Harrison died soon after Sheriffe, leaving Field sole trustee; we read also that a Decree of Queen Elizabeth appointed twelve of the principal gentry of the neighbourhood as Trustees on Field's death; yet that on his death, his only daughter, we presume, only child and so his heir continued to hold the property, and that her son sold it, and that by subsequent sales it passed through various hands, and was not recovered till 1614. Now upon these facts we should observe first, that the Codicil of Sheriffe's will gives the third of his Middlesex estate, as all his Warwickshire estates, not merely to George Harrison and Barnard Field, but also to their heirs for ever upon Trust to carry out his design. This perpetual succession of Trustees, we may be sure, would not have been set aside by a Decree of the Queen without some very grave cause; after G. Harrison's death, no heir of his came forward as trustee: Field alone acted, for on his death his

daughter as his heir took possession of the Middlesex property. E. Harrison probably disapproved Field's views, and would not be implicated in his dishonest proceedings; he it is, who, thirteen years after Sheriffe's death, furnished a certified copy of the Intent, as if to guide others in doing what had not at that time been done. Suppose twelve years more to roll on, and still no school to have been established, no buildings raised ; surely a quarter of a century's neglect to fulfil a trust, presents an occasion that calls for the interference of a higher power,—a dignus vindice nodus. Yet the decree does not at once set aside this unworthy Trustee : the twelve new Trustees were to be appointed after his death : a season for amendment seems to have been allowed him, and it is not improbable that the tidings of this decree may have spurred him on to build the "fair and convenient school room," and the two distinct lodgings next the street for the two Rugby almsmen, while, if the other two were not also built at that time, any discontent at Brownsover might have been lulled for a while by a provision for two poor men there out of the Brownsover estate, for which also he was sole trustee. According to this not improbable conjecture of what actually took place, we should have the School opened with its Master before the death of Queen Elizabeth; and in fact we find Nicholas Greenhill Master in 1602.

The Decree, with its date,[c] would throw some light on these points, especially if we had also the date of Field's death. If Field were dead when the Decree was made, it is difficult to understand why it did not immediately take effect: but if Field outlived the Queen, his only daughter and heir would claim the estate, alleging that, as her father had done all that the royal decree was designed to cause to be done, there was no reason why she should not hold it as Trustee according to Sheriffe's will. On the other hand the time was come, when the sacred duty of inquiring whether Sheriffe's intent had been truly and fully carried out, and if not, themselves fulfilling his purpose, devolved on the twelve Trustees appointed by that decree.

Then began the war, longer than the ten years siege of Troy. Crossley's Memorials tell us that "the Masters of the School instituted several suits for the recovery of the property." There are just forty years from the accession of Magister Greenhill to that of the fourth master, Magister Pearce;

[c] The Rugby Register gives the date of the decree, 44th, Elizabeth, the very year, 1602. It was not then, the tidings of the decree, but the rumours that called for it, which seem to have driven Field so far to fulfil his trust. The date of his death is not material, except as enabling us to understand how it happened, that the Conduit Fields estate remained in the possession of his representatives as Trustees, after the decree.

so if we allow even twenty-eight of these years for the third master, Wiligent Green, the brunt of the war must have been sustained by Magister Greenhill and Magister Rolfe; these must have been the Ajax and Diomede of the day, yet we think they were rather but Noemon and Prytanis — sensible men and good guardians, but not men of note, leaving behind them no trace of their memories, except their dateless names. Greenhill, indeed, has the date 1602, probably of his accession; Rolfe none whatever. The notion that the Masters of the School accomplished this important object, may have arisen, one suspects, from finding their names as plaintiffs in the several suits; the lawyers of the day may have thought it the proper course, to put forward their names as plaintiffs, as sustaining actual damage from the property being withheld from its right owners. But they were not the right owners: to recover it, was no duty of theirs: but it was the duty of the trustees appointed by Elizabeth's decree; a duty, we cannot suppose they, the leading gentry of the neighbourhood, neglected, or that any other than they, instituted these several suits, and ultimately obtained redress. The scandalous breach of trust in Field's grandson attempting to alienate the property, left no doubt as to the decision. In 1614 an inquisition in London reported on the case to the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, whose decree, if it could be seen,

would probably be found to direct this Middlesex estate to be vested in the trustees appointed by Queen Elizabeth's decree. Nicolas[d] supposes, twelve trustees were at this time appointed, but it appears by the Rugby Register, that the only change was by filling up five vacancies, two by the representatives of two of the first set, Thomas in the room of John, Leigh of Stoneleigh, and Roger in the room of Basil, Feilding of Barnacle, with three new names, Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir Richard Varney, and Sir Clement Throckmorton.

It may be asked, perhaps, why the Warwickshire estates also were not at this time vested in the Trustees. The answer is, that case was not then before the Court. It is satisfactory to think, that in the Howkins family there was no meditated fraud, but only great misapprehension. A son or daughter of John and Bridget Howkins was undoubtedly entitled by the Intent to hold the Brownsover estate for a rent of 25 marks: a rent apparently fixed in old times, as measured in marks, the old currency of the country. The tenure then was highly beneficial to the holder; and this was given by the Intent to any person "of the body of J. and B. Howkins lawfully begotten or issuing," living at Rugby or Brownsover, regularly paying the rent and properly repairing the buildings at Brownsover. The Howkins family

[d] Hist. of Town and School of Rugby, p. 104.

considered this as giving them a right in perpetuity, as long as their issue remained, to hold this property on these terms. Yet there is no addition of the word " for ever" annexed to this grant, as there is to the gift of the mansion house to the successive masters, and to the appointment of the trustees for his estates. Probably Sheriffe adopted into his Intent the words " or issuing" after the words " lawfully begotten," merely as legal verbiage like the well-known " situate, lying and being," without imagining that by their adoption he was totally altering the character of his bequest, thenceforth a mere rent-charge on his Brownsover estate, as long as issue of the Howkins remained. His Will had given that estate in trust for his Charities at Rugby, as set forth in his Intent, without the slightest hint of any interest in it there reserved for the Howkins family; and the codicil, dated more than a month later than the Intent, gives the third of his Middlesex estate on the same trust as his Brownsover estate and the house at Rugby. Acting however on this notion of his family, that the Brownsover estate belonged to them, subject only to a money payment to Sheriffe's charities in Rugby, Antony Howkins, after his parents' death in the latter part of the 16th century, made an exchange beneficial to himself of some of the land with Mr. Boughton, who had property in that parish. This certainly he had no right to do:

the freehold of the estate was not in him, but in the Trustee : he was only a tenant with a beneficial tenure. When he died, does not appear; but as one of the witnesses of his uncle's codicil, he was of age in 1567. The Howkins family appear to have claimed to hold this property after his death, paying only £16, 13s. 4d. yearly to the charity, till in 1653 an inquisition at Rugby, before Commissioners for charitable uses, declared their claim to be an usurpation, and ordered that the Warwickshire estates, as well as the third of Conduit Close should be vested in the Trustees substituted for those of Field's family who had so grossly misconducted themselves; that the arrears of sums, which had been withheld, should be paid to the Trustees, who should indemnify those who had been injured by the usurpation ; and that thenceforth, after paying the charges for repairs of buildings, and the money payments fixed by the will for the schoolmaster and almsmen, the surplus should be divided between them in the proportion of about two thirds to the schoolmaster, and the rest to the four almsmen. Such was the first increase of the salary of Lawrence Sheriffe's schoolmaster, above the original £12. Only eight months before the inquisition Thomas Howkins, the last who held the estate on this claim, was buried at Rugby : an inscription on a monumental brass plate in the Church describes him, with evident reference to it, as " Grand-

son of John Howkins and Bridget his wife, whose Brother founded the free school and almshouses in the town."

The first master of the free Grammar School, whose name has been handed down to us, is Magister Nicholas Greenhill, 1602, the year before the end of Elizabeth's reign, and thirty-five years after the death of her faithful servant, Lawrence Sheriffe. Now for the first time the hitherto infant school, if there really had been any, began to speak. This gentleman and his five successors are all described by the title Magister prefixed to their names without any adjunct of their degree, whereas their nine successors are all described by their degree, A. M. It is suggested, that Magister[e] expresses their degree; rather it describes them, as Sheriffe would have had them described, as Masters of his school. University degrees were at least held in as high estimation in the old time, as they are now: whoever was entitled to it, would not have failed to claim the distinction. It must not however be supposed that the master's salary was only what £12 would be now: pounds were pounds in those days: its real value we may apprehend by its being nearly, but only, eight times the amount necessary for the maintenance of a poor almsman.

An important question to consider in the history of the School, is, when it first began to train and

[e] p. 118. Book of R. S.

fit its scholars for the University. Lawrence Sherriffe wished his master to be M. A., if it might conveniently be: but the smallness of the salary, even as we have estimated it, would make it doubtful whether any M. A. would accept the situation. Yet it is hardly to be expected any one would pretend to train scholars for the University, who had not himself completed his education there and obtained the degree of M. A. To the eye of imagination, indeed, it may appear as if each of these first six Masters of Lawrence Sheriffe's school finished the school-education of the boys under them, and sent them forth fit for one of the Universities: in "the Book" it is confidently asserted of Raphael Pearce, who was Master from 1642, the year of the King's ill-starred demand of the five members in the House of Commons, till 1651, that "during the first dreary years of the Commonwealth," the three last years of his management of the School, "he prepared scholars for the revolutionizing Universities:" to the eye of reason it may seem more probable, that neither he nor any of the first six Masters of Sheriffe's school attempted to send scholars to the Universities, because they do not appear to have been themselves graduates from either University. In those days the School had attracted so little notice, that it is not even mentioned in the account of Rugby in Dugdale's Warwickshire, published in

1656. If there be any truth in the forebodings of one, whom Bacon in his letter to James I., on the intent to found the Charter house, described as one of the wisest and greatest men of the kingdom, on the evils to be apprehended from the multiplicity of grammar schools since the Reformation, viz: that more scholars would be bred in them than the state could prefer and employ, occupations for such bearing no proportion to the preparation of candidates for them; the good inhabitants of Rugby, Brownsover, and the vicinity, must have felt that truth, and have been disposed to be content if their children should receive in the free Grammar School such good education, as would make them respectable in their humbler walks of middle life, rather than acquire a disrelish for such lowly employments, by being educated for situations which they could never hope to fill or to find. There were two of these non-graduate masters of Sheriffe's school, who succeeded Master Pearce, the last of whom, Master John Allen, died in 1669. They would all have been naturally so described by the prefix "Master" to their name, just as we speak of Masters in Chancery, or, what may be thought more in point, in speaking of successive Heads of the same College who bear this title, as e. g., University College, we should say Master Griffith, Master Rowley, Master Plumptre: that none of

the six assumed the title M. A., leads to the inference, that they had not that degree, and so Master was their only, their most distinctive title of honour.

But now, about seventy years from the time its foundations were laid, the School began to rise in importance. The master's salary had been increased in 1653, on gaining possession of the full rent from the Brownsover estate, and now in 1669 there was a further increase of it, the Conduit Close, which hitherto had produced only £8, having this year been let for £20. So that the master's salary became probably not much less than £40: and the situation with its advantages began to attract the notice of members of the Universities. From 1669 each of the nine successive Masters of the School is titled M. A. It had been Lawrence Sheriffe's wish that the Masters of his School should, if conveniently it might, be M. A., and now at last his wish was realized.

It is to be regretted that no engraving, nor even exact account of the original Old School and its dimensions has come down to us. To form some idea of the buildings originally raised for Sheriffe's foundation, we should first consider his Almshouses as they stood at the beginning of the present century, built after the old mansion house had been taken down in 1783, a neat but unpretending brick building, extending from the eastern end of

the present Almshouses, as far as the line of them is parallel to the opposite side of the street; the space between this point where their frontage inclines to the north, and Mr. Harris's house, was at that time a boarding-house, occupied by one of the assistant Masters, my much respected Tutor, the Rev. William Birch. Such were the eight Almshouses, (their number having recently been doubled), in the latter part of the last century, with a pavement of flag-stones in front, (an exception at that day to the rest of the town) fenced with stout white-painted posts and rails against that nuisance of Rugby—the cattle-fairs in the streets. The greater part of this frontage was occupied, no doubt, by the Mansion House of Lawrence Sheriffe, given as a residence for his school-master, having an arched porch over its principal entrance: abutting on this, and built on to it at the eastern end, we are told, were two of the Almshouses. The fair and convenient School-house, or School-room stood at right angles to the Mansion House on the ground behind it. There was then some ground behind belonging to the estate, on part of which, doubtless, the other two Almshouses were built, probably behind the two already mentioned. There would have been room for this; for the School-room was long as well as lofty, with an entrance for the boys at its north end, and so did not itself reach to the northern

boundary of the property. The four distinct lodgings for four poor men would have been near to the School, as the School was near to the Master's house, according to the directions given in the Intent. The original old School-room was built with timber, by which we are not to understand built of boards, as said in p. 113,[f] but a substantial framework of solid timber, the large black beams of which stood in strong contrast with the white or yellow plaster that covered the material substance of the wall that filled their interstices, or, it may be, these were filled with brick-work: either of these modes of building was common in those days: such the very style, as appears from the illustration in p. 3,[f] of the Parsonage at Brownsover. Thus we may by conjecture acquire some idea of these buildings, if only we understand a passage to have been left between the Mansion House and the Almshouse said to abut on it, giving an access to the School-room and the Almshouses behind.

Such, or nearly such, were the buildings which in 1669 came to be occupied by Masters of Arts, from one or other of the Universities. The salary offered them was but about forty pounds a year, or somewhat less, with a house better than one with such an income would require; the school-room, where they had daily to teach the foundationers, was ample; how natural, then, that they

[f]Book of R. S.

should have increased their incomes by taking boarders into their houses, to say their lessons with the other boys in the large and lofty school-room: their non-graduate predecessors may have done so, for anything we know to the contrary; or they may have been content with less work and less pay; and as not having taken University degrees, they were less likely to draw to the school others than the foundationers. But when graduated Masters came from the Universities, how natural that from the friendships they formed there, some should have sent their boys even from Cumberland to be brought up by their old college friend, ay, and to finish their school education under his care. The first, indeed, of these held the office only five years; perhaps he did not like it: perhaps it did not answer his expectations; we only know that Mr. Knightly Harrison, M.A. came in 1669 and resigned in 1674; whether he was of the same family as Sheriffe's friend, we are not told. To his successor, Mr. Robert Ashbridge, M.A., we are indebted for commencing the School Album, or Register of admissions, kept ever since, and, after the example of the matriculation-books in the Universities, kept in Latin for the first 100 years, till this was changed for the more simple and sensible mode of keeping in English a Register not intended for other than English eyes. Our attention is drawn to this Album as a re-

markable point in the History of the School, shewing that "it had outgrown the local leading strings in which Lawrence had confined it, and had gained something of a national character," (p. 119)[g] for "in the very first year we find the name of one of the family of Vaux from Cumberland, and several others not foundationers, and before the end of that century names from almost every part of England. We know fame flies fast, but strongly suspect, it was rather private friendship for Mr. Ashbridge, than the spread of his fame through the nation, that brought this young Vaux to his school in his very first year. Yet such seem the grounds for the assertion (p. 43),[g] that after little more than a century Rugby School had "become a name and a power in English education." What sort of a power, whether a sixty-boy-power or a hundred-boy-power, the book does not tell us. The stream indeed of boys is represented as flowing in from almost every part of England, yet it does not appear to have raised the number of boys materially above its former level. If indeed the boys came only for the early part of school-education, if as the stream flowed fastly in, it flowed fastly out, many small boys might have been boarded in the Master's house; but when that was full, what became of the everflowings? there is no record that tells us where they could have been boarded. We are told, indeed, that in

[g] Book of R. S.

the time of Mr. Holyoak (who is strangely said "to have commenced his long and prosperous reign almost simultaneously with the accession of the House of Hanover," (p. 120)[h] though as he came in 1687 and died in 1731, full three-fifths of his long reign had passed away in 1714; it seems as if the arrival of William III. had been confounded with the accession of George I.) names of the aristocratic families of the county and neighbourhood appear in the Register of the members of the School. If any one believes that these young gentlemen were sent at that day to Rugby to finish their school-education, and prepare them for the University, he must have a larger share of credulity than ordinarily falls to the lot of a reasonable man. Mr. Holyoak was Master of Rugby School forty-four years; his worth must have been well-known to the Trustees, who were of these very families, and on terms of intimacy with them all; we may then well believe they gladly intrusted their children in their earlier years to the care of this most worthy man: very young boys, if the Master's house were full, might have been received into the houses of friends living in the town: but not grown up boys—young men, without some trace at least being left of the house or houses where they boarded. Besides at this time there was no playing ground: it is charged (p. 114)[h] against Lawrence

[h] Book of R. S.

Sheriffe as an omission, that he had not provided one, with a sort of apology, Aliquando bonus dormitat: we fully assent to this truth: but surely it is not against Lawrence Sheriffe the charge of drowsiness can be made, for not having provided what his design did not require. He designed to provide education in grammar, free of cost for the boys of Rugby, Brownsover, and the adjacent villages; and all these, when the school hours were over, would have to return each to their several homes, and would have had little time for enjoying a play-ground, if one had been given them. It is not however to be supposed, Sheriffe designed "to confine his School to any such local leading strings;" for he provided his School-master with a better house than would have been needed for such purpose. And so, in the later years of the original Old School, when many boarders had been admitted, the want of a play-ground belonging to the School was felt and seems to have been supplied, though probably but ill supplied, by a piece of ground beyond the Churchyard used as such by the boys: nay, another account says, the Churchyard itself was sometimes used for this purpose; and to this account "as not mincing the matter," the "Book of Rugby School" inclines.[1] It was at that time a school of some celebrity: it had become a name, as well as a power, in English education.

[1] p. 114.

Some tradition then of this use of Rugby Churchyard may have suggested to Bewick a subject for one of his vignettes in his "History of Birds," and he may have designed to represent the Rugby boys as so disporting themselves after the pastime of their day, for which in later times has been substituted the more active recreation of "Hare and Hounds." The Vignette may easily be found: it may be remembered, where to look for it: it stands at the end of the account of a Goose. But that pastime was altogether harmless compared with what "the Book of Rugby School" would lead us to suppose the practice of Rugby School Boys at that day. When afterwards a play-field was obtained on the present site, we are told, that the boys after their lessons disported themselves "with bat and ball, no longer amidst the tombstones of the Churchyard, but under the elm trees of the close."[k] But the School at that time contained sons of the best families in the neighbourhood, all preparing (as "the Book" would lead us to suppose) for the University, some of them, no doubt, sons of Trustees to whom all this must have been known; and yet this use or rather abuse of the Churchyard, if indeed there was really any such abuse of it, was suffered to remain unremoved for more than twenty years. Surely the probability is, that, as the boys went to their play-ground

[k] p. 126.

beyond it, some of the smaller boys may have loitered behind, and even begun to play in the Churchyard itself, and so, though the Churchyard was overlooked by some of the best houses in Rugby, and by the house of the Schoolmaster himself, the abuse scarce attracted notice, except perhaps from some sour and jaundiced passer-by, who out of it trumped up this idle story.

The common consent of books on Rugby School, in calling its Masters in early days Headmasters, may have contributed largely to this very mistaken notion of its having already become a name and a power in English education in Mr. Holyoak's days. A Headmaster has other masters under him: these had none. An imaginative mind may paint Mr. Holyoak, attended by his assistant Masters, teaching the several classes in one common School-room. All this is the mere coinage of the brain. The School, in all probability, consisted of about 80 or 100 boys only, all taught by Mr. Holyoak himself, and most of them, except those whose parents were living in the town, boarded in his house. We know that both before his time in 1653, and after it in 1748, the revenues of the Foundation provided a salary for one Master only, and though it may be said, he may have employed one or more Assistants, paying them out of his own pocket, this improbable supposition does not well agree with the language of that day: an inscription in

the Church acknowledging his charitable bequest towards the poor of Rugby, in which he would of course be described by his most honourable title, describes him only as the Rev. Mr. Henry Holyoak, Master of the Grammar School.

It was then the day of small things for Rugby School. The intimations of this are so many, that it is strange any one writing on the subject, could have missed them. The author of this chapter, indeed, seems to have felt, that the graphic description of Mr. Knail, smoking many a pipe in his small room, the blue cloth hangings of which abundantly retained the fragrance, was ill suited to the position of a Headmaster of Rugby School in later times; but he reminds us that Tempora mutuntur, et nos mutamur in illis: nos et mutamur, we might have expected from such a quarter, as equally easy to construe, and rather more easy to scan: but the carelessness of the quotation agrees well with the rest of the chapter.

A writer in the "Gentleman's Magazine" in 1809, who as a boy had said lessons both in the original Old School and in that which succeeded it, gives an account of the Speeches on the anniversary. Why it is made a question in "the Book," What anniversary, one cannot guess. On the anniversary of the day for the Speeches "the School was strewed with rushes, the Trustees attended, and speeches were made by several of the boys, some in

Latin, some in English" (p. 111).[1] That it was the practice at the time this School-room was built, on trimming houses for gala-days, to strew the floors with rushes, we learn from the "Taming of the Shrew,"—Grumio, on his return weary to his master's house after the wedding, demanding, "Is the house trimmed, rushes strewed, cobwebs swept," &c.; and such practice might be expected for such occasion to linger in a school, long after it had fallen into general disuse. This "soft carpeting, rather than a cumbrous gallery as at present," it is observed, "was regarded as the meet preparation of the Speech Room." To be sure, when at the Speeches visitors were so few, that they could all be accommodated on the area, to make the area neat and clean, was all that was required; cumbrous galleries became necessary, when visitors became more numerous, and the School became, no longer in myth, but in truth,—no longer in imagination only, but in reality,—"a name and a power in English education." (p. 43)[1]

The decoration of this room with rushes for the day of the speeches has been made the ground of naming it "The School of Rushes," as if it needed any other name than what naturally describes it, the original old School. Still more strange is the name given to its successor, without any reason at all. It is quoted from the Memorials of Rugby, that

[1] Book of R. S.

"about the middle of the last century the rushes were exchanged for oak boughs." Now, as the oak boughs could not have been used for carpeting, as the rushes were, there seems no reason, why the one should be said to have been exchanged for the other, or why the one should have been discontinued, because the other was adopted, as a decoration of the school. The extract, however, leads us to understand, that, as the original Old School was in use till its successor was finished in 1750, it had been learnt at last to keep the floor neat and clean without the rushes, and, as the old building was then falling into decay, it had been thought fit to mask its defects under a covering of oak boughs: and these, we may suppose, some neighbouring fall of timber had chanced to place within reach, convenient and available for the purpose. But the sentence in the Memorials, from which the quotation is made, proceeds to tell us, that from that time on the day of the Speeches the School was decorated with oak boughs till about the year 1777, when the practice was discontinued. Yet it is not easy to conceive, how the newly built room, which was handsome and handsomely furnished as a School, could be supposed to need any such rude decoration: it is not easy to believe, that a yearly mutilation of oaks or of any other trees for such a senseless purpose, could have been allowed, and this for a quarter of a

century. Whoever originated this most improbable and incredible story, ought at least to have informed us, whence and how the oak boughs were procured, and why the silly, childish practice was so long continued. On these points, so necessary to gain credit to the story, there is a total silence. But, if for a moment we suppose it true, the absurd practice had been laid aside, before Rugby had its name among the great public schools. So this account certainly gives no warrant at all to an attempt to fix a ridiculous name on what will be remembered only as the Old School by all who received their education there since that time. To name a building from a supposed usage in it, which, if it ever existed at all, had certainly been laid aside for more than half the time, the building served its original purpose, is an offence against common sense. The "Book of Rugby School," however, appealing to the Memorials as an authority, that oak boughs were used in decorating the School, cuts short the extract, suppressing the statement, that this decoration was laid aside in 1777; and merely coupling the assertion that oak boughs were so used about 1750 with the fact that the second old School was finished in 1750, assumes that there is sufficient warrant for the strange name it attempts to give. As an example of most inconclusive reasoning "the Book" shall speak in its own words: "The change of decoration (from rushes to oak

boughs) must have been nearly coeval with the erection of the New School; sufficiently so at all events to warrant us in denominating this second School of Lawrence Sheriffe as the School of Oak Boughs."

If the writer had persuaded himself, that he had found a sufficient warrant for the name, we will not pay any of his readers so bad a compliment as to suppose he can have persuaded them also.

The property purchased in 1748 as the site to which the School should be removed, was very convenient. It lay at the south end of the town; a sufficient house for the Master, standing back some yards from the street, with wings extending from it at right angles on either side, thus forming three sides of a square, the enclosure being completed on the fourth by its entrance gate between low walls surmounted with wooden palisades; these were afterwards exchanged for a more elegant wooden fence, with its gates admitting a carriage to approach the house door. Behind were four closes stretching from the Barby to the Dunchurch Road; the two first were divided in the middle by a fence running parallel to the two roads; the hedgerow elms still mark the line of the first fence, which was soon taken away, and the whole of this first close, which was considerably the largest, became the original play-field of Rugby School. At

the south end of the hedgerow elms were the farm buildings, cattle sheds and rick-yard, &c., with beyond them what was called the little island, to distinguish it from the other, the mound with fir trees on it, its water communicating by a sluice with a deep pond in the corner of the close, near the bath, which stood in the third inclosure: ponds were in that day an almost necessary appurtenance to houses, a memory of the necessity of fish on fast days in the olden time.

Such was the property obtained, on which, and adjoining to the south-west angle of the Master's house, was built the School room thenceforth substituted for the original old School, "the fair and convenient house of Lawrence Sheriffe." Now I think it must strike every one, that, though this was more than twenty years since the supposed advancement of the institution to be a "name and a power in English education," no such fact was at that time known: "the Book of Rugby School" had not then come forth to enlighten the world. Though it cannot be affirmed, that the new School was of the exact size of the former, the dimensions of which have not been preserved, and probably it may have been somewhat larger, still a single school room only was built, as if the character of the institution remained unchanged. It was a handsome building for its day, substantially built of brick, with thick and solid walls, adorned

outwardly with stone about the windows of its rounded front on the south, and with a Doric porch on its western front, and inwardly with oak wainscot to the height of the bottom of the windows all around, and with long seats against the wainscot and desks before them on either side from the Doric porch and the fire-place opposite to it, up to the apse or semicircular and southern end of the room. The seat marked out in the middle of the apse, and supposed to have been designed for the Master as commanding the School, was soon rendered unfit for that purpose by a gallery or triple row of desks with seats behind them and stretching across the apse, designed, no doubt, for each class as it came up to be taught by the Master. Such was the room, into which, as soon as it was finished and was yet in all its freshness, we are gravely asked to believe, were introduced oak boughs, forsooth, to adorn it on its gala-day at the Speeches.

Whether this school-room was larger than its predecessor or not, it certainly had this advantage, —it provided on the floor above it accommodation for boarders from the Master's house; a sitting room at the north end towards the town, the other half stretching over the apse being a bed-room, called Paradise, no doubt, from its cheerful prospect upon the elm trees of the close and over the Master's garden. Besides this, other accommoda-

tion for boarders was obtained on the removal to the new site. The ground floor, indeed, of the above-mentioned wings was occupied by offices of the Master's house, except the room at the end of the west wing next to the street, which was the housekeeper's or matron's room, connected by a staircase with the rooms above: at right angles to this wing, and so forming a side of the street, was a similar building running westward and ending in a covered gateway with close-boarded gates, much like the entrance gates of an inn; these gates stood several feet to the west of the end of High Street, from which one crossed over to them obliquely, and on passing them one turned to the left obliquely to go to the school door. On the first floor then of this wing were three bed-rooms looking into the courtyard, and two others adjoining them on the same floor of the last described building, the ground floor of which was a school room for the writing master. Two rooms towards the street end on the first floor of the other wing, approached by a staircase from the courtyard, and having proper accommodation, were allotted as rooms for the sick. A good sized bed room over the kitchen in the master's house and looking into his garden, forming a communication through a smaller bed room with those in the western wing and beyond, and itself easily approached from the staircase which led to the floor above the School,

completed the accommodation for receiving boarders: and from the accommodation thus obtained on removal to its new site, some just idea may be formed of what the School really had been at that time.

Such were the buildings with a single school-room, as on its first origin, when in 1778 Dr. James became Headmaster, finding at the school fifty-two boys. Now what says the "Book of Rugby School," the written record that was to be more permanent, and more valuable than tradition. "Dr. James was an Etonian, and he introduced at Rugby the system of teaching and discipline observed at Eton. This arrangement, combined with the scholar-like teaching and great popularity of Dr. James, seems to have given to Rugby a new start in public favour,—so that its numbers speedily overflowed the limits of a single school-room."

"Seems, Sir! nay, he did more: I know not, seems."

The start in public favour that seemed to be given by Dr. James, was no less than this, that he completely altered the character of the Institution, which thenceforth has been no longer a place where boys have been taught by the Master, and perhaps his Assistant (if he had any) in a single school room, but it then assumed the rank it has ever since maintained among the public schools of England, with new school-rooms added sufficient to carry out the system, as called for to meet its

increasing numbers, and an efficient staff of Assistant Masters to teach in them. How any one pretending to give a written record of Rugby School to be more valuable than tradition, could have slurred over so important an era in its history, is surprising. And yet this is done in the very teeth of the record, engraven on marble, on Dr. James' monument in the School Chapel, a faithful record written by at least as eminent a Scholar as ever came from Rugby School, his pupil, Bishop S. Butler, who thus sketches his character:—

"In him there was a rare quickness of intellect thoroughly to perceive the beauties of literature, a natural unaffected clearness of language to show them forth, so as to communicate fully and distinctly to others the intellectual perceptions himself enjoyed; a gravity seasoned with playfulness, so as to win the minds of his pupils to himself and lessen the irksomeness of learning by the suavity of his teaching; in regulating their expences, in watching over their health, in training their morals to habits of chastity, of uprightness, of religion, he shewed truly a Father's mind. This man, endowed with these excellent qualities, enlarged and adorned this School with a vast concourse of pupils and a great accumulation of fame."

To have translated this inscription for his English readers would have been but an act of

justice in the writer of this chapter, and have gone far to counteract his own disparaging statements.

The added buildings could not be passed by, so we are told, "Down came the Doric porch from the west of the 'School of Oakboughs,' to be perched at its northern (or apsidal) extremity." As the apse was not at the northern, but the southern extremity of the room, we must suppose the word "apsidal" has crept in here merely by accident: yet without it one is at a loss to conceive what can have led to the expression that the porch was perched there, except a design to throw on what was then done, a ridicule which can only recoil on its author. The porch, indeed, was placed at the north end, but this front was square, and was wide enough to receive it; for it extended beyond it on both sides: and the effect would have been scarcely less good, than when it stood on the western front. The entablature with its triglyphs and drops showed that it belonged to the Doric order: the columns were not fluted, nor of the just proportions and diminutions, nor did they stand without base on a plinth or floor, as Doric pillars would be given now-a-days; but each column had its base, and was placed on its square pedestal having its base and its cornice also: yet they were sufficiently marked to be Doric by the frieze of the entablature, and were handsome in their day: and there they stood, the Jachin and

Boaz in the porch of this temple of learning. On the top of the building, surmounted by a cupola to protect the bell, which summoned the boys at certain hours, was a clock with its face towards High Street, a benefit to this part of the town as well as to the school, and leaving nothing to regret in the removal from the old site, so conveniently opposite to the clock on the church tower. The room built on to the Old School (as this was called in the latter part of last century, and may be well called "the Second Old School," to distinguish it from its predecessor) and opening into it by the folding doors that stood under the Doric porch now removed, was nearly, if not quite, its equal in size: four long tables, two on each side of the room, with seats against the boarded walls and benches opposite them, were its simple furniture, and here at one of these tables the boys of the school house used to dine: above it was a large chamber, divided by wooden partitions into studies on each side, leaving a broad gallery between them lighted by two windows from the west: on the ground floor a small door at the west end communicated with a third and good-sized school room, with its ample desk for the Headmaster, designed for the class under his immediate instruction. But as numbers increased, this was given up to the second Master and the form under him; and to a barn adjacent to the Dunchurch Road was added

at the south end of it, beyond Old Treen's tree,—the tallest elm in the close, a new building, equal at least to the last described room, and furnished with a handsome desk; and this added building with a large portion of the barn, gave an area scarce less, if at all less, than that of the Old School.[k] Here the Headmaster took the Fifth and Sixth Forms under his own immediate tuition. This school room had a fire place at its northern end, at the back of which another fire place warmed the remaining portion of this building, cut off as a school for the French Master. The Headmaster's school was used as a chapel on Sundays for the boys who could not be accommodated in the gallery at the Parish Church.

All these facts speak so plainly of a great change at this time in Rugby School, are so clear a witness that it had truly become "a power in English Education," one would have thought it impossible for any one to miss the truth. But what is fact to fancy? the fancied discovery of an earlier rise to such power, must be defended. So

[k] The area was so large that in 1809 it was divided into two rooms, as a temporary arrangement to facilitate the carrying on the work of Instruction, during the six years while the present schools were building. One suspects a careless glance at a careless statement of this fact led to the statement in "the Book," that "these barns and outbuildings were converted into temporary schools."[l]—The *temporary* school was used as such more than twenty years.

[l] p. 128.

an ingenious device is hit upon, elevare testem, to elevate the witness (as Hooker, retaining this classical sense of the word, would say), to make light of it and take it out of the way. So we are told that an important modification in the system of Rugby School was here made; and some remarks follow on the respective advantages of having separate schools for separate forms, or having all the forms taught in the same room. The writer does not indeed assert, that as many forms or classes were taught in the old school in the old time, nor inform us, how many masters there were to teach them, but seems to assume, his reader will have as lively a fancy as his own, and paint this in harmony with the supposed earlier rise of the School to greatness. We have only to observe in reply, that there was no such modification of system at all. There was, indeed, a separate school,—the third school, built for the class under the Headmaster's own instruction, which as numbers increased, was given up to the Upper Fourth Form under the Second Master, when the Headmaster took the Fifth and Sixth Forms into the large school room newly fitted up near the Dunchurch Road; the Lower Fourth and Upper Third Forms were in the Old School, and in the Middle School were the Lower Third, Second, and First Forms at three of the tables, the fourth being reserved as the dining table of the boys of the school-house;

and for the masters of each of these five forms proper desks were provided at a later day. The large but rudely formed gallery, on the west side of the old School, between the folding doors and the north entrance, seems to have been the first attempt to accommodate increasing numbers, after Dr. James became Headmaster,—a provision for the boys under his own immediate instruction, before the new school-rooms were built, after which probably it was never wholly filled; and this use of it by the Headmaster may have been the reason why it was afterwards regarded the more honourable place in that school-room, rather than the better prepared seats in the apse, why this was occupied by the Lower Fourth, those by the Upper Third.

Having thus demonstrated the rise of Rugby School under Dr. James, to be a considerable power in English education, so that, as Dogberry would say, we hope it will come to be believed again in time, when the Mistakes and Misstatements of "the Book of Rugby School," have been sufficiently exposed; we will bring forward yet another proof of the growth of its name also, which it is strange should not have attracted the attention of one who seems to have regarded the preparation for the day of the Speeches of sufficient importance to give a distinctive name to each of the three successive School-rooms that have

been used for this purpose. Before Dr. James became Headmaster, while the school was yet small, and the visitors consequently few, no great adornment would have been necessary on such occasion for the neatly and newly furnished room; certainly neither rushes nor oak boughs: but as the School increased in celebrity, and there was a larger gathering of visitors to attend the Speeches, galleries became necessary. "What!" the reader of the "Book of Rugby School" will exclaim, "Galleries in the School of Oak Boughs! I thought its successor was distinguished from it as the School of the Gallery." To be sure, but that was the Oxford Gallery,—this was not. Towards the south end of the room, and advanced into it nearly as far as the side windows, and about the height of the bottom of them, six or seven feet from the floor, a large beam supported by posts at intervals stretched across from one side of the school to the other; and behind it was a gallery of rising seats filling the whole apse; it was entered by steps against the west wall protected by a rail, and this rail was continued along the front of the gallery. Such was the accommodation for visitors,—Gentlemen, and they were many, who came to see the school and to hear the speeches. The seats on the floor were filled with Ladies; there also were the Masters of the School. Opposite, from the line of the western folding doors to

the north end of the room, from the floor to within a few feet of the ceiling, was another gallery, vast with seats rising one above another throughout, and filled with between two and three hundred boys; whether they sat silently intent on the performances of their school-fellows, the speakers on the floor, or, the speeches ended, rose up all at once to go forth for the enjoyment of the holidays and their homes, in one way or another, in one sense or another, it certainly was a moving sight for all.

The growth of the school, however, it must be confessed, was attended with some disfigurement of the outward appearance of the building. The north front was deprived of its just proportions by a three storied pile, or rather a ground floor and two stories of studies built on to this front against the Master's house and extending as far as its back door. This building encroached on the porch, and even on the pedestal of its pillar on its right, on the east, as if Jachin had to establish and in some degree support this building also: on the west side Boaz remained in the glory of his uncumbered strength. This certainly defaced the aspect of the north front of the Second Old School. About the same time that these studies were built, a passage was built against the west side of the first floor of the western wing of the master's house, rudely supported on square brick pillars, to give access to the bed-rooms there and beyond

them, so that none of these bed-rooms should afterwards be used as a thoroughfare: unsightly perhaps all this, but highly convenient; and it was afterwards concealed by a wall on the left of the path leading obliquely from the entrance gates to the school. Of whatever was done in building at that day, the motto was, prodesse, quam conspici;—usefulness, not show; and with good reason, for the estates had not begun to be very productive; so that the revenues were still embarrassed by the expences of the removal. So, too, instead of arched cloisters, the thatched cattle sheds remained, forming a covered way towards the school next the Dunchurch Road, under whose shelter the Sixth and Fifth Forms used to wait in wet weather, ready to follow the Master when he entered the School. And this may have been the cause, why the play ground was not enlarged at an earlier period: "the Book" tells us that the adjoining enclosures were thrown into it, as the exigencies of the school required it. In Dr. James' time the number of boys was from 250 to 300, reaching very nearly the latter number at one time.[m] To

[m] A list of the number of boys in the School, printed in Crossley's Memorials, gives as the greatest number under Dr. James, 245. I suspect the discrepancy between this and the above statement may have arisen from the omission in Dr. James' list of those who, living at the private houses of their relations in the Town, came to School only as day-boys, and were not in any boarding house. In the same way the day-boys are to be added to the number of boys in the list found by Dr. James in 1778.

this number Dr. Arnold wished to restrict the School, had it been found practicable: under his successor, the present Bishop of London, there were, I hear, at one time as many as 400 or even 500. Was this the time when the exigencies of the School required the additional enclosures? or rather was not the enlargement made, when the present handsome structure encroached on the old play ground? the second closes could not have been joined to the first, till the farm buildings were removed: and these probably were removed to their present situation when the school buildings were completed. The "Book" indeed seems to tell us so, as it says that in 1816, under Dr. Wooll, the School Close at Rugby reached the exact size of the Conduit Close in London, the eight acres in Middlesex bequeathed by the Codicil of Lawrence Sheriffe's will. The measure is so good, there can be no doubt it would have been adopted before, if no obstacle had been lain in the way.

Dr. James came to Rugby in 1778; and a year after this, in 1779, the Middlesex estate, Lamb's Conduit Close, together with the estate at Brownsover, yielded a less rent than £120. But 60 years before, in 1720, as we learn from Lewis' Topographical Dictionary of England, London began to spread in that direction: building leases, then, about 1780 would have been beginning to drop in,

and the income of the School to increase. And one marvels to find no notice in "the Book of Rugby School," of the admirable use to which the Trustees applied this increase of income, the foundation of eight exhibitions of £40 per annum: to be held for seven years, by boys going to the Universities. It was wisely done at that day, both as to the amount of each exhibition, and as to its duration. The amount not such as to attract to the Universities boys who would not otherwise have been sent there: the days were gone by, when a man might be "passing rich on forty pounds a year:" the Trustees seem to have been mindful of Lord Bacon's letter on the foundation of the Charter House: they would not then entice to the Universities, those who would not otherwise seek that preparation for their future life, but gave a useful help to those for whom, whether from their natural ability, or from their acquired learning, or from their position in society, it was desirable an university education should be provided. Nor was the duration less well considered by the Trustees of Lawrence Sheriffe's Charity, than the amount: an exhibition was to be held for seven years, that its possessor might take his M. A. degree: so that thenceforth Scholars from Lawrence Sheriffe's School might attain that university rank, which he fondly hoped, his Masters from the beginning, if it might conveniently be, should have attained.

The income from the estate, however, went on increasing, and with it were increased both the number of the exhibitions and their amount; still as useful helps to young men going to the University, not inducements to tempt them there. In 1809 six new exhibitions were founded, and the value of each of the 14 was made £50: in 1815 seven other exhibitions were added, and the value of each was raised to £60, so that there are now, as if to provide three every year, twenty-one exhibitions of £60 each, tenable for seven years, and, as before, at either of the Universities. In the appointment to the exhibitions, when the merits of the candidates are nearly equal, a preference is justly given to boys on the foundation: if they were to be given to foundationers exclusively, they would lose much of their real value: that they are to be given to merit, makes them objects of ambition, and serves in some degree as a stimulus to diligent learning in the whole body.

It is singular that these exhibitions so intimately connected with the welfare of the School, beginning about the time when it first began to take rank among the great public Schools of England, and growing as its welfare was advanced by the growth of the income of the Middlesex estate; so intimately connected then with its history, should be left unnoticed, without even an allusion to them, by one proposing to give an

entire History of Rugby School: yet if the writer had turned his attention to these exhibitions, he might have gained a more just idea of the history he was writing and have escaped some egregious mistakes. He is pleased to name the Great School in which the Speeches are held, the School of the Oxford Gallery, to distinguish it from its predecessor, the galleries in which on that occasion we have described. The name, Oxford Gallery, however, rather than Oxford and Cambridge, or University Gallery, strikes him as something strange, and to account for it we have the following sentence. "Be it known then to all whom it may concern, that Rugby School was originally considered a Seminary for Oxford." He cannot indeed find any evidence "sufficient to warrant" such an assertion; so he puts it in the form of a wish, that others may know, what he could not himself assert. It is a wish, that never can be gratified: what never was, never can be known to have been: and certainly it is not true, that Rugby School was originally considered as a Seminary for Oxford. If we look to its first origin, its founder, Lawrence Sheriffe, wished the Master of his school, if it might conveniently be, to be a Master of Arts, without any preference for either University; if we think of its second origin, when it first began to rank among the great public schools of England, its two first Headmasters were

both of them Cambridge men; and the exhibitions founded about that time, were to be held by those who gained them, at either of the Universities; that distinguished Rugbeian scholar, afterwards successively Master of Shrewsbury School, and Bishop of Lichfield, Dr. Samuel Butler, was Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; and every boy who was at the school towards the close of the last or beginning of the present century, must have known among his school-fellows, some going to Cambridge, as well as to Oxford. During the long twenty years reign of the third Headmaster, Dr. Wooll, who was of New College, the University of Oxford may have become the favourite; and consequently a communication by coach being established between Oxford and Rugby, Oxford men may have more conveniently attended the speeches: and hence, probably, the gallery may have acquired its name, and, according to "the Book," the School-room also, though destined, we trust, long to outlive such accidental trifles.

An interesting paper has been shown me, published by Dr. (then Mr.) Ingles, on becoming Headmaster in 1794, declaring his intention to carry out the design of his predecessor in reducing the expence of Rugby education within such bounds, as might render it convenient to persons of moderate fortune or of large families. It gives the terms fixed at that time both for Board, and for

Tuition, whether the general School-instruction or in addition to this, private Tuition; and it earnestly requests parents and guardians to be watchful over the expenses and economical habits of their children. The design certainly was most praiseworthy, most perfectly in accordance with the object of Lawrence Sheriffe's foundation: yet a design which could not be allowed to be carried too far, so as to interfere with the higher interests of the School.

Whether his successor, Dr. Wooll, adhered to these terms, or not, certainly when Dr. Arnold came in 1828, he thought the terms of the School far too low,[n] and on his representation they were raised by the Trustees. He even thought it possible, he might be placed in the same situation as the Headmasters of Eton and Westminster, i.e. to have nothing to do with any boarders. And in truth, since the tide of population of England and Wales had rolled in so full and so fast that the numbers in 1828 were more by one half than they had been in 1794, it seemed as if the time was come, when it might reasonably be expected, that the Headmaster of Rugby School should be as those of Eton and Westminster, if it had been really desirable that it should be so. But with Dr. Arnold this seems to have been but a passing thought. His were higher aims; not the advan-

[n] Stanley's Life, &c, vol. i. p. 86.

tage of himself or of the station he was to fill, but the general advantage of the school; and that required, that the situations of all the Masters should be such as to attract men of high character, and abilities, and learning. One of his main objects, says his Biographer,[o] was to increase the importance of the Assistant Masters, by whose co-operation he hoped to carry out his own government of the School. He raised their salaries; by placing pupils under their private tuition, and by placing all the boarding houses under their care, he provided for them suitable incomes: and he took away the inducement to seek curacies in the neighbourhood which would withdraw them from their school duties, by obtaining from the Bishop of the diocese an acknowledgment of their situations as titles for holy orders. Whatever he might at first have thought of the cares of a boarding house, he found it on experience a very useful instrument for carrying on his work, ministering occasions for more frequent intercourse with those boys, who were thus more especially under his own care. To remove every wish to add parochial duties to those of the school, he impressed on his coadjutors his own deep conviction, that "the business of a schoolmaster, no less than that of a parish minister, is the cure of souls:"[p] that a master ought to devote himself to it with all his

[o] Stanley's Life, &c., p. 98.

[p] *Ibid.* p. 102.

energy, "as the especial branch of the ministerial calling which he has chosen to follow,"[q] tending and feeding the young lambs of Christ's fold.

Another and a powerful auxiliary in the government of the school, was the use Dr. Arnold made of the Sixth or highest form, who may be assumed to be the ablest boys, and were invested with certain authority as preposters.[r] By impressing his own high-minded principles on this select band, he disseminated them through the whole mass by their daily continual intercourse with their schoolfellows, while he had a safeguard for the moral character of his preposters individually, in that each must have felt the dignity of his position could not be sustained without a consistent uprightness of conduct in himself.

If, as I believe, the expensiveness of education at School, as well as at the University, arises more from the voluntary expences of the young persons themselves, than from any authorised expences of the place, surely there seems to be a powerful instrument for abating the evil at School in such a chosen band of well trained, well principled preposters; through their influence discountenancing the moral childishness (to borrow one of Arnold's expressions) of fancying it necessary to do all that others do, and to run into the same expences; maintaining a high tone of uprightness and strict

[q] *Ibid.* p. 106. [r] *Ibid.* p. 113.

honor in all pecuniary dealings, that scrupulous honesty which will always measure its rate of living by its means; and holding up to admiration, as deserving of all encouragement, the conduct of any boy, who being in less affluent circumstances than others, abstains from expences they indulge in, from a manly desire not to be unnecessarily burdensome to his parents.

It is not, however, my province here to attempt to describe the system by which Dr. Arnold governed the School; still less to point out objects that might be accomplished by it. Only I would observe on the apparent difference of views taken by these two Headmasters at different periods, it by no means follows that the economical habits of the boys were less regarded by the one than by the other: suffice it to say, that Dr. Arnold's system admirably succeeded in his hands, because, together with an earnestness of purpose that communicated itself to all around him, he brought to bear upon it the energy of an intellectual power that commanded their respect, and a kindness of heart that won their love.

In giving full effect to this system of school-management, a successor of Dr. Arnold might have found ample scope for the exercise of all his faculties, without taking on himself the task of publishing a History of the School; a task, to which he was not called by any need of such a

work, as seems intimated in the beginning of the Preface, for it is immediately added that works already published furnished ample information upon it; and for which he was not qualified by any information on the subject he himself possessed, nor even by leisure to gather the information that might have been found in the books he professed to consult. One regrets to see the Head of such an Institution lending the sanction of his name and station to idle stories not worth recording if true, as Ackerman's "spice of sly fun," (p. 124)[s] about the want of authority in some Preposter in a bed-room: others again in themselves scarce credible, as the Churchyard play-ground in the very sight of the Master's house, or the oak bough decoration of the newly finished, neatly furnished school-room in 1751, which story, highly improbable as it is, is brought into prominence in "the Book," as if it were an important feature in the History of the School.

And the evil does not stop with "the Book;" the silly stories get transposed to the pages of even so respectable a publication as the "Quarterly Review," and obtain extensive circulation there, dressed up to suit the fancy of the Reviewer. The Reviewer, indeed, writing in utter ignorance of the place, is not happy in his variations of them. "The grim room in a turret," mentioned in "the

[s] Book of R. S.

Book," p. 141, becomes with him a room in "a grim tower still pointed out among the local lions of Rugby:" it would much puzzle any Rugby-man to point out this grim tower, as he would hardly suspect the description could be meant for one of the turrets of the recent buildings. In the same ignorance of Rugby and of its History, he seems to have thought, that before Dr. Arnold's time there was no School there, but one of "a local and provincial character," "whose progress had been slow and unobserved," till his master-mind breathed life into it. So he tells us, that the first and material founder of the School was Lawrence Sheriffe, the second and moral founder, Thomas Arnold; apparently unconscious that for nearly half a century before Dr. Arnold came, Rugby School had held place among the great public schools of England, drawing pupils from every part of the kingdom, even from Ireland continually, and sending them forth as scholars to the Universities, or into the world. Yet the Reviewer is not greatly to blame for all this: he knew nothing of Rugby himself, but thought he must find a safe guide in "the Book" sanctioned by the Headmaster's name, as the light to direct him, little imagining that he had before him only a Will-o'-the-wisp, whose delusive glare lured the wanderer aside from the sure and steadfast ground of truth. He found in "the Book" no resting-place on which to fix attention,

between the names Lawrence Sheriffe and Thomas Arnold: he found, indeed, an attempt to puff the school off as one of great local celebrity[t] in the beginning of last century, when any careful reader of what had been published on the subject, might have seen that it was only a School of less than a hundred boys under the instruction of one Master; he found its real advancement to become one of the great public schools towards the close of that century, slurred over with an attempt to cast what was then done into the shade, by a strange misrepresentation; he found, too, though this arose only from the arrangement of the contents of "the Book,"[u] "its Personal History" spoken of, as "all gathering round Lawrence Sheriffe and Dr. Arnold." He wrote then from the impression he had naturally received; though for my own part I should have expected so talented a man as I believe him to

[t] Though it was under only one Master, and all contained in one room, it was at that time a very good School of its kind, but of a different kind from what it afterwards became. In the Act 21 Geo. II. c. 23, to raise money for its removal to its present site, the necessity of the removal is urged lest "the Free School, which had for many years been in great repute, and not only of benefit and service to the neighbourhood, but of public utility, should be lost, or become useless:" and the old site of the School is there spoken of as being "too confined, without any inclosure adjoining for the exercise and recreation of the boys, which was attended with many inconveniences both to the Master and Scholars."

[u] p. 251.

have been, would have been more guarded before he allowed himself to write in disparagement of a considerable public Institution.

My chief and most painful surprise is, that Dr. Goulburn, whom I have always considered an eloquent scholar and an accomplished gentleman, should have sanctioned by the authority of his name and of his station, such a publication especially as the fourth chapter of this book, in it setting aside the traditional history of the place to make way for statements into the truth of which he does not appear to have made any strict and severe examination. Surely a regard for what was due to historical truth, due to the memories and the merits of his predecessors in office, due, I must add, to the position he then filled, ought to have made him pause, ere he sent into the world a book so unworthy of the sanction it has yet received, so unworthy of the name it yet bears, as this, which has come forth named, as if par excellence, "The Book of Rugby School, its History."

The following particulars, gathered from Nicolas' "History of Rugby," will be read with interest, and will serve further to illustrate some points in the foregoing pages. His whole estate in the Conduit fields, twenty-four acres, had been pur-

chased by Lawrence Sheriffe for £320, and produced a rent of £1. per acre; so that the cost price of the third part bequeathed to his charities at Rugby, was £106. 13s. 4d., yielding a rent of £8.: and an excellent purchase it appears to have been, on comparing this rent with the forty-five shillings only calculated on in his will as rent to be expected from land in Warwickshire, to be purchased with £100. This rent of £8. however, was raised to £20. in 1669, the very year when Mr. Knightley Harrison, M.A., became Master of the School. The possession of the full rent of the Brownsover property a few years before, and now the increasing rent of the eight acres in the Conduit Fields, had raised the salary of the Master as we have seen, and made the situation thenceforth worthy the attention of Graduates from the University. Seventeen years afterwards the property had greatly risen in value. In October, 1686, this third part of the Conduit Fields, having been separated by meres and bounds from the two-thirds bequeathed to the Howkins family, was leased by the Trustees, acting under a decree of Chancery, to a physician, Dr. Barbon, at the yearly rent of £50. for fifty years, to commence on Christmas Day. About 1700 a Sir William Milman, Knight, not supposed to be of the family of the present Baronet of that name, but a money-making man, purchased the remainder of Dr. Barbon's interest,

and in 1702 obtained from the Trustees an addition of forty-three years to the remaining thirty-four years of Barbon's lease, at an increased rent indeed, but increased only to £60. Of the terms of this lease we know nothing more: but building was then spreading over the estate, and in 1748 the east side of Lamb's Conduit Street and Red Lion Street, with still eastward St. John's Chapel in Chapel Street and Milman Street, presented a substantial property, on the reversion of which at the end of Milman's lease a large sum might then be borrowed. This £60, together with the rent of the thirty-six acres at Brownsover, seems to have given an income of £116. 17s. 6d. The act in 1748, to enable the Trustees to raise money for the removal of the School from its original to its present site, states that sum, as the amount of the clear yearly produce of the estates of the Foundation, of which £63. 6s. 8d. was paid as the Schoolmaster's salary, £31. 13s. 4d. for the four almsmen, and the balance, £21. 17s. 6d. was laid out in clothing the almsmen and in repairing the buildings at Rugby and the chancel at Brownsover: and, to meet the expences contingent on the removal, the Trustees were empowered to borrow money on a mortgage of the reversion of the above mentioned property, which would fall in on the expiration of Milman's lease at Christmas Day, 1779; and this occurred, the New Style having in

the interim come into use in England, on the 5th January, 1780.

Up to this time the Foundation knew but one Schoolmaster only: all that is said or written about Headmasters before this time, is merely fable. The four last Masters of the School before 1778, were all of them M. A., from Queen's College, Oxford, of these the first, the Rev. Thos. Crossfield, died in 1744. He had been Master of the Grammar School at Daventry, and afterwards of that at Preston, and is said to have brought with him to Rugby a large body of his pupils, a splendid colony, as it is expressed in an elegant Latin inscription, on his monument in the chancel of the church, written by his successor: yet there is no reason to suppose the number of boys at school exceeded those who boarded in Sheriffe's old Mansion House, together with those who lived with their relations in the town. His successor, the Rev. William Knail,[x] under whom the boys did not, we are told, exceed seventy, resigned in 1751, having first invited from his College the Rev. J. Richmond, to assist him, it is said, in his duties,

[x] Mr. Knail too his degrees of B. A. and M. A. eight years before Mr. Richmond: but, long after they had quitted Rugby, they both proceeded to the degree of D. D. in the same year, the Rev. William Knail in January, and the Rev. Joseph Richmond in February, 1762. Dr. Richmond died at the great age of 98, at Newnham, Hants, a living in the gift of Queen's College.

more probably, to see whether he should like the office himself, to which he was appointed on Mr. Knail's resignation. He held it however only four years, having in the same way within two years of his resignation invited to Rugby his College friend, the Rev. Stanley Burrough, who succeeded him, and filled the situation more than twenty-two years, when he resigned in 1778, and was presented by his brother-in-law, Mr. Frowen, to the Rectory of Sapcote, where he died in 1807. He also obtained the assistance of Mr. Christopher Moore, of Queen's College; only it does not appear, how long he was so assisted; but in 1774 came in his place Mr. C. Thompson, Demi of Magdalen: no mention, however, of him is made in the Rules for the School, drawn up in 1777, which yet order that Mr. Burrough be "continued as Schoolmaster, as long as he should behave well." The second Master, then, of whom one occasionally hears in these times, was wholly unknown to the Foundation; only appointed privately by the Master of the School, whose own salary from the Foundation was but £63. 6s. 8d., the rest of the Income of the Estates being appropriated to other objects of Lawrence Sheriffe's Charity.

In Nicolas' History we have also "the Rules and Orders for the good government of Rugby School and Charity," prepared in 1777 by Lord Chief Justice Eardley Wilmot, one of the

Trustees. These Rules speak of the Rev. Stanley Burrough as the then present Schoolmaster, and order that for the future one or more Usher or Ushers, qualified to teach Latin and Greek, be appointed by the Trustees to assist the Master, with salaries to be paid them as soon as the rents and profits, expected on the termination of Milman's lease, should be found sufficient; and adds that "all the Masters of the Grammar School who should succeed Mr. Burrough, the then Master, the Usher or Ushers who should succeed those then first to be nominated," should be chosen by the Trustees, within three calendar months after any vacancy; that the Master and Usher or Ushers should be Protestants of the Church of England, and that the Master of the Grammar School should be M. A. from one of the Universities. The Rules also order the sum of £3[y] (above his salary at this time made £113. 6s. 8d.) to be

[y] We learn from Lewis' Topographical Dictionary, that in later years this sum has been raised by the Trustees, probably in 1828, on the representation of Dr. Arnold (as stated above p. 49) and the Headmaster, besides his fixed salary of £113. 6s. 8d., receives yearly for every boy on the foundation, £16. 5s. 6d., out of which he pays £1. 1s. to each of six Assistant Classical Masters, £2. 2s. to the Master of Modern Languages, and £1. 11s. 6d. to the Mathematical Master, retaining £6. 6s. for himself. The six Assistant Classical Masters also receive from the Trustees each a salary of £120 per annum. Salaries also are paid to a Writing master, and a Drawing Master.

paid to the Master from the estates for each foundationer, and extend the benefit of free instruction to all living within five miles of Rugby, with power to the Trustees to extend the distance, as it was extended three years afterwards to ten miles, in the county of Warwick: they increase the number of Almshouses from the original four to eight; and establish the eight exhibitions mentioned above.

Here then in these Rules was all the machinery necessary to raise Rugby School to a rank among the great public schools of England: it wanted but a master-spirit to set it in motion and give it life and activity. On the resignation of Mr. Burrough, in August 1778, the Rev. Mr. (afterwards Dr.) James, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, was elected Master, and another Fellow of the same College, the Rev. Mr. Chartres, was elected Usher; and these titles were soon with propriety exchanged for these of Headmaster and Lower Master, after the usage of Eton. Dr. James, with the continually increasing number of boys, soon gathered round him an efficient staff of Assistant Masters, graduates, M.A., from the Universities; and the School having been once established as such, has continued, with varying fortune as to its numbers indeed, to be one among the great public schools of England to the present day. On comparing the numbers of boys at

School at different periods, it should be observed, we ought to expect larger numbers in later times, because the population of England and Wales is now fully double what it was in the latter part of last Century.

THE END.

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