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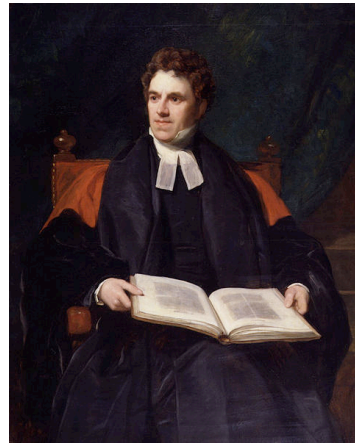
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Learning from the Master.

How Thomas Arnold's Christian convictions shaped his view of what makes a good education, with reflections and applications for the twenty-first century.¹

Abstract:

If we educate children without any knowledge of God, will we simply make them into clever devils? The question raises the issue of what kind of moral values should be upheld in English education if Christian ones are rejected, and what place God should have in state education. Should knowledge of God be taught only in churches and other faith groups?



Thomas Arnold, Headmaster of Rugby (1828-1842) did not think so. This thesis considers Arnold's Christian convictions and argues that it was his faith in Jesus Christ which was the predominant force in his pedagogy. Four areas of Arnold's thinking are considered at length. First, what did Arnold believe was God's will for the state and education generally? Second, what did he consider to be the place of Jesus Christ in a student's education? Third, how does human nature affect learning and classroom behaviour? Fourth, what did Arnold believe was God's purpose for discipline in the world generally and schools specifically?

After analysing Arnold's theology and educative practice, the final chapter considers applications that might be applied in the twenty-first century across a range of English schools. Could a fully maintained state school incorporate Arnold's model? What about an independent school, or a church school, or a Free School? While the social differences between nineteenth and twenty-first century England are vast, the thesis contends there are aspects of Arnold's pedagogy which could be incorporated into some English schools, while arguing that the current state-funded education system does not share enough of Arnold's Christian convictions in order to gain from his pedagogy.

¹ Portrait of Thomas Arnold (1839) by Thomas Phillips (1770-1845)

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Introduction and Methodology

‘And now then may I not well call on all who hear me to be reconciled to God?’²

Possibly England’s most famous headmaster, Dr Thomas Arnold had definite views on what constitutes a good education. This thesis examines Arnold’s faith in Christ and considers how his faith shaped his pedagogy. The thesis contends that Arnold’s opinion of what makes a good education was shaped primarily by his conviction that it was God’s will that nations should be Christian, that Jesus Christ was the greatest teacher of all, that His way was the true and right way to a better life and a better society, and that only through Him could a schoolboy³ find peace with his maker.⁴

Arnold set forth his view of what makes a good education at various times and in various places. For instance, he explained to an audience in 1832 that:

Undoubtedly, he is perfectly educated who is taught all the will of God concerning him, and enabled, through life to execute it. And he is not well educated who does not know the will of God, or knowing it, has received no help in his education towards being inclined and enabled to do it.⁵

Such a statement suggests it is impossible to divorce Arnold’s faith from his view of what makes a good education. A good education, for Arnold, was one where God’s will was known by the student, and he was strengthened to carry it out. A bad education was one where the student had no idea of God’s will, or if he did know it, had not been helped or encouraged to do it.

² Thomas Arnold, ‘Sermon XVI - Mark 14:21’ *Sermons Chiefly on the Interpretation of Scripture* (London, Fellowes, 1845) 176

³ It is a characteristic of the period under consideration that much of the language was more male-gender oriented than is now the case. For example, Arnold only taught school boys (Rugby was a single-sex school) and thus Arnold’s view on the nature of school boys is examined. We might safely assume that what he thought true for boys was also generally true for girls. Quotations with this gender-oriented language are allowed to stand verbatim without further comment.

⁴ Arnold clearly did not view Jesus as he viewed other teachers in history. He wrote: “To read an account of Christ, written as by an indifferent person, is to read an unchristian account of Him; because no one who acknowledges Him can be indifferent to Him, but stands in such relations to Him, that the highest reverence must ever be predominant in his mind when thinking or writing of Him.... If I think that Christ was no more than Socrates, (I do not mean in degree, but in kind), I can of course speak of Him impartially; that is, I assume at once, that there are faults and imperfections in His character, and on these I pass my judgement: But if I believe in Him, I am not His judge, but His servant and creature; and He claims the devotion of my whole nature, because He is identical with goodness, wisdom and holiness.” Arthur Stanley, Letter to J. C. Platt February 4, 1837, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, (London, Ward, Lock & Co, 1844) 297-298.

⁵ Thomas Arnold, ‘Sermon XVI - Deut 11:19’ *Sermons – Volume III*, (London, Reeves & Turner, 1876) 138

Arnold believed the place to make God known was as much in the school as in church or elsewhere. The decisions he made as headmaster were influenced by what he believed in light of what he read in the Bible, and by the importance he placed on knowing Jesus Christ. Arnold regularly preached in the school chapel, directing the thoughts of the school boys towards Jesus Christ, trying to help them see that only in Him would they find the perfect role model to help them in later life. This thesis will not only show how Arnold's Christian convictions shaped his pedagogy, but it will also suggest some possible applications for today.

Arnold's views on education have a particular contemporary application in England because current legislation allows for parents and other individuals and groups to apply to the state for funding in order to establish a 'Free School'.⁶ It is hoped this policy will introduce diversity into the curriculum and provide different educational opportunities for parents to offer to their children;⁷ however the 'Free Schools' policy does call into question the current system of education and implies it needs improving or, at the very least, changing.⁸ Furthermore, the long history of both private and church schools in England, and the recent development of academies free from Local Education Authority control has created a situation where it is entirely possible for some schools to apply an Arnoldian model. This thesis considers what that might mean in practise.

Who was Thomas Arnold, and why is he significant?

Dr Thomas Arnold was headmaster of Rugby, one of England's most prestigious public schools, from 1828 to 1842. His unexpected death at the age of 46 (from a heart attack) cut short his headmastership.⁹ Arnold's life was memorialised in a biography written by a former student, Arthur Stanley; in the

⁶ From the Department for Education website. 'Free Schools: What are Free Schools?' Available at: <http://www.education.gov.uk/schools/leadership/typesofschools/freeschools/b0061428/free-schools/what> (accessed February 16, 2013)

⁷ From the Department for Education website. Available at: <http://www.education.gov.uk/schools/leadership/typesofschools/freeschools/b0061428/free-schools> (accessed February 16, 2013)

⁸ From a BBC article 'Free Schools 'not wanted' say teachers', January 3, 2011. Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-12099245> (accessed February 16, 2013)
From a BBC article 'Doubts cast over Swedish style-free schools', June 23, 2010. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10376457> (accessed February 16, 2013)

⁹ Stanley, Letter to F. C. Blackstone December 17, 1841, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 442. This letter and others suggest that Arnold was reluctant to leave Rugby until all his sons had finished school. At the time of writing, the youngest had not yet begun at Rugby.

famous novel, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, written by Thomas Hughes, another student of Arnold's; and later, to some extent in film.¹⁰

It was Arnold who started writing regularly to parents to inform them of their son's progress at school, and this later developed as report writing.¹¹ It was Arnold who stressed the idea that character was more important than academic success. And it was Arnold who championed the Prefect system of discipline, which encouraged sixth formers to look out for younger students and gave them responsibilities to help prepare them for the wider world beyond school. Terence Copley has suggested that the tradition of 'spiritual development' within schools may be traced to Arnold,¹² although not all education historians would agree with him.

That making schoolboys into Christian men was Arnold's desire is evident both from his writing and his practice. For instance, in a letter to his friend, the Reverend John Tucker, Arnold wrote:

With regard to reforms at Rugby, give me credit, I must beg of you, for a most sincere desire to make it a *place of Christian education*. At the same time my object will be, if possible, to *form Christian men*...¹³

When seeking new masters, Arnold wanted to develop a culture of Christianity within the school by appointing staff who were Christians too. He wrote:

What I want is a man *who is a Christian* and a gentleman, an active man, and one who has common sense and understands boys.¹⁴

Furthermore, Arnold sought daily to remind his Sixth Form that they were to do all things in the name of the Lord Jesus and to God's glory. Every morning he would open the class with the following prayer:

O Lord, who by Thy holy Apostle, has taught us to do *all things in the name of the Lord Jesus and to Thy glory*, give Thy blessing, we pray Thee, to this our daily work, that we may do it in faith, and heartily, as to the Lord and not unto men.... Teach us to *seek after truth* and enable us to gain it; but grant that we may ever speak the

¹⁰ At least four films have been made of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* since 1940.

¹¹ Michael McCrum, *Thomas Arnold: A Reassessment* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1989), 60. See also Sydney Selfe, *Notes on the characters and incidents depicted by the master hand of Tom Hughes in "Tom Brown's Schooldays."* (Rugby, A.J. Lawrence, 1909) 22, in which an anonymous student notes that he found amongst his father's papers, letters from Dr Arnold detailing his progress and conduct.

¹² Terence Copley, *Spiritual Development in the State School*, (Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 2000) ix-x.

¹³ Arthur Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, (London, Ward, Lock & Co, 1844) 50 (emphasis mine)

¹⁴ Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 61 (emphasis mine)

truth in love: that, while we know earthly things, we may know Thee and be known by Thee, through and in Thy Son Jesus Christ.¹⁵

That Arnold had some measure of success in bringing Rugby schoolboys to a knowledge of Jesus Christ is evident from the words of more than one of his former students. Years later, Thomas Hughes would write of his time at school saying:

I carried away from Rugby dreadfully bad scholarship, but two invaluable possessions. First, a strong religious faith in and loyalty to Christ; and secondly, open-mindedness.¹⁶

And it was written of Henry Fox, who after leaving Rugby graduated from Oxford and later went to India as a missionary, that:

When he [Fox] had the privilege of coming into closer contact with Dr. Arnold, he contracted the greatest affection and reverence for his character; whilst the simple Christian instruction, which he so faithfully delivered in the School Chapel, produced a strong and abiding impression upon his heart; so that it may truly be said, that the classical knowledge and intellectual development which he acquired at school, were the least of the blessings he there received: for though other influences were co-operating during that period, yet the controlling power of Dr. Arnold's mind in forming his Christian character, was of the highest value, and to the end of his days was ever remembered by him with affection and gratitude.¹⁷

As will become apparent, Rugby became a unique place to study during Arnold's headmastership, largely because of Arnold's strongly held Christian faith. It is difficult to imagine many head teachers praying with their Sixth Form class before beginning lessons in twenty-first century Britain, but even in the Victorian period Arnold's approach appears to have been uncommon - if not unique.

Perhaps therein lies the reason that Thomas Arnold is not viewed so warmly in the field of English education as he once was. In twenty-first century England the idea that secondary education ought to be *Christian* seems almost heretical to some. Why should Christianity be used as the grounding for English education? What is the rationale for a Christian education over a secular one?

¹⁵ Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 466 (emphasis mine)

¹⁶ Thomas Hughes, *True Manliness - select writings from Thomas Hughes* (Boston, D. Lothrop, c.1880) x

¹⁷ George Fox, *Memoir of Henry Watson Fox*, (London, Seeleys, 1853) 2

Arnold's response would have been clear and unequivocal. While it is morally wrong and intellectually impossible to *compel* someone to believe in the central truths of the Christian faith, nevertheless it was evident to him that a society built on the teachings of Jesus Christ would be the best possible society for someone to live in.¹⁸ His views jar with the dominant culture of twenty-first century Britain, for he strongly disagreed with the idea that truth is relative and that all cultures are equally valid. In his pamphlet on church reform, he wrote:

I will not yield to any man in the strength of my conviction of truth and error; nor in the wish that the propagation of error could be prevented.¹⁹

Arnold believed that some things are *true* and others are *false*. For instance, a *viva voce* exam is more taxing (and therefore of greater value) for trying a candidate's knowledge of history than a written examination.²⁰ He knew that to be true from experience, and would not deviate from his strongly held opinion. To take a different example, he believed it to be an obvious truth that slavery is always evil and it is better for a nation to be filled with free citizens than for slavery to exist within it.²¹ To cite a third example, Arnold was convinced that it was impossible to 'teach history, and moral and political philosophy, with no reference to the Bible, without giving an education that shall be anti-religious.'²² His latter point was that unless some sort of moral yardstick be applied to measuring historical actions and decisions, the conclusion could be that all actions are morally equal. For Arnold however, the moral standard by which history or literature should be measured was those standards found in the New Testament.

¹⁸ 'Intellectual objections to Christianity ought to be tolerated as long as moral obedience is observed... When I speak then of a state requiring obedience to the Christian law, it means that the state, being the perfect church, should do the church's work ; that is, that it should provide for the Christian education of the young, and the Christian instruction of the old; that it should, by public worship and by a Christian discipline, endeavour as much as may be, to realise Christianity to all its people. Under such a system, the teachers would speak because they believed, for Christian teachers as a general rule do so, and their hearts would, in like manner, learn to believe also.'

Thomas Arnold, *Lectures on Modern History*, (New York, Appleton & Co., 1878) 74.

¹⁹ Thomas Arnold, *The Miscellaneous Works of Thomas Arnold* (London, Longmans, Green & Co, 1874), 317

²⁰ Stanley, Letter to the chancellor of London University, March 17, 1838 *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 329

²¹ 'It is, of course, perfectly easy to say that we will have no slaves, but it is not quite so easy to make all the human inhabitants of a country what free citizens ought to be; and the state of our railway navigators and cotton operatives is scarcely better for themselves than it is for slaves, either physically or morally, and is far more perilous to society. It is when I see all these evils...'

Stanley, Letter to Rev. Blackstone, February 25, 1839, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 348

²² Arnold, 'Sermon XVI - Deut 11:19' *Sermons – Volume III*, 143

In the school setting, Arnold believed a right understanding of human nature and effective discipline is necessary for the successful running of a school. If Arnold is right and it is true that students tend to behave in a certain way, that a particular approach to discipline will bring forth right and good behaviour, that the purpose of education is more than good examination results or being able to get a good job, in other words if it is true that there is a way to be a good headmaster or to establish a good school – then presumably that way ought to be sought after and pursued. The concluding chapter suggests how Arnold’s methods might be pursued in the twenty-first century, while acknowledging that Arnold was a man of his time,²³ and that consequently many of today’s educationalists will find they cannot learn from him, as they do not share his theological presuppositions.

Aims

This thesis has three aims. First, to examine Arnold’s Christian convictions with particular reference to education. Four areas of Arnold’s faith are examined at some length in the following chapters. These four were chosen because they have a direct bearing on Arnold’s approach to education and are explicated more fully below:

The purpose of the state, universities, schools and education.

This chapter considers what Arnold believed was the ideal society and what sort of education would bring about citizens who could contribute to it and maintain it. This question also touches on who Arnold thought had ultimate responsibility for a child’s education? Was it the teacher? Was it the parent? The state? Who has final say over what a child should learn, the parent or the boy’s teacher? To what extent should a master keep parents informed of their son’s progress (or lack thereof)? Should a father need to enquire of his son’s progress, or should the master keep him informed? Other questions considered are what is the purpose of a school, what kind of graduates should be leaving University and how did Arnold shape the culture and education of Rugby?

²³ Arnold became headmaster of Rugby when George IV was reigning. Since then seven monarchs have acceded the throne, the industrial revolution has taken place, the British Empire was founded (and lost). And numerous other changes.

Christ the Educator: What, when, how and why should someone learn from Jesus Christ?

This chapter examines what Arnold believed to be the place of Jesus Christ in a schoolboy's education. For example, at what age did Arnold think a schoolboy should know about Jesus Christ and how could His teaching and example be communicated to the student? Could Jesus Christ teach an English schoolboy anything about life, death, courage or the way to respect his parents? Can Christ educate us beyond the classroom and the schoolyard? To what extent did Christ's command 'let the little children come unto me' influence Arnold's thinking?

Human nature - Including the nature of school children.

This chapter reflects on whether Arnold viewed humans as basically good, who occasionally do bad things; or whether he thought humans are intrinsically evil, but with the ability to do good things from time to time? Do we tend to think of others first, or think of ourselves? Will the thoughts of mankind naturally incline towards God, or resist thinking about him? To what extent do idleness and slothfulness, for example, need to be struggled against (especially at school)?

The role and place of discipline in God's world (including schools).

The fourth chapter examines Arnold's beliefs regarding God and discipline. Does God discipline people? If so, how? Did Arnold view discipline as something good for humanity, especially for children? Or did he think discipline crushed independent spirit and thwarted learning? Is discipline something to be valued, or shunned? If discipline be considered positive, how did Arnold think it should be applied to schoolboys? Is there a place for 'corporal punishment?'

The second aim of the thesis is to consider Arnold's practice as an educator. This thesis is especially interested in examining how Arnold's faith shaped the culture of Rugby school, and observations will be made linking his faith to his pedagogy throughout the four chapters cited above.

The third aim is to offer some observations on whether English schools (be they independent, fully maintained, church, or Free) could be established along Arnold's Rugby lines. The concluding chapter reflects on the challenges for Arnold's model to be replicated today, and is entitled:

Following the Master - reflections for schooling today.

In his lectures on Modern History, Arnold described four attributes that define a nation. These are language, race, institutions and religion.²⁴ No doubt a nation will be more cohesive if its citizens all speak the same language, but schools also play a great part in defining the attitudes of children towards the institutions of the country, and the religion on which the country was founded. Will English schools, particularly Free Schools, promote cohesion within the nation, or will they make society more fragmented? Although it is not within the range of the thesis to enter fully into what Free School legislation permits, the final chapter suggests how a Free School could adopt an Arnoldian model. Furthermore, a number of observations will be put forward as to why most state schools will not be able to follow Arnold's pedagogy.

Taken together, the overall aim of the thesis is to learn what constitutes a good education, as understood by one of England's most famous headmasters, and consider how such an education might be adopted today.

Methodology

The first chapter of the thesis examines and analyses the corpus of literature already written about Arnold and shows that while a number of the writers identify Arnold's faith they tend to place it largely (or solely) in the context of his churchmanship, while others focus principally on his headmastership or teaching but barely note the role his faith played in shaping his pedagogy. A third (and smaller) group may be said to place Arnold within the bigger framework of England's history of education. It is contended that although much has been written about Thomas Arnold, and much of what he wrote is still available to be read, this thesis is the first attempt to show how Arnold's faith in Jesus Christ *directly* influenced his pedagogical practice.

In my judgement none of the existing scholarship or literature gives sufficient attention to the way Arnold's faith in Christ shaped his belief in what

²⁴ Arnold, *Lectures on Modern History*, 43

'By the great elements of nationality, I mean race, language, institutions, and religion.'

makes a good society, and the education needed to build that society. This volume seeks to close the gap between those authors on the one hand who seem to suggest Arnold's faith only has relevance in connection with his theology or churchmanship, with those on the other hand who suggest Arnold has relevance in the field of education only as an historical figure or purely from a practitioner's point of view. For Arnold, as will be shown, there was to be no separation between church and state, both should be involved in educating citizens to know their duty to God and to each another (as he would put it).

The research into Arnold's Christian convictions, presented in chapters two to five, has been completely text-based and was conducted almost entirely from the primary sources that remain amongst the vast corpus of documents that Arnold wrote. In order of study and consideration, the entire number of published sermons (as well as some unpublished ones) took precedence.

The sermons were the obvious place for an enquiry to begin into Arnold's theology. This is because we can be confident of the quality of the text, that is to say, it is evident that Arnold wrote and preached them. The sermons were published in six volumes, and there are more than two hundred in total. Four of the volumes were published before Arnold's death, the fifth and sixth were published shortly afterward. Furthermore it is clear that the sermons were publicly heard by an audience of considerable number (very often by 300 or more people) and therefore they may be thought to express Arnold's considered beliefs.²⁵

Moreover, because the audience was almost always the boys of Rugby School, the sermons tend to touch directly on what Arnold thought was relevant to the school setting and, consequently, are of considerable interest to the question this thesis is seeking to answer – namely how did Arnold's Christian convictions shape his view of what makes a good education? Indeed we have Arnold himself expressing exactly this point in the preface to his second volume. He writes:

Of the Sermons contained in this volume, the first twenty-eight and the thirty-fourth were preached in the chapel of Rugby School. They were addressed, therefore, to a peculiar

²⁵ Stanley, one of Arnold's students and later biographer, confirms that he had personally heard almost all the sermons published in the second volume. See R.E Prothero and G.G. Bradley, *The life and correspondence of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley*, (New York, Charles Scribner's sons, 1893), 94-5.

congregation; but as the faults against which they are directed are *more or less common to all schools*, I thought that *they might be useful to others besides those for whom they were originally designed*.²⁶

In his sermons, Arnold shared with his audience the teachings of Jesus Christ and the Bible as he understood them, often applying the lesson to the specific needs of schoolboys. In particular there are references to various educational themes, including Christian schools; the example of Christ in the temple at age twelve (how he interacted with the teachers of his day, as a youth); and the construction that should be understood in the Apostle Paul's phrase:

When I was a child, I spoke like a child, I thought like a child, I reasoned like a child; when I became a man, I gave up childish ways.²⁷

Along with the sermons, Arnold's lectures in modern history have also been considered, as a number of his beliefs on the state and the role of education were expounded there. The thesis also includes a thorough revision of Arnold's correspondence and other writings, particularly those letters which were published by Arnold's principal biographer, Stanley; and a number of Arnold's articles printed in his *Miscellaneous Works*. Where possible, unpublished correspondence and sermons have also been researched. A.J.H. Reeves' unpublished Ph.d thesis has proven to be a treasure trove for throwing new light on Arnold's correspondence,²⁸ while the Rugby School reading room has a number of unpublished sermons which further reveal Arnold's Christian faith.

The thesis also considers other primary documents. For example, Thomas Hughes' *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (published 1857) and his other works were investigated for comments regarding Arnold. Hughes was greatly influenced by Arnold and *Tom Brown's Schooldays* is a semi-autobiographical work. In the novel the unexpected death of a student leads to Arnold preaching a sermon which has a profound impact on 'Tom Brown'. This sermon was one that Arnold actually preached and it is probable that the

²⁶ Thomas Arnold, *Sermons – Volume II*, (London, Reeves & Turner, 1874), v. (emphasis mine)

²⁷ 1 Cor. 13:11-12 (RSV)

²⁸ AJH Reeve, "Aspects of the Life of Dr Thomas Arnold (1795-1842) in the Light of the Unpublished Correspondence" (Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Hull, 1988).

student's death, and the subsequent sermon, had a significant impact on the young Thomas Hughes.²⁹

Finally, former students' correspondence and memoirs have been fully investigated. Because the Rugby School register for the period of Arnold's headmastership is now on-line, it has been possible to search the British Library for memoirs by his former students. Some twenty 'new' works have been read which appear to have been overlooked by previous researchers.³⁰ These works present a largely unanimous opinion of Arnold, written by those who knew him at Rugby, sometimes writing more than fifty years after his death. The purpose of this was to gain insight into how Arnold was perceived by his students, as opposed to those who knew him solely by reputation or in other contexts.

These mainly 'new' memoirs provide new information about Arnold as perceived by the boys in the school, and it will be shown that the boys' personal correspondence and memories reflected a view of Arnold largely consistent with what he wrote in his sermons or stated *in public*. That is to say, even the casual reader of Arnold's sermons and correspondence will find a correlation between what he preached, and what he practiced. His faith in Jesus Christ, and how Christ's teaching influenced him, is apparent both in his sermons and his letters, and it appears from the record of those who knew Arnold that he did faithfully try to live out his ideals.³¹

In summary, a documentary analysis utilising a wide range of primary sources has been employed to research Arnold's faith and pedagogy. The sermons, correspondence and lectures taken together provide a platform from which Arnold's Christian faith may be clearly discerned and the way in which he applied Christian principles to his teaching and practise as a headmaster can be deduced.

²⁹ The full text of this sermon can be found in: Thomas Arnold, 'Sermon XVI - Mark 14:21' *Interpretation of Scripture*, 168-79.

³⁰ The bibliography contains works by former students, including a score or more that do not appear to have been read by previous biographers. Many of the memoirs contain correspondence of a personal nature while the boy was at school, and because they were written with a view to expressing the thoughts of the boy at the time he was writing, the letters help provide a reliable 'third-person' guide to how Arnold was perceived by those he instructed.

³¹ J.T. Coleridge, *Public School Education - A Lecture* (London, John Murray, 1860) 58 - 60. Coleridge's two pages here cited give his considered opinion as to why Arnold was so successful a headmaster. It should be noted that not all who knew Arnold remembered him warmly, but the vast majority of former students wrote positively about him.

Thesis limitations

This thesis does not comment upon a number of debates in which Arnold was involved. For instance, Arnold's role in the debate between various scholars at Oxford, known as the 'Oxford Movement' is not addressed here as it is outside the thesis' remit.³² Neither is Arnold's proposal for church reform discussed, nor his pamphlet on the claims of the Catholics to have their own church in Ireland. It should also be noted that the thesis is not a biography of Thomas Arnold, rather it is an examination of his Christian faith in relation to his practise as an educator, with reflections on what might be learnt from Arnold with respect to twenty-first century education.

Although it is beyond the scope of the thesis to place Arnold fully in his historical context, attention is given to some of the major historical differences between his time and ours in the final chapter. Furthermore, Appendix I gives a summary of Arnold's life and notes how old he was when some of the main political and personal events occurred in his lifetime. For example, the sudden death of Arnold's father and the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland occurred in the same year (1801), when Arnold was just five years old. Twenty years later, Arnold lost his older brother Matthew, while the nation mourned the passing of King George III. However, of these four events, the two personal ones had a far greater effect on him than the others. Appendix I is provided to help the reader capture a snapshot of the age in which Arnold lived, as well as noting the personal events that shaped his life.³³

Audience

It is expected that this thesis will interest theologians with an educational role (such as school and university chaplains), educationalists (such as headmasters, civil servants developing educational policy and those who intend to establish a school), and parents, teachers or other individuals who wonder if a 'back to the past' approach could be the best way forward for their local school.

³² The Oxford Movement was led by John Henry Newman and proposed a particular understanding of the nature of the church (more specifically the Church of England). Arnold's view was quite the opposite of Newman's, and Arnold's tract 'The Oxford Malignants' caused considerable furore when it was published. For a brief explanation of both sides of the debate, one could hardly do better than read the letter Arnold sent to Henry Fox, one of his former students, who was being influenced the views of Newman while at Oxford. Fox, *Memoir of Henry Watson Fox*, 86-9.

³³ The shock and impact that the death of Arnold's father had upon him shaped his understanding of life's brevity and contributed to his deep, unswerving faith in the truth of the Bible. See Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 452 for further important details.

Personal Bias

Thomas Arnold had a clear opinion on the role of education, the place of discipline, the importance of truth and the need to fight against evil in God's world. This thesis attempts to demonstrate how Arnold learnt much of what he believed to be true from a teacher even greater and more famous than he was. In other words, Arnold learnt from a great master, and arguably it is what he learnt from Him that in turn made Arnold a great teacher also.

It has been my aim throughout this work not to idolise Arnold and to present, as much as possible, a disinterested assessment of Arnold's Christian faith and how his beliefs influenced his view of education. Nevertheless, I find myself having considerable sympathy with Arnold's views, not because of any personal association with Arnold or Rugby School, but because Arnold held a very high view of Jesus Christ. It seems only reasonable to state that the author of this thesis is also a Christian, so that readers can be aware of any bias that might have occurred towards Arnold's thinking as a result.

In conducting the research and writing up my findings, I have tried to walk a line that allows Arnold's convictions to be properly understood, without making him out to be some kind of 'saint' to be worshipped.

Chapter One: **Literature review**

Many works have been written about Thomas Arnold. Arguably however, none of them give sufficient attention to the way Arnold's Christian beliefs shaped his view of what makes a good education. The purpose of this thesis is to examine how Arnold's faith was the dominant force in defining his pedagogy, with some reflections on what might be learnt from him today.

While a number of the writers identify Arnold's faith they tend to place it largely (or solely) in the context of his churchmanship (for example, Campbell and Copley), others focus principally on his headmastership or teaching (Bamford and McCrum) but barely note the role his faith played in shaping his pedagogy.

The tendency to overlook the role of Arnold's faith on his views on education is unfortunate for two reasons. First, it makes it impossible for a reader to assess the impact of Arnold's theology on his pedagogy without trawling through his sermons, correspondence and other writings, and noting the salient points. It is possible to read a book or a chapter detailing Arnold's faith regarding his understanding of the definition and role of the church, but it is not possible to read anything explaining how Arnold's faith shaped his understanding of education and the role of schools. This thesis seeks to provide a scholarly work which does just that.

Second, by divorcing Arnold's faith from his pedagogy, the idea is perpetuated that Christianity is something which pertains only to Sundays or church,³⁴ as if God were only interested in what happens in times of formal worship, or in private prayers and Bible reading. This kind of compartmentalisation however, was the very antithesis of Arnold's thinking. As will be shown, his faith in Christ clearly affected his entire life, especially his work, even though his field of labour was in a school, not in a church.

A number of key works are considered in this chapter and they are reviewed chronologically in this order: Stanley (1844), Fitch (1897), Strachey (1918), Campbell (1927), Whitridge (1928), Wymer (1953), Bamford (1960), Chandos (1984), Reeve (1988), McCrum (1989) and Copley (2001). It will be

³⁴ Mark Greene, *The Great Divide*, (London, London Institute for Contemporary Christianity, 2011)

shown that all the works, with the possible exception of Stanley, tend to ignore the influence Arnold's Christian faith had on his pedagogy.

It makes sense to review the works chronologically because while an overall theme for a particular work might be suggested (historical, educational, etc), a case could also be made for placing that piece of scholarship into a different category, and thus a defence of why this particular work should be viewed as educational or theological or general would constantly need to be presented. In contrast, by reviewing the scholarship as it was published,³⁵ there is no need to argue (in a possibly contrived manner) that the work belongs to the particular category it has been assigned.

Furthermore, reviewing the scholarship chronologically allows comparisons to be made more easily with the earlier works. A theme based approach would inevitably result in the need to pass over some comparisons with earlier works, because one would have to choose a particular grouping to review first. For instance, if one were to review educationalist works about Arnold first, beginning with Fitch, it would be difficult to compare and contrast him with Stanley's earlier biography because Stanley's volume would be reviewed later under a different category. This would be regrettable, because much of Fitch's work was obtained directly from Stanley, and clearly influenced by it.

In summary, while other approaches could have worked, the chronological method employed in this chapter has yielded particular insights. In essence, this chapter outlines how each biography or piece of scholarship contributes to our understanding of Arnold. Each author's credentials will be considered, as well as his objectivity, with some final comments about the value of that particular work within the entire body of literature written about Thomas Arnold.

Stanley (1844 - general biography)

Arthur Penrhyn Stanley had been a pupil of Dr Arnold and was asked by Mrs Arnold, immediately after the Doctor's unexpected death, to write the 'authorised' biography of her husband's life. As Rugby's leading scholar, Stanley was well qualified to write the definitive biography as he had known Dr

³⁵ Or submitted. One work reviewed here, by Reeve, was an unpublished Ph.D thesis.

Arnold throughout his school life, maintained close contact with him upon entering Oxford, and had become a family friend. Indeed it was Stanley whom Mrs Arnold asked to preach at her husband's funeral.³⁶

Stanley spent two years preparing *The Life and Correspondence of Doctor Arnold*, drawing much of his material from his own personal knowledge of Arnold, interviewing other students at Rugby (especially those who had been there since his departure) and reading the correspondence that Arnold had written. The five hundred page volume consists of more than three hundred of Arnold's letters, including correspondence to former students, parents, and old friends. Less than twenty per cent of the biography is written by Stanley himself, with the result that any later biographer or researcher has been able to read Arnold's thoughts and opinions as he expressed them, rather than through the biographer's interpretation.

Stanley claimed that he sought not to judge Arnold, but was seeking only to be a narrator and editor of his life. *The Life* sought to portray Arnold as he was, and Stanley asserted that he did not allow himself to ask whether he himself approved or disapproved of a particular action or decision of Arnold's, but whether it was *characteristic* of him.³⁷ The extent to which Stanley succeeded in portraying Arnold in his own voice will be judged differently by different readers. Arnold had been like a second father to Stanley, and it would be a strong man indeed who could write the biography of a close friend, mentor, and role model without allowing some filial reverence to influence his editing.

Stanley, perhaps foremost amongst the biographers, does mention the connection between Arnold's faith and efforts to make Rugby a Christian school. He wrote:

It was not an attempt merely to give more theological instruction, or to introduce sacred words into school admonitions;... The idea of a Christian school, again, to him, was the natural result, so to speak, of the very idea of a school in itself.... The intellectual training was not for a moment underrated, and the machinery of the school was left to have its own way. But he looked upon the whole as bearing on the advancement of the one end of all instruction and education; the boys were still treated as schoolboys, but as schoolboys who

³⁶ The sermon was one of Arnold's - 'Faith Triumphant in Death', and can be read in: Thomas Arnold, *The Christian Life, Its hopes, its fears, and its close*. (London, Longmans, Green & Co, 1878) 231 Cf. Arthur Stanley, *Life and Correspondence of Dr. Arnold*, 463.

³⁷ Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, ix.

must grow up to be Christian men; whose age did not prevent their faults from being sins, or their excellencies from being noble and Christian virtues; whose situation did not of itself make the application of Christian principles to their daily lives an impracticable vision.³⁸

Nevertheless, because Stanley was writing a biography, the theme of how Arnold's faith impacted on his pedagogy remains undeveloped, and it is the aim of this thesis to make clearer how Arnold saw Jesus Christ and the advancement of his kingdom as the foundation to establishing the best possible society and the kind of education that would be needed to build and maintain such a society.

Stanley's *Life* remains the 'received text' on Arnold's life. However, like all biographers, Stanley had to decide which aspects of Arnold's life should be passed over and which should be included. Consequently not everything about Arnold is laid bare, and as far as Arnold's boyhood is concerned, *The Life* is inadequate. Not a single letter appears from Arnold's childhood. In addition it could be criticised as being light on anecdote and narrative, and a certain lack of objectivity creeps into the biography because it was written so soon after Arnold's death, with the thoughts and feelings of the Arnold family needing to be taken into consideration.

Nevertheless, Stanley's biography set the tone for future biographers. *The Life* cast Thomas Arnold in such a positive light that all other writers drew on his work and for the next eighty or so years continued to portray Arnold as a positive role model. For the purposes of this thesis *The Life* is mainly useful in revealing Arnold's Christian beliefs and thinking through his correspondence. The letters inform our understanding of what we read in Arnold's sermons and lectures, and help us understand how Arnold applied his beliefs both to his political views and educational practise.

Fitch (1897 - education)

Fitch was well qualified to write about Thomas Arnold in his biography,³⁹ because he was the chief inspector of Teacher Training Colleges and had worked in the Education Department. Unlike Stanley however, Fitch had no

³⁸ Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 62.

³⁹ Joshua Fitch, *Thomas and Matthew Arnold and their influence on English education*, (New York, Charles Scribner's sons, 1897).

personal knowledge of Arnold (although he knew and worked with his son, Matthew) and gathered much of his information on the doctor from Stanley's *Life* and Arnold's sermons.

Fitch also mentions the central theme of this thesis. His fifth chapter engages with Arnold's faith and explicitly points out how it influenced his pedagogy. For instance, he notes Arnold's use of the chapel to preach and teach the boys their need for Christ. Equally important, Fitch observes that Arnold was opposed to the idea that some studies should be considered 'religious' while others ought to be 'secular.' He wrote:

[Arnold] takes the opportunity of protesting earnestly against any attempt to divorce religious from secular instruction, or to treat them as distinct parts of an educational scheme. The device sometimes advocated in later times for solving the religious difficulty in our common and municipal schools, by confining the functions of the school teacher to secular instruction and calling in the aid of the clergy or other specialists to give lessons on religion at separate hours, would have seemed to him wholly indefensible, and indeed fatal to any true conception of the relation of religious knowledge to other knowledge.⁴⁰

This thesis aims to pick up and carry forward Fitch's writing on this subject. Namely that Arnold's whole approach as headmaster must be understood through his conviction that his work was a service to God, and that he saw no genuine distinction between secular and sacred work. For more than a century scholars and biographers have largely neglected this aspect of Thomas Arnold's character and work. Yet, as will be shown, it is evident that Arnold's faith in Christ was the chief influence in the decisions he made as headmaster and in the way he sought to shape the culture of Rugby.

Fitch's biography is wider in scope than Stanley's and highlights the need for Arnold to be viewed as a man whose faith in Christ influenced his work as a ruler and administrator. In conclusion, Fitch argues 'it was the discipline... the moral atmosphere of Rugby, on which, as he himself desired, his influence was most strongly felt.'⁴¹ As an educationalist Fitch had a good grasp of what education should comprise, and he emphasises the central point about Arnold's sermons that this thesis is trying to develop. Namely that 'throughout the school sermons there is much less of theological teaching than

⁴⁰ Fitch, *Thomas and Matthew Arnold*, 96

⁴¹ Fitch, *Thomas and Matthew Arnold*, 75

of an endeavour to illustrate the bearing of Christianity on the daily practical life of the school-boy.'⁴²

However, Fitch does not examine in any detail Arnold's beliefs about the extension of Christ's kingdom, nor how Arnold believed only a Christian society could produce the 'best possible society', nor does he comment on how Arnold's belief in the fallenness of schoolboys influenced his approach towards them, nor on Arnold's understanding of God's use of discipline in the world and the place of it within the school. The following chapters of this thesis will consider Arnold's Christian convictions in these areas.

Strachey (1918 - general biography)

Lytton Strachey's biography of Arnold comprised one of four essays in his work *Eminent Victorians*. Strachey based his essay on selected extracts from Stanley's *Life*, from Thomas Arnold Jr's autobiography and a later biography of Arthur Clough. Generally considered as a satirical work, Strachey's characterisation of Arnold is largely unflattering.⁴³ With reference to Arnold's use of prepositors, Strachey suggested Arnold gained the idea from the Old Testament, and that in reality Arnold saw himself as 'God' and the Sixth Formers as his 'Judges.'⁴⁴

Strachey comments on Arnold's approach to discipline, implying that Arnold enjoyed 'scourging the young ones' and permitting the Sixth formers to do the same. He notes that Arnold did not emphasise the teaching of science and hints at being indignant that schoolboys should be taught to be Christians.⁴⁵

Strachey's essay is relatively broad in scope, touching on Arnold's writing, some of his travels, a brief mention of his home life, as well as commenting on Arnold's views on church and state and his impact on Arthur Clough. However the biography lacks objectivity, and because it is only some twenty pages in length, depth has been sacrificed at the expense of breadth.

⁴² Fitch, *Thomas and Matthew Arnold*, 91.

⁴³ For example, Strachey wrote 'As the Israelite of old knew that his almighty Lawgiver might at any moment thunder to him from the whirlwind, or appear before his very eyes, the visible embodiment of power or wrath, so the Rugby schoolboy walked in a holy dread of some sudden manifestation of the sweeping gown, the majestic tone, the piercing glance, of Dr. Arnold.'

G.L. Strachey, *Eminent Victorians* (London, 1921) 189.

⁴⁴ Strachey, *Eminent Victorians*, 189.

⁴⁵ Strachey, *Eminent Victorians*, 194.

A later biographer has suggested why Strachey's work amounts to little more than satire.⁴⁶

Strachey's essay is significant principally because it was written after that generation which had personally known Arnold had died, and marks a definite change in attitude towards Arnold when contrasted with earlier biographies. While it does not offer much serious insight into the question of how Arnold's faith shaped his view of what makes a good education, it does set a tone which finds an echo in Bamford and in Chandos.

Campbell (1927 - theology and churchmanship)

Robert Campbell, as an Anglican vicar, wrote primarily about Arnold's role in the history of the Church of England. He notes immediately in his preface that it is 'less with Arnold the schoolmaster than with Arnold the churchman and patriot that we are here concerned.'⁴⁷ As part of the English Churchman series, Campbell considers Arnold's theology and influence on the Church of England, but does not write at length about how Arnold's faith informed his pedagogy.

Campbell notes that of Arnold 'It may truly be said that to him the person of Christ was central and determinative. Christ was the Deity he worshipped, the ever-present friend and saviour to whom his love and intelligence were whole-heartedly given.'⁴⁸ Like Fitch, he observes that for Arnold 'his work as a schoolmaster was first and foremost a religious work, the cure of souls, not merely the giving of instruction in the subjects necessary to what is termed a liberal education.'⁴⁹

Campbell's volume explains some of the main forces within the Church of England in the early to mid-1800s, and he points out Arnold's Erastian views in his chapter on Church and State. Arnold held that the doctrine of the King's

⁴⁶ Michael McCrum would later observe:

'Strachey's *Eminent Victorians* is a skillful exercise in falsification. In particular his maliciously tendentious attack on Dr Arnold is too extreme a caricature to be regarded as a serious criticism of its subject. Strachey had suffered much at three minor public schools and could therefore find nothing to admire in one who had been headmaster of such an institution. He takes revenge for his past misery by portraying Arnold as an impostor and a clown. His essay is now generally considered ludicrously exaggerated, distorted, and unfair.'
Michael McCrum, *Thomas Arnold 'A Reassessment* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1989) 139-40.

⁴⁷ R.J. Campbell, *Thomas Arnold*, (London, Macmillan, 1927) ix

⁴⁸ Campbell, *Thomas Arnold*, 32

⁴⁹ Campbell, *Thomas Arnold*, 60-1

Supremacy was essential to the right running and governance of the church,⁵⁰ and that the church's purpose ought to be that of putting an end to moral evil.

The biography notes the importance of the sermons in Arnold's role as chaplain. From the year Arnold gained the appointment he preached regularly on Sunday to the whole school - an innovation that was copied in other public schools. Campbell writes of Arnold that: 'His pulpit was his throne, and it was from there that the tremendous moral authority he wielded was most potently exercised.'⁵¹ Campbell concludes his chapter on Arnold at Rugby by claiming that Arnold was chiefly responsible for reforming English public schools with respect to their moral and religious atmosphere. He suggests that it was Arnold who had caused 'a new spirit of soberness and decency, of thoughtfulness and conscientiousness...' a spirit which remains 'to this very day.'⁵²

However, Campbell's work does not much consider how Arnold's Christian convictions shaped his view of education, except in one chapter where he reflects on how Arnold sought to influence the University of London in its formative years. Arnold's view was that a liberal arts education without a knowledge of the Scriptures must be, in any Christian country, a contradiction in terms. His principle was that moral studies (for instance, poetry, history or moral philosophy) that were not based on Christianity must be unchristian, and therefore were such as he could take no part in.⁵³ This is an important point which will be considered in a later chapter.

Campbell's volume offers the reader a broad sweep of the Church of England as it had changed from Arnold's time to the 1920s. Campbell argues what he believes was Arnold's influence on the church, namely that he had helped make it more liberal, and that through his battles against Newman he had helped define, by opposition, the Anglo-Catholic element of the Church of England. In this sense the theology of Arnold is clearly examined and persuasively argued.

However, in terms of answering the question 'how did Dr Arnold's Christian convictions shape his view of what makes a good education?',

⁵⁰ Campbell, *Thomas Arnold*, 123.

⁵¹ Campbell, *Thomas Arnold*, 63

⁵² Bear in mind that Campbell was writing in 1927.

⁵³ Campbell, *Thomas Arnold*, 209.

Campbell's work does not contribute greatly. Perhaps this is to be expected as Campbell's purpose in writing the biography was to suggest the significance of the man in the age in which he lived and in the movements within the Church with which he was concerned.⁵⁴ It would not be until Copley's *Black Tom* was published some seventy-five years later that the theme of Arnold's churchmanship would be re-examined.

Whitridge (1928 - general biography)

Arnold Whitridge was a great-grandson of Thomas Arnold. His biography might be best described as a general historical work with the Doctor as the main subject, but with other points of historical interest also detailed. Whitridge includes, for example, a chapter on the state of public schools in England in the early 1800s, focusing particularly on the teaching practises of Eton in this period. He notes the very great importance Arnold placed on establishing moral character, and likens Arnold to an Italian headmaster of the fifteenth century.⁵⁵ Whitridge also includes a chapter on the history of Rugby, from its inception in 1567 to 1828 when Arnold became the headmaster, and two later chapters document Arnold's debates with the Tractarians and his political views as a 'Radical.'

Concerning Arnold as a schoolmaster, Whitridge observes that 'It is almost impossible to estimate the value of his teaching apart from its religious aspect.' He suggests that this is inevitable, given the nature of Arnold, but laments that if anyone else had added history, French, German and mathematics to the regular list of school subjects (as Arnold did), he would have been recognised as a pioneer.⁵⁶

On the subject of human nature, Whitridge points out that Arnold believed a boy was a moral being, that school was a human society, that

⁵⁴ Other biographies in the series (written by various authors) include St. Thomas of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop Laud and John Wesley, and the reader ought be mindful that Campbell's purpose was to write about Arnold and the Church of England, and not Arnold and education.

⁵⁵ A. Whitridge, *Dr. Arnold of Rugby*, (London, Constable, 1928), 61
'What a contrast between this Mantuan school of the fifteenth century and the English public schools of a hundred years ago [ie 1800s], and yet what a curious similarity between Vittorino da Feltre and Dr. Arnold. Both men set out to develop character rather than to fashion scholars, both men emphasised moral thoughtfulness, and both were rewarded by the personal devotion of their pupils. Profoundly English as Dr. Arnold was, he had more in common with this Italian humanist of the Renaissance than with the average headmaster of his own time and nationality.'

⁵⁶ Whitridge, *Dr. Arnold of Rugby*, 132.

Arnold believed firmly in original sin, and had faith in the efficacy of corporal punishment. Whitridge suggests that we need not share Arnold's belief in these things, 'but we must acknowledge that he was the first schoolmaster in England to capture the affection and the admiration of the school.'⁵⁷

Whitridge suggests that Arnold's view of a school was that it was a family. The welfare of the family (i.e. the school) was at stake whenever there was a lack of moral thoughtfulness. Whitridge argues this was also Arnold's view of the state and the church: 'The Established Church was a family, which if Arnold had had his way would have included every creature in the British Isles who admitted the divinity of Christ. It follows inevitably that at Rugby emphasis was laid upon character rather than upon intellectual achievement.'⁵⁸ This point is significant, although undeveloped, and in a subsequent chapter it will be considered more fully. Later chapters of this thesis examine more closely the place of Christ in Arnold's scheme of education; the concept of fallen human nature, and the methods Arnold used to combat it (i.e. discipline); bringing into sharper focus some of the clear examples we have from Arnold's writings and other sources how it was primarily his Christian beliefs which formed his view of a good education.

In conclusion, Whitridge's volume is a largely positive assessment of Arnold's life and achievements. His aim was to supplement Stanley's biography 'by emphasising certain aspects of Dr. Arnold's personality and of his teaching that it naturally did not occur to Stanley to write.'⁵⁹ In this respect Whitridge succeeds wonderfully. As a biography it is an interesting narrative, and informs the reader of many things associated with Arnold, but not directly pertaining to him.

However, as an investigation of how Arnold's Christian convictions determined his view of a good education, there is less to commend it. Arnold's sermons are rarely cited, his correspondence touched upon but not with respect to his view of Christ, or the nature of schoolboys; nor is any connection made between Arnold's view of the overall purpose of the state and the link this has with the provision of education to its citizens.

⁵⁷ Whitridge, *Dr. Arnold of Rugby*, 153.

⁵⁸ Whitridge, *Dr. Arnold of Rugby*, 207.

⁵⁹ Whitridge, *Dr. Arnold of Rugby*, Preface.

Wymer (1953 - general biography)

Norman Wymer was a writer of numerous works, including biographies of famous people.⁶⁰ Wymer's *Dr Arnold of Rugby* is one of the clearest narratives of Arnold's Christianity. He notes that Arnold sought, even while at Laleham, to make his students into healthy-minded, God-fearing citizens, however he did this not by pious talk, nor by continual lecturing. Except for the regular divinity lessons and his sermons at Laleham church, which the boys were required to attend, he did not so much as mention the subject unless one of his boys went to him of his own accord for guidance.

Wymer argues that 'founded upon a sincere, almost personal, devotion to Jesus Christ, Arnold's own religion was so obviously spontaneous that it governed both his deeds and thoughts to such an extent that one of his pupils remarked that he gave the impression of being in direct and constant communication with Jesus Christ. Thus, consciously or unconsciously, Arnold was able to guide his charges to the Christian way by his own example far more effectively than would have been the case if he had tried to reform them according to the puritanical tradition.'⁶¹

Like Fitch, attention is drawn to Arnold's use of sermons, noting that on his second Sunday in school, he preached a fifteen minute 'sermonette.' This moved the boys so deeply that even the juniors immediately looked up to him. By appealing to the conscience of even the youngest boy, Arnold pricked the consciences of all but the most wayward. It was the start of things to come, although Arnold did not preach regularly in the chapel for some time.⁶²

Wymer makes much of Arnold's policy of allowing students to call on him, if a student wanted to, whenever Arnold flew a green flag from his study window. Boys would see the flag from the close, and could enter up a private staircase in order to speak to the doctor. Wymer asserts 'many who went to the study sought enlightenment on religious problems. A little shyly, such boys confessed their doubts, only to find that in Arnold they had a sympathetic listener... And so, in the quiet of his study, Arnold would take up his Bible, and with true saintly patience and kindness, explained to his visitor the meaning of

⁶⁰ For example 'Dr Barnado: The Father of Nobody's children' (Arrow books, 1966)

⁶¹ N. Wymer, *Dr. Arnold of Rugby*, (London, Hale, 1953), 67.

⁶² Wymer, *Dr. Arnold of Rugby*, 111.

passages that hitherto had seemed so incomprehensible.⁶³ This policy of making himself available to all and sundry won him many friends and admirers within the school, however it directly contradicts Strachey's allegation that Arnold was aloof and unapproachable.

Wymer analyses Arnold's approach to discipline, noting that he sought to be sparing in his use of 'flogging', that praepositors were to give impositions for trivial offences, the average flogging they could give was three strokes, the maximum six. In addition, every boy was to enjoy the right of appeal against such a beating, on the understanding that if his word was shown to be false, his punishment would be doubled.

However, Wymer's biography has several flaws. The referencing is largely non-existent, thus interesting insights are not able to be easily traced. Sermons are only partially drawn from as source material, none of the chapters have headings or even a contents page to indicate where one should turn to read any given chapter. Furthermore, although Arnold's Christian convictions are clearly laid out in the narrative, they are not analysed for any cause and effect. For example, no link is made between Arnold's beliefs in the fallenness of human nature and how this shaped his approach to discipline; nor between what he believed to be the relationship between the parent and the teacher, and how this relationship was demonstrated through correspondence. As a biography it is excellent narrative, as a source book for Arnold's Christian convictions it is exceedingly helpful, but it fails to link the Doctor's Christianity with his teaching practise.

Bamford (1960 - education)

Bamford's *Thomas Arnold* is a comprehensive picture of Arnold's life and accomplishments set over eighteen chapters. Bamford's work is notable in that it was the first to introduce some new material which others had left out. Most noticeably, Bamford was the first author to draw upon newspaper reports of the March case.⁶⁴

The March case occurred when a student (March) told Arnold what appeared to be a blatant lie. March was 'flogged' for this. However, it later

⁶³ Wymer, *Dr. Arnold of Rugby*, 114.

⁶⁴ T.W. Bamford, *Thomas Arnold*, (London, The Cresset Press, 1960), 49-52.

transpired that March had been telling the truth, and the confusion that led to the flogging was caused by the form master, Mr. Bird. The newspapers whipped up the story, claiming Arnold had mercilessly flogged a boy for no reason. Bamford obtained his information primarily from contemporary newspaper accounts, and it would take another writer, A.J.H. Reeve, to provide Arnold's side of the story - nearly thirty years later.

Bamford wrote extensively on the theme of education, and his main thesis is that Arnold was not really the great reformer most people thought him to be. While Bamford readily acknowledged a great difference between public schools in 1900 contrasted with those in 1800, he attributed this to the spread of organised games and the introduction of piped water which removed drunkenness and the need for drinking alcohol.⁶⁵

Bamford argued that the Arnold legend had grown up initially from Stanley's biography, and then later, from *Tom Brown's Schooldays*. For the purposes of this thesis his greatest contribution is in revealing some of the controversies Arnold was involved in at Rugby, namely the March and Marshall cases.⁶⁶ Without his research the spotlight would perhaps move too quickly over Arnold's approach to discipline and there could be a tendency (as with Stanley) to minimise Arnold's faults and eulogise his virtues.

Bamford suggests 'Arnold was a passionate man whose chastisement was coupled with a religious fervour'; that 'living with him was a strain of physical and moral effort'; and that 'contrariness was the very essence of him.'⁶⁷ Like Stanley (but in the opposite respect), Bamford's assessment of Arnold lacks a certain objectivity, a point noted by Terence Copley in his later biography.⁶⁸

Bamford's work gives an expansive account of Arnold's achievements and failures placed within the wider social framework that Arnold was living. However Bamford does not correlate Arnold's faith with his pedagogy. When discussing Arnold's theology he considers it only in respect to his churchmanship, and while his assessment of this is a fair summary of Arnold's

⁶⁵ Bamford, *Thomas Arnold*, 188.

⁶⁶ The Marshall case involved a fifth former disobeying the orders of a Sixth Former, resulting in a serious fracas between Marshall and three of the Sixth Form. Naturally Arnold sided with the Sixth Formers, and Marshall was expelled. Bamford, *Thomas Arnold*, 84-6.

⁶⁷ Bamford, *Thomas Arnold*, 49, 209, 211

⁶⁸ Terence Copley, *Black Tom: Arnold of Rugby 'The Myth & the Man'* (London, Continuum, 2002) 16.

view of the church, it contributes nothing to the central theme of this thesis. Copley would write later of Bamford's Arnold that Arnold 'is great in his breadth of vision of society, but comparatively insignificant in his contribution to education.'⁶⁹

Chandos (1984 - education)

Chandos' *Boys Together* is a scholarly examination on English Public schools and how they developed as institutions.⁷⁰ Chandos includes a chapter on Thomas Arnold, and appears to have drawn much of his material from Bamford. Chandos' general tone of Arnold is critical, and he describes him as being 'by temperament a crusader, puritan and autocrat; by profession an evangelist, moralist and reformer.'⁷¹

Chandos' representation of Arnold, if read in isolation from other biographers, would lead the reader to conclude that Arnold was a hypocrite. For example, we read that Arnold had stated in an early letter that he hoped to use flogging sparingly. Yet, Chandos writes, 'when a small, delicate boy, with a record of ill health, was flogged to dangerous excess, the perpetrator was none other than Dr. Arnold.'⁷²

According to Chandos, Arnold's ideals revealed a preoccupation with 'sin' and 'guilt', rather than the practical service of 'hope' and 'charity.' Arnold is described as 'an inspiring but confused military leader, [who] did not know where his ideas would take people, or himself.'⁷³

Regarding the question this thesis is answering, Chandos argues that Arnold thought that religious knowledge was the one thing needful for a Christian to study; and he did not wish non-Christians to be eligible for English citizenship or admission to the universities. As will become apparent, the first assertion is not correct, and the latter assertion fails to take into account Arnold's central beliefs about the ideal society and the period in which Arnold

⁶⁹ Copley, *Black Tom*, 14

⁷⁰ *Boys Together* is a work which covers more than just Thomas Arnold as headmaster, however this review will be limited to that chapter which deals specifically with Arnold.

⁷¹ John Chandos, *Boys Together: English Public Schools* (London, Hutchinson, 1984) 248.

⁷² Chandos, *Boys Together*, 257. This was the notorious March case. Chandos draws his account from Bamford and the Northampton Herald, a Tory newspaper and arguably not the most disinterested of parties. A.J.H. Reeves presents a completely different picture after reading through unpublished correspondence. However, his Ph.d thesis would not be written until four years after Chandos *Boys Together* was published.

⁷³ Chandos, *Boys Together*, 258, 262.

lived - including the make-up of political society and the limits placed on voting eligibility.

In summary, Chandos notes (along with others) that Arnold believed in original sin and that boys were naturally wicked, but he says nothing of the high value Arnold placed on telling the truth, nor anything of how Arnold viewed Jesus Christ as the supreme educator. Chandos' twenty-page chapter leaves us with few insights into Arnold's view of the purpose of the state; how schooling and education should contribute towards that state, nor anything on Arnold's view of the relationship between parent and master.

Reeve (1988 - Doctoral thesis of unpublished correspondence)

Reeve's Ph.D is a treasure trove of Arnold's correspondence. Stanley's *Life* was a collection of 341 letters, but Reeve uncovered another 630 letters - most of which remain unpublished.⁷⁴ His work includes helpful analysis of Arnold in his pre-Rugby days, although he asserts that the definitive biography of Thomas Arnold as a boy remains to be written. Part One of his thesis deals with Arnold from his birth until he leaves Laleham to take up his post at Rugby (1795-1827). Amongst the sources found by Reeve in this period are some 34 letters written by Arnold during his schooldays at Warminster and later at Winchester. This is noteworthy as Stanley does not give his readers any correspondence from Arnold prior to his time as a Fellow at Oriel College, Oxford.⁷⁵

Reeve's study of Arnold's correspondence leads him to conclude that there are some inaccuracies, both of fact and of interpretation, in Stanley's, Whitridge's and Wymer's biographies. He notes that Stanley never knew Arnold as a boy, and was possibly influenced by his knowledge of whom he was to later become.

⁷⁴ The amount of work which Reeve put into his Ph.D thesis is astonishing and he saves following researchers considerable leg-work. For example, regarding the location of Arnold's correspondence he notes: The largest collections of letters are those held by the Bodleian Library, Rugby School, and the Brotherton Library at Leeds. The Bodleian has the biggest single collection of Arnold's correspondence and contains significant groups of letters written to his friends, particularly J.T. Coleridge and F.C. Blackstone, and also to one of his publishers, Joseph Parker. The Rugby School collection is miscellaneous and includes, among other MS material, the two previously mentioned Notebooks used by Stanley in preparing *The Life*. The letters held by the Brotherton Library are chiefly those written by Arnold to members of his family, and his friend George Cornish. A.J.H. Reeve, "Aspects of the Life of Dr Thomas Arnold (1795-1842) in the Light of the Unpublished Correspondence" (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Hull, 1988) 6.

⁷⁵ Reeve, *Aspects of the Life*, 26, 28.

Reeve argues that much of Bamford's and Wymer's biographies present a distorted picture of Arnold. He shows they both follow Stanley's contention that Arnold was a serious boy during childhood, but argues Stanley was in error about this. He suggests Stanley's boyhood was so unusual that he was unable to relate to Arnold's, which was perfectly normal and filled with boyhood pranks.⁷⁶

A significant point of interest in the first section is how Arnold was deeply affected by the assassination of the Prime Minister Spenser Perceval. It appears that Perceval was a committed Christian who would not compromise in various matters of State. Reeve comments:

Arnold's view of Perceval's conduct foreshadows his own belief in the unity of Church and State, since it derives from the conviction that real Christian belief must express itself in all of a man's actions, public as well as private.⁷⁷

As will be shown in the following chapter, Arnold's beliefs about the primacy of Christ's sovereignty affected his view of the ideal nation-state, and subsequently influenced his approach to educating the boys at Rugby.

As mentioned above, it was Bamford who first recorded the incident between Arnold and the student, March, which has since coloured perceptions of the Headmaster. However, in his thesis, Reeve overturns the received version of the celebrated March case. The rough facts of the case which Bamford reported were gleaned from *The Northampton Herald* which was a strong-Tory paper and naturally opposed to Arnold, who was of a more 'Whiggish' persuasion. The paper was alarmed that Arnold had used the birch eighteen times on the boy, who, it appears was then so unwell that he could not attend school for two days.

In fact the unpublished correspondence throws new light on the whole situation, including the fact that March was only given more of the birch than usual because the instruments were worn out, that the form master (Bird) was positive that March was lying when Arnold sought confirmation of what had actually been studied in class, that March was not so ill that he had to be in the

⁷⁶ Reeve, *Aspects of the Life*, 54.

⁷⁷ Reeve, *Aspects of the Life*, 82.

sick-bay, as well as a number of other mitigating circumstance unknown to, or wholly overlooked by, Bamford.⁷⁸

In summary, Reeve's thesis has much to commend to it. The entire volume is more than five hundred pages long and it provides an essential compendium to Stanley's work, and balances the later criticisms of Bamford and Chandos. However, while making a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Arnold's life and character, it draws almost nothing from Arnold's sermons and does not touch directly on the question of how Arnold's faith shaped his view of what makes a good education.

McCrum (1989 - education)

Michael McCrum, having been Headmaster of Tonbridge School for eight years and of Eton College for ten, as well as a teacher of classics at Rugby and later a governor of the school, was extremely well qualified to write his *Reassessment*.⁷⁹ His own practical experience in the field of teaching and running a school influenced his research and writing, such that *Reassessment* is a comprehensive review of Arnold and description of him as headmaster. This is immediately evident from the chapter divisions, which include The School, Headmaster, Teaching and Discipline.

However McCrum's first chapter 'The Man' should not be overlooked. In it he neatly summarises Arnold's views on church and state, and he notes and emphasises the point that the dominant features of Arnold's personality were 'his deep religious conviction of Christ's divinity, and the integrity and intensity that this gave him.'⁸⁰ This is in contrast with Bamford who had asserted that Hooker, Coleridge, Niebuhr and Bunsen were the four men who most influenced Arnold.⁸¹

McCrum's view seems more in line with Arnold's own correspondence and sermons. For example, Arnold wrote in one letter:

I am quite well, and enjoying my work exceedingly. May I only remember that, after all, the true work is to have a daily living faith in Him whom God sent. Send me a letter to tell me fully

⁷⁸ Reeve, *Aspects of the Life*, 234-5.

⁷⁹ Michael McCrum, *Thomas Arnold 'Headmaster - A Reassessment'* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1989).

⁸⁰ McCrum, *Thomas Arnold*, 13.

⁸¹ Richard Hooker (c.1554-1600), Samuel T. Coleridge (1772-1834), Barthold Niebuhr (1776-1831) and Chevalier Bunsen (1791-1860) see: Bamford, *Thomas Arnold*, 191-206.

about you and yours; it is sad that we can never meet, but we must write oftener.⁸²

Arnold's reference to *the true work* as having 'a daily living faith in Him whom God sent' is a direct quotation from the gospel of John.⁸³ Here Arnold reveals, almost in a throwaway comment, the influence that Jesus Christ had on him - he considered faith in Christ the essence of true work. McCrum rightly places a greater emphasis on the influence Jesus Christ had on Arnold.

McCrum's *Reassessment* is useful for the purposes of this thesis in two particular ways. First, it focuses the reader's attention on Arnold's 'day job', which was the business of being headmaster and running a school. There are fewer external distractions because Arnold's engagements with the Oxford Movement or his churchmanship remain largely unconsidered. Second, McCrum is able to sympathise with, and appreciate, Arnold in a way that non-headmasters cannot. He understands the demands of the job, the pressures from parents, staff and trustees and is able to comment authoritatively on Arnold's successes and failures.

The significant weakness of McCrum's *Reassessment* is that Arnold's faith in Christ, while noted and correctly emphasised, is not examined to see the role it had in shaping Arnold's pedagogy. McCrum acknowledges Arnold's faith in Christ, but does not offer any suggestions as to how it influenced his practise and informed the way Arnold tried to shape the culture of the school. This thesis seeks to do precisely that.

Copley (2001 - theology and education)

Terence Copley's *Black Tom* narrates both Arnold's successes and failures as headmaster and churchman, and recounts Arnold's theology concerning his churchmanship with a clarity that had not been done since Campbell in 1927.

Copley divides his work into four sections. First, a chronological summary of Arnold's life; second, an in-depth examination of Arnold as educator; third, an assessment of Arnold as theologian; finally, a detailed

⁸² Stanley, Letter to Coleridge September 17, 1832 in *Life of Doctor Arnold*, 189.

⁸³ 'Then they said to him, "What must we do, to be doing the works of God?" Jesus answered them, "This is the work of God: to believe in him whom he has sent."' John 6:28, 29 (RSV)

comment about whether Arnold deserves his place in the Headmaster 'hall of fame.'⁸⁴

Copley rightly identifies the main theme that this thesis will develop. 'It is possible, from the sermons and the way in which Arnold structured Rugby School, to reconstruct his view of spiritual development.'⁸⁵ He observes that for Arnold Religious Education 'is effected by the whole school community, not merely classroom lessons', that 'teachers should not be in the old master-slave relationship', that a school could be a 'temple of God', although just like the Jerusalem Temple 'it could become corrupted and harm its members.'⁸⁶ Unfortunately Copley devotes only four pages to describing this theme of Arnold's Christian convictions and how they influenced his view on education as a whole. This thesis will examine Arnold's Christian faith more closely in direct connection to its influence on Arnold's pedagogy.

Copley's *Black Tom* is commendable in its breadth and depth of description of Arnold as a son, brother, husband and father. However, the chief criticism of *Black Tom*, for our purposes, is that the division of Arnold as Headmaster and Arnold as Theologian plays directly into the idea that Arnold's Christian faith was divorced from, or did not sufficiently inform, his 'day job'. Although Copley does seek to show how Arnold's faith affected his work as headmaster (see comments above), the decision to divide Arnold's life and thinking into two parts (headmaster and theologian) inadvertently creates the impression that Arnold's theology was divorced from his headmastership. This thesis will show that Arnold's faith in the person and teaching of Jesus Christ was the bedrock upon which his educational views and practice were established.

Conclusion

The various works considered here all contribute to our understanding of Arnold. For the main part however, they deal with particular aspects of his life. Stanley and Reeve together provide the greatest insight into Arnold's thinking as revealed through his correspondence, but they do not analyse Arnold's faith nor consider how it had an impact on his pedagogy. In Stanley's

⁸⁴ Copley, contra Bamford, concludes that Arnold does deserve to be counted amongst England's greatest headmasters.

⁸⁵ Copley, *Black Tom*, 156.

⁸⁶ Copley, *Black Tom*, 160, 159, 158.

case this would have been impossible anyway, for his goal was to show 'what was characteristic of Arnold', not to write an analysis of his beliefs or a description of his headmastership - and he had to consider the feelings of Arnold's family who were all still living. Stanley and Reeve both take a positive view of Arnold, and this is helpfully balanced by Bamford's more robust criticisms.

In the case of Fitch and McCrum, Arnold's skills and talents as headmaster come largely to the fore, but with little emphasis on Arnold's faith being the foundation on which Arnold developed his views on education and Rugby school culture. In the case of Campbell and Copley, Arnold's theology, while correctly describing his churchmanship, is largely absent when considering his pedagogy. The other works either lack objectivity (Strachey and Chandos) or provide a more sweeping account of Arnold than what is aimed for in this thesis.

Thus our question remains: How did Arnold's faith in Christ implicitly and explicitly shape his view of what makes a good education? It is to this question that we now turn, considering the four aspects of Arnold's Christian faith listed below, and how these formed his judgement of what makes a good education, with reflections on what might be learnt for today.

Arnold's views on:

- God's purpose for the state, education, schools and relationship between parent and master.
- Christ as educator.
- The nature of the school boy (human nature).
- The role and place of discipline in God's world (including schools).

Chapter Two:

The purpose of the state, universities, schools and education.

'Every kingdom divided against itself is laid waste; and no city or house divided against itself will stand'⁸⁷

'Let the little children come to me, do not hinder them: for to such belongs the kingdom of God.'⁸⁸

'And whatever you do, in word or deed, do everything in the name of the Lord Jesus.'⁸⁹

'I hold myself bound to influence, so far as I may be able, the working of a great experiment, which will probably ... affect the whole country. I hold myself bound to prevent, so far as in me lies, the establishment of more sectarian places of education, which will be the case if you have regular colleges for Dissenters; and yet Dissenters must and ought to have Degrees; and you shut them out from Oxford and Cambridge.... *Nothing more reasonable than that national education should be in accordance with the national religion.*'⁹⁰

To consider Arnold's views about the place of education within the nation, it is first necessary to understand the kind of nation he believed would make the ideal society. As noted in the introduction, Arnold believed that 'he is perfectly educated who is taught all the will of God concerning him, and enabled, through life to execute it.'⁹¹ But what did Arnold think was God's will for society?

What is the ideal society or nation-state for people to live in? For Arnold this questions (and its answer) was essential for establishing the right kind of education. Arnold recognised that education is linked to the kind of society desired by its citizens. Until it has been determined what kind of nation is desired, the education of its citizens will be unclear, nor will educators have a clear goal in their own minds as to what they are trying to achieve.

Therefore this chapter first considers Arnold's beliefs about the nature and place of the state, then discusses more generally his view of university education; his beliefs on the role of schools generally (and Rugby particularly); and concludes with Arnold's understanding of the relationship between schoolmasters and parents.

⁸⁷ Matthew 12:25 (RSV)

⁸⁸ Mark 10:45 (RSV)

⁸⁹ Colossians 3:17 (RSV)

⁹⁰ Stanley, Letter to Reverend Dr Hawkins, 4th November 1835 in *The Life of Dr. Arnold*, 262 [On Arnold's acceptance of the office in the London University - emphasis mine].

⁹¹ Undoubtedly, he is perfectly educated who is taught all the will of God concerning him, and enabled, through life to execute it. And he is not well educated who does not know the will of God, or knowing it, has received no help in his education towards being inclined and enabled to do it. Arnold, 'Sermon XVI - Deut 11:19' *Sermons Volume III*, 138

Arnold's beliefs regarding the role of the state

Arnold believed that it was God's will that 'the kingdoms of the world become the kingdoms of Christ; not partially or almost, but altogether, in spirit and in truth.'⁹² He acknowledged that in the first century A.D. the church was very distinct from the Roman world around it, but maintained that God's will is that the societies around the world become truly Christian in spirit and behaviour. He acknowledged that his theory of government could only be partially realised⁹³ but wished to be understood on a vital point. By making society Christian, he did not mean the state should have as its goal making all people in that society hold to the same 'religious truth'; he was well aware that unless someone is personally convinced of a particular truth, it is impossible for that person to believe it, and both immoral and impossible for the state to compel such a belief to be held.

By making society Christian, Arnold meant that the state had to seek 'man's highest perfection.'⁹⁴ Any 'state aiming at the highest perfection of its members could require them to conform their conduct to a certain law; and it may exclude from its benefits those who dispute this law's authority. Nor does it in the least matter whether the law so enforced be of the state's own invention, or be borrowed from some other nation, as many countries have adopted the Roman law.... A state may as justly declare the New Testament to be its law, as it may choose the institutes and code of Justinian. In this manner the law of Christ's church may be made its law...'⁹⁵

Arnold's view of the state contrasted sharply with that held by a number of his contemporaries, including the Archbishop of Dublin, Richard Whately, and the later Prime Minister, William Gladstone. Their view was 'that the object of political society is the preservation of body and goods.'⁹⁶ In other words, the role of the state is to preserve only; a) the lives of its inhabitants (for life is a gift from God), and; b) the property of its inhabitants (because theft is prohibited by God and resources are given for humanity's enjoyment).⁹⁷

⁹² Thomas Arnold, *Sermons – Volume II*, vi. The Scripture quoted is Revelation 11:15. See also: Stanley, letter to Rev. F.C Blackstone, 14 March, 1828, *Life of Dr Arnold*, 51

⁹³ Arnold, *Lectures on Modern History*, 65.

⁹⁴ Arnold, *Lectures on Modern History*, 67.

⁹⁵ Arnold, *Lectures on Modern History*, 69

⁹⁶ Arnold, *Lectures on Modern History*, 64

⁹⁷ See Frederic Bastiat's 'The Law' for a very succinct account of the theory.

For those who held this view, the government's role was to be largely limited to providing a national defence force, and the policing of property laws. Arnold's view of the ideal state was considerably more expansive. Not only should the state protect life and property, it should be thoroughly Christian. He said:

When I speak then of a state requiring obedience to the Christian law, it means that the state, being the perfect church, should do the church's work; that is, that it should provide for the Christian education of the young, and the Christian instruction of the old; that it should, by public worship and by a Christian discipline, endeavour as much as may be, to realise Christianity to all its people.⁹⁸

Arnold maintained that the state had to seek out the *whole* well-being of its people, its role was to look out for the physical health, the intellectual achievement and the moral advancement of its people. Of these, the moral improvement of the people was its most important function,⁹⁹ 'and how can any Christian man lend himself to the propagating or sanctioning a system or moral knowledge which assumes that Christ's law is not our rule, nor His promises our motive of action?'¹⁰⁰

In short, Arnold believed the ideal society was a Christian one.¹⁰¹ Because the supreme earthly authority in any individual's life is the state (chiefly meaning the legislature and executive branches of government), it is crucial that the state should conform to Christ's law and way of life for the best possible society to exist.¹⁰² It would not be necessary for all individuals to consent that Christ had risen from the dead to be part of that society, but it

⁹⁸ Arnold, *Lectures on Modern History*, 74.

⁹⁹ Arnold, *Lectures on Modern History*, 66.

¹⁰⁰ Stanley, Letter to Crabbe Robinson 15th March, 1837 in *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 305.

¹⁰¹ Bamford notes that Arnold was 'a profound believer in Church-State, with Christianity the core of citizenship, and English Christianity the core of English citizenship.' Bamford, *Thomas Arnold*, 194.

Copley likewise comments that for Arnold 'State and Church are not divorced: they have common ground in the promotion of moral values. The Christian monarch or parliament excludes the interference of a priesthood; the Church, without a priesthood, needs a Christian ruler or parliament.' Copley, *Black Tom*, 245.

¹⁰² 'The moral character of government seems to follow necessarily from its sovereign power; this is the simple ground of what I will venture to call the moral theory of its objects. For as in each individual there is a higher object than the preservation of his body and goods, so if he be subjected in the last resort to a power incapable of appreciating this higher object, his social or political relations, instead of being the perfection of his being, must be its corruption; the voice of law can only agree accidentally with that of his conscience, and yet on this voice of law his life and death are to depend; for its sovereignty over him must be, by the nature of the case, absolute.' Arnold, *Lectures on Modern History*, 65

Arnold's view was that the state has supreme authority over its citizens and subjects, therefore it had authority over Christians. This would lead inevitably to conflict of conscience for Christians in any given state, because the morality of the state would inevitably be imposed upon them by the laws of the state. The only solution was for the power of the State to be united with the wisdom/goodness of the Church. A state should be seeking the highest goodness of its citizens, and for Arnold, that meant following New Testament teachings.

would be necessary that citizens were morally obedient to the law.¹⁰³ The aim of the state ought to be the 'good' of its people - not that they should accede to certain religious truths, and the 'highest moral perfection' would only be found in Christ's person and his teaching.¹⁰⁴

Put simply, Arnold wanted England to be a Christian nation, and therefore he wanted Englishmen to be Christian, to be part of Christ's church. 'The object of the church is not to raise men to heaven, but to make them fit for heaven; this is a work to be done in time and in the world.'¹⁰⁵ The perfect state would also be the perfect church, a society where all members sought to love God and their neighbour as Christ had taught them to. Arnold spoke against those opponents to the Christian faith who wanted Christianity removed from the public sphere.

They [profane men] would unchristianise public and private life, as much as possible, to get rid of the restraints of Christ's law. They try to banish the name of Christ from our conversation, and to substitute, which is a much more serious matter, other principles of action in the room of his.... Pretending to honour religion, as they call it, they say that they would keep it to its own proper sphere, forgetting, or choosing to forget, that its sphere is everywhere and every thing; and that, if we are Christians only in church, or on Sundays, and write as Christians only in our prayers and sermons, and talk as Christians only with the poor or over a sick-bed, we may just as well be heathens altogether. In the same way, these persons would remove from the business of life, - from the language of laws and magistrates, from the acts of public and professional bodies, all that declares our obedience to Christ. They would thus, in fact, dethrone him, and set up in his room worse than idols of the old heathen times. It matters not what name you give it, nor with how fair a robe you cover it; but be assured of this, that so soon as we do not worship God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that very moment, and in exact proportion to our neglect of him, do we become the worshippers and the servants of evil and of death.¹⁰⁶

Arnold's firm conviction was that Christianity should not be, and could not be, confined to the margins of life. As he would later write in a letter to the

¹⁰³ Arnold, *Lectures on Modern History*, 74. It is worth noting here, although lacking space to develop the point further, that Arnold had a view of citizenship that held not all individuals in a realm were citizens of it. For instance, not all who lived in the Roman Empire were citizens of that Empire. The payment of taxes did not automatically make you a citizen. *Vis-a-vis*, Acts 22:25-29. He did not hold to the view 'no taxation without representation.'

¹⁰⁴ Arnold hoped that central Christian truths would also come to be believed by the citizens of the state, but he argued that 'we may consent to act together, but we cannot consent to believe together... that union in action will in the end very often lead to union of belief is most true; but we cannot ensure its doing so.' Arnold, *Lectures on Modern History*, 67-8.

¹⁰⁵ Arnold, *Lectures on Modern History*, 79.

¹⁰⁶ Arnold, 'Sermon XXXII - Mark 10:29,30', *Sermons Volume II*, 262-3.

Hertford Reformer, 'What I wish far above all other things, is that men would talk, writer, and act on political subjects in the fear of God; as if they were forthwith going to stand before His judgment.'¹⁰⁷ For him, any talk of Christianity as being a 'church only concept' or 'Sunday only religion' was simply an attempt to dethrone Christ from his rightful place as sovereign ruler.¹⁰⁸

Arnold's central belief that 'the kingdoms of this world must become the kingdoms of Christ' informed his view of what the state should be, and he was thus eager for the population to be comprised of Christians. Furthermore, because the state ought to be Christian, it followed that it ought to provide Christian education for its citizens. Hence the next section considers Arnold's view of education, beginning with the universities.

Arnold's view of University education

In 1835 only two universities in England, Oxford and Cambridge, could confer degrees. It was not possible to study at these institutions unless the students were confirmed members of the Church of England.¹⁰⁹ Arnold had spent many years thinking about a national education, and because he wanted a Christian nation, it naturally followed that he wanted University education to be Christian in teaching and in practise. Thus when he was appointed to the board of the University of London he wrote to Coleridge stating that he utterly abhorred the idea of education without Christianity.¹¹⁰ To Hawkins he communicated that there is 'Nothing more reasonable than that national education should be in accordance with the national religion.'¹¹¹ To his friend Platt, he penned 'it is manifest to me that all our education must be Christian, and not be sectarian; I would ask no questions as to what denomination of Christians any student belonged; or if I did, I should only do it for the express purpose of avoiding in my examination all those particular points, in which I might happen to differ from him.... I hold with Algernon Sidney that there are but two things of vital importance, those which he calls Religion and Politics,

¹⁰⁷ Arnold, *Miscellaneous Works*, 517-18.

¹⁰⁸ There is little mention of Augustine or Luther in Arnold's works. He appears to have been influenced more by Samuel Coleridge (he was at Oxford with Sam's nephew, John Taylor) and to some extent by Richard Hooker. On the whole however, Arnold found little of value amongst the English Divines and felt that John Bunyan was 'a man of far greater genius than any of them, and to have given a far truer and more edifying picture of Christianity.' Stanley, *The Life of Dr. Arnold*, 295.

According to Stanley, Arnold only started to formalise his ideas (about church and state) positively from about 1835 onwards, and his clearest work on the subject was published posthumously in his 'Fragment on the Church.'

¹⁰⁹ Thomas Hughes, in *Tom Brown at Oxford*, has one of his characters fail his viva at Oxford for being unable to recite any one of the 39 Articles of the Church of England.

¹¹⁰ Stanley, Letter to Mr. J. Coleridge, 18th November, 1835 in *The Life of Dr. Arnold*, 262

¹¹¹ Stanley, Letter to Reverend Dr Hawkins, 4 November, 1835 in *The Life of Dr. Arnold*, 262

but which I would rather call our duties and affections towards God, and our duties and affections towards men; *science and literature are but a poor make-up for the want of these.*'¹¹²

To explicate this point further, Arnold believed little could be learned from history and literature without a moral yardstick by which various actions could be judged as being right or wrong. The correct yardstick was the Christian faith. In writing to a colleague about the University of London, Arnold explained his position:

If *Arts* means merely logic, or grammar, or arithmetic, or natural science, then of course a degree in Arts implies nothing whatever as to a man's moral judgement or principles. But open the definition a little farther,-include poetry or history or moral philosophy,-and you encroach unavoidably on the domain of moral education; and moral education cannot be separated from religious education.... Meaning by Religion what the Gospel teaches one to mean by it, it is nothing more or less than a system directing and influencing our conduct, principles, and feelings, and professing to do this with sovereign authority, and most efficacious influence. If then I enter on the domain of moral knowledge, I am thereby on the domain of religious knowledge; and the only question is, what religion am I to follow? If I take no notice of the authority and influences of Christianity, I unavoidably take a view of man's life and principles from which they are excluded, that is, a view which acknowledges some other authority and influence,- it may be of some other religion, or of some philosophy... but in any case, I have one of the many views of life and conduct, which it was the *very purpose of Christ's coming into the world to exclude.*'¹¹³

The importance of what is being said here must be noted. Arnold believed there was no pointing learning history unless one learnt *from* history, and to learn about the Spanish Inquisition, or the French Revolution, or the abolition of slavery without passing moral judgement was impossible. Either slavery is good or it is evil. However to determine which it is, some standard must be applied, and Arnold argued that the standard must be Christian. If not, he could have no truck with it. As he continued in the next paragraph:

[How] can any Christian man lend himself to the propagating or sanctioning a system or moral knowledge which assumes that Christ's law is not our rule, nor His promises our motive of action? This then, is my principle, that moral studies not based on

¹¹² Stanley, Letter to J.C. Platt, 5 February, 1836 in *The Life of Dr. Arnold*, 267, 268 [emphasis mine].

¹¹³ Stanley, Letter to Crabbe Robinson 15 March, 1837 in *The Life of Dr. Arnold*, 305. (emphasis mine)

Christianity must be unchristian, and therefore are such as I can take no part in.¹¹⁴

Unfortunately for Arnold, it was precisely because he could not persuade the other university trustees to accept his view regarding the moral nature of a liberal education that he felt compelled to resign as a trustee of the University:

I cannot disguise from myself that the University of London, in its public capacity, cannot be considered as a Christian institution, although it may happen that all its branches individually may be Christians; and therefore I must withdraw from it.... To see my hopes for this new University thus frustrated, is one of the greatest disappointments I have ever met with. But I cannot be reconciled to such a total absence of all confession of the Lord Jesus, and such a total neglect of the command to do all things in His name, as seems to me to be hopelessly involved in the constitution of our University.¹¹⁵

In summary, Arnold believed university education should be open to Christians of all denominations and he was opposed to the development of sectarian colleges. He desired that the universities should produce Christian graduates with a knowledge of the New Testament and believed that moral knowledge should be conveyed to the students throughout their studies (or at least, in their liberal arts courses). The moral knowledge to be conveyed had to be based upon the gospel, for if it was not then it was unchristian in nature and as such would not lead to the best possible society, nor would it be fulfilling the Biblical command to do all things in the name of Christ Jesus.

Despite his disappointment with the University of London, Arnold was able to shape the education of the boys in a decidedly more Christian way at Rugby, and his views on education and schooling generally will now be considered.

¹¹⁴ Stanley, Letter to Crabbe Robinson 15 March, 1837 in *Life of Dr. Arnold*. 305.

¹¹⁵ Stanley, Letter to the Bishop of Norwich 7 June, 1838 in *Life of Dr. Arnold*. 332.

It is worth noting that Arnold had been assisted in his thinking on this subject by his friend Richard Whately, Archbishop of Ireland. Whately had introduced lessons and examinations about Christian evidences into Irish schools, and this was successful beyond all his expectations, - despite the Catholic-Protestant divide. His letter to Arnold at the beginning of 1838 clearly shows his influence on Arnold's thinking.

E.J., Whately, *Life and Correspondence of Richard Whately D.D.*, (London, Longmans, Green & Co, 1866) 408-413.

Arnold's general beliefs concerning education

Arnold, while upholding the importance of being literate, held that the ability to read and write did *not* make someone educated.

Many persons confound reading and writing with education: they consider themselves as having been engaged in educating the poor; and then, when they see that their labours have produced little fruit, they are half bewildered when they hear it said that this is a plain proof that to educate the poor can do no good...¹¹⁶

In a later sermon on 'Education and Instruction', Arnold further considered the question of what education is, saying that he was in favour of building schools and training schoolmasters, for it is a blessed work 'so to do.' Arnold argued 'it is perfectly possible to give to all our people the knowledge of reading and writing, that these are things any child can learn so long as there be someone to teach him. It is such a blessing to be able to read, that it is a work of Christian charity to help others to be able to do so.'¹¹⁷ However, he warned that it is important to have realistic hopes of what may be achieved by this.

Teaching others to read and write would be an act of Christian charity, but would it be a Christian education? Arnold proclaimed 'no, it [Christian education] is no other than training our children in life eternal; making them know and love God and can schools and schoolmasters do this as surely as they can read and write? No, a school cannot do what the church has never been able to do. It is possible to give children elementary religious *instruction*, but that is not the same as religious education. Every child can be taught the main truths of the gospel and the catechism, and this is not to be despised. Yet it is religious *instruction*, not education.'¹¹⁸ Arnold made the following distinction:

To give a man a Christian education is to make him love God as well as know Him, to make him have faith in Christ, as well as to have been taught the facts that He died for our sins and rose again; to make him open his heart eagerly to every impulse of the Holy Spirit, as well as to have been taught the fact, as it is in the Nicene Creed, that He is the Lord and giver of spiritual life. And will mere lessons do all this, when the course of life and all examples around, both at home and at school, with a far more

¹¹⁶ Arnold, 'Sermon XXXIII - Luke 11:52', *Sermons Volume II*, 274.

¹¹⁷ Arnold, 'Sermon VIII - Matthew 15:16', *The Christian Life, its hopes etc*, 64.

¹¹⁸ Arnold, 'Sermon VIII - Matthew 15:16', *The Christian Life, its hopes etc*, 63 - 71.

mighty teaching, and one to which our natural dispositions far more readily answer, enforce the contrary?¹¹⁹

In short, education, properly understood, was much more than instruction. A parent might *instruct* his child in the Christian faith, but *educate* him in the ways of the world, by his quick temper, his propensity to drink, etc. In a similar manner, a schoolboy received an education not just from his teacher's lessons, but from his example; not just from his classmates in class, but their behaviour outside of class in the school and society at large. Education was much more than instruction. In the classroom the master could, at best, instruct well. But a Christian education had to be observed and experienced. As Arnold put it 'a school does its best to educate as well as to instruct, when not only does the teacher's example agree with his teaching, but when he [endeavours] to make the example and influence of the boys ... agree with it also. If he can succeed in this, his school will be to many a place of real Christian education: it will have taught them to know Christ, and helped them to love and obey Him.'¹²⁰

In summary, Arnold believed education to be the work of the entire society. A Christian society required a Christian education - parents needed to set a Christian example to their children, schoolmasters needed to set a Christian example to their students. A Christian government had to legislate on Christian principles. There was value in giving *instruction* in the Christian faith, but instruction was not the same as education. At Rugby, Arnold sought to develop a culture of Christianity by teaching the boys Christian truths in the Chapel on Sundays, and by applying Biblical principals to nineteenth century English society. The next section considers more fully how he attempted to do this.

Arnold's pedagogy at Rugby

It might be thought that if Arnold believed true education meant knowing God's will and being strengthened to do it, then the only textbook he would allow at Rugby was the Bible, or that the only classes he would consider worthwhile were Divinity classes. However, such a view of Arnold's understanding of Christian education would be totally erroneous. The reading of the Bible would not, *on its own*, afford a schoolboy a proper understanding

¹¹⁹ Arnold, 'Sermon VIII - Matthew 15:16', *The Christian Life, its hopes etc*, 63 - 71.

¹²⁰ Arnold, 'Sermon VIII - Matthew 15:16', *The Christian Life, its hopes etc*, 71.

of the Christian faith, nor would it make him rightly educated. Arnold explained his understanding of a Christian education as follows:

It was thought that the great and allowed end of education was sufficiently fulfilled by what was called teaching the Bible; that thus we should know God's will respecting us, and be also disposed to practise it. But here the study of the Bible being considered as synonymous with 'religious education' it followed, on the one hand that all those things which were necessarily taught besides the Bible... were looked upon as distinct from religion; and, on the other hand, that they who held 'religious education' to be all that was needed as a matter of necessity, taught in schools for the poor, nothing but the Bible.¹²¹

Arnold went on to say that very often two groups of people would appear, one saying that teaching the Bible is religious instruction and that is all that needs to be learnt, the other saying 'We do not profess to interfere with religious education, *that* we leave to the parents; we merely wish to give education in science, both physical and moral.'¹²² However, Arnold argued that neither approach is adequate. Learning only the Bible would not sufficiently educate someone, but learning without the Bible would leave one equally uneducated - with a knowledge of certain facts but not knowing how to use them in his own life.

Taking the scripture "You shall teach [God's commands] to your sons, talking of them when you sit in your house and when you walk along the road and when you lie down and when you rise up" as his text, Arnold argued that the law of Deuteronomy was both *the rule and the application* of God's will for the Israelite's lives. Yet Englishmen now lived in a different age and place, they could only learn the *rule* or the principle from God's word, but the application will vary from place to place, time to time. 'Hence it is clear, that neither is the Bible alone sufficient to give complete religious education, nor is it possible to teach history, and moral and political philosophy, with no reference to the Bible, without giving an education that shall be anti-religious. For, in the one case, the rule is given without the application; in the other, the application is derived from a wrong rule.'¹²³

¹²¹ Arnold, 'Sermon XVI - Deut 11:19', *Sermons – Volume III*, 139.

¹²² Arnold, 'Sermon XVI - Deut 11:19', *Sermons – Volume III*, 140.

¹²³ Arnold, 'Sermon XVI - Deut 11:19', *Sermons – Volume III*, 143.

How [do we] reconcile a profession of religious or Christian education, with the devotion of so much time to studies not supposed to be religions, and certainly not in themselves necessarily Christian. Now the reason is, because the words of a rule are much sooner learnt than the power of applying it universally; and that whilst the Scripture itself alone furnishes the former, the latter must be sought for in sources exceedingly various...¹²⁴

Arnold was consistent in his belief that knowing God's will and doing it was the wisest and ideal form of education. An understanding of God's will for the Israelites would furnish a rule to be followed in nineteenth century Great Britain, but an understanding of English society was necessary for the correct *application* of that rule. As an example of what that might mean in practice, Arnold would doubtless *not* argue for the building of fences on rooftops, as the Israelites were commanded to do.¹²⁵ To do so would be confounding the *rule* (take care to make your house safe) with the *application*. However he would probably have argued for the fencing of swimming pools or verandahs on the basis of this instruction.

Furthermore, Arnold was not in favour of the boys only learning Scripture because that would convey the idea that only reading Scripture was important or doing God's work. On the contrary, all the areas of study available to the boys at Rugby were to be considered part of God's world and to be studied with equal diligence as bringing glory to Him. Hence he introduced a prayer at the beginning of each day with the Sixth Form, which included these words:

O Lord, who by Thy holy Apostle, has taught us to do *all things in the name of the Lord Jesus and to Thy glory*, give Thy blessing, we pray Thee, to this our daily work, that we may do it in faith, and heartily, as to the Lord and not unto men.¹²⁶

Similarly, in a sermon to the boys Arnold reminded them:

In your case, what will please your earthly parents is the very thing that will please your heavenly father: to do the work that is set before you, to labour to improve yourselves, that is what God wills you to do, that is what Christ commands, that is what the Holy Spirit if you pray to him will help you to perform: and if you do it with such prayers and in the hope of pleasing God and Christ, then you are doing it in the name of the Lord Jesus, then it is your religious duty,

¹²⁴ Arnold, 'Sermon XVI - Deut 11:19', *Sermons – Volume III*, 144.

¹²⁵ Deuteronomy 22:8 (RSV)

¹²⁶ Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 466 [emphasis mine]

and you are acting religiously and leading religious lives every day, in the common business and amusements which the day brings forth.¹²⁷

Arnold's approach to education at Rugby was not to make the education all about reading the Bible (although the Bible was read and taught). His approach was to break down the divide between 'secular' and 'sacred' - he desired that the boys understood that their daily work was something that God was interested in and it was their duty to do it to the best of their ability. As he explained in a sermon:

Why should we leave science, and politics, and literature, only in the hands of unbelievers? In the hands of Christians, they each hold only their proper place, and are made to teach lessons of true wisdom. "I have more understanding than my teachers, for thy testimonies are my study," are the words of the Psalmist: and I am sure that if a Christian and unbeliever, gifted with equal natural powers, were to apply themselves together to the study of any branch of moral knowledge, the Christian would follow it with a far better understanding of it, and would draw from it conclusions far more just, and more profitable.¹²⁸

In other words, Arnold did not want more books written on Christian themes - but more books written by Christians. He did not desire more bishops in the House of Lords, but more Christians to be in the House of Commons.

Arnold's view of the relationship between parents and teachers

When it comes to education, there can sometimes be disagreement over who has ultimate responsibility for the child's education - the parent, the teacher or the state. McCrum, as an ex-headteacher, noted that a public school headmaster is accountable to five groups of people, these being 'pupils, parents, governors, former pupils and the wider community.' Of these, the headmaster is, after the pupils, accountable to the parents.¹²⁹

Arnold had clearly defined views on the subject, and these were informed by the Bible. Arnold believed that parents, and fathers in particular, have the responsibility to bring their children up in fear and knowledge of the Lord.¹³⁰ As a result of this Biblical instruction, Arnold had a very high view of

¹²⁷ Original Manuscript (Blue notebook - Vol. 1), Temple Reading Room, Rugby School, Sermon XII

¹²⁸ Arnold, 'Sermon XX - 1 Corinthians 10:33' *Sermons - Vol. I*, 6th ed. (London, Fellowes, 1850) 237

¹²⁹ McCrum, *Thomas Arnold*, 93

¹³⁰ 'Fathers, do not provoke your children to anger, but bring them up in the discipline and instruction of the Lord.' Ephesians 6:4 (RSV) see also Colossians 3:20-21

the parents and recognised their need to be kept informed of their son's progress. Arnold introduced the practice, initially at the end of every half-year, but later becoming monthly, a report home of their general character. It was a short letter if the boy's character was good - at considerable length if he had cause of complaint.¹³¹ A number of letters remain which show the pastoral heart Arnold had for the boys. For example, when one boy left school Arnold wrote to his father, saying:

Dear Sir, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of writing to you to express my very high opinion of your son's principles and conduct, and my sincere regret that he should have left Rugby without my having had an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with him by his being under my own immediate instruction in the Sixth Form. I was very glad to give him the prize for composition in his Form, and to see the very creditable place which his name holds on the Class Paper. With my sincerest wishes for his future happiness, and hoping that I may not altogether lose sight of him in after life...¹³²

On another occasion, when a boy had been quite unwell, Arnold wrote:

I think that you will agree with me that it would be better for him not to return to Rugby till his health is fully re-established. I say this, hoping most sincerely that he may be well enough to return immediately after the holidays...¹³³

Stanley records a conversation Arnold had with one of his former students about how important each new boy was to him:

It is a most touching thing to me to receive a new fellow from his father - when I think what an influence there is in this place for evil, as well as for good.... If ever I could receive a new boy from his father without emotion, I should think it was high time to be off.¹³⁴

As another example of Arnold's concern for the boys' well-being, he wrote a circular letter to the parents of the boys requesting their cooperation in reducing clandestine feasting which took place when boys were promoted from one form to another. These feasts cost money, which the boys sought from their parents. Arnold asked that a 'cap' be placed on the amount of money to be sent, and that the master of the house be informed 'of the time

¹³¹ Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 60. See also a passing reference to Arnold's letter writing in: Arthur Hort, *Life and Letters of Fenton John Anthony Hort* (London, Macmillan & Co. 1896) 28.

¹³² Francis Lawley, *Life and Times of 'The Druid' (Henry Hall Dixon)* (London, Vinton & Co, 1912)53

¹³³ L.J. Trotter, *A leader of Light Horse:Life of Hodson of Hodson's Horse* (Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1901) 8-9

¹³⁴ Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 98

when these feasts are to take place; in order that nothing improper, and particularly no wine or spirituous liquors, may be introduced at them.¹³⁵

Concerning the relationship between parents and teachers, Arnold always acknowledged that the parents had ultimate responsibility for the education of their children. He alluded to this principle on a number of occasions. For example, he told the boys that it was good to obtain a good opinion and respect from their masters - those, who by age and situation were capable of forming a right opinion, and 'whom it is your duty to try and satisfy, as they are, by God's appointment, *under your parents*, your teachers and judges.'¹³⁶

Arnold also took care to be sensitive to the views and beliefs of those who held differing religious views to his own. He took the time to write to the father of a boy who had unitarian principles, because Arnold had such contrary views to the boy's father, and he did not wish to teach him anything pertaining to Christ and his world, without his father's foreknowledge and approval. He wrote:

I had occasion to speak to your son this evening on the subject of the approaching confirmation; and, as I had understood that his friends were not members of the Established Church, my object was not so much to persuade him to be confirmed, as to avail myself ... on the subject of his state as a Christian....But on enquiring to what persuasion his friends belonged, I found that they were Unitarians. I felt myself therefore unable to proceed, because, as *nothing would be more repugnant to my notions of fair dealing, than to avail myself indirectly of my opportunities of influencing a boy's mind contrary to the religious belief of his parents*, without giving them the fullest notice, so, on the other hand, when differences of belief are so great and so many, I feel that I could not at all enter into the subject, without enforcing principles wholly contrary to those in which your son has been brought up.¹³⁷

The relationship a headmaster establishes with the parents of his students is critical to the longterm success of the school. Parents need to have confidence that the staff are teaching their children in accordance to their general beliefs and wishes. Perhaps it is useful here to quote a passage from

¹³⁵ McCrum, *Thomas Arnold*, 96

¹³⁶ Arnold, 'Sermon IX - Romans 1:16', *Sermons Volume II*, 60

¹³⁷ Stanley, Letter to parent 15 June, 1829 cited in *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 142 (emphasis mine)

Tom Brown's Schooldays, which reflects a general view of why people sent their sons to Rugby in this period.

Shall I tell him [his son] to mind his work, and say he's sent to school to make himself a good scholar? Well, but he isn't sent to school for that - at any rate not for that mainly. I don't care a straw for Greek particles, or the digamma; no more does his mother. What is he sent to school for? Well, partly because he wanted to go. If he'll only turn out a brave, helpful, truth-telling Englishman, and a gentleman, and a Christian, that's all I want.¹³⁸

In conclusion, this chapter has argued that Thomas Arnold's views of education were first and foremost shaped by his view of how society should be. He firmly believed that it was God's will that citizens in a certain society should relate to each other in a Christian way. The overriding text which shaped his view was his understanding that 'the kingdoms of this world are becoming the kingdoms of Christ.'

Arnold's approach to University and secondary education was shaped therefore by his conviction that education had to be Christian. It was not just to have 'religion' or 'religious studies' as part of the education - the whole process was to be Christian. The Bible was to be read and studied as God's word, taking the gospel for granted as a true record. However, while the reading of the Bible would furnish general rules, it was necessary to read and learn other things, particularly those things relevant to modern society - that the rules might be properly applied. For example, the importance of paying taxes was the lesson to be learnt from Jesus' comments on the subject - not that taxes had to be paid *to Rome*. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that what was owed to God needed to be paid also.¹³⁹

Finally, Arnold recognised that he was answerable to the parents of the boys for their sons' education. As such he undertook the responsibility of regularly writing to the parents of boys (especially in the Sixth Form) and was considerate of their views - seeking never to take advantage of his position to make a boys opinions 'repugnant to that of his father.'

Perhaps the final word on the subject of using Scripture in education should be left to Arnold:

¹³⁸ Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, (London, Dean and Sons, c.1980) 60.

It is also worth reading, if one be so inclined, the approval Bishop Stanley of Norwich had of Arnold's influence on his son. Arthur Stanley (ed), *Memoirs of Edward and Catherine Stanley*, (London, John Murray, 1880) 301-02.

¹³⁹ 'Therefore render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's.' Matt 22:15-22 (RSV)

O that we would know and remember to search the Scriptures, not for truths, but for lessons; not for doctrines to be used always and by all persons, as eternally and universally true; but for medicines, fitted to our own particular want, be it what it may! That we would feel that there are many of God's words, containing the divinest truth for those who need them, and at the time when they do not need them, become a savour of death unto death! If we were so to read the Scriptures, how it would quicken our knowledge of our own hearts on the one hand, and from how much superstition, and fanaticism, and uncharitableness of every kind, would it save us on the other.¹⁴⁰

For Arnold, education meant much more than simple instruction or preparing schoolboys for various vocations, irrespective of whether it was a manual or cerebral vocation. Education meant preparing youngsters for their various responsibilities with respect to their work, their duty to their neighbour, and above all, their duty to God. It meant educating them to be Christians in a Christian nation.

¹⁴⁰ Arnold, 'Sermon XXXI - Matt 12:12', *Sermons Volume III*, 272.

Chapter Three: Christ the educator.

When, what, how and why someone should learn from Jesus Christ.

'You call me Teacher and Lord; and you are right, for so I am.'¹⁴¹

'And I know Christ to have been so wise and so loving to men,
that I am sure that I may trust His word,
and that what was entirely agreeable to his sense of justice and goodness, cannot,
unless through my own defect, be otherwise agreeable to mine.'¹⁴²

Everyone who has written about Thomas Arnold has recognised his Christian faith as influential in shaping his thinking and character. Even those biographies that deal mainly with education are unable to leave completely to one side Arnold's views on Christ and the church, because they too make up part of who Arnold was. Similarly, those who have written mainly about Arnold as a churchman have been unable to avoid commenting on his practise as a headmaster, as the role cannot be separated from the person.

It was noted in the introduction Arnold believed that what made a person truly educated was the knowledge of God's will for his life, and being helped to do it. Later Arnold also made the further observation that:

To give a man a Christian education is to make him love God as well as know Him, to make him have faith in Christ, as well as to have been taught the facts that He died for our sins and rose again; to make him open his heart eagerly to every impulse of the Holy Spirit, as well as to have been taught the fact, as it is in the Nicene Creed, that He is the Lord and giver of spiritual life.¹⁴³

For Arnold the aim of education was not just to inform the head, but also to move the heart. The aim of this chapter is to show some of the ways in which Arnold believed that faith in Jesus Christ should determine a person's education. Included amongst the questions considered here are; how important did Arnold think it was for someone to know God?¹⁴⁴ Was there a certain point in life that Arnold felt was the most profitable to introduce a child to Jesus Christ? Did Arnold think Jesus Christ could teach an English

¹⁴¹ John 13:13 (RSV)

¹⁴² Stanley, Letter June 21, 1835, in *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 246-7

¹⁴³ Arnold, Sermon VIII - Matthew 15:16 in *The Christian Life, its hopes etc*, 63 - 71.

¹⁴⁴ 'Have we been so long time with him, and yet have we not known him? He who hath seen Christ, hath seen the Father: how say we then, show us the Father'

Thomas Arnold, 'Sermon XXVI - Ephesians 5:17' in *Sermons Volume II*, (London, Reeves & Turner, 1874) 202-3.

schoolboy anything about life, death, courage or the way to respect his parents? Can Christ educate a schoolboy beyond the classroom and the schoolyard? What virtues of Christ did Arnold think the boys should learn? Finally, to what extent did Christ's command 'let the little children come unto me' influence Arnold's thinking?

This chapter is divided into four sections which deal with the time, the matter, the manner, and the purpose of recognising Christ as Teacher and Lord. Namely, *when* did Arnold believe should someone learn from Christ?

What did Arnold believe should be learnt from Christ?

How could a schoolboy learn from Christ?

And finally, *why* did Arnold believe someone should learn from Christ?

When should someone learn from Christ?

Some individuals may feel that it is not right to influence youngsters about Jesus Christ until they have reached a certain maturity, while others would perhaps argue that learning about Jesus Christ is fine for the nursery, but not appropriate for teenagers or adulthood. This section discusses the age at which Arnold believed a child should begin to learn from Jesus Christ, and conversely, considers if there was a point when Arnold believed it was right to stop learning from Him. In other words, at what age did Arnold believe one should begin, and cease, learning from Jesus of Nazareth - what should be the *span* of Christ's teaching?

Jesus Christ declared himself to be Teacher and Lord, and it is clear from Arnold's sermons and correspondence that he saw Him as the supreme authority from whom people should learn and that he thought the right age for someone to learn of Jesus Christ was from a very young age. In a sermon entitled 'Christ our friend', Arnold proclaimed that great encouragement ought be taken from Christ's words 'let the little children come to me.' He said:

Surely there is something for the youngest child to think of with comfort, when he recollects how Jesus, far from turning children away from him, 'took them up in his arms, and laid his hands upon them, and blessed them.' Or was it for nothing that this was recorded... and so [we] dismiss it from our thoughts as a mere fact of history? [It] is the assurance to every child, so soon as he can think or understand who Christ is, that he may go boldly to beg for his Saviour's mercy; that Christ calls him to him, and is ready to

take him into his care, and to bless him with an enduring blessing.¹⁴⁵

Arnold had particular reason to believe it was right to learn of Christ from a young age. When he was five years old, Arnold's father had asked Arnold to read him a sermon on the text "Boast not thyself of tomorrow." Within a week his father had died, reminding Arnold thereafter of the uncertainty of life and the truth of God's word, and Jesus Christ's teaching in particular, as a much needed guide through unexpected dark valleys.¹⁴⁶

In addition, on the subject of bringing the young to Christ, Arnold wrote in a letter to his friend J.T. Coleridge:

'My dear friend I cannot allow that those opinions [of mine], which I earnestly believe, after many years' thought and study, to be entirely according to Christ's mind, and most tending to His glory, and the good of His Church, shall be summarily called heretical; and it is something of a trial to be taxed with perverting my boys' religious principles, when I am labouring, though most imperfectly, *to lead them to Christ* in true and devoted faith; and when I hold all the scholarship that ever man had, to be infinitely worthless in comparison with *even a humble degree of spiritual advancement*.¹⁴⁷

One ought not pass quickly over this letter. Arnold here states, quite explicitly, that he was labouring to bring his students to Christ in true and devoted faith, and that he held all the scholarship a man ever had to be infinitely worthless in comparison with even a humble degree of spiritual advancement. Applying this statement to himself then, we may infer that for all his success at Oxford, Arnold considered it to be comparatively worthless compared to knowing Christ Jesus.

To his students, Arnold referred to Jesus Christ as the teacher to whom the boys must listen if they were to receive a good education and pointed out to the boys on different occasions the role model that Christ should be for them. For instance, he acknowledged that although little was known of 'our Lord's early life yet what we do know is not told merely to satisfy our curiosity.'¹⁴⁸ From the account Luke gives us about Jesus' three day visit to the

¹⁴⁵ Thomas Arnold, 'Sermon I - 2 Corinthians 5:14' in *Sermons Volume III*, (London, Reeves & Turner, 1876) 5.

¹⁴⁶ Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 452.

¹⁴⁷ Stanley, Letter to Mr. J. Coleridge, 1 July 1835 in *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 249. (Emphasis mine)

¹⁴⁸ Arnold, 'Sermon IX - Romans 1:16' *Sermons - Volume II*, 61

temple in Jerusalem,¹⁴⁹ Arnold proclaimed 'we find a lesson given as to the very main points of our duty when young.'

Arnold explained further:

It is worthwhile to notice what these points are: they are first, an earnest desire to improve himself, that so he might be fit for his Father's service, when he should be arrived at riper years; and, secondly, a dutiful obedience to his parents, while he was as yet under age.¹⁵⁰

It is noteworthy the way Arnold applies this lesson to the lives of his listeners. He does not speak of Jesus' example as one far removed from them, but one which is very similar to their own. Jesus earnestly desired to improve himself that he might be fit for God's service - 'you ought to do the same' is the very clear message from the sermon. Furthermore, although Christ had not yet reached maturity, he was dutifully obedient to his parents - the implication being equally clear - young boys ought to follow his example and be dutifully obedient to their parents also.

There is nothing remarkably profound in Arnold's applications, except that they are tailored specifically to a young audience. Arnold's view of Jesus and what his students should learn from him was simply that Jesus, when he was twelve years old, did a number of things which are recorded, and they were recorded for *the boys'* education, for *their* learning.

Arnold continued in this sermon to explain how schools often turned the affections of their students away from their parents, by spending such long periods in the presence of one another, rather than in their parents' company.¹⁵¹ He had observed that the boys fancied it was unmanly to be influenced by their mothers and sisters, and a bluntness and hardness which was at first feigned later became, at last, a natural attitude towards their parents. A separation grew up between those who were sent to boarding school and their families at home. To counter this, Arnold pointed them to Christ's example:

Remember, that when Christ took our nature upon him, and went through every stage of human life to show us our peculiar duties in each, one of the only two things recorded of him, before he arrived

¹⁴⁹ Luke 2:41-52 (RSV)

¹⁵⁰ Arnold, 'Sermon IX - Romans 1:16' *Sermons Volume II*, 61

¹⁵¹ It will be noted here, that Arnold was speaking particularly of boarding schools, where students spend very long periods of time in each other's company and away from their parents.

at manhood, is his dutiful regard to his parents: "He went down to Nazareth and was subject unto them."¹⁵²

The other lesson which Arnold drew to his students attention, was that it was Jesus' pleasure 'to gain such knowledge as would fit him for the discharge of his duty in active life hereafter.'¹⁵³

Arnold's line of thinking ran like this. Jesus Christ is the only example we have in history of a perfect human being. Even the brief account of his three day visit to Jerusalem when he was twelve years old has value. There are lessons to be learnt from his behaviour at age twelve, just as much as there are lessons to be learnt from his parables or his crucifixion. In this case, the boys should learn that Jesus was respectful towards his parents, and took every opportunity to gain what he needed to learn, to prepare himself for his later work.

Learning from Christ about death and forgiveness

However it would be a mistake to think that Arnold thought only children and schoolboys should learn from Jesus Christ, and that they only needed to learn from Him how to be obedient to their parents or to prepare themselves for life beyond school. On the contrary, Arnold evidently thought a person should learn from Christ throughout his or her entire life. Perhaps Arnold's very high view of Christ is most strikingly revealed in his willingness to speak to the boys about death. On the day immediately following the death of one of his students, Arnold drew the boys' attention to the certainty of death, and the need they all had to make sure that their lives were lived in faithful obedience to Christ, so that it should never be said of them 'that it were good for us if we had never been born.'¹⁵⁴ This sermon is quoted at some length in *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, where it proves to be the turning point for Tom Brown as he reflects on how he is living his own life. It should be noted that Arnold's remarks were certainly not that Hatch, the boy who had just died, had lived such as it would be

¹⁵² Arnold, 'Sermon IX - Romans 1:16' *Sermons Volume II*, 64

¹⁵³ Arnold, 'Sermon IX - Romans 1:16' *Sermons - Volume II*, 64.

¹⁵⁴ Arnold, Sermon XVI - Mark 14:21, *Interpretation of Scripture*, 174.

said it were better if he had not born, but rather the converse. That it could be said truly of Hatch 'how good it is for Christ's redeemed to have been born!'¹⁵⁵

Nor was Arnold's faith in Christ only evident in the pulpit, it became particularly apparent before his own death. Stanley records Arnold quoting the gospel of John in the minutes before he died, "And Jesus said unto him, Thomas, because thou hast seen thou hast believed; blessed are they who have not seen, and yet have believed."¹⁵⁶

Arnold believed that knowledge of Jesus Christ would help anybody through death, and there is no doubt that he drew on his faith as he lay dying. In doing so, he was only practicing what he had preached for many years. As a particular instance, some eight years earlier, he had written a letter to a man who had once been his landlord, and who was then dying. Arnold wrote that should he ever be visited by God with either a very painful or dangerous illness, he had always thought that the best thing he could do would be to read the gospel accounts of the sufferings and death of Christ. Because there he would learn from Christ the very great suffering a man can bear, and indeed the fact that it is natural for a man to not want to die – as Christ himself made clear in the garden of Gethsemane. In other words, men and women can learn from Christ how we can be supported and comforted when we too have to bear the burden of terrible pain or approaching death.

In addition, Arnold wrote that we learn from Christ the importance of forgiving 'all who may have wronged us or affronted us. There is no concealing the fact that Christ taught us that unless we forgive, we cannot be forgiven.' In his letter Arnold acknowledged that the recipient might consider him to be taking a liberty in writing it, but asked him 'to remember, that as I hope Christ will save me, so He bids me try to bring my neighbours to Him also; and especially those whom I have known, and from whom I have received kindness.'¹⁵⁷

To return to the time of his own death, Arnold, speaking to his son, Thomas, said "Thank God, Tom, for giving me this pain: I have suffered so little

¹⁵⁵ Arnold, Sermon XVI - Mark 14:21, *Interpretation of Scripture*, 172. See also:

Stanley, *Life of Arnold*, 252. Arnold writes to Stanley four days before the death of Hatch:

"I think it probable that about the time when his old companions are beginning their new course of earthly life at the Universities, Hatch will be entering upon the beginning of his eternal life.... I believe that his work is over, and am no less persuaded that his rest in Christ is sure."

¹⁵⁶ Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 460. Here the Doctor quotes from John 20:29, the encounter the Apostle Thomas had which dispelled his doubts about Jesus being risen.

¹⁵⁷ Stanley, Letter 2 July 1834 in *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 225-6

pain in my life, that I feel it is very good for me: now God has given it to me, and I do so thank Him for it.”¹⁵⁸

Arnold’s sermons and letters, as well as his personal example, demonstrate that he saw Christ’s death as an event by which all people may be educated, at any point in their lives, and particularly when facing death themselves. His view was that anyone could learn how to face death peacefully and courageously by looking to Jesus Christ as the One who had conquered death.

A conclusion can be drawn then, regarding Arnold’s conviction of the age at which a person can and should learn from Jesus Christ. The *span* of learning from the master, Arnold felt, ought to begin in childhood and run until the time of one’s death. A boy can learn how to behave towards his parents, and how to prepare for adult life beyond his boyhood; whilst all could learn from the gospels, amongst other things, the way in which to face death courageously - knowing and believing in Christ’s resurrection.

Christ’s virtues

This section considers some of the virtues that Arnold believed English schoolboys should learn from Jesus of Nazareth. Although numerous biographies have been written about Arnold, relatively little attention has been paid to those characteristics of Jesus Christ that Arnold thought were worthy of emulation. These virtues are common themes in Arnold’s sermons and four of them are considered here. They are honesty, faith, hard work and goodness.

Honesty

Arnold drew upon Jesus’ example to bring forth in the boys the importance of telling the truth. In 1830 he proclaimed from the pulpit:

I have observed, from time to time, that the sin of falsehood is not considered among you so ***hateful as Christ*** teaches us to regard it... It is really awful to witness the quantity of direct falsehood, of equivocation, unfair concealment, false representations, and all the train of similar wickednesses, of which too many of you continually allow yourselves to be guilty. Your aim seems to be, not to tell the truth, but to steer dextrously between the truth and a lie. And this is as foolish as it is wicked. It is impossible to steer between them: for he who once allows himself any other object than the truth, who

¹⁵⁸ Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 461.

suffers himself to try to make his neighbour believe something which is not exactly the real fair state of the case, is already a liar in his heart.¹⁵⁹

In contrast to Christ's other virtues, this strict adherence to the importance of telling the truth *has* been noted by various biographers. Stanley observed:

Lying, for example, to the masters, he made a great moral offence; placing implicit confidence in a boy's assertion, and then, if a falsehood was discovered, punishing it severely, - in the upper part of the school, when persisted in, with expulsion. Even with the lower forms he never seemed to be on the watch for boys; and in the higher forms any attempt at further proof of an assertion was immediately checked: "If you say so, that is quite enough – *of course* I believe your word" and there grew up in consequence a general feeling that 'it was a shame to tell Arnold a lie – he always believes one.'¹⁶⁰

Reeve, in reading through some of Arnold's notebooks, recorded some of the offences for which a boy would be flogged, one of which was lying. Reeve writes:

The specific crimes mentioned are as follows: "Smith mi. for bullying"; "Flogged Adam for hissing"; "*Brooke for forging a note*"; "Marshall mi. for writing in closet"; "*Hammond for a lie*"; "*Marshall ma. for a lie*"; "Parker, Crompton for drinking."¹⁶¹

It is noteworthy that of the crimes committed, three are for dishonest behaviour and are considered as equally deplorable as bullying and drunkenness. Furthermore, it is evident from a sermon preached in 1840 that Arnold never changed his view that lying is a wicked sin, and that honesty is of great importance. He quoted deliberate falsehood as a sin which could corrupt a school and noted Ananias and Sapphira as an example of how God detests dishonesty, observing that Ananias' lie could not have done any harm to anyone - it was only told to make himself look good. In the case of Sapphira, her lie was told to support her husband. However, what was the outcome? How did the apostle Peter view this falsehood? 'How is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? Behold, the feet of them which have buried thy husband are at the door, and shall carry thee out.'¹⁶² From this

¹⁵⁹ Arnold, 'Sermon XV - Matthew 10:36' *Sermons – Volume II*, 111. (emphasis mine)

¹⁶⁰ Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 65.

¹⁶¹ Reeve, 'Aspects of the Life', 253. (emphasis mine)

¹⁶² Acts 5:9 (RSV)

Arnold drew an important lesson to the boys' attention, that it was quite wrong to suggest that telling lies which did not hurt anyone were in some way acceptable - on the contrary, all dishonesty was wrong.¹⁶³

Faith

Another of Christ's virtues which Arnold valued and sought to communicate to the boys at Rugby, and indeed, to encourage them to develop even after leaving Rugby, was that of *faith* - specifically, *faith in God*.¹⁶⁴ For Arnold, Jesus Christ was the one person in whom an individual could place absolute faith and confidence. In a letter written to 'someone with doubts about Christianity', Arnold expressed clearly his confidence in the knowledge and wisdom of Jesus Christ:

I think that with us the authority of Christ puts things on a different footing [compared with the Stoic and Epicurean philosophers]. I know nothing about the origin of evil, but I believe that Christ did know... And I know Christ to have been so wise and so loving to men, that I am sure that I may trust His word, and that what was entirely agreeable to his sense of justice and goodness, cannot, unless through my own defect, be otherwise agreeable to mine. Further, when I find him repelling all questions of curiosity, and reproving in particular such as had a tendency to lead men away from their great business, -the doing good to themselves and others, and I am sure that if I stood before Him, and said to Him, "Lord, what can I do? For I cannot understand how God can allow any to be wicked, or why He should not destroy them, rather than let them exist to suffer;" that His mildest answer would be, "What is that to thee-follow thou Me."¹⁶⁵

It is clear from these words that Arnold held Christ to be one far greater and wiser than himself, and that he recognised some things had to be taken on faith. The apostle Peter may not have understood why the apostle John was

¹⁶³ Thomas Arnold, 'Sermon V - Luke 19:45-47, Christian Schools', *The Christian Life, Its hopes, its fears, and its close*. (London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1878) 52, 53.

It appears that Arnold had some measure of success in educating the boys to hate lying. A student of the school would later write: "It has been said that Dr. Arnold was a man to whom boys felt it impossible to lie. I was never exposed to the temptation, but suspect that if I had been, it would have been the hatred of lying in which I was educated, and no occult influence in Dr. Arnold's personality, which would have deterred me from telling him an untruth."

John Luther Vaughan, *My Service in the Indian Army, and after*. (London, Constable, 1904) 3

¹⁶⁴ Arnold, 'Sermon I - Hebrews 11:1' *Sermons Volume II*, 1.

This entire sermon is a helpful discussion of what faith is, how it is displayed in life in ways the boys may not realise and is more common than they think, and proceeds to show how faith in one's parents is a fore-runner to faith in God.

¹⁶⁵ Stanley, Letter of 21 June 1835, in *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 246-7.

to live longer than he was, but Jesus' reply was simple enough 'If it is my will that he remain until I come, what is that to you? Follow me!'¹⁶⁶

In his sermons to the boys, other examples are common in which he urges them to have faith in God's Son. On knowing God, Arnold directed the boys to understanding that they can only know God by knowing Christ. He said if he were talking to heathens who did not know anything of Christ, he would say 'look at the wonder of his creation' or read the lives of good and wise men: see how good and noble thoughts have struggled against temptation. However, since he was not talking to heathens he could direct them to something better than *shadows*, he could show them Jesus Christ, who was the one to make God known.

We have got a truer likeness of him, a perfect image: all the glory, all the goodness of God is revealed to us in the person of Christ. Have we been so long time with him, and yet have we not known him? He who hath seen Christ, hath seen the Father: how say we then, show us the Father... And are you too young to understand this, too young to love God in Christ, too young to desire the happiness of heaven? No, not too young...¹⁶⁷

Thus we can see that faith in God was a virtue that Arnold taught his young charges to develop, urging them to understand that God could be known and trusted, but only through his son, Jesus Christ.

Diligence in work

A further characteristic of Christ, which Arnold prized, was the importance of hard work. Arnold's attitude towards work was such a feature of his character that his second eldest son, mentioned it in the opening pages of his autobiography, even though he was writing over fifty years later.

For us, and for all of his children, the precept flowed steadily from his life, still more than from his lips, "Work." Not, work at this or that - but, work.¹⁶⁸

During 1830 Arnold preached five sermons reflecting on a particular instance of Jesus' ministry recorded in Mark's gospel. The text reads 'And he said unto them, Come ye yourselves apart into a desert place, and rest a

¹⁶⁶ John 21:22 (NIV)

¹⁶⁷ Arnold, 'Sermon XXVI - Ephesians 5:17' in *Sermons Volume II*, 202-3.

¹⁶⁸ Thomas Arnold (Jr), *Passages in a wandering life* (London, Edward Arnold Bedford Street, 1900) vi.

while.’ From this text Arnold suggested three things were worthy of particular attention.

Firstly, Christ’s constant diligence and activity, “they had no leisure so much as to eat”; secondly, the nature of Christ’s employment: interaction with other men for the purpose of doing them good in body or soul: and thirdly, his thinking it right, from time to time, to have intervals of rest: “Come ye yourselves apart into a desert place, and rest a while.”

Arnold applied the first lesson to that group of boys which had no zeal for their work. Those who, if obliged to work, did so unwillingly or begrudgingly. The lesson which this group required ‘is the first and simplest part of the text: to learn diligence from Christ’s example; to follow their work more earnestly, and in a better spirit; to think that there is something in life, higher and better than the enjoyments of a beast.’¹⁶⁹

Arnold drove the lesson home with the following words:

Such then, is Christ’s daily lesson to us: not to be idle or slothful in our work; and to sanctify it by doing it as to him, and not as to man. ... Let us work earnestly, for so did Christ; but let us work also as doing God’s will, and for the improvement of our own souls, or else our work will not be such as He will acknowledge at his coming.¹⁷⁰

Nor was this virtue of work limited just to the example of Christ in Mark’s gospel. In a sermon entitled ‘Christ’s words and Christ’s work’ Arnold reminded the boys of Christ’s words ‘I must work the works of Him that sent me while it is day; the night cometh when no man can work.’ Applying this to the boys’ lives, Arnold explained:

We must work, and that diligently; but not Satan’s works nor our own, but the works of God. The soil must bear much, but its strength must not be wasted on weeds, however luxuriant; it must bear that which will be kept forever. We must work while it is day, for the night is coming. Even while working busily, and working the works of God, we must not forget our own infirmity... the day which is so happy to us, and we would fain hope not unprofitably wasted, is yet hastening to its close. It is of no less importance that we should remember that the time is soon coming when we cannot work, than that we should avail ourselves of the time present, to work in it to the utmost.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ Arnold, ‘Sermon XXI - Mark 6:31’ *Sermons – Volume II*, 162.

¹⁷⁰ Arnold, ‘Sermon XXIV - 1 Peter 5:6,7’ in *Sermons Volume II*, 187.

¹⁷¹ Arnold, ‘Sermon XXI - John 9:4’ *Interpretation of Scripture*, 226-7.

It may be thought a curious observation in the twenty-first century, that one can learn from Jesus Christ the value of diligence and hard work, however for Arnold this characteristic of Christ was an obvious one, and one worthy of imitation.

Goodness

In his second sermon on the Mark 6:31, Arnold acknowledged that most men could not *go around* doing good, because they have their own homes and their own settled callings. 'Yet still our Lord's example is applicable to us all, more or less: it teaches us what sort of employment is always, perhaps, so far as we can pursue it, the most useful to our souls...for that which Christ did *always*, Christ's servants cannot certainly be justified if they *never* do.'¹⁷²

Arnold felt it was more important that a student periodically visited the poor, than devoted his whole time to studying, reading and learning. 'I can imagine hardly any thing more useful to a young man of an active and powerful mind, advancing rapidly in knowledge, and with high distinction either actually obtained or close in prospect, than to take him - or much better that he should go of himself - to the abodes of poverty, and sickness, and old age.'¹⁷³

Arnold believed a schoolboy would find 'in those narrow, close and crowded rooms, amidst noise and disorder, and sometimes want of cleanliness also, he will see old age, and sickness and labour, borne, not only with patience, but with thankfulness through the aid of the Bible and the grace of the Holy Spirit.'¹⁷⁴ His preaching had an effect on at least some of his hearers, most notably Spencer Thornton. Thornton's commitment to following Christ had a remarkable effect the boys' behaviour generally and led to his visiting the poor on regular occasions.¹⁷⁵

However, it was perhaps in the application of this text that Arnold made an interesting observation regarding the boys' behaviour towards each other, and how their behaviour would change if they were like Christ, and went around doing good to one another:

¹⁷² Arnold, 'Sermon XXIII - Luke 5:29 in *Sermons Volume II*, 171.

¹⁷³ Arnold, 'Sermon XXIII - Luke 5:29 in *Sermons Volume II*, 177.

¹⁷⁴ Arnold, 'Sermon XXIII - Luke 5:29 in *Sermons Volume II*, 177-8.

¹⁷⁵ W.R. Fremantle, *Memoir of the Rev. Spencer Thornton, M.A.*, (London, Nesbit & Co, 1850). 9-13. Thornton's influence on the school was quite remarkable, and is unique amongst the memoirs for recording a young man's regular visits to the poor and sick.

Now it is with reference to this view of life especially that Christ's particular employment, the mixing with others, not for business or for pleasure, but to do them good, is so exceedingly useful. In direct personal intercourse with our neighbours, when this is borne in mind, every day's work is complete in itself.... At school, in your common dealings with one another, how much rudeness and unkindness, and encouragement of evil and discouragement of good, would instantly be done away, if as Christ was, so were you in this world!¹⁷⁶

This section has considered some of Christ's virtues that Arnold believed English schoolboys should also develop. In other words, if the question be asked 'what should a schoolboy learn from Christ?' Arnold would reply (amongst others): a dutiful obedience to one's parents; a willingness to prepare for life after the schoolyard; a high view of the truth and the need to be honest; faith in Christ for God to be known; the need to be diligent in work; and to *be* good and *do* good, interacting with others for the sole purpose of doing them good.

How should a schoolboy learn from Christ?

Turning our attention from when and what someone should learn from Christ, this section briefly considers Arnold's beliefs about *how* someone should learn from Jesus. Arnold believed that a schoolboy should learn from Christ principally by:

- A) His example, and;
- B) His teaching.

In his sermon 'Christ our pattern' Arnold stated "that the readiest way to have our faith so strengthened as that it may cast out the evil of our hearts, is to make ourselves fully acquainted with all the particulars of Christ's character and life and death. There we shall see perfect wisdom and perfect goodness presented to us in a form which the humblest can understand and love."¹⁷⁷

Arnold maintained that a schoolboy could learn from all aspects of Christ's person and teaching, stating that 'The book in which we may read this is in our hands, and we can use it when we will. It hardly matters what particular chapter of the Gospels we open, for Christ's life is in every part of it more or less our pattern.'¹⁷⁸ Reading about Christ and putting oneself in the place of the disciples was Arnold's answer to how one should learn of Christ. So whether it

¹⁷⁶ Arnold, 'Sermon XXIV - 1 Peter 5:6,7 in *Sermons Volume II*, 184 - 86.

¹⁷⁷ Arnold, 'Sermon III - Matthew 18:19,20 in *Sermons Volume III*, 26.

¹⁷⁸ Arnold, 'Sermon III - Matthew 18:19, 20' in *Sermons Volume III*, 23.

was following Christ down to Jerusalem when he was twelve, or up the mount to hear his most famous sermon, or sitting at the table at the last supper, or listening to him pray in the Garden of Gethsemane - the best way to learn was to imagine oneself as a bystander or witness to all that he was doing.¹⁷⁹

Why learn from Christ?

Finally in this chapter, we consider the question 'why should a schoolboy learn from Jesus Christ?' Arnold believed that education is much more than just learning to read and write. In a sermon preached for the establishment of schools for the poor, Arnold expressed his view that teaching a child to read and write *was not the same as educating them*.¹⁸⁰

The point he was making was that nobody in the upper classes considered their children properly educated just because they could read and write. The schooling of their children would go on for some time afterward, because they still needed to get an education. Thus reading and writing *alone* ought never be thought of as an education - but merely the preparatory blocks for it.

Remembering Arnold's earlier statement that the object of education is to know God's will and be enabled to do it,¹⁸¹ the question *why should someone learn from Jesus Christ?* becomes clearer. Arnold implicitly answers it in his sermon 'Christ our pattern.'

[Christ] is shown to us, ever kind, ever patient, ever watchful for others, ever regardless of himself. May we not hope, if *we learn*, as we must do, thoroughly to love one so good, may we not hope that we shall grow ourselves to be more like him? May we not hope that when we are selfish, proud, unkind, indolent, heedless of God, the recollection of Christ may come upon our minds, and that we may fancy him saying to us ... 'Watch and pray, lest ye enter into temptation: the spirit truly is willing, but the flesh is weak?'¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ Arnold, 'Sermon III - Matthew 18:19, 20' in *Sermons Volume III*, 23.

'we may go about with him to the synagogue, through the streets, into the houses; we may sit with him at the table...'

¹⁸⁰ [Many] persons confound reading and writing with education: they consider themselves as having been engaged in educating the poor; and then, when they see that their labours have produced little fruit, they are half bewildered when they hear it said that this is a plain proof that to educate the poor can do no good... If we call our own children educated at the age when we commonly send them to school for the first time, if their education is completed at eight or nine years old, then may we call those educated who have been taught to read and write at our parish schools. But if reading and writing are not education, but the mere preparatory steps to it, then to talk of the education of the poor is to talk of a thing that does not exist...

Arnold, 'Sermon XXXIII - Luke 11:52', *Sermons Volume II*, 274.

¹⁸¹ Undoubtedly, he is perfectly educated who is taught all the will of God concerning him, and enabled, through life to execute it. And he is not well educated who does not know the will of God, or knowing it, has received no help in his education towards being inclined and enabled to do it.

Arnold, 'Sermon XVI - Deut 11:19' *Sermons - Volume III*, 138

¹⁸² Arnold, 'Sermon III - Matthew 18:19, 20' in *Sermons Volume III*, 27-8.

In other words, Arnold believed and taught that Christ is the only role model in whom one can find perfection. Only in Him would a boy find a teacher who is always kind, always patient, always thoughtful of others. Only in Him would a boy encounter someone who would continue to teach him in his adulthood; only in Him would a boy find a man that he should want to be like in every way, only in Him would a student find God's will revealed.¹⁸³ It was because Arnold believed Jesus was perfect in every way, not least in his character, that he wanted Rugby schoolboys to learn from Him, that they too might be like Him. So that 'when we are unforgiving, those words may sound in our ears, in which he stayed the anger of his disciples, when they would have called down fire on the Samaritan village; or, in which he prayed for those who reviled him and crucified him.'¹⁸⁴

In conclusion, this chapter has considered Thomas Arnold's beliefs about the person, the teaching, the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Arnold believed that a schoolboy should learn of Christ from childhood through until his death - this is the *span* of his teaching. He believed that a schoolboy should learn both from Christ's example and his teaching - this was *how* a boy would learn of Christ. Furthermore, he believed that Christ's personal characteristics were virtues that must be learnt and imitated, if a boy was to be considered properly educated. An educated individual was one who had Christ's honesty, Christ's faith in God, Christ's attitude to work and Christ's desire to be good.

Finally, Arnold believed the reason someone should learn from Christ was because He was the perfect person, the perfect role model - and because ultimately He was the only one who had the power to open up the grave. It was only through Christ that death, and the fear of death, could be conquered:

And in that calm power which, in his own good time, made the grave to give up its dead, in that voice which called into the darkness of the tomb 'Lazarus come forth' have we not a most comfortable warrant of what will happen to us, when the same power shall destroy death for ever, and the same voice shall reach to the lowest depths of our grave also, and bid us come forth like Lazarus?¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ We have got a truer likeness of him, a perfect image: all the glory, all the goodness of God is revealed to us in the person of Christ. Have we been so long time with him, and yet have we not known him? He who hath seen Christ, hath seen the Father: how say we then, show us the Father.

Arnold, 'Sermon XXVI - Ephesians 5:17' in *Sermons Volume II*, 202-3

¹⁸⁴ Arnold, 'Sermon III - Matthew 18:19, 20' in *Sermons Volume III*, 27.

¹⁸⁵ Arnold, 'Sermon III - Matthew 18:19, 20' in *Sermons Volume III*, 27.

Chapter Four:

Human nature - (including the nature of school boys).

'If you then, *who are evil*, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will your Father who is in heaven give good things to those who ask him!'¹⁸⁶

'Now instead of living to God, we by nature care nothing about God; we do not seek to please him, but ourselves or our friends; we do not make his will the rule of our conduct, but we follow either our own inclinations, or the opinions of other men; we live, in short, as if we had made ourselves and not as if God had made us. This is the corruption of nature, which makes us evil in the sight of God...'¹⁸⁷

The school, and the classroom especially, can be a difficult place in which to educate, particularly if initial presuppositions about students behaviour prove to be erroneous. A well-educated teacher therefore, according to Arnold, would know the nature of mankind and be particularly aware how it influences schoolchildren. What are we essentially like as humans? The question is an important one because if students are naturally disposed towards doing good, working hard, obeying their teachers' instructions, then the way in which the teachers view the pupils and the systems put in place to encourage them, or discipline them, will be based on an expectation of largely unquestioning compliance. However, if schoolchildren are prone towards being self-centred, idle, thoughtless and encouraging one another towards evil or indolent behaviour, then the way the teachers view the students and discipline them will take a different approach. In other words, if teachers have a right understanding of the nature of humanity, their teaching practice will probably lead to better classroom management and the right balance of motivating and disciplining their students.

Some of the questions considered in this chapter are: Did Arnold view humans as essentially good, who occasionally do bad things? Or did he think we are essentially sinful, but happen to do good things from time to time? To what extent did the Bible texts 'Putting away childish things' and 'Woe to those who lead others into sin' influence him? In a school, to what extent do drunkenness, idleness and slothfulness need to be struggled against?

It should be noted that all the biographers allude to the fact that Arnold believed human nature to be *fallen*.¹⁸⁸ However, there does not appear to be a common definition amongst them as to what *fallen human nature* means, and

¹⁸⁶ Matthew 7:11 (RSV - emphasis mine)

¹⁸⁷ Thomas Arnold, 'Sermon III - Genesis 6:5' *Sermons - Volume I* (5th. Ed - London, Fellowes, 1845) 28 - 30.

¹⁸⁸ Reeve, 'Aspects of the Life', 276 (endnote 122).

certainly not all commend Arnold for his preaching about sin. Bamford seems to equate original sin with the Old Testament teaching that God visits the sins of the fathers onto the children,¹⁸⁹ while McCrum opines ‘That there was too much insistence, especially in the earlier sermons, on sin, judgement, punishment, and eternal torment cannot be gainsaid.’¹⁹⁰

This chapter will outline Arnold’s view of human nature generally, followed by his view of the nature of the boys at Rugby. The latter half of the chapter considers Arnold’s understanding of 1 Corinthians 13:11 and Matthew 18:6, followed by his view on the problem of idleness and how he thought schoolwork should be generally understood.

Fallen Human nature

Given the absence of a clear definition of *fallen human nature* amongst the biographers, it is helpful to begin this section with a definition. The Christian faith centres on the person of Jesus Christ and what he did and taught. Regarding human nature, Jesus clearly taught that we are essentially evil in our nature, but we are not completely so. ‘Or what man of you, if his son asks him for bread, will give him a stone? Or if he asks for a fish, will give him a snake? If you then, who are *evil*, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will your Father who is in heaven give good things to those who ask him!’¹⁹¹

In this passage Jesus states explicitly that mankind is evil, but not completely so. Naturally, as a Christian, Arnold agreed with Jesus’ statement. However, it is important to note that when Arnold said he believed that mankind was sinful, or that human nature was *fallen*, he was *not* saying that mankind was completely wicked, or that even the worst ‘sinner’ cannot have some redeeming virtues - just as Jesus observed.

It will be shown in this chapter that Arnold did view human nature as *fallen* or *sinful* according to Jesus’ words above. That is, although mankind is

¹⁸⁹ T.W. Bamford, *Thomas Arnold*, (London, The Cresset Press, 1960) 109-11.

“You shall not bow down to [graven images] or serve them; for I the LORD your God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children to the third and the fourth generation of those who hate me, but showing steadfast love to thousands of those who love me and keep my commandments.” Exodus 20:5-6 (RSV) God’s warning to the Israelites appears to be that the sins of one generation would not go unpunished, even if the generation that committed them was not punished for them in their lifetime, the punishment would be carried over into the lifetime of their children or grandchildren. But this is not the same thing as fallen human nature.

¹⁹⁰ McCrum, *Thomas Arnold*, 49.

¹⁹¹ Matthew 7:9-11 (RSV) [emphasis mine]

capable of many good acts, we are by nature resistant to God, and the thoughts of our hearts do incline towards evil. For the purposes of this thesis, *fallen human nature* is defined as 'being careless towards God' and not 'believing in the one whom he has sent.'¹⁹²

Arnold's view of human nature

While at Laleham Arnold preached a sermon on the text 'The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth.'¹⁹³ In this sermon he stated clearly:

The reason why a Christian minister is so often obliged to point out to his hearers the sinfulness of man's nature, is because we are sinful, and we need to listen to the great Physician to find the proper course of treatment. Of course, its not a very pleasant subject, we'd rather think everything was going on alright. But although its not pleasant, it is useful, not the least because we are so unwilling, generally to attend to our state of character. Unwelcome truths require to be brought before our minds, that they may find in us a disposition to receive them at some time or other....

'The inclinations of man are evil from his youth.' So it was said by our Maker more than four thousand years ago; and it has been true ever since, down to this very hour. It is not only that we have something bad in us by nature, as well as something good, and that the bad under unfavourable circumstances often gets the better of the good; but there is so much more bad than good in us, that we should certainly go wrong if left to ourselves, and that the bias of our nature to evil is so strong, that it can only be corrected by changing the very nature itself; or in the words of Scripture by being born again of the Spirit. ¹⁹⁴

It is quite clear from this sermon that Arnold saw human nature as sinful, and that this needed to be brought to his audience' attention, with the hope they would approach the Physician for a remedy. However, should we conclude from this that Arnold only saw wickedness all around him? No, this would be a mistake because he went on to say:

But in order to clear our notions on about this point, we must understand what we mean by evil. I am very far from thinking that all sorts of evil are natural to man: malice is not so; deliberate cruelty is not so; falsehood, for its own sake, is not so. There are many virtues which are more common than the contrary vices; and therefore it would not be true to say that man is wholly inclined to evil, and

¹⁹² Arnold, 'Sermon II - Genesis 3:15', *Interpretation of Scripture*, 14.
Stanley, Letter to Coleridge September 17, 1832, in *Life of Doctor Arnold*, 189. Cf John 16:9

¹⁹³ Genesis 8:21 (KJV)

¹⁹⁴ Arnold, 'Sermon III - Genesis 6:5' - *Sermons, Volume I*, 27-30.

wholly turned away from good. But every thing is properly called good or evil, according as it answers or defeats the purpose for which it was made.¹⁹⁵

Arnold clearly saw and acknowledged much that was good in mankind, as the words above indicate. Nevertheless, he believed a thing was good if it achieved the purpose for which it was made - for instance, a *good* apple tree is one which bears much fruit. A *bad* apple tree is one which does not - no matter how pretty its blossom may be. The question then, for Arnold, was what were we made for, and what may be expected of us?

In the same sermon he gave his answer:

We were made for our Maker's glory, after his own image, that we should make his will the rule of our lives, and his love and anger the great objects of our hope and fear; that we should live in him, and for him, and to him; as our constant Guide, and Master, and Father. If we answer these ends, then we are good creatures; if we do not, we are bad creatures.¹⁹⁶

This sermon reveals that Arnold believed man to be sinful in nature, but not *completely* sinful. We are not as wicked as we could be, but we do not live for God's glory. Arnold evidently believed an individual should live for God's glory, living for God and not for himself or the world, a belief which he continued to hold throughout his life.¹⁹⁷ In 1839 he wrote to a friend asking him to "pray for us all, that we may glorify God's name in this place, in teaching and in learning, in guiding and in following. I have many delightful proofs that those who have been here, have found at any rate no such evil as to prevent their serving God in after life; and some, I trust, have derived good from Rugby. But the evil is great and abounding, I well know; and it is very fearful to think that it may to some be irreparable ruin."¹⁹⁸

Arnold on the nature of schoolboys

Upon arrival at Rugby, Arnold sought to make the boys aware of their sinfulness, and the different ways in which sin manifested itself. Arnold felt that

¹⁹⁵ Arnold, 'Sermon III - Genesis 6:5' *Sermons, Volume I*, 28.

¹⁹⁶ Arnold, 'Sermon III - Genesis 6:5' *Sermons - Volume I*, 27-30.

¹⁹⁷ 'But then the great difference between one who has faith and one who has not, is this, that in the common and habitual course of their lives, the one is trying to please God, and the other to please himself; that is, that the one is consciously and by preference enlisted as it were amongst God's soldiers; his business and his pleasure is to do God's service.'

Arnold, 'Sermon XXXIX - Revelation 7:9,10', *Interpretation of Scripture*, 425-26.

¹⁹⁸ Stanley, Letter to H. Balston October 29, 1840, in *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 401.

one of the basic faults of schoolboys (as well as humanity at large) is that there was no interest in the gospel of Jesus Christ. It was not that the concepts were hard to understand. Arnold observed 'the words in which religious truths are taught are as plain to you as to me. You know what is meant by death, and heaven, and hell, and repentance and salvation when you hear them spoken of: but the truth is, you do not care to think about them, because you have no interest about them.'¹⁹⁹ In short, the problem was one of apathy, not antipathy.

In a sermon preached from Jesus' conversation with Nicodemus, Arnold explained:

I tried to bring clearly before your minds the meaning of those expressions which you will meet with in the Bible...that our nature is corrupt, and that we are all inclined to sin much more than to goodness...how much easier it is to lose good habits than gain them; to unlearn your duty than to learn it.²⁰⁰

Arnold believed public schools were nurseries of vice, where evil had opportunity to thrive. He knew that much of the problem stemmed from the fact that boys lived together away from the influence of their parents. As a collective body, they influenced one another towards evil. Schools became a place:

Where a boy unlearns the pure and honest principles which he may have received at home, and gets, in their stead, others which are utterly low, and base, and mischievous, - where he loses his modesty, his respect for truth, and his affectionateness, and becomes coarse, and false, and unfeeling.

That too, is a nursery of vice, and more fearfully so, where vice is bold, and forward, and presuming; and goodness is timid and shy, and existing as if by sufferance; - where the good, instead of setting the tone of society, and branding with disgrace those who disregard it, are themselves exposed to reproach for their goodness, and shrink before the open avowal of evil principles, which the bad are striving to make the law of the community.

That is a nursery of vice, where the restraints laid upon evil are considered as so much taken from liberty, and where generally speaking, evil is more willingly screened and concealed, than detected and punished.²⁰¹

Many of Arnold's earlier sermons focus on God's commands and the sinfulness of the boys in an attempt to make them aware of their need for Christ. For example, Arnold preached in 1830 that all humanity tends towards

¹⁹⁹ Arnold, 'Sermon VI - John 3:12' *Sermons Volume II*, (London, Reeves & Turner, 1874) 40.

²⁰⁰ Arnold, 'Sermon VI - John 3:12' *Sermons - Volume II*, 38.

²⁰¹ Arnold, 'Sermon XII - Galatians 3:24' *Sermons Volume II*, 85-86.

evil, and this was true of schoolboys as well. 'Now if you have been wholly or in part corrupted in these points, within one short month, so that the good learned in ten or twelve years has been overthrown in less than 30 days ...then you have already had some experience of the truth of what the Bible tells us, that man's nature is corrupt and bad.'²⁰²

It is worth noting a particular evil that existed in English public schools in the early nineteenth century which does not exist today. This was the need to drink beer because the quality of water was so bad. Beer drinking quite often led to drunkenness, and remained a problem at Rugby throughout Arnold's time. Arthur Clough, a student, wrote in a letter:

It was but a few nights ago that a little fellow, not more than thirteen at the very most, was quite drunk, and that for the second time in the last year.²⁰³

In addition, taking *Tom Brown's Schooldays* as representative of Rugby life, we read that Tom Brown's nemesis Flashman was finally removed from the school because of drunkenness on his part.²⁰⁴ Nor should it be suggested that this was solely a product of Thomas Hughes' imagination, as one student (J.L. Vaughan) later confessed in his memoirs that he had been 'sent away' because of drunkenness.²⁰⁵

Indeed, Reeves uncovers that there were serious disturbances taking place in Arnold's own house - 'School House' in 1838. The nature of these disturbances are not made completely clear, although they revealed again to Arnold the wickedness there is in human nature, even amongst boys and particularly when there was nobody willing to stand against it. In a letter to his friend Thomas Paisley, Arnold wrote:

²⁰² Arnold, 'Sermon V - 1 Cor. 13:11' *Sermons – Volume II*, 35 - 36.

²⁰³ A.H. Clough, cited in a letter to his brother, Oct 13, 1834, *Letters and Remains* (London, Spottiswoode & Co, 1865), 12.

²⁰⁴ Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, (London, Dean and Sons, c.1980) 133.

Hughes book is semi-autobiographical. He boarded at Rugby during Arnold's headmastership, was a member of Arnold's boarding house, and just like Tom Brown, inscribed his name in the hands of the school clock. A trip to Rugby School museum will reveal the graffiti. The description of Flashman's removal bears a remarkable correlation to the conclusion of the school career of John Luther Vaughan, who was expelled for drunkenness after drinking too much Port at Dunchurch. Vaughan was three years older than Hughes and removed in the middle Fifth form, just like Flashman. It is entirely possible that he is the boy upon which Flashman's character is based. See J.L. Vaughan, *My Service in the Indian Army*. 4, 5.

²⁰⁵ A.J.H. Reeve, "Aspects of the Life of Dr Thomas Arnold (1795-1842) in the Light of the Unpublished Correspondence" (Ph.d thesis, University of Hull, 1988), 283-285. Reeve uncovers correspondence from Hughes to Arnold confessing his involvement in a party which led to a number of expulsions. It was Arnold's compassionate response to this letter which led Hughes thereafter to hold his headmaster in the highest possible esteem. See also:

E.C. Mack & W. Armytage, *Thomas Hughes - The life and author of Tom Brown's Schooldays* (London, Benn, 1952).

[I] had some of the Troubles of School-keeping, and one of those Specimens of the evil of Boy Nature, which make me always unwilling to undergo the Responsibility of advising any Man to send his Son to a public School.²⁰⁶

This disturbance was so severe that it led to Arnold seeking from the Trustees the right to relinquish the duties of the 'School house' housemaster, and the *dismissal* of his own nephews from the school. Various boys had to be sent away, which caused an impression of martyrdom amongst the opinions of those who remained behind, but reinstating the boys was out of the question because they had constantly exhibited low principles and their numbers and physical strength gave them unavoidable influence.²⁰⁷

According to correspondence uncovered by Reeve this incident upset Arnold so much that he wrote "after I have been ten years fighting against it [the boys' sinfulness], is so sickening that it is very hard not to throw up the cards in despair, and upset the table, and be off."²⁰⁸

Arnold believed that school boys were sinful before he came to Rugby, and during his fourteen years in the school there were plenty of occasions for him to feel confirmed in his view, even though he no doubt wished it were not so.²⁰⁹ In 1840 he wrote to a friend saying 'I look round in the school, and feel how utterly beyond human power is the turning of any single heart to God. Some heed, and some heed not, with the same outward means, as it appears, offered to both, and the door opened to one no less wide than the other.'²¹⁰

Clearly Arnold had moments of great despair in trying to make Rugby a Christian school. However he always maintained a clear understanding of the reasons that caused schools to be like this. First, boys arrived at school at an age where their moral character was not strong, and where temptation was very great. In their parents' houses, various evils (such as drinking) were less likely to be encountered, and the boys were surrounded by many influences of good. Later in life, although they would still be exposed to evil, they would

²⁰⁶ Reeve, *Aspects of the Life*, 272.

²⁰⁷ Reeve, *Aspects of the Life*, 274.

²⁰⁸ Reeve, *Aspects of the Life*, 279. and Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 99. (However, Stanley has edited slightly some of the details)

²⁰⁹ Stanley, Letter to F. Hartwell June 28, 1830, in *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 149.

'It is quite surprising to see the wickedness of young boys; or would be surprising, if I had not had my own school experience and a good deal since to enlighten me.'

²¹⁰ Stanley, Letter to H. Balston October 29, 1840, in *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 401.

have gained more experience and strength of mind to resist it, but whilst young they lacked wisdom and strength of character to resist peer pressure.

Second, because boys' bodies naturally developed faster in this period than, in comparison, their understanding and maturity, there was the ever-present possibility of bullying and cruelty amongst bigger boys towards the younger ones.

Third, Arnold believed evil had a tendency to spring up because at no time of life were people so much the slaves of custom than boys at school. 'If a thing has been an old practice, be it ever so mischievous, ever so unworthy, it is continued without scruple; if a thing is new, be it ever so useful and ever so excellent, it is apt to be regarded as a grievance. The question ... is not "what ought we to be, and what may the school become, if we do our duty? - but what have we been used to, and is the school as good as it was formerly? So looking backwards instead of looking forwards, comparing ourselves with ourselves instead of with the Word of God, we are sure never to grow better, because we lose the wish to become better: and growth in goodness will never come, without our vigorous efforts to attain it."²¹¹

There were, therefore, three things in particular to strive for (or against) in a school. First, a school needed to help strengthen a boy's moral character so that he did what was right and was not unduly influenced by his peers. Second, moral character formation would ideally develop as quickly as bodily development, so those stronger did not 'bully' or pressure those weaker, because they had come to understand that bullying was wicked. Finally, the notion of the old traditions being the best had to be overthrown, if new ways or methods which were better could be introduced.

Arnold on 1 Corinthians 13:11 - Putting away childish things

Arnold's belief in fallen human nature was also influenced by the apostle Paul's words that 'When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things.'²¹²

Learning the lesson that there were childish things that needed to be put away en route to becoming a man, Arnold's reflections led him to conclude

²¹¹ Arnold, 'Sermon XII - Galatians 3:24' in *Sermons Volume II*, 87

²¹² 1 Corinthians 13:11 (KJV)

‘The besetting faults of youth appear to me to arise mainly from its retaining too often the ignorance, selfishness, and thoughtlessness of a child, and having arrived at the same time at a degree of bodily vigour and power, equal, or only a very little inferior, to those of manhood.’²¹³

He explained to the boys: ‘A child cannot help believing that there are some who are greater, wiser, better than himself, and he is disposed to follow their guidance.’²¹⁴ Yet although a child was teachable, he was still morally weak and ignorant, and therefore extremely selfish. In short, schoolboys arriving at the school were teachable, but ignorant; open to learning, but selfish and often living only for the present. Arnold expounded ‘In the last three of these [ignorance, selfishness and living for the present], the perfect man should put away childish things; in the first point, or teachableness, while he retained it in principle, he should modify it in its application. For while modesty, humility and a readiness to learn, are becoming to men no less than to children; yet it should be not in simple readiness to follow others, but only to follow the wise and the good.’²¹⁵

In other words, youngsters should retain teachableness, but gain discernment; and they needed to put away idleness and thoughtlessness. In an earlier sermon preached on the same text, he observed ‘Every boy brings some good with him, at least, from home, as well as some evil; and yet you see how very much more catching the evil is than the good, or else you would make one another better by mixing together.’²¹⁶

In conclusion, the text ‘putting away childish things’ informed Arnold that there were things of childhood that had to be ‘put away.’ These included a lack of knowledge (ignorance), a lack of awareness of God and others (selfishness) and an unawareness of the future (living only for the present).

Arnold on Matthew 18:6 Woe to him who leads little ones into sin

As noted above, Arnold was concerned that many boys were too much like children in their willingness to be taught evil and their inability to discern who was teaching them. He observed that:

²¹³ Arnold, ‘Sermon II - 1 Cor. 13:11’ *The Christian Life, Its course, its hindrances, its helps*. (New York, Tibbals & Sons, 18xx) 70-1.

²¹⁴ Thomas Arnold, ‘Sermon II - 1 Cor. 13:11’ *The Christian Life, Its course*, 67.

²¹⁵ Arnold, ‘Sermon II - 1 Cor. 13:11’ *The Christian Life, Its course, etc.* 68.

²¹⁶ Arnold, ‘Sermon V - 1 Corinthians 13:11’ in *Sermons – Volume II*, 36.

When a boy first comes from home, full of the natural desire of doing his duty, of improving himself, and getting on well, he is presently beset by the ridicule of all the worthless and foolish boys around him, who want to sink him to their own level. How completely true is it, that his foes are they of his own household; that is, they who are most immediately about him, those of his own age, and his own place in the school. They become his idol: before their most foolish, most low, and most wicked voices, he gives up his affections, his understanding, and his conscience; from this mass of ignorance, and falsehood, and selfishness, he looks for the guide of his opinions and his conduct.²¹⁷

In short, Arnold recognised *peer pressure* as an influence which led schoolboys into sin.²¹⁸ He preached on its influence, although not using that particular term:

The more like children [that boys can be], the more ignorant, and simple-minded, and ready to believe and to do what others tell them, so much the more wicked it is to tell them wrong, or to hinder them from going right...It applies therefore particularly to those boys who are desirous of doing their duty, who have no great confidence in themselves, but are ready to be guided by others; who are shy and timid, and unable to stand against laughter or ill usage. There are such in every school; and it is the worst reproach of schools, and the most awful responsibility for all who are connected with them, to think, that so many of them are utterly lost in consequence of the temptations which they here meet with...that is, they are laughed or frightened out of their Saviour's service, and taught very often, ere long, not only to deny their Lord themselves, but to join in 'offending' others, who are now as innocent as they once were, and to draw them over to the worship and service of Satan, to which their own souls are already abandoned.²¹⁹

Arnold gave two examples to the boys of ways they caused others to sin (peer pressure) - but while doing so he urged them to consider the awful warning of Jesus Christ in the gospel of Matthew.²²⁰

First, Arnold acknowledged all schools have students in them who are idle - they have never learnt what it means, or perhaps have forgotten what it means, to pay attention to their lessons. However it is not enough that they should be idle, they cannot stand to see anyone else working hard. So idle individuals make fun of, and reproach those who are industrious. If a boy

²¹⁷ Arnold, 'Sermon XV - Matt 10:36' in *Sermons Volume II*, 109

²¹⁸ Of course, *peer pressure* was not a term that Arnold ever used, because it is a twentieth century term. But it is not as if *peer pressure* was invented in the twentieth century. On the contrary, this appears to be what Jesus was speaking of in the first century.

²¹⁹ Arnold, 'Sermon VIII - Matt 18:6' *Sermons - Volume II*, 50-1.

²²⁰ Matthew 18:6 'Whoever causes one of these little ones who believe in me to sin, it would be better for him to have a great millstone fastened round his neck and to be drowned in the depth of the sea.' (RSV)

works hard it was suggested he is trying to curry favour with a master or that he was afraid of being punished. 'He [the industrious boy] has not age or sense, or firmness enough to know and to answer, that the only fear of which he need be ashamed is the fear of his equals... To be afraid then of other boys is, in a boy, the same sort of weakness as it is in a man to be afraid of other men; and as a man ought to be ashamed of fearing men and not fearing God, so a boy ought to be ashamed of fearing boys, and also to be ashamed of not fearing his parents or instructors.'²²¹

Thus while idleness was rebuked by Arnold, the even worse sin of leading others to idleness was brought to the boys' attention. Furthermore, the great *weakness* of fearing the opinions of others more than fearing the opinion of God was exposed; while on the other hand, courage, the ability to fear God and do right, heedless of the opinions of others, was greatly prized.²²²

Second, the practice of extravagance and incurring debts led many boys into sin. Stated more expressly, 'a boy is laughed at for being kept so strictly at home that he cannot get money as he likes; and he is taught to feel ashamed and angry at the hard restraint that is laid upon him. Truly that boy has gone a long way in the devil's service, who will dare to set another against his father and his mother, who will teach him that their care and authority are things which he should be ashamed of.'²²³

This sin of incurring debts was one which Arnold recognised more than once.²²⁴ Years later, as a Professor at Oxford, he called attention to 'a great scandal, the debts contracted by the young men, and their backwardness in paying them. I think that no part of this evil is to be ascribed to the tradesmen, because so completely are the tradesmen at the mercy of the undergraduates, that no man refuses to give credit; if he did, his shop would be abandoned.'²²⁵

Arnold believed that within the school generally there were very few who wilfully followed after evil, very few who hated to be reformed and who 'cast

²²¹ Arnold, 'Sermon VIII - Matt. 18:6' in *Sermons Volume II*, 52.

²²² Stanley, Letter to family, July 23, 1840 in *The Life of Dr. Arnold*, 528.

²²³ Arnold, 'Sermon VIII - Matt. 18:6' in *Sermons Volume II*, 54.

²²⁴ Thomas Arnold, 'Sermon V - Psalm 88:15, 16' in *The Christian Life, Its hopes, its fears, and its close*. (London, Longmans, Green & Co, 1878) 109-110.

²²⁵ Stanley, Letter to Coleridge, January 9, 1842 in *The Life of Dr. Arnold*, 445.

This problem of student debt is elaborated on at large in Thomas Hughes' sequel to *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, namely *Tom Brown at Oxford*. In the novel, Brown becomes seriously indebted to various tailors and merchants in Oxford, and takes a loan from a pawn dealer to pay them off. Ultimately he needs to write to his father, confessing what he has done and asking for money to repay his debts.

God's words behind them.²²⁶ He thought it unnatural at their age that there should be many confirmed in evil. However, he felt the corollary was true, that it was unlikely that there were many (although he hoped there would be some) 'who may fairly be said to be amongst the honest and good hearts, which having heard the word, keep it, and bring forth fruit.'²²⁷ The great majority would be between these two points - wishing to be good and honouring it when heard of from afar; but generally not thinking about it much at all, and often laughing at it when it came before them in the conduct of their companions.

Although Arnold does not give an example of what he meant by this, it is probable he meant that if it were announced before the school that a sum of money had been found and returned to the school bursar, the boys would commend such honesty. However if a group of boys discovered that it was a member of their own boarding house who had returned the money, they would more likely tell him he was foolish for not keeping it, than they would commend him for returning it. In other words, goodness was commended from afar, but scorned in practice.

To conclude this section, Arnold was well aware of the influence of peer pressure, although this was not a term used in the 1800s. He saw in the teaching of Jesus Christ a very clear warning about this pressure, which was simply leading others into sin, and he strove to press home to the boys the wickedness of corrupting another person. He believed such behaviour ought to cause the boys to tremble, and should be repented of.

Arnold on the problem of idleness

Anybody who has taught others and set homework, or any employer who has given an employee a report to write, will know the need there often is to keep checking whether the homework has been done, or the report written. The tendency to procrastinate might be more realistically termed as the tendency to be idle.

Arnold acknowledged that it is true that we cannot do heartily what we dislike; however he said it is no less true that boys may learn to like many things that at present they disliked, if only they were prepared to undergo the

²²⁶ Arnold, 'Sermon IX - Romans 1:16' in *Sermons Volume II*, 56.

²²⁷ Arnold, 'Sermon IX - Romans 1:16' in *Sermons Volume II*, 56.

discipline necessary to change what was at first *hard work* into something much easier.²²⁸

Many excuses were put forward by schoolboys as to why they had not done their work, or not done it as well as they could have. Arnold felt the problem stemmed from a false understanding the boys had about the nature of their work. Boys did not consider their common work as a matter of religion or giving glory to God. Thus they concluded it was not sinful to neglect it. Idleness and vice were considered to be two distinct things. Arnold sought to correct them of the notion that their schoolwork was not a *religious* work.

What is not vicious may yet be sinful; in other words, what is not a great offence against men's common notions of right and wrong, may yet be a very great one against those purer notions which we learn from the Scripture, and in the judgement of the most pure God. Thus idleness is not vicious, perhaps, but it is certainly sinful, - and to strive against it is a religious duty, because it is highly offensive to God. This is so clearly shown in the parable of the ten talents, in that of the sower and the seed, and even in the account of judgement, given by our Lord in the twenty-fifth chapter of St. Matthew, that it cannot require a very long proof. In the parable of the talents, the whole offence of the servant, who is cast out into outer darkness, consists in his not having made the most of the talent entrusted to him: in the parable of the sower, those soils are alike represented as bad, "which bring no fruit to perfection" - whether the ground be overrun with thorns and briars, or whether it fail to produce any thing from its mere shallowness and lightness. And in the description of the day of judgement, the sin for which the wicked are represented as turned into hell, is only that they had done no good. It is not mentioned that they were vicious in the common sense of the word; but that they were sinful, inasmuch as they had not done what God commanded them to do.²²⁹

Idleness was a sin that had to be overcome and the best way that this could be done, in Arnold's view, was to show the boys that the work they did now was a 'religious' work. Schoolwork was as much for God's glory as saying a prayer or reading the Bible. Urging the boys to work for God's glory was, in Arnold's view, the most effective way to overcome idleness. It was expressly because the boys did not see their schoolwork as a *religious* work that Arnold introduced a prayer at the start of every day with the sixth form. Stanley

²²⁸ Arnold, 'Sermon XXII - Mark 6:31' in *Sermons Volume II*, 167-68.

'I might speak of the well-known force of habit, in reconciling us to what is most unwelcome to us; that by mere perseverance what was at first very hard, becomes first a little less so, then much less so, and at last so easy, that according to a well-known law of our faculties, it becomes pleasure to them to do it.'

²²⁹ Arnold, 'Sermon XIV - Luke 14:18' in *Sermons Volume II*, 98-9

observed that Arnold explicitly introduced the prayer after he observed the change in behaviour of one of his students who had been on his deathbed. The boy in question appears to have attended greatly to his schoolwork after nearly dying, and Arnold felt such a contrast was probably owing to the boy(s) not seeing school work as being sufficiently sanctified to God's glory. 'He therefore intended for the future to offer a prayer before the first lesson, that the day's work might be undertaken and carried on solely to the glory of God and their improvement.'²³⁰

Arnold called the sixth-formers to throw off idleness in this aspect of school-life, and reminded the whole school that 'our present nature is not our proper nature':

But that condition to which sin brought him [Adam] is our condition; with that, undoubtedly, we are concerned; that must be the foundation of all sound views of human nature; the double fact employed in the word *fall* is of the last importance; the fact on the one hand of our present nature being evil, the fact on the other hand that this present nature is not our proper nature; that the whole business of our lives is to cast it off, and to return to that better and holy nature, which in truth, although not in fact, is the proper nature of man.²³¹

Conclusion

Arnold believed schoolboys suffer from the effects of fallen human nature just like the rest of humanity. Schoolboys are 'careless' towards God²³², and do not naturally believe in Jesus Christ. They also tend towards deciding good and evil for themselves and resist the instruction of the masters. They are easily led and often fear the opinions of their classmates more than that of their parents or of God. Furthermore, this nature is often expressed through idleness, their lack of moral strength to resist the general influence of the boys (peer pressure) and an unawareness that their daily work is to be for God's glory.

Nevertheless Arnold did not see *fallen* human nature as the goal that God had for humanity. He believed that our human nature was to be redeemed by Christ. Nor did Arnold see boyhood as a time of hopelessness, because he saw in Jesus Christ someone who could save the boys from their sins, forgive

²³⁰ Stanley, *The Life of Dr. Arnold*, 74.

Henry Fox, one of Arnold's Sixth Form, applauded the new practice, hoping it would spread throughout the school. This occurred in April, 1835. See George Fox, *Memoir of Henry Watson Fox*, (London, Speels, 1853) 28.

²³¹ Thomas Arnold, 'Sermon I - Genesis 3:22' *The Christian Life, Its course...* 59.

²³² Careless is used here in the sense of 'could not care less about', not in the sense of 'inattentive.'

them when they did sin and redeem them from their sin. Arnold reminded the boys that it was Christ's own saying that they who are whole need not a physician, but they who are sick, and proclaimed therefore:

Of all periods of life, there is none at which Christ will more gladly receive us than at this very time of our greatest weakness and great temptations; at the very time of our struggling with the besetting faults of boyhood - when, with lives stained by sin, and consciences not acquitting us, and not yet hardened, we are wandering out of our way daily, more and more, unless the great Shepherd of our souls recall us to himself.

To Him, then, who felt the same temptations which you now feel, who was himself a boy, and knows that part of human life as well as all the rest, who feels for it as deep a sympathy, and who because it is a time of peculiar danger, regards it, for that very reason, with peculiar care, with Him let his surpassing love constrain you to take refuge.²³³

²³³ Arnold, 'Sermon I - 2 Corinthians 5:14' in *Sermons Volume III*, 7.

Chapter Five:

The role and place of discipline in God's world (including schools)

'Know then in your heart that, as a man disciplines his son, the Lord your God disciplines you.'²³⁴

'For our fathers disciplined us for a short time at their pleasure, but God disciplines us for our good, that we may share his holiness.'²³⁵

'Gracious Father, be pleased to touch our hearts in time *with trouble, with sorrow, with sickness, with disappointment, with anything that may hinder them from being hard to the end,* and leading us to eternal ruin.'²³⁶

This chapter examines Arnold's beliefs with respect to the rightful place of discipline in God's world and, more particularly, the question of how discipline should be applied in the school. Some of the questions considered in this chapter include; what is God's will regarding discipline? Did Arnold believe God disciplined people? If so, how? Did Arnold view discipline as something good for humanity, especially for children? Or did he think discipline crushed independent spirit and thwarted learning? Is discipline something to be valued, or shunned? If discipline be considered positive, how did Arnold think it should be applied to schoolboys? Is there a place for 'using the birch?'

Although much has been written about Arnold's approach to discipline²³⁷ this is the first attempt to trace Arnold's thinking to its source, namely his faith in Jesus Christ and the Bible as his final authority on issues of educational theory and practice - in this case considering especially the role of discipline. It will be shown that because Arnold was convinced that God was perfect (and therefore his ways are perfect), so too he believed godly discipline ought to be introduced into a school (inasmuch as it be humanly possible) in order to make the school as perfect as possible.

²³⁴ Deuteronomy 8:5 (RSV)

²³⁵ Hebrews 12:10 (RSV)

²³⁶ Arnold's Sunday evening prayer, cited in Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 467. (emphasis mine)

²³⁷ However it is not necessary to rely on secondary literature to determine the Doctor's views. Arnold wrote over twenty pages on the subject of 'Discipline in Public Schools' in the *Quarterly Journal of Education* 1834 - 1835, all of which are reproduced in *The Miscellaneous works of Thomas Arnold* (London, Longmans, Green & Co, 1874) 361-80.

This chapter will discuss four areas regarding the theme of discipline.

- 1) Arnold's attitude to discipline generally.
- 2) Arnold's beliefs regarding God's discipline of individuals.
- 3) Arnold's beliefs regarding God's discipline of nations.
- 4) Arnold's means of discipline within Rugby, considering specifically;
 - i) School culture.
 - ii) Praepostors and fagging.
 - iii) Caning.
 - iv) Expulsion and removal.

Arnold's attitude to discipline

Discipline is perhaps looked on unfavourably in twenty-first century Great Britain.²³⁸ Indeed it may be said that in certain regions of the United Kingdom there is positive hostility towards the concept of discipline,²³⁹ especially if it be in the form of physical chastisement. Further afield, in some countries the right of parents to physically chastise their children has been outlawed.²⁴⁰

However, in contrast to much twenty-first century thinking, Arnold's approach to discipline was shaped by various Biblical texts. He was aware, for example, that Moses had encouraged the Israelites to 'Know then in your heart that, as a man disciplines his son, the Lord your God disciplines you.'²⁴¹

Centuries later King Solomon dedicated some of his proverbs to the theme of discipline, noting that 'Folly is bound up in the heart of a child, but the rod of discipline drives it far from him';²⁴² that 'He who spares the rod *hates* his son, but he who *loves* him is diligent to discipline him';²⁴³ and 'Do not withhold discipline from a child; if you beat him with a rod, he will not die. If you beat him with the rod you will save his life from Sheol.'²⁴⁴

²³⁸ This statement is perhaps debatable, but it's worth noting the first definition of discipline, as a verb, in the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary is 'to scourge or flog as a penance or in self-mortification.' This is not likely to engender much enthusiasm for the idea of discipline. Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, Fifth ed. (Oxford, OUP, 2002) 693.

²³⁹ There have been, for example, Welsh attempts to outlaw smacking. See the BBC's report on the Welsh Assembly's vote to ban the smacking of children:

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-15378110> (accessed 11th July, 2012)

²⁴⁰ For instance New Zealand outlawed smacking in 2007.

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/6660451.stm>

²⁴¹ Deuteronomy 8:5 (RSV)

²⁴² Proverbs 22:15 (RSV)

²⁴³ Proverbs 13:24 (RSV - emphasis mine)

²⁴⁴ Proverbs 23:14-15 (RSV)

The above verses are echoed in various aspects of Arnold's letters, for instance:

I should like to try whether my notions of Christian education are really impracticable, whether our public schools ... might produce fruit even to life eternal. When I think about it thus, *I really long to take rod in hand...*²⁴⁵

There has been no flogging yet, (and I hope that there will be none) ... I chastise, at first, by very gentle impositions, which are raised for a repetition of offences - flogging will be only my ratio ultimo - and *talking* I shall try to the utmost... I have seen great boys, six feet high, shed tears when I have sent for them up into my room and spoken to them quietly... But of course, deeds must second words when needful, or words will soon be laughed at.²⁴⁶

Arnold was particularly familiar with a New Testament passage which picks up the Old Testament themes and repeats them explicitly:

And have you forgotten the exhortation which addresses you as sons? — “My son, do not regard lightly the discipline of the Lord, nor lose courage when you are punished by him. For the Lord disciplines him *whom he loves*, and chastises every son whom he receives.” It is for discipline that you have to endure. God is treating you as sons; for what son is there whom his father does not discipline? We have had earthly fathers to discipline us and we respected them. Shall we not much more be subject to the Father of spirits and live? For they disciplined us for a short time at their pleasure, but he disciplines us for our good, that we may share his holiness. For the moment all discipline seems painful rather than pleasant; later it yields the peaceful fruit of righteousness to those who have been trained by it.²⁴⁷

It seems it was through Biblical teachings such as these that Arnold developed and maintained his belief that God used discipline to bring about good. Arnold believed that God disciplined those whom he loved in the same manner that a father would discipline his sons, and it is striking that even in the moments before his death, Arnold quoted this part of the epistle to the Hebrews:

²⁴⁵ Stanley, letter to Rev. Cornish, 27 November, 1827, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 49 (emphasis mine)

²⁴⁶ Stanley, letter to Rev. Blackstone, 28 September, 1828, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 136

²⁴⁷ Hebrews 12:5-11 (RSV) [Emphasis mine]

But if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then ye are bastards and not sons.²⁴⁸

In doing so Arnold made it clear that he saw the pain he was suffering (and his approaching death) as part of God's discipline. Furthermore, he was continuing to express his belief in the rightness of God's discipline, something he had prayed every Sunday evening for many years with the boys of his house.

Arnold's view of God's discipline on individuals

Arnold's Sunday evening prayer included these words: "Shall we ever hear and not heed? And when our life is drawing near to its end, as this day is now, shall we then feel that we have lived without Thee in the world, and that we are dying unforgiven? Gracious Father, be pleased to touch our hearts in time *with trouble, with sorrow, with sickness, with disappointment, with anything that may hinder them from being hard to the end, and leading us to eternal ruin.*"²⁴⁹

This prayer is worth considering closely. Arnold explicitly prayed that God would be pleased to touch the boys' hearts, as well as his own, *with trouble, with sorrow, with sickness, with disappointment, with anything that may hinder their heart from being hard to the end.* In other words, Arnold saw troubles, sorrows, sickness etcetera as the means by which God softened people's hearts, that they might be saved 'from idleness and thoughtlessness, from the sin of falsehood and lying, and from unkindness and selfishness, caring only for ourselves and not for Thee and for our neighbours.'²⁵⁰

It is almost impossible to read Arnold's correspondence and sermons without noticing his high view of God's discipline in his own life, as well as God's discipline in the life of others. For instance, in one sermon from the Psalms, he observed:

His [the Psalmist's] troubles, whatever was their nature, were a wholesome chastening to him, and no more; they did but awaken him in time from his proud security. And in this same way, many a servant of God, in later times, has had reason to thank his fatherly care in visiting him with sobering and seasonable afflictions....

²⁴⁸ Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 460.

In addition, this reference to 'if you be without chastisement' is recorded in Arnold's diary within the last three weeks of his life. See Original manuscript, Red school-notebook 1842, (Rugby, Temple Reading Room)

²⁴⁹ Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 467. (emphasis mine)

²⁵⁰ Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 467.

Undoubtedly if a man has lived in the faith and fear of God habitually, and has only been surprised a little out of his usual watchfulness by some great increase of worldly enjoyment, then the loss of this enjoyment is apt to make him fall back upon his old habits; the oil is ready for his lamp, and when God's warning awakens him out of his short slumber he has only to arise, and to trim it. But how different is their case who have laid in no supply of oil, but fondly imagine that they can get it at once, merely because they may be reminded of their want of it!²⁵¹

Here Arnold expounded his belief that God used sobering and seasonable afflictions to bring a person back to Him, but that such discipline would have little use on someone who had not habitually thought on God. In other words, the purpose of discipline was to direct a man back from wandering his own way, and cause him to return to walking the Lord's way.

However, Arnold's view of God's discipline was not limited to the discipline of individuals only, he also believed that God disciplined nations, as the next section discusses.

Arnold's understanding of God's discipline on nations

Arnold believed that God shaped nations (as well as individuals) through His judgement and discipline. In the closing sermon of his second volume, Arnold told the boys that he saw an outbreak of cholera in Sunderland as an example of God's discipline and a warning for them all to heed. 'I do think that all the circumstances of the disorder which has now just visited our country, are well fitted, if we use them rightly, to turn to our great and endless comfort, with as little cost of present chastisement as possible.'²⁵²

Continuing into the sermon, Arnold said 'I repeat that, knowing as we must know our own weaknesses, and how fatally we are wasting our time in fancied security, we have great reason, I speak most sincerely, we have great reason for blessing God, that he has sent us this merciful warning.'²⁵³

He closed his sermon in this manner:

It [the cholera] is a warning, not to be slack in our worldly business, as if life were certainly just about to close; not to leave off our usual and wholesome amusements, as if it were of no use to strengthen our bodies, and to brace our minds; but *it is a warning to us to leave off our sins*, it is a warning to us, *that we*

²⁵¹ Arnold, 'Sermon XXX - Psalm 30:6-8' in *Sermons Volume III*, 267.

²⁵² Arnold, 'Sermon XXXIV - Acts 27:34' in *Sermons Volume II*, 283-6.

²⁵³ Arnold, 'Sermon XXXIV - Acts 27:34' in *Sermons Volume II*, 283-6.

*lose no time in becoming at peace with God through Jesus Christ, it is a warning to us to keep our lamps burning, or to go quick for a fresh supply of oil, for should the cry be heard of the Bridegroom's coming, he will be present almost as soon as we hear of it. It is a warning for you and for me, that we should make life what it ought to be, that we should be able to thank God before all men, with a sincere faith and trust in him, that we should be his zealous and happy servants, whether he choose that we should serve him here, or before his throne in heaven.*²⁵⁴

Nor was the Doctor's idea that God visited nations with various judgements just a passing thought. In one of the prayers that Arnold contributed to a book of family prayers, we find Arnold petitioning the Lord that He would:

Save us from all those national sins which expose us most justly to Thy heavy judgements. From unbelief and profaneness, from injustice and oppression, from hardness of heart and neglect of the poor, from a careless and worldly spirit... be Thou pleased to preserve us, and give us each one for himself a holy watchfulness, that we may not by our sins add to the guilt and punishment of our country, but may strive to keep ourselves pure from the blood of all men, and to bring down Thy blessing upon ourselves and all who belong to us.²⁵⁵

It was against this backdrop of God's discipline on nations and individuals that Arnold based his own approach to discipline at Rugby. The central point being that God used discipline to correct wrong behaviour and draw people to himself.²⁵⁶ Discipline, to Arnold, was the act of a loving father, whereas lack of discipline was the act of an unloving and uncaring parent.

Arnold's means of discipline

Copley, McCrum and Bamford have all written detailed chapters about the practical means of discipline that Arnold employed at Rugby. The purpose of the following section is simply to give an overview of how the Doctor's theology was expressed in practise in the school.

²⁵⁴ Arnold, 'Sermon XXXIV - Acts 27:34' in *Sermons Volume II*, 283-6. (emphasis mine).

²⁵⁵ Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 472.

²⁵⁶ Arnold, 'Sermon XXXII - The Judgments of God', *Interpretation of Scripture*, 344-53.

'Strictly speaking, indeed, every thing that befalls us is God's judgment, whether it comes upon us through the instrumentality of nature or of man. And again, on the other hand, it is very possible that nothing, whether it come from nature or from man, may seem to us to be God's judgment; we may see in it nothing beyond the instrument, and not look up to its author.' This entire sermon discusses Arnold's understanding of God's discipline and his judgement.

School culture

Every school develops its own culture, which is generally set by the senior staff of the school. Arnold knew that the culture of the school actually forms part of the education the student receives.²⁵⁷ Instruction is provided in the classroom, but education is provided by the school and society at large. Arnold sought to develop a Christian culture within Rugby, so that a Christian approach to discipline would be followed in the classrooms and in the boarding houses. Stanley records that Arnold's 'object was of course far higher than to check particular vices. "What I want to see in the school," he said, "and what I cannot find, is an abhorrence of evil: I always think of the Psalm 'Neither doth he abhor anything that is evil.'"²⁵⁸ Arnold's ideal of establishing a school culture where the boys were thoughtful of one another and evil was detested was never *fully* achieved, however the school did become a much more Christian place of education under his headmastership.

One of the means by which Arnold sought to Christianise the school was through the appointment of Christian staff. It is noteworthy that of the thirteen appointments Arnold made during his tenure, eight of these were Anglican clergymen.²⁵⁹ Although all the masters were noted scholars, their appointments were not made solely on the basis of academic success - housemasters were also expected to address the boys in their houses each Sunday evening.²⁶⁰

Arnold urged the boys not to consider their relationship with their masters as one of slave to master, but of a completely different order:

Is the relationship between student and master to be like that of master and slave, or is it, as all good earthly relations, an image, however imperfect, of the relation between us all and Christ? In itself it is clearly the latter, inasmuch as boys are sent to school by those who love them dearest, not certainly for the purpose of doing good

²⁵⁷ For example, is cheating at cricket permitted? Will the master discipline me if I do not do my homework? Are bullies punished? Will my study be vandalised if I am not in it? The education a student receives extends well beyond his classroom instruction.

²⁵⁸ Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 67. It is not clear which Psalm Arnold is referring to, possibly Psalm 119:104 'I hate every false way.' (KJV)

²⁵⁹ See Appendix II for the list of appointments. At least one-third of the appointments were former students of Arnold.

²⁶⁰ S. Cotton, *Life of Bishop Cotton*, (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1871) 14.

George Cotton, future Headmaster of Marlborough and later Bishop of Calcutta developed his skills as a preacher in this period. 'It was now that he laid the foundation for his future excellence as a preacher by his carefully prepared addresses to his house on Sunday evenings.' Cotton's preaching had such an impact that at least one student, John Ogle, wrote home about how much he had been helped by it. See:

J. A. Wylie, (ed) *Life and Missionary Travels of the Rev. J. Furniss Ogle* (London, Longmans, Green, & Co., 1873) 15

to the master, but to do good to them. No parent would send his son to be a slave, every parent would send him to school.²⁶¹

Along with appointing Christian masters, other methods of keeping Rugby schoolboys well-behaved were either introduced or modified. Furthermore, certain evils were slowly removed, namely the tossing of boys in blankets, the enforced drinking of salt and water (if a new boy did not sing), and 'roasting'.²⁶² Fighting between boys continued occasionally, however 'school fights were conducted in a unique fashion, and were strictly forbidden to take place in private. The consequence was, that boys mostly had to sleep upon their valourous determination to fight on the morrow, and found themselves wonderfully cooled by the end of first lesson.'²⁶³

Praepostors and Fagging

Arnold was well aware that one of the difficulties of providing a Christian education was the constant influence the boys had on themselves:

This is what renders it so difficult to make a large school a place of Christian education. For while, on the one hand, the boys stand to their masters in the relation of pupils to a teacher, they form, on the other hand, a complete society amongst themselves; and the individual boys, while influenced by him in the one relation, are unhappily in the other more influenced by that whole of which they are members, and which affects them in a much larger portion of their lives.²⁶⁴

Consequently, the principal method of establishing order within the school was through the use of praepostors, older boys in the Sixth Form whose job it was to protect the younger ones from bullying, but who also had the privilege of having younger students (fags) run errands for them. Arnold reminded the praepostors that his three main aims were to inculcate, 'first, religious and moral principles, second, gentlemanly conduct, and third, intellectual ability.'²⁶⁵ Arnold saw the Sixth as intermediaries between the masters and the boys. The Sixth Form were better placed to govern the other boys, as they spent considerably more time with them than the masters. Arnold felt it was 'a matter of certain fact, that if you have two or three hundred boys living together, there will be some to command and some to obey. The use of

²⁶¹ Arnold, 'Sermon VII - Luke 19. 45-47' *The Christian Life, Its hopes etc.*, 59.

²⁶² Sydney Selfe, *Notes on the characters and incidents depicted by the master hand of Tom Hughes in "Tom Brown's Schooldays."* (Rugby, A.J. Lawrence, 1909) 16.

²⁶³ Francis Lawley, *Life and Times of 'The Druid' (Henry Hall Dixon)* (London, Vinton & Co, 1912) 62.

²⁶⁴ Arnold, *Miscellaneous works*, 377.

²⁶⁵ McCrum, *Thomas Arnold*, 25.

fagging put the power into the best hands; and also, by recognising it as legal, the masters were far better able to limit its exercise and to prevent its abuses, than it could be if the power amongst the boys were simply a mere irregular dominion of the stronger over the weaker.²⁶⁶

Fagging had another great advantage. In a school where all boys were legally equal, it would almost certainly come to pass that the stronger would dominate the weaker. Now if a boy were to be bullied under such a system, he would be unlikely to complain to the masters, for fear of receiving more pain and suffering at the hands of the bullies. However, by giving one class a legal superiority over the rest, an abuse of power on their part would not be considered right and the boy who complained to the masters would not be considered a tattletale, but a champion of their common liberties. Furthermore, a system of fagging subjected the boys to a discipline through which they would learn 'quickness, handiness, thoughtfulness, and punctuality.'²⁶⁷

On one occasion Arnold moved a capable praepostor, Hodson, from one house to another, in order to re-establish order. The housemaster later wrote '[Hodson] gave abundant proof that Arnold's choice had been a wise one... The younger ones found in him an efficient protector against bullying. Those of a more literary turn found in him an agreeable and intelligent companion, and were fond of being admitted to sit in his study and talk...'²⁶⁸ The above words echo those of Charles Newmarch, a student who would later write of the Sixth Form that 'He [Arnold] taught them that they did not merely form part of the school to be governed by *him*, but that the rest were in a great measure to be managed through *them*.'²⁶⁹

In short, Arnold used the Sixth Form as a kind of 'police force' to help maintain order and discipline within the school. In addition, as McCrum has noted 'They were to help him create a Christian society; they were fellow-workers with him, concerning themselves with religious and moral principles

²⁶⁶ Arnold, *Miscellaneous works*, 375.

²⁶⁷ Arnold, *Miscellaneous works*, 376.

²⁶⁸ George Hodson, *Twelve years of a soldier's life in India* (London, Parker & Son, 1859) 3-4.

²⁶⁹ Charles Henry Newmarch, *Recollections of Rugby*, (London, Hamilton & Adams, 1848) 98.

Not everybody thought favourably of Arnold's system of fagging however. One student, Bulkeley-Owen, described the system as 'utterly rotten.' However, of the twenty or so memoirs recorded in the bibliography, Bulkeley-Owen's is the only one which records opposition to it. And as his biographer notes, Bulkeley-Owen went to three different schools and had not a good word to say about any of them. See:

F.D. How, *Memoir of Thomas Mainwaring Bulkeley Bulkeley-Owen* (London, Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., 1914) 5-6.

first, and with boys' behaviour only secondarily.²⁷⁰ That Arnold intended that the Sixth Form should communicate something of Christian example to the younger students is clear from his sermons:

Again, I have said, when speaking of other subjects, that I looked upon the older persons among you as a sort of link between me and the younger, who communicated, in some instances, by their language and example, something of an impression of the meaning of Christian teaching.²⁷¹

Arnold was well aware that the culture and discipline of the school depended at least as much on the students as it did on the teaching staff, and that if the school were to be Christian, the Sixth Formers would need to model Christian life to the younger boys, sympathising with them as well as leading and guiding them.

Caning

This section briefly examines Arnold's approach to using 'the birch', or 'flogging' as it was known in the nineteenth century. In an article for the Quarterly Education Review, Arnold addressed a number of questions such as: Is it morally wrong to chastise a schoolboy with a cane? Does such an action teach a boy that violence is the means of solving disputes, or does it simply teach him that there is a lawful authority more powerful than he, whose job is to protect the peace and remove evil from a particular society? Does caning a boy cause an affront to his person? Is his dignity severely affected by the use of the cane?

Firstly, Arnold set out his understanding of the difference between *liberal* and *popular* principles.

Popular principles are opposed simply to restraint - liberal principles unjust restraint. Popular principles sympathise with all who are subject to authority, and regard with suspicion all punishments - liberal principles sympathise, on the other hand, with authority, whenever the evil tendencies of human nature are more likely to be shown in disregarding it than in abusing it.²⁷²

As a man of liberal principles, Arnold sympathised with authority whenever it was wisely exercised and unreasonably disobeyed. Arnold contested the view that corporal punishment was wrong because it treated the

²⁷⁰ McCrum, *Thomas Arnold*, 69.

²⁷¹ Thomas Arnold, 'Lecture VI - Colossians 3:3' *The Christian Life, Its course*, 99

²⁷² Arnold, *Miscellaneous works*, 363-4.

child as inferior to the adult, or the student as inferior to the master. He argued the idea that caning was degrading came not from a Christian approach to discipline, but a Barbarian concept, which elevated independence over obedience.

[In reality] impatience of inferiority felt by a child towards his parents, or by a pupil towards his instructors, is merely wrong, because it is at variance with the truth: there exists a real inferiority in the relation, and it is an error, a fault, a corruption of nature, not to acknowledge it. Punishment, then, inflicted by a parent or a master for the purposes of correction, is no true sense of the word, degrading; nor is it the more degrading for being corporal. To say that corporal punishment is an appeal to personal fear is a mere abuse of terms. In this sense all bodily pain or inconvenience is an appeal to personal fear; and a man should be ashamed take any pains to avoid the tooth-ache or the gout.²⁷³

Arnold's argument for the use of corporal punishment was twofold. Firstly, there is a real difference between student and master. The master was older, wiser and more experienced than the schoolboy. That truth should be recognised.²⁷⁴ Secondly, Arnold acknowledged that pain is always an evil, but *fear of pain* could be of mixed character. Fear of pain would be cowardice if it caused someone to neglect his duty (for example, if a man did not attempt to save his son from a fire, because he was frightened of being burnt); but it is useful to fear pain when the pain would be the consequence of foolish or poor behaviour (for example, a child might be persuaded not to run across the road for fear of a smack if he did so). In another instance, a soldier would be judged a coward and a disgrace to his regiment if he failed to do his duty because he feared being injured. In such a case his fear of being wounded would be a bad thing. However, if fear of pain stopped a schoolboy from stealing another boy's books, or his lunch, then fear of pain would be a good thing. In all cases the pain would not be a good thing, but the *fear* of it will be good or bad, depending on the situation.

Arnold believed corporal punishment was a good thing, because the fear of it helped curb bad behaviour. It should be noted however, that Arnold did not use the birch as his primary method of discipline. Reeve cites a letter in which Arnold states that he had flogged only three boys in that half-year, one

²⁷³ Arnold, *Miscellaneous works*, 368.

²⁷⁴ Presumably in a manner similar to the command 'Honour thy mother and thy father' - although this is not explicitly noted.

of them being a relative of the recipient of the letter. Arnold explained that although he was a clever boy and doing well in the school, he had a very unpromising character and one that Arnold feared was 'very hard and unprincipled.' In this letter Arnold notes that he flogged the boy on his *third* offence, all of which were points of conduct (such as insulting townspeople etc). This supports the view that Arnold was not opposed to using corporal punishment, but that he did use it as the *ultima ratio* (last resort), presumably after remonstrating with him on the two earlier occasions.²⁷⁵

It is quite wrong to portray Arnold as someone who caned boys because he could not think of any other method to use, or because he was in some way sadistic. Bamford implies that Arnold was cruel in his use of the cane, stating 'Arnold was a passionate man whose chastisement was coupled with a religious fervour', citing particularly the March case of 1833.²⁷⁶ Copley, referring to the same incident, suggests it was an example of Arnold badly losing his temper, 'a case of anger prevailing over judgement.'²⁷⁷ However a closer reading of the events by Reeve shows that Bamford obtained his information from a hostile press, and did not provide due diligence to Arnold's side of the story. While it is abundantly clear that Arnold was in favour of using 'the birch', there is no evidence to show he was malicious in his use of it. Furthermore, Arnold himself argued that corporal punishment was quite wrong for a boy aged fifteen or older.²⁷⁸ From that age a student should be motivated by higher feelings and greater moral awareness. Albert Pell, a student during

²⁷⁵ Reeve, 'Aspects of the Life', 251

²⁷⁶ T.W Bamford, *Thomas Arnold* (London, The Cresset Press, 1960). 49.

The March case involved Arnold's caning of a student, March, for telling what appeared to be a blatant and deliberate lie. It later transpired that March had told the truth. The local press heard about this and Arnold was severely criticised. However, the chief error was made by the Master of the Fourth Form, Mr. Bird. Reeve has the following summary:

'March was not the first boy called, others had preceded him; that he did not immediately object when given the passage, but began to construe it then stuck; that it was only then he declared that Bird had told the form the examination was to be from chapter three of the book; that Bird was positive and circumstantial in his reply that the boy was lying; that Bird knew March would be flogged if he (Bird) were wrong about the work done by the form; that the three masters present were unanimous in their understanding of Bird's answer; that added to this, there was previous knowledge of March's "shuffling" behaviour; that the number of strokes given to March was directly related to the fact that "the instruments" used were old and worn-out; that none of the masters involved doubted that justice had not been done until the following day; that March was not absent from school for two days on account of his injuries; that he was not in the sick-bay nor even in bed; that Arnold apologised unreservedly to March's parents on the day he learned the truth; that they wished their son to return to the school; that Arnold at first was reluctant to have him back; and that the reports on which the received account is based are derived from a prejudiced source hostile to Arnold and coloured accordingly.'

See Reeve, 'Aspects of the Life', 234-5.

²⁷⁷ Copley, *Black Tom*, 142.

²⁷⁸ Arnold, *Miscellaneous Works*, 370.

Arnold's time, reveals that the cane was not used at all in the lower fourth form - until the master found it necessary to use it due to Pell's indolence.²⁷⁹

Although not using the cane very often himself, Arnold stated that 'the total abandonment of corporal punishment for the faults of young boys appears to me not only uncalled for, but absolutely to be deprecated. It is desirable that boys should be motivated by higher means than flogging, but all efforts to get rid of flogging should lie at the wisdom and duty of the schoolmaster. It is one thing to get rid of punishment by lessening the amount of faults, and another to say, that even if the faults are committed, the punishment ought not to be inflicted.'²⁸⁰

Arnold argued that the best approach was to retain corporal punishment but explain to the boys it was not degrading for them to receive it, as they *were* boys, and morally and intellectually inferior to the masters. However, at the same time they should be encouraged to know that the masters:

In proportion as we saw them trying to anticipate their age morally, so we should delight to anticipate it in our treatment of them personally - that every approach to the steadiness of principle shown in manhood should be considered as giving a claim to the responsibility of manhood - that we should be delighted to forget the inferiority of their age as they laboured to lessen their moral and intellectual inferiority. This would be a discipline truly generous and wise, in one word, truly Christian - making an increase of dignity the certain consequence of increased virtuous effort, but giving no countenance to that barbarian pride which claims the treatment of a freeman and an equal, while it cherishes all the carelessness, the folly and the low and selfish principle of a slave.

²⁸¹

In conclusion, Arnold did not consider corporal punishment to be degrading because he recognised that boys were morally and intellectually inferior to the masters. Caning students was not the first form of discipline used, unless the misdemeanour was of a particular pernicious nature such as

²⁷⁹ Albert Pell, *The Reminiscences of Albert Pell, sometime MP for South Leicester*, (London, John Murray, 1908) 23.

Pell records that in the third form his master used the cane a lot 'perhaps to warm himself on cold winter mornings', but Arnold soon moved Pell into the lower fourth form. However, Pell refers to himself as so lazy and unwilling to learn that the master of that form was forced to introduce the cane - and Pell himself had to go and purchase it from the town! The master was so ineffectual in wielding the instrument that Pell hardly suffered by it, however on his way back to his chair at the bottom of the form 'I was kicked on the ankles by at least twenty offended and scandalised companions during my passage. This was beyond endurance ; there was nothing left for me to do, no escape, save by mounting to the head of the form by means of studious exertion, and passing out with the least possible delay to a higher form. I lost no time in doing this, cleared the lot above me by an intellectual bound that bewildered my master, delighted Arnold, and at the end of the half I was off upwards.'

²⁸⁰ Arnold, *Miscellaneous Works*, 368.

²⁸¹ Arnold, *Miscellaneous works*, 369.

lying or graffiti. A Christian understanding of discipline meant that discipline was needed to help bring about the virtue of obedience, and therefore neither flogging nor the fear of being flogged were to be considered inherently evil. Furthermore, Arnold did not consider corporal punishment to be effective beyond the age of fifteen, as a student should have developed greater moral awareness by that age. Finally, other forms of discipline were practised at Rugby to promote order and safety for the students within the school. One of these was the custom of removing unpromising students from the school, a practise termed 'permanent exclusion' in the twenty-first century, but sometimes referred to as 'superannuation' at Rugby during the 1830s. Arnold's approach is considered below.

Expulsion and Removal

Arnold believed that a class could only progress by the average rate of capacity within it, and therefore it would be necessary from time to time to remove an older boy who showed no intellectual promise, or a lack of moral will, to advance. Behaviour which would be chastised in the lower school by caning would not necessarily change the attitude of an older boy, and so his continued presence in the school would only have a corrupting influence on the rest. In grave cases where boys were morally indisposed towards advancing or working hard, Arnold made it his practise to remove them.²⁸²

Sending away boys is a necessary and regular part of a good system, not as a punishment to one, but as a protection to others. Undoubtedly it would be a better system if there was no evil; but evil being unavoidable we are not a gaol to keep it in, but a place of education where we must cast it out, to prevent its taint from spreading.²⁸³

In a sermon preached on 'Christian Schools' Arnold asserted that every boy had a duty towards the school, and that 'over and above the sin of his own particular faults, he incurs a sin, I think even greater, by encouraging faults, or discouraging good in others; and further still, that he incurs a sin, less I grant than in the last case, but still considerable, by *being altogether indifferent to the conduct of others, by doing nothing to discourage evil, nothing to encourage good.*'²⁸⁴

²⁸² Arnold, *The Miscellaneous works*, 370.

²⁸³ Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 74.

²⁸⁴ Arnold, 'Sermon V- Luke 19:45-47' *The Christian Life, Its hopes etc*, 43. (emphasis mine)

Occasionally this 'failure to discourage evil' meant that Arnold had to send away very popular boys because he could see that their continued presence was leading the school away from excellence and good behaviour towards an acceptance of a lower standard. This was the case with George Hughes, older brother of Thomas, who was sent away from Rugby in the last half-year of his school career. The case is instructive regarding Arnold's policy and is examined below.

In 1839 an Italian stopped in the school close without permission, seeking to sell some 'religious images.' Some boys stole various images and smashed them, including one Thomas Hughes. Although a number of other boys did not confess their part in the vandalism, Thomas Hughes admitted his involvement and later volunteered to pay for the property he had destroyed. In addition to the vandalism a number of fire-crackers were let off in the close, causing great anxiety to the Italian merchant - something which the praepostors did nothing to prevent.

Arnold was very angry at the boys' behaviour, and urged the Sixth Form to find out who was responsible. However, those who *would* inform the Doctor could not do so (for they did not know who had done it) and those who *could* inform him would not. One of those who was able to find out the culprits was George Hughes, who was a praepostor - but he did not make strenuous enquiries. This led to a number of letters from Dr Arnold to Mr Hughes Sr, in which Mr Hughes sided very much with the Doctor.

I have received a letter from Dr. Arnold deserving attention, by which it appears that you have been remiss in your duties as a praepostor, though he speaks fairly enough as to your own personal conduct. He alludes particularly to the letting off of firework, and the man whose images were broken, in neither of which you appear to have shown due diligence in discovering or reporting the boys concerned.²⁸⁵

Mr. Hughes proceeded to tell George that in life it is necessary from time to time to engage in some very unpleasant acts, in order to ensure that discipline is maintained.²⁸⁶ He cited the example of a naval officer who would

²⁸⁵ Thomas Hughes, *Memoir of a Brother* (Boston, Osgood and Co., 1873) 34.

The problem of letting off fireworks and praepostors turning a blind eye to them did not stop after this occasion. Another student, John Conington, later ran into trouble over this issue in Cotton's house in 1841. On that occasion Arnold removed Conington from his position as head boy of the house - but he allowed him to stay in the school. The details are recorded in:

J.A. Symonds, (ed), *Miscellaneous Writings of John Conington, with a Memoir* (London, Longmans, 1872) xv, xvi.

²⁸⁶ Hughes Sr., was a magistrate and had been very involved in putting down several chartist rebellions and even prevented the burning down of a dissenting church on one occasion.

have to improve his vigilance over sailors under him if his ship were not to become a place of drunken disorder, and said that praepostors would need to do the same from time to time. His letter concluded with George being told 'The Doctor evidently thinks you could be of essential use to him if you liked, and I am sure he is much too fair and honourable a man to want to make spies of his pupils. If you do not back him in what he has a right to enforce, you pass a tacit censure on a man you profess to esteem.'²⁸⁷

In the end, Arnold had to send a number of students away from the school as a result of this incident. George Hughes was one of them - even though it seems he had not been personally involved in the fracas. George's crime was his unwillingness to discharge his duties properly as a praepostor, which meant a breakdown in discipline within the school, something that Arnold was unwilling to allow. However, Thomas Hughes records that despite this:

At the end of the half, Dr. Arnold, with his usual kindness, and with a view I believe to mark his approval of my brother's character and general conduct at the school, invited him to spend part of his holidays at the Lakes.²⁸⁸

In conclusion, Arnold's Christian convictions shaped his opinion of the place of discipline in the school, giving him a very high view of it. He taught the boys that God disciplined all of mankind and therefore that everyone is subject to discipline in one form or another. Arnold sought to develop a culture in the school where boys were so inclined to the good that they censured and frowned upon evil amongst their own number. Schoolboys were expected to learn their duty to obey those over them. Discipline in the school was enforced in different ways. Those in the younger forms had to obey the praepostors; failure to do so would lead to impositions, increased fagging and sometimes caning. However, the praepostors had to perform their duties diligently (which involved protecting the younger boys from bullying), and recognise that their allegiance must be greater to the Headmaster than towards their fellow students. The success of Arnold's system continues to be debated, but the

²⁸⁷ Hughes, *Memoir of a Brother*, 38.

²⁸⁸ Hughes, *Memoir of a Brother*, 41.

Arnold's home was at Fox How, Ambleside, in the Lake District. Hughes records that his brother took up the invitation and had a wonderful holiday.

summary of one of his earliest and oldest students (indeed, the last student ever to converse with him) is informative.

I have always thought that it was the average idle boy, such as those whom 'Tom Brown' describes, who were most improved, and more in their after-life than at school, by Arnold's training and example.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁹ Katherine Lake, *Memoirs of W. C. Lake, Dean of Durham, 1869-1894*, (London, E. Arnold, 1901) 15
Lake was part of that trio of students (including C.J. Vaughan and A.P. Stanley) that Arnold so greatly admired. He was also the last of Arnold's students to speak with him, visiting Arnold at Rugby the night before his unexpected death. See Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 459.

Chapter Six: **Learning from the Master: Reflections for today**

Although twenty-first century England is considerably different from Victorian England, and although it is true that Arnold was to a certain extent the product of his age, this chapter will contend that Arnold's theology and pedagogy can still provide a useful platform upon which some schools in England could build. However, it will also be argued that the fully state-funded sector of schools will not be able to gain from Arnold's pedagogy, because his pedagogy was driven by his theology, and unless his theology is accepted, his pedagogy cannot be. The two were intertwined, as Arnold believed education had to do with knowing and doing God's will.²⁹⁰ To put the case another way, this chapter argues that only those who accept Arnold's axioms (briefly outlined below) will be able to learn anything from him. Conversely, those who reject Arnold's presuppositions will find there is nothing they can learn from him or apply to their own models.

The chapter will begin by summarising Arnold's Christian convictions as explained in the previous chapters. These include Arnold's view of the role of the state, the place of Christ in a student's education, the fallenness of mankind and the role of discipline in the world. The chapter will then highlight the main political, social and educational differences between Arnold's time and today, revealing the challenge of learning from someone who lived two hundred years ago. Limitations of space necessarily mean a brief review. The next section then contrasts some of the state's educational convictions today with Arnold's. It will be argued that Arnold's beliefs about education cannot coexist alongside the state's views, and therefore one will have to make way for the other. This will be followed with a discussion of why Arnold's views would not be acceptable in a fully maintained state school, but how they might be applied in a private school, a church school, or a Free School. The chapter will close with a brief discussion regarding opportunities for further research, and concluding remarks from Coleridge and Arnold.

²⁹⁰ 'The University has solemnly avowed a principle to which I am totally opposed - namely that Education need not be connected with Christianity.' Stanley, *Life of Arnold*, 325.

A summary of Arnold's convictions.

The previous four chapters have detailed a number of Arnold's convictions. The paramount one which guided all the others, was that it was God's will that nations become Christian.²⁹¹ The state should be Christian because that was God's will, and God's will should be done.²⁹² As a natural consequence of this, Arnold believed education must also be Christian. In helping establish the University of London, Arnold wrote:

It is manifest to me that all our education must be Christian, and not be sectarian; I would ask no questions as to what denomination of Christians any student belonged; or if I did, I should only do it for the express purpose of avoiding in my examination all those particular points, in which I might happen to differ from him.... I hold with Algernon Sidney that there are but two things of vital importance, those which he calls Religion and Politics, but which I would rather call our duties and affections towards God, and our duties and affections towards men; *science and literature are but a poor make-up for the want of these.*²⁹³

In speaking of Christian education Arnold did not mean students being taught to observe particular rituals, but rather that they receive an education which helped them see that Christ's teaching was relevant for the whole of life. Thus a high priority was placed on learning from Christ. The third chapter has shown that Arnold felt someone should begin learning from Christ at a very young age, right until his or her death, including many values such as honesty, forgiveness, faith, courage, and diligence in work.

The fourth chapter has shown that Arnold believed in the fallenness of mankind and viewed his students as individuals whose nature was corrupted. He wanted them to realise that they needed to be redeemed and laziness and lying were two examples of sin that Arnold strived against. Finally, the fifth chapter has shown that Arnold believed discipline to be a positive force, that God used discipline in a manner similar to loving parents disciplining their children, and therefore loving educators ought also to discipline their students.

²⁹¹ 'The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever.' Thomas Arnold, *Sermons – Volume II*, vi. The Scripture quoted is Revelation 11:15. See also: Stanley, letter to Rev. F.C Blackstone, 14 March, 1828, *Life of Dr Arnold*, 51

²⁹² 'Believing that the end and object of a Christian kingdom or commonwealth is precisely the same with that of a Christian church, and that the separation of the two has led to the grievous corruption of both, making the state worldly and profane, and the church formal, superstitious, and idolatrous; believing further, that the state cannot be perfect till it possess the wisdom of the church, nor the church be perfect till it possess the power of the state... the perfect state and the perfect church are identical.' Arnold, *Modern Lectures*, 76-7.

²⁹³ Stanley, Letter to J.C. Platt, 5 February, 1836 in *The Life of Dr. Arnold*, 267, 268 [emphasis mine].

Most of Arnold's beliefs are some distance removed from twenty-first century views on education, as the next section briefly observes.

Contrasting Victorian and Twenty-first century England

Most twenty-first century ideas of citizenship are very different from Arnold's views, which has a bearing on the kind of education expected and delivered in classrooms today. For Arnold there was a distinction to be made between being a subject in the kingdom and a citizen of the kingdom.²⁹⁴ It must be remembered that in Victorian England a person was a subject of her Majesty's kingdom by virtue of birth, but in order to be a citizen other requirements had to be fulfilled. Arnold believed that a good education prepared someone not just for a career, but also for knowledge of how to behave towards his neighbour and engage thoughtfully in the political process.²⁹⁵

It is important therefore to note some of the political changes that have occurred in the last two hundred years, because Arnold's beliefs about statehood and citizenship influenced greatly his approach to educating the boys at Rugby. Most noticeably there is now a vote for every man and woman over the age of eighteen, a secret ballot, and property qualifications for members of parliament have been removed. In addition, payment for Members of Parliament have been introduced (so MPs are not drawn solely from wealthy classes or privileged positions) and constituencies are of roughly equal size.²⁹⁶

Arnold's idea that the state should be Christian (that is, laws based on New Testament morality and public holidays based on church holy-days) was not particularly controversial in early Victorian England. There was a general presumption that English education would be Christian and that the Bible would be considered historically and spiritually reliable.²⁹⁷ For Arnold and many of his

²⁹⁴ For Arnold, the ideal society was a Christian one (i.e. the church), but the state had authority over the church, and therefore the ideal nation existed only when the state/government/king were also Christian. Anybody born in the United Kingdom formed part of the nation, but the state was comprised of citizens and their elected representatives, both of whom should be Christians. This followed the classic Greek and Roman thought of citizenship. Ideally, over time, it was hoped the entire nation would become Christian. See earlier chapter for a fuller discussion.

²⁹⁵ 'If we call a people educated who possess only scientific or physical knowledge, we practically misapply the term; for though such knowledge be a very good education, as far as a man's trade or livelihood is concerned, yet in a political sense, and as a qualification for the exercise of political power, it is no education at all.' Arnold, *Miscellaneous Works*, 232.

²⁹⁶ For an interesting account of how voting took place in 1835, see Thomas Arnold Jr's account in: Arnold Jr, *Passages in a Wandering Life*, 29-30.

²⁹⁷ It should be remembered that only two universities existed in England until 1835, and to attend either of these one had to be a member of the Church of England. Thomas Hughes had one of his characters in *Tom Brown at Oxford* fail his viva for failing to know any of the 39 Articles of the Church of England.

contemporaries nothing was more reasonable than that the nation's education corresponded to the nation's religion - although there was disagreement about the best way to achieve this.²⁹⁸ It cannot be realistically maintained this is the view today.

Along with the political scene, the social fabric of England has greatly changed since the 1830s. Mass immigration, mass media, multiculturalism, and religious pluralism have led to significant changes in society and we do not know precisely what Arnold would say of these things, although to some extent Arnold did engage with religious pluralism, in as much as he sought to make the University of London a Christian university without sectarian division.²⁹⁹

Socially much has changed. In 1795, the year of Arnold's birth, King George III was still on the throne of England - seven monarchs have reigned since then. In 1801 the combined population of England and Wales was estimated to be 8.9 million people,³⁰⁰ the industrial revolution had not yet taken place, and the slave trade was ongoing. During Arnold's childhood railways did not exist and their forerunners, the canals, had only just begun to be dug. Water was drawn from a well, with the result that sanitation was of a much poorer standard than today. Poor drinking water led to increased consumption of alcohol with its attendant problems.

The Church of England had a hegemony over other Christian denominations as non-Anglicans were unable to attend Oxford or Cambridge. The Church played a prominent role as educator and enforcer of Christian values, as well as being a meeting place for people on a weekly basis. Belief in God and Jesus Christ as His Son was more widely accepted than is the case today, and other religious adherents were so small in number as to be inconsequential in the formation of public policy. It might be argued therefore that Arnold had a distinct advantage over educationalists now. Politically and socially the culture was Christian, and therefore citizenship and education could

²⁹⁸ Stanley, Letter to Reverend Dr Hawkins, 4th November 1835 in *The Life of Dr. Arnold*, 262 [On Arnold's acceptance of the office in the London University - emphasis mine].

²⁹⁹ Being offered the office of a Fellowship in the Senate of the new London University, Arnold joined it in the hope 'of realizing the visions he had long fondly entertained, of a great institution of national education, which (to use his own words) should be Christian, yet not sectarian.' Stanley, *The Life of Dr. Arnold*, 259. A number of letters record Arnold's attempts to make the university a source of Christian education, and his failure to achieve this led to his resignation in 1838. See Stanley, *The Life of Dr. Arnold*, 259-337.

³⁰⁰ Data obtained from the article 'Census Act 1801', available at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Census_Act_1800 (accessed Feb 16, 2013)

be considered Christian without attracting the controversy such a notion has today.³⁰¹

Within the context of this thesis, arguably the most important difference between Arnold's day and our own, is the existence of fully state-funded education. The state is by far the largest employer of teachers and educator of English school children. When Arnold propounded his theory of the ideal state, he had in mind the social conditions of the nineteenth century and there is little evidence he had conceived of the grand scale of national education found today.

Thus English society, culture and schooling has changed dramatically, and while this does not mean we cannot learn anything from Arnold, or that some of his methods and practises are not worth emulating, it does mean that unless his theological presuppositions are shared, his pedagogy becomes considerably less useful (some might say, highly questionable).

Why coexistence between Arnold and the State today is impossible

The complexity of comparing the British state in Arnold's time with the state today must be acknowledged. For Arnold, the state was effectively those who made laws (Parliament) and those who enforced them (county judges, squires, justices of the peace etc). In twenty-first century England the state is much larger than it was 200 years ago, and for the purposes of this chapter 'the state' should be understood as those who receive their pay at taxpayers expense, whose work is either to frame education policy and curriculum content (chiefly politicians and civil servants), or those whose work it is to teach that education and curriculum to English schoolchildren in state schools (usually teachers.³⁰²)

The challenge the state has is that the nation is made up of people with diverse views. What one person believes to be true another may well believe to be false.³⁰³ Those determining education policy for the nation therefore must make a choice. They either decide one particular set of values and beliefs is

³⁰¹ Hughes, *Memoir of a Brother*, viii.

'[Quit] yourselves as brave and true English boys and Englishmen, in whatever work or station God may be pleased to call you. You have all been taught to look to one life as your model, and to turn to Him who lived it on our earth...'

³⁰² With particular focus on secondary school teachers.

³⁰³ For instance, the cause (and effect) of climate change is contested.

truer, better and wiser than another, or they say all beliefs have equal value. Arnold's belief was that the Christian worldview was the best one, because he saw it as historically and morally true. The current approach appears to say that all beliefs about God have equal value, except for the belief that it is not necessary to believe in God, which is considered to be the true and best state of things. This is implied by the precedence given to Darwin's narrative of the origins of the world in science classes³⁰⁴ and that it is not necessary or deemed relevant to talk about God, or Jesus Christ, in maths, geography or English classes, etc.

The state appears to have decided that the Biblical account of the creation of the world is inaccurate, and therefore the Bible cannot be considered reliable as an historical source regarding the origins of the species.³⁰⁵ Thus the fallenness of mankind is not an explanation for behaviour, the state believes that some things are pre-programmed from birth (such as a predisposition towards alcoholism or sexual orientation). The underlying presupposition appears to be that some central tenants of Christianity are not true, and that education is entirely separate from Christianity.

In addition, in order for the state not to offend humanists, atheists, Muslims and other non-Christian groups, a Christian education of the nature that Arnold wanted simply cannot be provided. To do so would be to argue that a Christian culture and civilisation is superior to alternative cultures, and this is an impossible position for the state to maintain.

³⁰⁴ From the Department for Education website. Available at: <http://www.education.gov.uk/schools/leadership/typesofschools/freeschools/freeschoolsfaqs/a0075656/free-schools-faqs-curriculum> (accessed February 16, 2013)

According to the education department's website above, an evolutionary account of how the world came into being is expected to be taught in Free School science classes. Creationism and Intelligent Design are not expected to be taught as valid scientific theories in any state funded school.

See also the BBC article: 'Teaching evolution key to free school funding deal', November 30, 2012. Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-20547195> (accessed February 16, 2013)

³⁰⁵ 'Well to my mind, you cannot have a school which teaches creationism.' Michael Gove speaking on the BBC Andrew Marr show: 'Michael Gove MP transcript', Feb 14, 2010. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/8514945.stm (accessed April 21, 2013)

Arnold maintained that the state had to seek out the *whole* well-being of its people.³⁰⁶ The role of the state was to look out for the physical health, the intellectual achievement and the moral advancement of its people. Of these, the moral improvement of the people was its most important function, yet 'how can any Christian man lend himself to the propagating or sanctioning a system or moral knowledge which assumes that Christ's law is not our rule, nor His promises our motive of action?'³⁰⁷ It will be quickly seen that the state's presuppositions and Arnold's are separated by a vast gulf.

To uphold Jesus as a moral authority on any one subject (for example, taxation) would only be influential on Christians, unless Jesus be considered to be the sovereign authority over all. But for Jesus to be sovereign over all, he would have to be acknowledged as being greater than every other teacher (greater than Mohammed, Buddha and Darwin). This the state could not declare, and therefore Arnold's conviction that Christ should be recognised as the supreme teacher and authority cannot coexist with the state's view.

It is noteworthy that Arnold resigned from the University of London when it refused to operate in the name of the Lord Jesus and ensure that graduates were examined in their knowledge of the New Testament.³⁰⁸ This raises the question of whether he would have anything to do with English state education today, and whether English state-funded education could learn from him. Here is a man who argued it is God's will for England to be Christian, but is it in any way conceivable that education civil servants and teachers would ever sit down today and ask the question - 'what does God want our nation to be like'?

³⁰⁶ Arnold, *Lectures on Modern History*, 66.

He [the teacher] has one single object, to teach his own science effectually. But he who educates must take a higher view, and pursue an end accordingly far more complicated... he must consider every part of his pupil's nature, physical, intellectual, and moral; regarding the cultivation of the last as paramount to that of either of the others. [Now according to my theory, the state] is like the educator, and for this very reason, because its part cannot be subordinate; if you make the state no more than a particular teacher, we must look for the educator elsewhere; for the sovereign authority over us must be like the educator, it must regulate our particular lessons, and determine that we shall study most what is of most value.

Arnold, *Lectures on Modern History*, 76.

Now believing with the Archbishop of Dublin, that there is in the Christian church neither priesthood nor divine succession of governors, and believing with Mr. Gladstone that the state's highest objects are moral and not physical, I cannot but wonder that these two truths are in each of their systems divorced from their proper mates.

³⁰⁷ Stanley, Letter to Crabbe Robinson 15th March, 1837 in *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 305.

³⁰⁸ 'I cannot disguise from myself that the University of London, in its public capacity, cannot be considered as a Christian institution, although it may happen that all its branches individually may be Christians; and therefore I must withdraw from it.... To see my hopes for this new University thus frustrated, is one of the greatest disappointments I have ever met with. But I cannot be reconciled to such a total absence of all confession of the Lord Jesus, and such a total neglect of the command to do all things in His name, as seems to me to be hopelessly involved in the constitution of our University.' Stanley, *The Life of Dr. Arnold*, 332.

The state could, of course, choose to implement any of Arnold's specific educational ideas, but without the presuppositions that underpin them they would be somewhat meaningless and easily abandoned. Without agreement and confidence in the rationale behind them, they would become merely one set of rules or ideals among the entire pantheon of educational ideas, and as easily taken up or disposed of as pragmatism dictated.

In saying that educationalists could not learn anything from Arnold the argument is not that Arnold has nothing to say, but that his ideals are not supported by those who make public policy. In the view of those who make education policy or teach it, Christ need not be central, sinfulness is not a valid explanation for people's behaviour and discipline is not necessarily the act of a loving individual. These presuppositions prevent the state from learning from Arnold, and also make it highly unlikely that Arnold would have anything to do with state education today.³⁰⁹

Why fully maintained state schools cannot be like Arnold's Rugby.

English state-education is not uniform and there are differences between state-funded schools. A range extends from fully state-maintained community schools with no religious foundations to partially state-maintained voluntary-aided schools with a religious foundation. Therefore the extent to which Arnold's philosophy and pedagogy could be applied may vary from school to school. However, this section will reiterate reasons why insights from Arnold could not be adopted by fully maintained state schools.³¹⁰

First, it might be argued that whereas Arnold valued unity, today the state prefers diversity. At Rugby the boys studied the Bible as part of their divinity lessons so that they might place their faith in Christ and learn about God. In contrast, in twenty-first century England, six world religions are taught in

³⁰⁹ Of course it is impossible to state with one hundred percent certainty what Arnold would do today, because he is not alive. However, it seems likely that if he felt he could not support the University of London in the conferring of degrees because it did not make compulsory examinations in Scriptural History and a New Testament gospel, it is improbable that he would support current education policy today, which calls for even less Biblical and gospel knowledge. In his resignation letter to the chancellor of London University Arnold wrote:

'Even if it [the voluntary Biblical exam] were to answer practically better than I fear it will do, still it does not satisfy the great principle that Christianity should be the base of all public education in this country. Whereas with us it would be no essential part of one system, but merely a branch of knowledge which he might also, if he liked, wholly neglect, without forfeiting his claim, according to our estimate, to the title of a completely educated man.'

Stanley, *The Life of Dr. Arnold*, 337.

³¹⁰ Because Rugby was primarily a secondary school, this section will have in mind state secondary schools, unless otherwise stated.

Religious Education classes.³¹¹ The multi-faith approach is generally considered acceptable as long as none of the religions is promoted as being superior to others. A spokesman for the British Humanist Society has said that Christianity must not be taught as 'unalterable truth.'³¹² Some academics have noted 'the provision of multi-faith RE, which adopts a predominantly procedural and practical rather than ideological agnosticism, may have led to decreasing exposure to Christian knowledge, exacerbated the relativising effects of religious pluralisation, and thereby, furthered the secularisation or de-Christianisation of English society.'³¹³

Multi-faith teaching represents a noticeable difference from Arnold's approach to teaching Christianity. Arnold sought to bring his students to faith in Christ, in the twenty-first century, religions are taught so that students might learn what others believe, not that they should necessarily believe them themselves.

Second, it is unclear how many people share Arnold's conviction that England should be a Christian nation. While six out of ten people described themselves as Christian in the 2011 census, regular attendance at church has been declining for decades.³¹⁴ If, on average, eighty-five percent of the student body of any given state school do not attend church regularly, it may be concluded that worshipping God and knowing Jesus Christ are not considered priorities for English parents.

Whereas Arnold lived in a generation of people who believed the Bible to be true, and who sent missionaries into the world, in the twenty-first century a significant portion of the country disbelieve the Bible (the latest census figures revealing that some four out of ten adults do not associate themselves with the

³¹¹ These are Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism, Sikhism.

<https://www.education.gov.uk/publications/standard/publicationDetail/Page1/DCSF-RB197>

Religious Education is not defined in the national syllabus. The government's guidance states: 'Every locally agreed syllabus must reflect that the religious traditions of Great Britain are in the main Christian, while taking account of the teaching and practices of the other principal religions represented in Great Britain. The law does not define what the principal religions represented in Great Britain are. ASCs can decide which are the principal religions represented in Great Britain, other than Christianity, to be included in their agreed syllabus.'

See Religious Education in English Schools: Non-statutory guidance 2010, available at:

<http://media.education.gov.uk/assets/files/religious%20education%20guidance%20in%20schools.pdf> 14.

(accessed April 21, 2013)

³¹² "[Christianity] should not be taught as an unalterable truth, it is one belief system out of many."

From a BBC article 'Politician wants Lord's Prayer taught schools', July 20, 2012. Available at:

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-jersey-18923686> (accessed February 16, 2013)

³¹³ Rob Freathy and Steve Parker (2013), *Secularists, Humanists and Religious Education: Religious Crisis and Curriculum Change in England, 1963-1975*. 29-30.

³¹⁴ Statistics obtained from 'Why Church' website, using data from Christian Research. Available at:

<http://www.whychurch.org.uk/trends.php> (accessed February 16, 2013)

Christian religion³¹⁵), while only a very small number would believe all of it to be historically true. Therefore, if it cannot be said truly that England is a Christian nation, what call can there be for following Arnold's practise of providing a Christian education in order to produce Christian citizens?

Third, it is unlikely the state would be able to learn anything about the 'spiritual side to life' from Arnold, because:

a) Arnold did not believe the spiritual side was more important than the secular. He believed the whole of life was important to God and one could not divide the 'spiritual' from the 'non-spiritual.'³¹⁶

b) For state-funded educators to teach there is a spiritual dimension to life is to argue there is more to life than material things, and that the scientific process (by which things are measured and quantified) cannot answer every question or situation that life brings. However, educationalists will struggle to teach (or frame education policy) about a spiritual dimension to life unless they really believe there is a spiritual part to life.

Even if staff in a particular school were aware and believed that there be more to life than just the 'material', that 'spiritual' part of life would still lack definition. Who could define it? Arnold would say that only Jesus Christ can teach us about what it means to be fully and truly human, but to acknowledge Him as a teacher in this sphere is inconsistent unless some reason be given for why He should be an authority. And what could that authority be, without also acknowledging Him in all spheres? Why should Jesus Christ be considered an authority on these things, unless of course one accepts Arnold's argument that He is God's son?

In summary, in fully maintained state schools, Arnold's aim to have the school produce Christian students is unable to be upheld. His emphasis on Christ as educator would probably be considered anachronistic, and in practical terms only teachers who believed Christ is the supreme teacher could honestly promote Him as such anyway. Thus there would be the pragmatic problem of finding enough Christian teachers to staff all the schools. Furthermore, only

³¹⁵ From the BBC article 'Census shows raise in foreign born', December 11, 2012. Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-20675307> (accessed February 16, 2013)

³¹⁶ Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 321-22.

'This Marriage question is admirably fitted for showing the absurdity of the favourite distinction between spiritual things and secular. Every voluntary moral action is to a Christian both the one and the other... Ritual observances are not a Christian's religion. A Christian's religion is co-extensive with his life...' See also Arnold's comments about the falseness of a secular and spiritual distinction: Thomas Arnold, *Fragment on the Church*, (London, Fellowes, 1844) 13-21

parents who wanted their children to know more about Christ would approve of such a pedagogical approach, and Arnold's conviction that Human Nature is fallen would probably be contested in an age where genetics or psychological and sociological factors are more often used as explanations for student misbehaviour.

Taken as a whole, it does not seem possible for fully maintained state schools to follow Arnold's approach of producing Christian citizens, without opening greater questions about the identity of the nation. Nevertheless, questions from Arnold's theology and pedagogy remain. If it is not God's will for England to be Christian, what is His will for the nation? What is the alternative vision for the nation regarding its moral values and the duties expected of its citizens? If the education is to be purely secular, where is Jesus Christ to fit in? Is it possible to teach English History without understanding Christianity? How is misbehaviour to be accounted for amongst students, and what role should discipline have in the educative process? It is beyond the scope of this thesis to consider these questions, although they may remain an area of further research.

An independent school like Arnold's Rugby?

However, even though Arnold's views cannot coexist within fully maintained state schools, the question remains whether an independent school could be modelled on Arnold's Rugby. This seems possible, as a number of independent schools already promote themselves as institutions of Christian education.³¹⁷

Some independent Christian schools accept Arnold's presuppositions that God wants people to become Christians, that the Kingdom of God is a place of peace and harmony - and a Christian society and nation is to be

³¹⁷ See Monkton Combe (<http://www.monktoncombeschool.com>) and Kingham Hill (<http://www.kinghamhill.org.uk>) as two schools with strong Christian ethos, which was the purpose of their original establishment.

desired.³¹⁸ The idea that schoolchildren can and should learn from Christ is not controversial to Christian parents, and the fallenness of mankind and the positive use of discipline are not necessarily outdated ideas in Christian schools.

Essentially two principle themes would need to be established or applied in an independent school to make it correspond more closely to Arnold's Rugby. First, the aim of the school would need to be that of Arnold's. Just as Arnold sought to have Christian men leave Rugby, so an independent school would also need to seek to have Christian students leave the school knowing their duty to God and to each other.

Second, the culture of the school would need to correspond to Arnold's ideals. As noted in previous chapters this would involve placing Christ as the central teacher and educator, as well as maintaining a Biblical understanding of human nature and the place of discipline within the school. Appendix Four outlines some aspects of Rugby culture under Arnold. Of course not every aspect of 1830s Rugby culture could be incorporated (corporal punishment, for example, could not be), but the overall ethos certainly could be. Perhaps the most important question for such a school would be 'are there enough Christian parents in England who want to pay to provide an overtly Christian education, and would they continue to send their children to such a school?' However, while this would be a question for a private Christian school, other questions would have to be considered if English state-schooling were to embrace Arnold's model as a whole.

A voluntary-aided (church) school like Arnold's Rugby?

Not all state schools are fully maintained and a partially state-maintained voluntary-aided school with a religious foundation (a church school) might find

³¹⁸ 'Nearly 150 years later much has changed at Monkton but it is the aim of the school to remain true to its foundation and roots. With that in mind our aims may be summarised as follows:-

To continue to emphasise the importance of the Christian faith and to convey consistently the relevance of God's message in a changing world, extending the School's Christian principles beyond acts of worship so that they underpin the whole fabric of the community and its activities.'

<http://monktoncombeschool.com/about-monkton/christian-ethos-values.html>

'All parents want the following for their children: a wholesome environment that promotes and instills strong moral values, encourages personal responsibility, and develops confident characters who have a concern for the needs of others. At Kingham Hill we recognise that such an ethos cannot exist in a vacuum, and we are a proudly Christian school...Kingham Hill is most definitely a school that believes in educating the 'whole person'. We seek not only academic excellence, but rounded young people who know what it means to love both God and their neighbour.'

<http://www.kinghamhill.org.uk/index.php/Christian-Ethos/school/christian-ethos/menu-id-1631.html>

lessons learnt from Arnold easier to apply. The key question would be ‘to what extent do we accept Arnold’s theology as our own, and to what extent will we be permitted to establish a school culture and pedagogy based on his theology, without the State applying some kind of negative sanction?’

While a voluntary-aided school must meet statutory requirements for the appointment of teachers and the provision of education according to the national curriculum, such schools enjoy two significant differences from fully maintained schools. First, where the school is designated with a religious character, the governing body may discriminate in employment of all teaching staff on grounds of faith.³¹⁹ Second, the religious education must be provided according to the school’s trust deeds unless parents request the local syllabus. Ofsted does not inspect Religious Education in voluntary-aided schools.³²⁰

Furthermore, where a voluntary-aided school is oversubscribed it may prioritise up to one hundred percent on faith based admissions. Therefore voluntary-aided Christian schools have a greater opportunity to adopt Arnold’s theology and pedagogy into their school, should they wish to. Depending on where the school is located in the country, and the strength of conviction of the governing body and headteacher, it could be a rather straightforward process to adopt much of Arnold’s Rugby culture, especially if all the students were drawn from churchgoing families.

A Free School developed on Arnold’s Rugby?

Somewhere between the two extremes of fully taxpayer-funded schools and private schools lies the new idea of Free Schools. A Free School is a school in England funded by the taxpayer, non-selective and free to attend, but not controlled by a local authority. The idea behind Free Schools is that the government would fund directly various trusts, charities, parent groups and others who are interested in establishing a school.³²¹ For instance, if a group of parents wished to have their children learn Latin and obtain a classical

³¹⁹ Some thirty-four percent of maintained schools in England are schools with a religious character and there were 4221 voluntary-aided schools on 1 January 2011. From the Department for Education website. Available at: <http://www.education.gov.uk/b00198369/voluntary-and-faith-schools/voluntary-aided-schools> (accessed February 16, 2013)

³²⁰ From the Department for Education website. Available at: <http://www.education.gov.uk/b00198369/voluntary-and-faith-schools/voluntary-aided-schools> (accessed February 16, 2013)

³²¹ From the Department for Education website. Available at: <http://www.education.gov.uk/schools/leadership/typesofschoools/freeschools> (accessed February 16, 2013)

education, they could start a Free School that provides this kind of curriculum.³²²

Free Schools have the potential (theoretically) to operate as private schools, but with funding coming from the taxpayer as opposed to directly charging the parents of the children. They are controversial because the state rescinds considerable control over what may be taught, and in some cases may permit the charging of fees (where the school is a boarding school).³²³ Some critics feel Free Schools will only benefit the middle class, because they think poorer, working class parents will not have the time, inclination or ability to establish such schools, and that money will be taken that is needed in other areas of the education budget.³²⁴

There have also been fears expressed in some quarters that evolution might not be taught in Christian Free Schools and the Biblical account of creation could be. Because English education has, in practise, for some time been providing a largely secular education,³²⁵ the idea that the Bible might be taught as historically reliable goes against the general direction in which state education has been moving within England. The single curriculum requirement that must be followed by all Free Schools is that only an evolutionary account of how the world came into being may be permitted in science classes. This suggests the state's *a priori* commitment is to ensure students need not believe in God.³²⁶

³²² From the Department for Education website. Available at: <http://www.education.gov.uk/schools/leadership/typesofschools/freeschools/b0061428/free-schools/what> (accessed February 16, 2013)

According to the website, 'The thing which unites all Free Schools is that they are being set up in response to real demand within a local area for a greater variety of schools, they meet rigorous standards and they are all absolutely committed to providing young people with the best possible chance to succeed.'

³²³ From the BBC article 'Eton to sponsor Berkshire Free School', January 31, 2013. Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-berkshire-21261988> (accessed February 16, 2013)

³²⁴ From the BBC article 'Beccles Free School attracts 34 more students', January 8, 2013. Available at:

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-suffolk-20917306> (accessed February 16, 2013)

From the BBC article 'Free Schools:Q and A', September 3, 2012. Available at:

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-13266290> (accessed February 16, 2013)

³²⁵ Trevor Cooling, *Doing God in Education* (London, Theos, 2010) Cooling's paper outlines the thinking of the British Humanist Association and their attempts to make education 'objective' by leaving God out of the picture.

³²⁶ From the Department for Education website. Available at:

<http://www.education.gov.uk/schools/leadership/typesofschools/freeschools/freeschoolsfaqs/a0075656/free-schools-faqs-curriculum> (accessed February 16, 2013)

According to the education department's website above, an evolutionary account of how the world came into being is expected to be taught in Free School science classes. Creationism and Intelligent Design are not expected to be taught as valid scientific theories in any state funded school.

See also the BBC article: 'Teaching evolution key to free school funding deal', November 30, 2012. Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-20547195> (accessed February 16, 2013)

The Education Secretary, Michael Gove, has said that he will not allow religious fundamentalist groups to establish Free Schools,³²⁷ and some educationalists have suggested that ‘philanthropists with publicly known religious convictions, who created the bedrock upon which state education was built in the nineteenth century, are now more likely to attract controversy than plaudits if they offer sponsorship to schools.’³²⁸ All of which means that it would be difficult to establish a Free School along Arnoldian lines, although certainly not impossible.

Indeed, Trinity School in Sevenoaks, Kent, is expected to open in 2013 with a strong Christian culture.³²⁹ The school prospectus openly declares the Christian ethos of the school:

We believe that every young person is made in God’s image, and is infinitely valuable to Him. Each is born with unique skills, aptitudes and talents which we will nurture so that they can flourish and live life to the full.³³⁰

Trinity’s timetable has been structured in such a way that Wednesday afternoons will be given over to community service projects. Given Arnold’s emphasis on imitating Christ in doing good, the concept of serving the community readily follows his model. There is a strong emphasis on Christian education as well as the desire to provide Christian pastoral support in various forms, including the appointment of a chaplain. The six values of the school are listed as Christian, High Achieving, Local, Disciplined, Nurturing and Serving.³³¹ Wittingly or not, Trinity appears to have captured many of Arnold’s ideals.

However, the challenge for a Free School to maintain an Arnoldian culture is somewhat different from that of an independent school seeking to do the same. An independent school needs to attract fee-paying Christians, and failure to do so will lead to the closure of the school. A Free School is less likely

³²⁷ Sarah Harris, ‘Anger as Michael Gove refuses to set a cap on pay for academy headteachers’. Daily Mail, 27 May 2010. Available at:

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1281618/Michael-Gove-refuses-set-cap-pay-academy-headteachers.html#ixzz2LAU6ldbo> (accessed February 16, 2013)

³²⁸ David Crook, Rob Freathy & Susannah Wright (2011): *Citizenship, Religion and Education*, History of Education, 40:6, 698 The authors observe ‘Sir Peter Vardy, a devout Christian who heads the UK’s second largest car dealer group and chairs the Emmanuel Schools Foundation has attracted particular controversy.’ See Jim Simpson, ‘Sir Peter Vardy’, *Director* 59, no. 5 (December 2005), 40-44.

³²⁹ From the Trinity School (Sevenoaks) prospectus. Available at <http://www.trinitysevenoaks.org.uk> (accessed February 16, 2013)

³³⁰ From page two of the Trinity School (Sevenoaks) prospectus. Available at <http://www.trinitysevenoaks.org.uk> (accessed February 16, 2013)

³³¹ From page four of the Trinity School (Sevenoaks) prospectus. Available at <http://www.trinitysevenoaks.org.uk> (accessed February 16, 2013)

to have a shortage of prospective students, as its admissions policy will of necessity be broader. However, the difficulty would then be to maintain a culture like Arnold's Rugby in a world that is vastly different from his. Whether Free Schools will 'catch on' in England and become commonplace remains to be seen - it is possible they may be a 'blip' on the radar of English education history. Their development, success and impact remain areas for future research.

In conclusion, while it is possible for a twenty-first century school to be created that follows many aspects of Arnold's Rugby, in reality it is the independent; church; or Free Schools which would be best able to emulate Arnold's approach. In part this is because Rugby was a private school, but more importantly, this is because the state does not share Arnold's theology or vision for the nation. Decidedly Christian schools appear to be a minority desire in twenty-first century England. Thus, this chapter has argued that only those who agree with Arnold's axioms are able to learn anything from him, while those who reject Arnold's presuppositions will probably conclude there is little of substance they can learn from him or apply to their own models today.

Further Research

The question of what makes up English identity remains controversial both politically and socially. State-sponsored education by definition conveys the values of the state, and the question of what it means, or what it should mean, to be English, is unresolved and highly contested. In Arnold's day Christianity was considered part of the English identity,³³² this could not be said of the nation today. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to resolve the question of English identity, however it has been noted that Arnold had the strong conviction that it was God's will that nations should be Christian, and that religion forms part of a nation's identity.³³³ Further research would be needed to determine the extent to which English citizens want to be identified as Christian (or atheistic, or any other religion) and the subsequent place in state-education for that particular ontological world-view would then need to be developed.

³³² Hughes, *Memoir of a Brother*, viii.

'[Quit] yourselves as brave and true English boys and Englishmen, in whatever work or station God may be pleased to call you. You have all been taught to look to one life as your model, and to turn to Him who lived it on our earth...'

³³³ Arnold, *Lectures on Modern History*, 43

'By the great elements of nationality, I mean race, language, institutions, and religion.'

The thesis has observed that Arnold's view on citizenship was vastly different from today. Further research could be undertaken to consider the practical benefits (if any) of changing the definition of citizenship so that while all were subject to the laws and taxes of the United Kingdom, not all would be citizens. A system of qualifying to have the right to vote would be hugely controversial and politically difficult to implement, but further research may yield a heretofore unseen future for England which may prove to be attractive. It is beyond the remit of this thesis to consider the question of citizenship, however it is important to note that Arnold's view of the ideal nation-state was based on his conviction that the kingdoms of this world should become the kingdoms of Christ, and this belief influenced his ideas of citizenship and affected his educational practice.

Finally, this thesis has suggested four areas in which Arnold's faith informed his pedagogy. Others that could be considered in a larger work might be the place of grace and forgiveness in the classroom and the nature of true wisdom. With respect to applying 1830s Rugby school culture, much more could be written on the school and classroom culture at Rugby during Arnold's headmastership. For example, the way success was rewarded, the length of lessons, and Arnold's tendency to ask 'queer, out of the way, questions' to encourage the student to think 'outside of the box.'³³⁴ It is certainly the case that more could be written about Arnold's theology and its practical applications to school life.

Conclusion

While funding plays a major part in the future of any school, perhaps the key feature of a successful school is the character and beliefs of its headteacher. Any governors wishing to model their school's curriculum and culture upon Arnold's Rugby, would need to find a headteacher who models himself (or herself) on Thomas Arnold. It was predicted of Arnold that if he were given the post of Headmaster of Rugby he would change the face of education within the public schools of England.³³⁵

³³⁴ See Appendix Four for an expansion of these ideas, although many others could be researched.

³³⁵ Stanley, *Life of Arnold*, 30.

Years later, Arnold's friend John Taylor Coleridge, gave his assessment of why Arnold was so successful:

What was the secret of Arnold's success while alive? ... I think it lay peculiarly in his correct and worthy appreciation of the task which God had called on him to accomplish... he looked upon himself in his school as God's minister, specially charged with the training of immortal souls; he was to send forth boys fitted to become good citizens, to fight as good soldiers in the warfare ever to be waged against the powers of evil. He took up his task, not as one which was to occupy a few years of the active part of his life, as a road to wealth, as a passport to promotion; but as the work of all his working days, which brought with it in itself its own reward, and was such a work as it was honourable to be engaged in.³³⁶

It has been the central point of this thesis that Thomas Arnold's Christian faith shaped his view of what makes a good education, and it logically follows that to share his pedagogy one will need to share his faith. However, is it really possible that a school based on Arnold's Rugby could succeed in twenty-first century England? Perhaps it is best to answer that question, and close this thesis, with words from the Doctor himself:

It is a far safer thought to consider, not how long our works may last, but how soon we must leave them. The shortness of our own time bids us remember that we are but God's instruments, appointed to labour for a little while on a particular little part of His great work; but that neither its beginning nor its finishing belongs to us, nor can we so much as understand the vastness of its range. Our best praise is that bestowed on David, that we serve our own generation by the will of God, and then fall asleep, and be gathered to our fathers, and see corruption. Whether our work may endure on earth or no, we can never tell; the wisdom of the wise, and the virtue of the good, have too often remained without fruit, except that eternal fruit which remains for all those who work God's work heartily, without presuming to think that it is their own.³³⁷

³³⁶ John Taylor Coleridge, *Public School Education - A Lecture* (London, John Murray, 1860) 58 - 60.

³³⁷ Arnold, Sermon XXI - John 9:4, *Interpretation of Scripture*, 231.

Appendix I: Timeline of Arnold's life (1795 - 1842)

(including personal and political events connected with the period)

	<u>Date & Age</u>	<u>Personal Events</u>	<u>Political Events</u>
1795			
1797	(2)	Born June 13th, seventh child & youngest son of William and Martha Arnold – West Cowes, Isle of Wight.	England at war with France.
1799	(4)		
1801	(6)	Death of father, March 3, 1801.	Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland (1 Jan, 1801).
1803	(8)		
1805	(10)	Enrolled at Warminster.	
1807	(12)	Death of brother William, 1806. Enrolled at Winchester.	Nelson defeats French Navy at the Battle of Trafalgar.
1809	(14)		
1811	(16)		
1813	(18)		Prime Minister Perceval assassinated.
1815	(20)		
1817	(22)	Conferred a 'First' in <i>Literae Humaniores</i> , from Oxford.	
1819	(24)	Brother's death, Matthew, 1820	
1821	(26)	Marries Mary Penrose, 1820. Birth of Jane, 1821.	Death of King George III.
1823	(28)	Birth of Matthew, 1822. Birth of Thomas, 1823.	
1825	(30)	Birth of Mary, 1825. Birth of Edward, 1826.	
1827	(32)	Birth of William, 1828.	
1829	(34)	Death of mother, 1829. Birth of Susanna, 1830.	Arnold's 'Catholic Emancipation' pamphlet published. Death of George IV.
1831	(36)	Death of daughter born prematurely 1832. Death of sister Susannah, August 1832.	Reform Act 1832.
1833	(38)	March flogging controversy. ³³⁸	
1835	(40)	Birth of Frances, 1834. Birth of Walter, 1835.	Arnold's 'Church Reform' pamphlet caused a storm to break over his head. ³³⁹
1837	(42)		Death of King William IV.
1839	(44)	Wratislaw case (Jan 1839)	Queen Victoria begins her reign.
1841	(46)		
1843		Arnold dies at Rugby, June 12, 1842.	

³³⁸ Terence Copley, *Black Tom: Arnold of Rugby*, (Continuum, London, 2002) 139-143

³³⁹ Arthur Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, (London, Ward, Lock & Co, 1844) 189-194

Appendix II: Assistant Masters appointed by Dr Arnold

- 1829** - John Sale, Writing Master.
- 1830** - Bonamy Price, Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford, First Classes in Classics and Mathematics, 1829. Professor of Political Economy, Oxford, 1873.
- Louis Pons, Master of Modern Languages. Resigned, 1837.
 - **Rev.** James Prince Lee, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Craven Scholar, 1827. Appointed Master of Birmingham School, 1838, and First Bishop of Manchester, 1848. Died, December, 1869.
- 1831** - **Rev.** Algernon Grenfell, University College, Oxford, First Class in Mathematics, 1824.
- Dr. Seebold, Master of Modern Languages. Resigned in 1837.
- 1836** - Herbert Hill, Fellow of New College, Oxford. Resigned, 1837. Master of Warwick School.
- 1837** - **The Right Rev.** George Edward Lynch Cotton, Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. Eighth in the First Class Classics, 1836. Elected Fellow of Trinity College, 1838. Headmaster of Marlborough College, 1852. Bishop of Calcutta, 1858. Died, October, 1866.
- 1838** - **Rev.** Alexander Frederick Merivale, M.A. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Wrangler, and fifth in the First Class Classics, 1835.
- 1839** - **Rev.** John Penrose, Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. Appointed Master of Exmouth School, 1846.
- 1840** - **Rev.** Charles Mayor, of Trinity College, Cambridge. Fourth in the First Class of the Classical Tripos, 1837.
- 1841** - **Rev.** Charles Thomas Arnold, M.A., Lusby Scholar of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, First Class in Classics, 1840. Died at Rome, May 9, 1878.
- Rev.** Henry Highton, Michel Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. First Class in Classics, and 2nd Class in Mathematics, 1837. Headmaster of Cheltenham College, 1859-62. Died, December, 1873.³⁴⁰

³⁴⁰ Information obtained from the Rugby School Registrar, available online at: http://www.archive.org/stream/rugbyschoolregis01rugbuoft/rugbyschoolregis01rugbuoft_djvu.txt
Price, Penrose, Mayor, Arnold (no relation) and Highton were all former students of Dr Arnold.

Appendix III: Sermon Index

Key:

Vol. I = *Sermons Volume I*
 Vol. II = *Sermons Volume II*
 Vol. III = *Sermons Volume III*
 Vol. IV = *The Christian Life, Its course, its hindrances, its helps.*
 Vol. V = *The Christian Life, Its hopes, its fears, and its close.*
 Vol. VI = *Sermons Chiefly on the Interpretation of Scripture.*
 Vol. VII = *Interpretation of Prophecy*

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 1:31 Vol. II, Sermon 31
 2:3 Vol. III, Sermon 22
 3:15 Vol. VI, Sermon 2
 3:22 Vol. IV, Sermon 1
 6:12 Vol. V, Sermon 10
 8:21 Vol. I, Sermon 3
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Exodus

3:6 Vol. IV, Sermon 28
 3:12 Vol. VI, Sermon 3
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 14:20 Vol. V, Sermon 14

Leviticus

Deuteronomy

4:9 Vol. V, Sermon 37
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 9:1 Vol. V, Sermon 38
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 18:67 Vol. VI, Sermon 5

Numbers

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 23:9 Vol. VII, Sermon 1
 25:12-13 Vol. VI, Sermon 7

Joshua

Judges

5:24 Vol. VI, Sermon 8

Ruth

1 Samuel

2:25 Vol. III, Sermon 26

2 Samuel

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 26:14 Vol. I, Sermon 19

1 Kings

13:26 Vol. VI, Sermon 10
 22:23 Vol. VI, Sermon 11

2 Kings

2:24 Vol. II, Sermon 7

1 Chronicles

2 Chronicles

Ezra

Nehemiah

Esther

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Psalms

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Proverbs

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Ecclesiastes

Song of Solomon

Isaiah

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 11:6 Vol. I, Sermon 6
 32:13 Vol. II, Sermon 29

Jeremiah

36:23 Vol. III, Sermon 25

Lamentations

Ezekiel

13:22 Vol. IV, Sermon 20
 18:31-32 Vol. III, Sermon 26
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Daniel

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Hosea

Joel

Amos

Obadiah

Jonah

Micah

Nahum

Habakkuk

Zephaniah

Haggai

Zechariah

Malachi

3:16 Vol. I, Sermon 21, 22

New Testament

Matthew

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 4:6 Vol. VII, Sermon 2
 6:10 Vol. I, Sermon 16
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 11:9 Vol. III, Sermon 9
 11:27 Vol. III, Sermon 4
 12:38 Vol. V, Sermon 2
 13:17 Vol. I, Sermon 5
 15:16 Vol. V, Sermon 8
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 11:25 Vol. IV, Sermon 15
 11:52 Vol. II, Sermon 33
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Appendix IV - Notes on Rugby School Culture

Arnold sought to establish a Christian culture at Rugby. A school trying to achieve a similar culture would likely need to go about it in the same way. The headmaster would need to be a committed Christian, someone who saw his work as bringing youngsters to Christ and his own personal work as a task given him by God. An individual who was in the job simply to make money or as a stepping stone to promotion would not be the right character. The headmaster would then need to follow Arnold's example and seek to appoint other Christian staff, because a Christian education requires Christian educators. The more these teachers shared Arnold's view of Jesus Christ, of human nature and Arnold's approach to discipline, the greater the school would correspond to Rugby in the 1830s.

With respect to students' beliefs, it would probably not be necessary for an independent school to have a selective admissions policy based upon the religious beliefs of the parents or pupils (Rugby did not have one under Arnold). In reality it is likely that a school that portrayed itself as overtly Christian would attract only those parents who wanted to provide their children with such an education, while simultaneously making itself unattractive to those who consider Christian education and values to be unimportant. Christians might be willing to pay money to provide their children with a Christian education, but it is unlikely non-Christians would do the same if they could obtain what they considered was a satisfactory education for their child at taxpayers expense.

Christ the educator

Arnold believed youngsters should hear of Jesus of Nazareth from a very young age, and that they could take comfort from his words 'let the little children come unto me.'³⁴¹ He did not believe anyone should ever stop learning from Christ and was convinced that His personal characteristics were virtues that also should be learnt and imitated if a boy was to be considered properly educated. An educated individual was one who had Christ's honesty, Christ's faith in God, Christ's attitude to work and Christ's desire to be, and do, good. More explicitly, an educated person was one who 'knew God's will and was enabled through life to execute it.'³⁴²

Arnold believed someone should learn from Christ because He was the perfect man, the perfect role model - and because ultimately He was the only one who had

³⁴¹ Arnold's father died unexpectedly when Thomas was just five. Less than a week before his death, Arnold Sr had asked his young son to read him a sermon from the epistle of James, in which were the words 'Whereas ye know not what shall be on the morrow. For what is your life? It is even a vapour, that appeareth for a little time, and then vanisheth away. For that ye ought to say, If the Lord will, we shall live, and do this, or that.' Arnold Sr's sudden death forced home the meaning of these words to Thomas, and he thereafter was convinced of the truth of the Bible and the importance of believing it from a young age. See Stanley, *Life of Dr. Arnold*, 460.

³⁴² Arnold, 'Sermon XVI - Deut 11:19' *Sermons – Volume III*, 138

the power to raise the dead from their graves. Christ's example and His commandments were regularly explained to the boys in chapel and to the Sixth Form. Thomas Hughes would later say of his time at Rugby that faith in Christ was one of the invaluable possessions he took away from Rugby.³⁴³ Any school seeking to follow Arnold's model would want to communicate that faith to its students, because it would be a fundamental aspect of the school's culture.

Human Nature

Arnold's view of the nature of the students, being Biblically informed, would also need to be held by the staff. That is, students, although equal to their teachers in terms of being made in God's image and individuals for whom Christ died, would not be considered equal to their teachers in regard to their knowledge, wisdom or moral character. Respect would be *given* by the staff to the students, and expected from the students in return. The popular idea that respect is earned would be superseded by the Biblical teaching that respect is *given*.³⁴⁴ Certainly Arnold did not expect to earn the students' respect, but he did expect to receive it.

Furthermore, an awareness that children are often thoughtless of others and naturally self-centred would help remind teachers why playground and classroom disputes occur. The tendency for idleness could be watched for and striven against, for example in the area of completing homework. The problem of peer pressure would also be acknowledged, and a vigilant teacher would seek to minimise negative peer pressure (for instance, where disobedient students encouraged others to be disobedient too).

Chapel

Rugby's school culture was influenced by the direct teaching of Arnold to the whole school in chapel. An independent school seeking to follow Arnold's example would do well to incorporate 'Chapel' into its programme of education and teaching. If knowing Jesus Christ is important, as Arnold believed, then proclaiming his words and applying them to school life is essential. Chapel services provide an opportunity for Christ to be made known, just as mathematics classes provide an opportunity for maths to be learnt. Thus if knowing mathematics is considered important and made part of the school culture, so too will chapel be given an important place within the school. Chapel buildings are not usually incorporated into day schools in England, but many independent schools are boarding schools and, especially if they have a church foundation, often have chapels or a church attached to their grounds.

³⁴³ Hughes, *True Manliness*, x

³⁴⁴ Romans 13:7 (RSV)

Fags

To a certain extent fagging is no longer necessary in the way it was in the nineteenth century. If senior students want to send messages they can easily use their phones or email. Thus the need for menial work done by fags is somewhat nullified. Nevertheless, one of the virtues of Christ that Arnold sought to inculcate at Rugby was obedience. The Sixth Form helped police the school and maintain order, but also by virtue of their position established the practise of having younger students learn to obey instructions while at the same time receiving protection from bullies. A potential problem here lies in the possibility of Year Thirteen³⁴⁵ students abusing their position as prefects. Arnold was aware of this possibility but argued that if a certain group were officially given power over others, any abuse of that power would be reported and the informer would not be considered a 'snitch', but a champion of the liberties of others.³⁴⁶

In many schools the problem of bullying will occur unless a culture is in place to prevent it. A school wishing to emulate Arnold by making their school a Christian environment will want to provide a structure by which bullying is removed or kept to a minimum. Appropriate use of Year Thirteen students as Prefects would be an area of school culture relatively easy to enforce, with the Headmaster keeping close eye and constant communication with the Prefects to ensure the smooth running of the school. Some schools establish 'buddy' programmes with Year Thirteen students assigned a Year Seven student to look after and welcome into the school, and this could to some extent align itself to Arnold's model of using fags.

Rewarding success

Arnold introduced a culture of success into Rugby by awarding prizes for those who had written the best compositions and poems. In addition, several scholarships were available to those students who achieved the highest academic success in the school. These scholarships paid for students to attend the universities, and a similar programme would no doubt encourage senior students to be diligent in their work today. Furthermore, there was a lower school scholarship available to one boy each year who was under the age of fourteen and a half at the time of election. This scholarship was then given to the boy for up to six years after his election, provided he stayed at Rugby.³⁴⁷ No doubt a similar scheme would encourage junior school students to apply themselves to their work in a private school, while a modified scheme could work well in a Free School.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁵ Year Thirteen is the term used for the year group formerly known as 'Upper Sixth' and Year Seven is the term for what used to be called 'First Formers.'

³⁴⁶ Arnold, *Miscellaneous works*, 376.

³⁴⁷ Arnold, 'Rugby School - Use of the Classics' *The Miscellaneous works*, 347-8.

³⁴⁸ A private school could offer a waiver of fees, but Free schools are unable to charge fees, so the winning of a scholarship could involve the receipt of a prize (for example, £50 book vouchers every year for the next two or three years, provided the student stayed at the school).

It is perhaps worthwhile noting here the way students advanced in their classes at Rugby. Students sat on long forms and, as they succeeded in their lessons, they advanced along the form towards the master, literally towards the top of the class. By the end of the half year a number of students would be ready to move up into the next form.³⁴⁹ If a student failed to answer a question correctly, and a student below him was successful, then the boys would change places on the form.³⁵⁰ This system had the distinct advantage of allowing students to know exactly where they were in the class in respect to their ability, and allowed them to see how much work would need to be done to advance into the next level. However, the disadvantage of this system was that it measured students' ability relatively, rather than absolutely. Therefore, if it were used today some sort of school-wide standardised examination would still be needed to ensure that the students had attained the requisite level for their age.

Whether a Headteacher would have the courage to introduce such a system in a school would depend on the individual. There could be cries of 'you can't do that - you'll crush the self-esteem of the less able' from various quarters.³⁵¹ However the advantage of a Free School is that it would be a new school, beginning from 'scratch' and depending on the attitudes of the staff appointed, may well be willing to employ a system that so visibly recognises 'success'.

Lessons

Arnold believed that just as Jesus Christ grew in stature and wisdom, so too should young scholars. The 'question and answer' approach to teaching and learning that is briefly mentioned in the gospel of Luke³⁵² was one that Arnold employed in the classroom, and it appears to have been appreciated by his students. Stanley recorded in a letter written when he was in the fourth form that Arnold used to inspect the boys in Latin; that he used to walk around the room (as opposed to sit at the desk) and that he was very particular about chronology, history and geography. When questioning the class about aspects of history, Stanley recorded that the Doctor 'asks queer, out-of-the-way questions.'³⁵³

There is no reason why such a 'question and answer' approach could not be used in a school today, with the students asking themselves (or even the teacher) questions - both as an effort to learn more (questions directed at the teacher) or to

³⁴⁹ Bradby's opening letter explains this system rather well, along with a comment that the fagging is not too onerous. Bradby expressed his hope that he might be placed in the lower fifth by the end of the half year - quite an accomplishment, if it was achieved, for an 11 year old. See: E.H. Bradby, *A New Boy's letters from Rugby* (Rugby, George E. Over, 1898) 3.

³⁵⁰ Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, 201; Prothero and Bradley, *Life of Stanley*, (vol. 1) 39-40.

³⁵¹ Katharine Birbalsingh, 'My Bloody Learning Curve', *The Sunday Times*, February 20, 2011, Section IV, 1-3.

³⁵² Luke 2:46, 47.

³⁵³ Prothero and Bradley, *Life of Stanley*, 43, 45.

test if a classmate has learnt what the student has learnt (questions directed at each other).

The length of lessons is also something to be considered within the bigger picture of school culture. In Arnold's Rugby there were only four lessons a day, with a sizeable break in the middle of the day to allow the boys to prepare for upcoming lessons. While it would be impractical for a day school to start its lessons at 7:00 a.m. as Rugby did, it is possible for four lessons to be around 75 minutes in length and completely incorporated into the school day, beginning at 9:00 a.m. This approach would minimise the disruption that takes place in a school when classes move from one room to another after only forty or fifty minutes of learning.

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