THE REFORM OF THE BRITISH CIVIL SERVICE:

LIFE CYCLE, FAMILY, AND CLASS

IN THE TREASURY, C. 1847–1914

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SHORT ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the reform of the British Civil Service and its impact on society by providing the first systematic exploration of developments in the Treasury department between 1847 and 1914. It covers some of the most significant changes in the modern history of the British state in terms of appointments, promotions, pensions, and the development of a new idea of profession in the Civil Service from youth to old age. It reveals the interconnections between the aristocracy and the professions over the nineteenth century, and the Treasury's key role in the professionalization of government administration.

Existing scholarship on the Civil Service has provided the foundations of our understanding of reforms and public departments. However, few scholars have studied these processes from a social history perspective, exploring how reforms impacted the lives of civil servants, or how social structures shaped the new Civil Service profession. By analysing the Civil Service through the lenses of life cycle, family, and class, this study offers a new dimension to our understanding of the professionalization of the British state and society. Reforms evolved in ways that reflected and were influenced by changing attitudes to class, public office, life course, and family. Between 1847–1914, new Civil Service employment and career structures common to clerks from the aristocracy, middle classes, and working classes were developed, yet considerable disparities between the different levels of the Civil Service persisted. The professionalization of the British state played out in private as well as in public spheres, where family formations, intergenerational support, social connections, educational institutions, and voluntary associations meshed with the structures of the Civil Service in various forms in the late nineteenth century. By

analysing the reform of the Civil Service from a social and cultural perspective and through thus far untapped sources, this thesis explores an important shift in British administrative, political, and social history.

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LONG ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the reform of the British Civil Service and its impact on society by focusing on developments in the Treasury department between 1847 and 1914. It covers some of the most significant changes in the modern history of the British state in terms of appointments, promotions, pensions, and the development of a new idea of profession in the Civil Service from youth to old age. In this period, the Treasury played a key role in the professionalization of the British State through its officials, superintendence of public establishments, and growing regulation of appointments, promotions, and pensions. While the specific conclusions are limited to this single establishment, which was different in terms of size, status, functions, and personnel from other departments, it nonetheless makes sense to use the Treasury as a lens through which to examine the wider processes of reform because of its influence over all aspects of government and because it was held by contemporaries to be the model to follow. At the same time, given its role as a refuge for the aristocratic classes, focusing on the Treasury allows us to examine the interconnections between the aristocracy and the professions over the nineteenth century.

The existing scholarship on Civil Service reform usually opens with the publication of the influential Northcote–Trevelyan report in 1854 and concludes in the 1870s following the implementation of open competition. In contrast, this thesis begins with the declarations of Sir Charles Trevelyan (then Assistant Secretary to the Treasury) to the Select Committee on Miscellaneous Expenditure in 1848, one of the first and most important public reflections signalling the need for a different kind of administrative reform. It concludes just before the First World War (1914–18), which heralded a new era for the Civil Service as the Treasury began to

grapple with major changes in the role of the state as a result of war, unemployment, economic depression, and the responsibility of providing a wide range of social services. My thesis develops the first systematic exploration of reform in the Treasury between 1847 and 1914, examining key processes in the development of a new idea of profession in the Civil Service through to 1914: the creation of the civil division of the Order of the Bath (1847), the implementation of the Northcote–Trevelyan report (1854), promotion by merit (1856), and the superannuation act (1859).

My research provides a new social and cultural history of the reform of the British Civil Service and its impact on society by examining this process through the lenses of the life cycle, family, and class. Historians have rarely ventured beyond brief prosopographies into the working and social life of civil servants. Nor have there been systematic analyses of how reforms impacted their lives, or about how the life cycle, family, and class shaped the new Civil Service profession and enabled the rise of a new administrative elite in the Treasury. Few scholars have studied the British state from the vantage of a social history perspective, exploring the ordinary operations of the state, its working spaces, and the people who ran the administration at different levels. Existing scholarship which takes an administrative approach to the study of the Civil Service has provided the foundations of our understanding of reforms and public departments, building its interpretations on the frameworks of the nineteenth-century state: merit, neutrality, and efficiency. To some extent, we remain prisoners of these visions and concepts of the state and, therefore, oblivious of other aspects. This thesis engages critically with these concepts and sees them along with regulations and institutional structures as central elements of the development of the British state, but it will place them in a broader context and add a new dimension to them.

A better understanding of what Civil Service reform meant in practice also requires us to rethink the interplay between the state and social structures. By bringing these interconnections into the foreground, this thesis shows that reforms evolved in ways that reflected and were influenced by changing attitudes to public offices, the life course, family, and class. The

professionalization of the British state played out in private as well as in public spheres, where family formations, intergenerational support, social connections, educational institutions, and voluntary associations meshed with the structures of the Civil Service in various forms in the late nineteenth century. Seeing the Treasury through this lens offers a different perspective on the modern British state. By analysing Civil Service reform from a new perspective and through thus far untapped sources, this thesis explores an important shift in British administrative, political, and social history.

The current historiography on Civil Service reform focuses on appointments. Historians claim that the creation of the Board of Civil Service Commissioners and the introduction of competitive examinations (1855), and open competition (1870) gradually abolished patronage in the public offices. Some conceive this change as radical and rapid, others as more protracted and conservative. Overall, the nineteenth-century reforms have been understood as characterized by the transition from patronage to merit. By contrast, this thesis nuances this picture and argues that these changes should be understood as developing what I term 'professional patronage' building on but also distinguishing themselves from older practices. The thesis also contends that promotions and pensions—practices often overlooked by historians when thinking about nineteenth-century reform—were central to the life cycle and career structure of civil servants and thereby to the implementation of reform and the professionalization of the Civil Service.

More broadly, this thesis engages with histories of the state in nineteenth-century Britain and Europe. The nineteenth century is often treated as a hinge between the Early Modern and the Modern period. The development of the British Civil Service does not always fit within existing modern narratives. Nineteenth-century historical syntheses depict a history of substantial change but also continuities, especially when thinking about aristocratic power. While recognising the significance of changes and reconfigurations specific to this period, this thesis also argues that the nineteenth-century British state retained early modern characteristics well into the early twentieth century: compositeness, layered authority, dependence on local support, private institutions, and

social relationships. This thesis shows the enduring importance of what I term 'professional patronage' and Treasury promotions, where connections, class, and familial support still mattered if clerks aspired to rise in their careers. Moreover, it reveals how Treasury clerks supported the enduring role of voluntary associations in society as complementary providers of relief to the pension scheme of the Civil Service.

This thesis also engages with the historiographies of class and the professions. The Treasury was a refuge for many younger sons of the aristocracy in the nineteenth century. Studying it therefore helps to illuminate one of the great themes of British and European history: the transformation of nineteenth-century aristocracies. Historians of the British aristocracy have mostly based their studies on landed families, their economic practices, the peerage, and a limited number of counties. The analysis of the nineteenth-century gentry and aristocratic younger sons attracted less attention. In the case of the Civil Service, some historians consider that reforms strengthened the ties between the upper classes and the higher positions of the profession. Other scholars have a more open and mobile view of the reformed Civil Service: a middle-class civil servant had replaced the 'patrician professional' by the early twentieth century. By contrast, this thesis suggests a more complex transition. A new cohort of middle-class civil servants connected to the 'intellectual aristocracy' did replace the 'patrician professionals' by the early twentieth century. But this social renewal happened at the beginning of the career, not in the high-ranking positions attained later in life which remained the preserve of the aristocracy. Until 1914, the most powerful positions of the Treasury and many other public departments remained in the hands of the aristocracy. These aristocratic Treasury clerks rose to the highest ranks of the department and the Civil Service, conforming a new administrative elite. In old age, they used their professional expertise and social backgrounds to ensure a productive retirement as directors of financial and industrial boards, local authorities, and JPs, sometimes strengthening the ties between the aristocracy and finance, the central government and the localities, the metropole and the Empire.

Examining the reform of the British Civil Service through the analytical framework of the life cycle, family, and class provides fruitful new insights into the history of the nineteenth-century state, aristocracy, and the professions. First, the life cycle reveals the impact of Civil Service reform on an individual and familial level. It helps us assess the development of new career structures from youth to old age. Yet the life cycle is not merely a useful historical framework to analyse the processes of professionalization in the British state. Nineteenth-century reformers and civil servants also thought in these terms, linking 'youth', 'middle life', and 'old age' to identify and understand the different stages of their careers. Life-course needs and expectations were central to the ways the new Civil Service profession was being rethought, and at the same time, Civil Service reform constructed new understandings and markers of the life course in Victorian Britain by establishing age gradings for appointments and pensions.

This research also develops an analysis of the British state through the lens of the family, showing how the role of the family and intergenerational support continued to be central to the professionalization of the Civil Service in a period of modernizing bureaucratic models, ideals, and structures. Throughout the life cycle, modern Treasury careers rested on family and intergenerational support, kinship ties, educational and patronage networks enlarged through marriages and friendships. This thesis demonstrates that this interplay should not be seen as the remnants of an older, inefficient, and nepotistic state, but rather as the evolution of practices and attitudes specific to a new kind of state.

The third category of analysis deployed in this thesis is class. This study suggests that, to understand the role of status and social structure in the lives of Treasury officials, we need to consider the position in the life cycle as a key dimension of class, and to understand the interrelation of different social hierarchies: occupational structures, honours systems, family lineage, and gender. This approach offers new insights into how hierarchical the British state and society were in the late nineteenth century. Focusing on the Treasury underlines that the title of 'clerk' in the Victorian period covered a wide range of positions. The category of the salaried

worker who ascended fixed ladders of promotion and benefited from a pension system encompassed clerks from the aristocracy, middle classes, and working classes. Yet despite participating in the same institutionalized model of professional merit, the family forms, education, lifestyles, intergenerational support, marriage patterns, charitable activities, and retirement of clerks of different socioeconomic standing were dissimilar. The introduction of promotion by merit (1856), the consolidation of clerical grades (1876), the marriage strategies adopted by aristocrats who populated the Civil Service, and the creation of the civil division of the Order of the Bath (1847) modified career structures, renewed and existed alongside long-standing demarcations of class and kinship in the British state, rather than replacing them with new markers of occupational status based on ideas of merit alone. Under public service ideals that were increasingly regarded as more legitimate than the claims of family lineage and patronage, these processes in bureaucratic promotions and honours systems enmeshed with familial networks to produce the new administrative elite.

The focus on the Treasury allows me to examine interconnections between the aristocratic classes and the professionalization of the British state over the nineteenth century. More specifically, studying the Treasury is key to our understanding of the development of financial expertise which remains influential to this day in the state and society. The Treasury was the most important public department in the late nineteenth century. It possessed both controlling and executive functions. Through the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it exercised the responsibilities of a financial centre of power, collecting revenue, initiating financial legislation, overseeing public office pensions, and controlling civil and public expenditure. The Treasury's financial and administrative expertise became a trademark of the new administrative elite that dominated the Civil Service and joined financial boards and directorships in retirement. On the other hand, such a small body of Treasury clerks performing these duties, divided into six to five divisions, has allowed me to produce concentrated analyses of their familial relationships, friendships, intermarriages, career trajectories, and life cycle. In 1856, the superior establishment of the

Treasury counted thirty-seven clerks; in 1870, this figure had been reduced to twenty-three. This was a small department compared to the thousands of officers of the Post Office or the Inland Revenue. Right before the First World War, when the Civil Service had reached more than 172,000 men and women, the entire staff of the Treasury numbered about 140 officials, of which twenty-five were part of the administrative staff.

The Treasury is particularly rich in terms of sources. I have drawn upon eight archives and a wide range of untapped sources to reconstruct developments in the history of the British state, Treasury business, career structures and pensions, and the social lives of Treasury clerks. By setting the Civil Service in the realm of social and cultural history, this thesis shows that distinguishing private sources from public sources may be as artificial as the historically contingent separation between private and public spheres. Indeed, the variety of sources selected is a testament to the importance of the social and cultural contexts in which the Treasury functioned. Using these sources allows me to write a different kind of history of the modern British state.

The thesis begins with a first chapter on the reform of the British Civil Service in 1840–50s. It explores how reformers aimed to create a new state profession by reforming appointments, promotions, and pensions. It will show that they responded to administrative challenges and the civil servants' family, class, and individual expectations at different points in their life cycle. This chapter sets the scene and debates for the following three parts of the thesis, each focusing thematically on three stages of the life cycle and each one internally chronological between 1847 and 1914.

Chapter 2 explores youth as the first stage of Treasury clerks' careers. It focuses on the reform of patronage appointments in the Treasury department from 1848 to 1914. It analyses why certain innovations were promoted and how a transition towards new career structures, life-cycle expectations, and administrative ideals got underway. The chapter will argue that patronage became more professional and bureaucratized rather than gradually declining or being abolished. Open competition coexisted with novel types of appointment used in diverse circumstances and

for different reasons. The professionalization of the Treasury, and the British state more broadly, impacted the experiences of middle and upper-class youth, family formations, masculinities, and class structures.

We then turn to the middle life of Treasury clerks. Chapter 3 focuses on how the reform of promotions, changing marriage strategies, and the distribution of honours changed this stage of the life cycle and career structures in the British Civil Service from 1847 to 1914. These processes in bureaucratic promotions and honours systems enmeshed with familial networks to produce a particular administrative elite. The chapter also uncovers the interplay of a range of social hierarchies interplaying within the service and the introduction of ideas of merit created new distinctions of status, public service, and masculinity.

Finally, the thesis explores the old age of Treasury officials. Chapter 4 examines old age in the Treasury department by focusing on welfare and retirement from 1848 to 1914. It analyses the reform of pensions and its impact on career structures, the interplay between private and public spheres, life-cycle expectations, and retirement. The chapter will argue that mid-nineteenth-century superannuation reform ensured that former Treasury officials were part of and benefited from broader welfare structures above and beyond pensions, as well as enjoying an active retirement. Studying the lives of retired officials illuminates the enduring interplay between the state and social structures in the late nineteenth century, including their interaction with voluntary associations, financial and industrial businesses, aristocratic connections, and familial networks.

Thus, this thesis sets out how Civil Service reforms altered the British state and society over the nineteenth century. It shows how improvements in appointments, promotions, and pensions shaped the emergence of a Civil Service profession with new employment and career structures and the formation of a new administrative elite in the Treasury. Seeing this public department through the lens of the life cycle, family, and class offers a different perspective on these developments of the British state and the aristocratic classes. Drawing upon eight national and local archives and a wide range of untapped sources, this thesis shows that the

professionalization of the Treasury was the result of historical processes that played out in private as well as in the public sphere. Family formations, intergenerational support, social connections, educational institutions, social clubs, and voluntary associations shaped—and were shaped by—the creation of a new Civil Service profession at different stages of the life cycle.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis marks the culmination of my first journey into British history. It originated in Bogotá, high in the Colombian Andes, as a result of my burgeoning Anglophilia. This interest was ignited by my discovery of British literature, and it further grew thanks to Renán Silva's historiographical wisdom and lectures. My admiration for Malcolm Deas's and Eduardo Posada-Carbó's work on Colombian history strengthened my desire to pursue my doctoral studies at Oxford. After I graduated from my master's degree, a period of work as a research assistant to Eduardo, Antonio Annino, and María Teresa Calderón followed. During those years, I had a change of heart. I realized that Colombians must study other parts of the world if we want to improve our understanding of our own past. The history of the state caught my attention because of the shortcomings in Colombia's bureaucracy and local government. My Anglophilia resurfaced with a new agenda. Studying the development of a so-called neutral, liberal, and meritocratic British state, one of the big subjects in modern history, appealed to me as an interesting point of comparison. I was not interested in subscribing to post-colonial agendas, national mythologies, or economic models of development. I came to my topic with the ambition of broadening my historical horizons and understanding how the Civil Service was reformed, by whom, and to what extent existing narratives are a myth. I decided to follow an unusual path for a Colombian historian. Before applying to Oxford, I told Eduardo that I had changed my mind about studying Colombian history with him. It was a difficult decision to make, but his support was of the utmost importance, and I remain deeply grateful for it. To Renán, Malcolm, Eduardo, Antonio, and María Teresa, who are all wonderful scholars and mentors: I am very grateful for your friendship, for making my intellectual life richer, and for preparing me to confront more difficult challenges along the way. I am indebted to your encouragement to forge my own path, and happy to have done so.

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for Colombian politics. I benefited from his insights on history and enjoyed going to his house for lunch followed by the usual *tertulia*. Alan Knight and Joanna Innes further sharpened my journey in Oxford with their intellectual generosity and friendship. They have been incredible mentors and proof-readers in the process of publishing the proceedings of the conference I co-organized. In particular, I wish to thank Joanna for filling in as a co-supervisor for three months. My biggest debt of gratitude, however, is to my supervisor Christina de Bellaigue, for believing in me from the beginning to the end. She has been the kindest, most inspiring, and intellectually stimulating supervisor I could have been blessed with. Christina has enriched my way of writing and thinking about history.

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Despite all the help I received along the way, my Anglophilia could not be cured. Rather, it grew into the following pages which I hope the readers will enjoy.

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ABBREVIATIONS

APJ	*Aberdeen Press and Journal*
AHSS	*Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales*
AEPPP	*Assessment in Education: Principles, Policy & Practice*
BAFP	*Buckingham Advertiser and Free Press*
BH	*Bucks Herald*
COR	*Charity Organisation Reporter*
CBS	Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies
CSG	*Civil Service Gazette*
C&SH	*Cultural and Social History*
DPCA	*Dundee, Perth, and Cupar Advertiser*
EWSC	England, Wales & Scotland Census
EM	*Evening Mail*
FJ	*Freeman Journal*
G&H	*Gender & History*
HI	*Hampshire Independent*
HHE	*Hampstead and Highgate Express*
HRO	Hertfordshire Record Office
JBS	*Journal of British Studies*
JFH	*Journal of Family History*
JVC	*Journal of Victorian Culture*
LM	*Liverpool Mail*
LES	*London Evening Standard*
NUSCA	Newcastle University Special Collections and Archives
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
PMG	*Pall Mall Gazette*
P&P	*Past & Present*
SH	*Social History*
SHC	Somerset Heritage Centre
SJG	*St James's Gazette*
TDN	*The Daily News*
TDT	*The Daily Telegraph*
THER	*The Economic History Review*
TE	*The Examiner*
TG	*The Globe*
THJ	*The Historical Journal*
THG	*The Manchester Guardian*
TM	*The Mail*
TMA	*The Morning Advertiser*
TMC	*The Morning Chronicle*
TMH	*The Morning Herald*
TMP	*The Morning Post*
TNA	The National Archives
TO	*The Observer*
TS	*The Spectator*
TT	*The Times*
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*

VS	*Victorian Studies*
YPLI	*Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*

Introduction

In 1894, Sir William Harcourt (Chancellor of the Exchequer) delivered a toast at the eighth annual dinner of the Civil Service at Carrington House, Whitehall, to the guest of the evening, Lord Welby, who had just retired from his role as permanent secretary to the Treasury department. Welby had been an unusually efficient civil servant, but Harcourt's speech of farewell also suggested that public service would survive without his presence: 'The creatures of accident, the political heads of departments, who were here to-day and gone tomorrow were evanescent items in the Administration; but the Civil servant, like the river, "goes on for ever".'[1] As well as evoking the ideal of the neutral and permanent Civil Service, Harcourt's speech is also interesting because it hints at an aspect of the nineteenth-century British state that historians have neglected: the experience of government and working life from the perspective of the Civil Service. Underlining the intertwining of professional and personal life, *The Scotsman* paraphrased Harcourt's hopes of retaining Lord Welby's friendship: 'Their severance in public was final and perpetual and, therefore, he took that opportunity of saying farewell to him in a public capacity, though he trusted that private friendship would long continue, (Cheers).'[2]

Reginald Welby's career was indeed worthy of toasts and applause. This member of the gentry embodied the new administrative elite which had formed in the Treasury in the late nineteenth century. He had enjoyed a good reputation as principal clerk of the financial division (1871–85) before succeeding as permanent secretary to the Treasury (1885–94), the highest position in the Civil Service. Although it was rumoured that he lacked the faculty of delegation, he was messy and prone to digressions, one of his friends recalled that these were 'only spots in the sun'.[3] Obituaries identified Welby as the 'statistician', the 'financial puritan', and a man deserving

[1] 'Sir William Harcourt and the Civil Service', *The Scotsman* (28 June 1894), p. 5.
[2] 'Sir William Harcourt', p. 5.
[3] L. Kilbracken, *Reminiscences of Lord Kilbracken* (London, 1931), p. 94.

of his peerage.[4] However, as this thesis will demonstrate, for Welby and for many senior civil servants, social life and connections were as important as professional aptitude for career success. In 1856, patronage networks had facilitated his entry to the Treasury along with several of his Eton friends, the closest being Charles Fremantle. His friendship with Prime Minister William Gladstone helped him secure promotions and honours in later decades.[5] At the same time, throughout his career, Welby contributed to the redecoration of churches, joined gentlemen's clubs, yacht parties, holidays on the continent, dinners with high-ranking officials, and every summer he gave a picnic on the Thames to Treasury clerks, all of which were important in consolidating his professional and social status.[6]

The years of Welby's career in the Civil Service corresponded to the period of one of the greatest transformations in the modern history of the British state. His career, like that of many others, was shaped by these changes. The period from 1847 to 1914 saw the reform of the appointment, promotion, and pension systems of the Civil Service. Reformers sought to develop employment and career structures patterned on the life cycle that would redefine the interconnections between private and public spheres in Victorian Britain. The introduction of a centralized Board of Civil Service Commissioners and limited competitive examinations in 1855 aimed to transform uneven and patronage-based recruitment standards in the public departments into more efficient, professional, and competitive ones. In 1870, the implementation of open competition under William Gladstone's first government (1868–74) further aimed to weaken patronage and ensure that young and diligent clerks entered the service. At mid-career level, reformers replaced seniority with promotion by merit in 1856 as the guiding principle in the Treasury with the aspiration of making the career more attractive to the upper and highly educated classes. In 1859, the introduction of the superannuation act sought to demarcate new boundaries

[4] 'Lord Welby', *TM* (1 November 1915), p. 6.
[5] 'Lord Welby', *Grantham Journal* (17 March 1900), p. 8.
[6] J. A. Kempe, *Reminiscences of an Old Civil Servant 1846–1927* (London, 1928), p. 144; A. West, *Recollections, 1832–1886* (London, 1900), pp. 220.

for old age and government service, and improve the efficiency of the profession as well as the rate and scope of pensions. With these reforms emerged the concept of 'Civil Service', a term which had until the period with which we concern ourselves been rarely applied to the public offices.[7] From the 1850s, reformers and contemporaries increasingly used the terms 'Civil Service' to capture the ideal of greater efficiency, coordination, and corporate spirit.[8] Overall, the mid-nineteenth-century project of reforming the public offices as a new Civil Service profession attempted to fit administrative structures with civil servants' changing needs at different points in their life cycles.

A significant mythology of modern British history remains the story of the end of patronage and subsequent rise of a neutral and meritocratic Civil Service, the product of reforms from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. By the late nineteenth century, many contemporaries claimed patronage was a thing of the past. Sir Charles Trevelyan, leading reformer and former assistant secretary to the Treasury (1840–59), wrote to an American official interested in reforming his country's public offices explaining that open competition had abolished patronage, purified the constituencies, made the Civil Service more efficient, and improved educational standards in the country.[9] The mythology of 'open competition' based on the British model started to take root and expand internationally. In the Americas, the nineteenth-century Colombian politician, Carlos Holguín, praised the political impartiality and permanent character of the Civil Service in comparison with his country's spoils system.[10] Today British politicians, civil servants, and journalists still reproduce aspects of this myth, highlighting the neutrality of the bureaucracy.[11] Yet

[7] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the common usage was 'persons in office' or simply 'officers'. The designation 'civil servants' referring to an officer enjoying permanent tenure was first recorded in 1816; the term became more widespread between 1780–1830. See G. E. Aylmer, 'From Office-Holding to Civil Service: The Genesis of Modern Bureaucracy: The Prothero Lecture', *TRHS*, 30 (1980), p. 91.
[8] E. W. Cohen, *The Growth of the British Civil Service 1780–1939* (London, 1941), pp. 94–5. A testament to this ambition was the publication of the *Civil Service Gazette* (1853–1914).
[9] 'Charles Trevelyan to Dorman Eaton', 20 August 1877, NUSCAA, MS Trevelyan 4/8, fo. 54/3.
[10] C. Holguín, *Cartas políticas* (Bogotá, 1984), p. 137.
[11] N. Cohen, 'Dominic Cummings, the Last Thing the Troubled Civil Service Needs is your Advice', (https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2021/apr/18/dominic-cummings-the-last-thing-the-troubled-civil-service-needs-is-your-advice (18 April 2021).

recent government commissions and plans to reform the Civil Service have challenged aspects of this myth by questioning its internal efficiency and meritocracy.[12]

My thesis examines the reform of the British Civil Service by focusing on developments in the Treasury department between 1847 and 1914, with occasional reference to the public departments it superintended.[13] In this period, the Treasury played a key role in the professionalization of the British state—broadly defined as expert knowledge, standardized entry requirements, fixed promotion ladders, training, codes of conduct, and examinations—through its officials, superintendence of public establishments, and growing regulation of appointments, promotions, and pensions, which produced significant archival traces along the way.[14] While my specific conclusions are limited to this single establishment, which was different in terms of size, status, functions, and personnel from other departments, it nonetheless makes sense to use the Treasury as a lens through which to examine the wider processes of reform because of its influence over all aspects of government and because it was held by contemporaries to be the model to follow. At the same time, given its role as a refuge for the aristocratic classes, focusing on the Treasury allows me to examine the interconnections between the aristocracy and the professions over the nineteenth century.

My study provides the first systematic exploration of processes of reform in the Treasury carried out between 1847 and 1914. The existing scholarship on Civil Service reform usually opens with the publication of the influential Northcote–Trevelyan report in 1854 and concludes in the 1870s following the implementation of open competition.[15] In contrast, this thesis begins with the

[12] In 2021, the Social Mobility Commission depicted the Treasury as the most exclusive public department: 77 per cent of its highest grades came from high, socioeconomic backgrounds. See M. Easton, 'How the Civil Service is Posher than in the 1960s', (https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-57172634 (20 May 2021).
[13] These included, among others, the Customs, Post Office, Inland Revenue, and Royal Mint.
[14] For these conceptions of professionalism, see L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (London, 2019), p. 260; G. Sutherland, 'Examinations and the Construction of Professional Identity: A Case Study of England 1800–1900', *AEPPP*, 8/1 (2001), p. 53; M. Ackroyd et al (eds.), *Advancing with the Army: Medicine, the Professions, and Social Mobility in the British Isles 1790–1850* (Oxford, 2006), p. 1. For key treasury archives, see, for example, 'Treasury Arrangement and Appointment Book, 1846–57', TNA, T 197/3.
[15] See, for example, P. Hennessy, *Whitehall* (London, 1990); M. Wright, *Treasury Control of the Civil Service 1854–1874* (Oxford, 1969).

declarations of Sir Charles Trevelyan (then Assistant Secretary to the Treasury) to the Select Committee on Miscellaneous Expenditure in 1848, one of the first and most important public reflections signalling the need for a different kind of administrative reform. It concludes just before the First World War (1914–18), which heralded a new era for the Civil Service as the Treasury began to grapple with major changes in the role of the state as a result of war, unemployment, economic depression, and the responsibility of providing a wide range of social services. Throughout this study, I will cover key processes in the development of a new idea of profession in the Civil Service through to 1914: the creation of the civil division of the Order of the Bath (1847), the implementation of the Northcote–Trevelyan report (1854), promotion by merit (1856), and the superannuation act (1859).

Examining the reform of the British Civil Service and its impact on society through the lenses of the life cycle, family, and class produces a new social and cultural history of this reform and institution. Historians have rarely ventured beyond brief prosopographies into the working and social life of civil servants. Nor have there been systematic analyses of how reforms impacted their lives, or about how the life cycle, family, and class shaped the new Civil Service profession and enabled the rise of a new administrative elite in the Treasury. With the exception of Patrick Joyce's *The State of Freedom* (2013), few scholars have studied the British state from the vantage of a social history perspective, exploring the ordinary operations of the state, its working spaces, and the people who ran the administration at different levels.[16] Existing scholarship which takes an administrative approach to the study of the Civil Service has provided the foundations of our understanding of reforms and public departments, building its interpretations on the frameworks of the nineteenth-century state: merit, neutrality, and efficiency. To some extent, we remain prisoners of these visions and concepts of the state and, therefore, oblivious of other aspects. My research engages critically with these concepts and sees them along with regulations and

[16] P. Joyce, *The State of Freedom: A Social History of the British State since 1800* (Cambridge, 2013).

institutional structures as central elements of the development of the British state, but it will place them in a broader context and add a new dimension to them.

A better understanding of what Civil Service reform meant in practice also requires us to rethink the interplay between the state and social structures. By bringing these interconnections into the foreground, this thesis shows that reforms evolved in ways that reflected and were influenced by changing attitudes to public offices, the life course, family, and class. The professionalization of the British state played out in private as well as in public spheres, where family formations, intergenerational support, social connections, educational institutions, and voluntary associations meshed with the structures of the Civil Service in various forms in the late nineteenth century. Seeing the Treasury through this lens offers a different perspective on the modern British state. By analysing Civil Service reform from a new perspective and through thus far untapped sources, this thesis explores an important shift in British administrative, political, and social history. Thus, it contributes to the historiographies of the state, class, and the professions. In the following pages, I situate my study within the body of extant scholarship before outlining in more detail my new approach to studying the nineteenth-century state, the use of sources, and the structure of the thesis.

The current historiography on Civil Service reform focuses on appointments. Historians Richard Chapman, J. M. Bourne, and H. J. Hanham claim that the creation of the Board of Civil Service Commissioners and the introduction of competitive examinations (1855), and open competition (1870) gradually abolished patronage in the public offices.[17] Some conceive this change as radical and rapid, others as more protracted and conservative. Overall, the nineteenth-century reforms have been understood as characterized by the transition from patronage to merit. Rodney Lowe and Henry Roseveare nuance this picture. Roseveare calls into question the disappearance of patronage in the late nineteenth-century Treasury, while Lowe provides evidence

[17] R. Chapman, *The Civil Service Commission, 1855–1991: A Bureau Biography* (London, 2004); J. M. Bourne, *Patronage and Society in Nineteenth-Century England* (London, 1986); H. J. Hanham, 'Political Patronage at the Treasury, 1870–1912', *THJ*, 3/1 (1960), pp. 75–84.

of the predominance of nominations and nominations by limited competition in the early twentieth century.[18] My research draws on these arguments but develops them further by arguing that these changes should be understood as developing what I term 'professional patronage' building on but also distinguishing themselves from older practices in ways that I will explore in Chapter 2. The thesis also contends that promotions and pensions—practices often overlooked by historians when thinking about nineteenth-century reform—were central to the life cycle and career structure of civil servants and thereby to the implementation of reform and the professionalization of the Civil Service.[19]

Domestic and international drivers shaping Civil Service reforms are a matter of more general agreement. Historians W. D. Rubinstein and Philip Harling have identified ideals of retrenchment to counter corruption and government growth as preliminary efforts to reform the public offices in the early nineteenth century.[20] Other drivers of reform, according to Jenifer Hart, were the aspiration to make public offices more efficient and dignified, meaning fiscal probity, the abolishment of superfluous offices, the improvement of the division of clerical labour, and the prospects of promotion for the upper and highly educated classes.[21] Instead of 'Old Corruption', patronage became the major target of mid-nineteenth-century reform. For historians like Edward Hughes, reformers of the 1850s made a stronger rhetorical case against patronage by linking it with aristocratic idleness, favouritism, and inefficiency.[22] Internationally, two main forces have been highlighted in the historiography: India and the European Revolutions of 1848, although Heather Ellis claims, less persuasively in my opinion, that Civil Service reform was a predominantly

[18] H. Roseveare, *The Treasury: The Evolution of a British Institution* (London, 1969); R. Lowe, *The Official History of the British Civil Service: Reforming the Civil Service* (2 vols, London, 2011).
[19] There are important exceptions: K. McIlvenna, "The Widows and Orphans of Servants Are Dying": The Conflict of Family in the Design and Application of Nineteenth Century Civil Servant Pensions', in C. Beardmore, C. Dobbing, and S. King (eds.), *Family Life in Britain 1650–1910* (Cham, 2019), pp. 72–89; Wright, *Treasury Control*, ch. 14; M. Raphael, *Pensions and Public Servants: A Study of the Origins of the British System* (Paris, 1964).
[20] See, for example, W. D. Rubinstein, 'The End of "Old Corruption" in Britain 1780–1860', *P&P*, 101/1 (1983), pp. 55–86; P. Harling, 'The State', in D. Brown, G. Pentland, and R. Crowcroft (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern British Political History, 1800–2000* (Oxford, 2018), p. 70.
[21] J. Hart, 'The Genesis of the Northcote–Trevelyan Report', in G. Sutherland (ed.), *Studies in the Growth of Nineteenth-Century Government* (London, 1972), pp. 63–81.
[22] E. Hughes, 'Civil Service Reform, 1853–55', *Public Administration*, 32/1 (1954), 17–51.

conservative political measure designed to counter the latter revolutions.[23] While my thesis draws on these interpretations as highlighting key drivers shaping the development of the new profession, it shows that the contemporaneous development of the professions beyond the state—which has been explored by historians such as Penelope J. Corfield, Stefan Collini, and Harold Perkin—was a central source of inspiration and debate leading to reforms.[24] At the same time, I demonstrate the importance of familial and life-course expectations to contemporary processes of improvement.

In explaining the question of who shaped Civil Service reform overall, the focus of the scholarship has been on high politics. John Greenaway and Richard Chapman have underlined the role of a close-knit group of high-ranking home and imperial administrators, government officials, and Oxbridge dons, including Sir Charles Trevelyan, William Gladstone, Benjamin Jowett, and Thomas Macaulay.[25] By contrast, those actors driving superannuation reform remain largely understudied. My research thus reveals the significance of hitherto neglected figures, such as Sir Richard Bromley, Secretary to the Commissioners for Auditing the Public Accounts and Chairman of the General Committee of Civil Servants, who was the key figure for superannuation improvements in the 1850s. Yet my analysis of public debates and civil servants' political mobilization demonstrates that Bromley was part of a bottom-up negotiated process of reform, which the thesis explores in Chapters 1 and 4. Reform was not an exclusively administrative, top-down, and London-centred procedure. Other actors shaped change, notably press commentators, public school masters, statisticians, medical doctors, and civil servants.

Civil Service reform has been conceptualized through two metaphors since the 1950s. First, British historians label it as a 'revolution' in government; and second, as the 'birth' of the

[23] See, for example, Cohen, *The Growth*, pp. 81, 110; H. Ellis, 'Efficiency and Counter-Revolution: Connecting University and Civil Service Reform in the 1850s'*, History of Education*, 42/1 (2013), pp. 3–44.
[24] P. J. Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain 1700–1850* (London/New York, 1995); S. Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850–1930* (Oxford, 1991); H. Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society: England since 1800* (London, 1996).
[25] J. Greenaway, 'Celebrating Northcote/Trevelyan: Dispelling the Myths', *Public Policy and Administration*, 19/1 (2004), pp. 1–14; Chapman, *Civil Service Commission*.

modern Civil Service.[26] These trends, mostly deriving from the post Second World War interest in tracing the modern state and the welfare state, have more recently been challenged by scholars, including Valerie Cromwell, David Cannadine, and Pat Thane by arguing that historians who originally used the concept of revolution, notably Oliver MacDonagh, ignored reversals and generalized from a few case studies.[27] Other scholars, like Gerald Aylmer, defined the modern Civil Service as one with competitive entry examinations, grades, fixed salaries, security of tenure, and retirement pensions; others, like Emmeline Cohen, as one with greater coordination and unity.[28] While the fact that there was social and administrative change seems undeniable, the concept of birth presumes uniformities, downplays continuities, underestimates prior experiences of reform, and overestimates the impact of change upon society after the 1850s. Similarly, the concept of Civil Service reform as creating a 'modern' arm of government is not only perilously suggestive of teleology but also simplifies social structures and attitudes by expressing dichotomous views of society (pre-modern/modern; patronage/merit). The fact that the decades after 1850 saw an increase in the number of select committees and Royal commissions concerned with reform, and more popular enthusiasm for it, suggests that changing administrative practices and cultural attitudes was a slow, messy, and non-linear process. My thesis demonstrates the importance of recognizing a range of chronologies of reform, rather than one single transition to modernity. Moreover, it proposes that instead of birth and revolution, we should favour notions used at the time, notably 'reform', as I will explore in Chapter 1. Rather than representing change as sudden and dramatic, as those metaphors might lead us to expect, we should see it as a long, drawn-out process as George Kitson Clark and Hugh Pemberton emphasize, beginning in the later

[26] Cf., for example, Aylmer, 'From Office-Holding', p. 107; H. Finer, *The British Civil Service: An Introductory Essay* (London, 1927), p. 15; K. C. Wheare, *The Civil Service in the Constitution* (London, 1954), p. 12.

[27] D. Cannadine, 'British History: Past, Present—and Future?', *P&P*, 116/1 1987), pp. 173–4; V. Cromwell, 'Interpretations of Nineteenth-Century Administration: An Analysis', *VS*, 9/3 (1966), pp. 245–55; P. Thane, 'Government and Society in England and Wales, 1750–1914', in F. M. L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750–1950* (3 vols, Cambridge, 1990), iii, pp. 19–20. Picked up from G. R. Elton's *The Tudor Revolution in Government: Administrative Changes in the Reign of Henry VI* (1953), Oliver MacDonagh used it for the nineteenth century, but stating that this 'revolution' was not of the same magnitude of the industrial revolution. See O. MacDonagh, 'The Nineteenth-Revolution in Government: A Reappraisal', *THJ*, 1/1 (1958), pp. 52–67.

[28] Aylmer, 'From Office-Holding', p. 107; Cohen, *The Growth*, pp. 19–20.

eighteenth century and continuing into the later nineteenth century.[29] At the same time, my study argues that the 1840s–50s did mark an important change in British public office.

The Treasury has received considerable attention from scholars. This thesis builds on Henry Roseveare's important work on the Treasury's institutional developments and functions from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, although his main expertise remains in the earlier period.[30] It also draws on Maurice Wright's examination of the foundations of Treasury control from 1854 to 1874, which delved into its internal structures, division of labour, salaries, recruitment, promotions, pensions, and growing control of expenditure.[31] More recently, these administrative works have been enriched by gender and economic historians. Meta Zimmeck contextualizes how the introduction of women—notably female typists—changed employment and career conditions in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Treasury.[32] Other historians, notably George Peden, focus more on the relationship between the Treasury and public policy with a focus on the inter-war period, centralized managed economies, and the rise of the welfare state.[33] In contrast to this historiography, my thesis provides the first systematic analysis of the implementation of Civil Service reform in the Treasury from 1870 to 1914. Moreover, it assesses these processes from a social and cultural historical perspective, bringing to the spotlight previously neglected topics such as Treasury marriages, lifestyles, family formations, honours, and retirements.

My thesis thus offers a new dimension to previous studies on Civil Service reform. By developing a social and cultural history of the Civil Service my research shows how the life cycle, family, and class were central to professionalizing the British state and society. Historians have pointed to Anthony Trollope's *The Three Clerks: A Novel* (1857) to show how contemporaries

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[29] G. K. Clark, "Statesmen in Disguise": Reflexions on the History of the Neutrality of the Civil Service', *THJ*, 2/1 (1959), pp. 19–39; H. Pemberton, 'The Civil Service', in Brown, Pentland, and Crowcroft, *The Oxford Handbook*, p. 123.
[30] H. Roseveare, *The Treasury, 1660–1870: The Foundations of Control* (London, 1973).
[31] Wright, *Treasury Control.*
[32] M. Zimmeck, 'Strategies and Stratagems for the Employment of Women in the British Civil Service, 1919–1939', *THJ*, 27/4 (1984), pp. 901–24.
[33] G. C. Peden, *The Treasury and British Public Policy 1906–1959* (Oxford, 2000).

satirized Sir Charles Trevelyan's proposal to introduce a competitive examinations system into public office in the 1850s.[34] But Trollope's novel offers more to the historian than that. We learn about the civil servants' sociabilities, emotions, friendships, kin ties, marriage strategies, status distinctions, ambitions of social mobility, and negotiations of career opportunities. My research follows Trollope's invitation to examine the 'inner life of the state'. While my thesis is not a microhistory of the state focusing on one family, I am building on Emma Rothschild's *The Inner Life of Empires* (2012) familial approach in a more British and bureaucratic context to present a view of family and class linking the British state and influencing its developments until the early twentieth century.[35] By offering a novel conceptualization of the reform of the British Civil Service and the forces shaping this change, this thesis contributes to new understandings of the state: whether patronage, the interface between public and private spheres, and the cooperation between the central state and 'private actors' were nonetheless marked by change, why they endured, and how they articulated new state forms and conceptions.

More broadly, this thesis engages with histories of the state in nineteenth-century Britain and Europe. The nineteenth century is often treated as a hinge between the Early Modern and the Modern period. Along with capitalism, some scholars take the emergence of the modern state as a watershed distinguishing these two periods.[36] The development of the British Civil Service does not always fit within existing modern narratives. C. A. Bayly's and Richard J. Evans's nineteenth-century syntheses depict a history of substantial change but also continuities, especially when thinking about aristocratic power.[37] In Britain, change operated in a diverse, innovative, and plural manner, partly because of the enmeshment of state practices in social formations, as well as because of the heterogeneity and layered character of state structures and their varied efficiency.

[34] See, for example, A. Briggs, *Victorian People: A Reassessment of Persons and Themes 1851–67* (London, 1977), p. 119.
[35] E. Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History* (Princeton, 2012).
[36] For an analysis of these historiographical chronologies, see J. Innes, 'Epilogue 1: Early Modern Ottoman', *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*, 7/1 (2020), p. 74.
[37] C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford, 2004); R. J. Evans, *The Pursuit of Power: Europe 1815–1914* (New York, 2016).

The long nineteenth century needs attention in its own right. This period was characterized by imperial competition, fiscal-military states, the Age of Revolutions (c.1760–1850), the development in varying sequences of novel representative forms of government and public spheres, new projects of central government intervention, and professional bureaucracies.[38] While recognizing the significance of these changes and reconfigurations specific to this period, this thesis also argues that the nineteenth-century British state retained early modern characteristics well into the early twentieth century: compositeness, layered authority, dependence on local support and social relationships.

Emulating the English liberal state—with its institutions, politics, or traits—remains a defining criterion for belonging as opposed to remaining outside of the modern world.[39] Some of these narratives have reproduced state mythologies (thus, positing a centralized French Napoleonic state, a weak but liberal and democratic American state, or *caudillo* Latin American republics), though recent research has started to undermine them in significant ways.[40] Martin Daunton and Duncan Bell have engaged critically with Britain's liberal path to development by showing how some narratives were the product of Cold War commitment and underlining the central state's interventionist role in industrial and urban contexts, education, pensions, prisons, prostitution, and labour.[41] Histories of the British Empire have further challenged the narrative of the rise of the English liberal state by placing it in a broader context of various forms of rule, racial segregation, tariff protectionism, coercion, and even violence.[42]

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[38] See, for example, P. Harling and P. Mandler, 'From "Fiscal-Military" State to Laissez-Faire State, 1760–1850', *JBS*, 32/1 (1993), pp. 44–70; J. Brewer and E. Hellmuth (eds.), *Rethinking Leviathan: The Eighteenth-Century State in Britain and Germany* (Oxford, 1999); D. Armitage and S. Subrahmanyam (eds.), *The Age of Revolutions in Global Context, c. 1760–1840* (Basingstoke, 2010).

[39] Cf. N. Ferguson, *Civilization: The West and the Rest* (London, 2011); J. Vernon, *Distant Strangers: How Britain Became Modern* (Los Angeles, 2014).

[40] N. Barryere and C. Lemercier, 'The Unexceptional State: Rethinking the State in the Nineteenth Century (France, United States)', *American Historical Review*, 26/2 (2021), pp. 481–502; G. Gerstle, *Liberty and Coercion: The Paradox of American Government* (Princeton, 2015); E. Posada-Carbó, 'Congresses Versus Caudillos: the Untold History of Democracy in Latin America, with a Special Emphasis on New Granada (Colombia), 1830–60. A New Research Agenda', *Parliaments, Estates & Representation*, 37/2 (2017), pp. 119–29.

[41] See, for example, M. Daunton, 'Rationality and Institutions: Reflections on Douglass North', *Structural Change and Economic Dynamics*, 21/2 (2010), pp. 147–56; D. Bell, 'What is Liberalism?', *Political Theory*, 42/6 (2014), pp. 682–715 .

[42] See, for example, J. Pitts, *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France* (Princeton, 2009); J. Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System 1830–1970* (Cambridge, 2009).

One of the key shifts emphasized in scholarship on the development of the modern state is the move from patronage to more institutionalized forms of recruitment and promotion. Patronage has a fundamental role in our understanding of early modern states in Europe and the Americas.[43] Scholars of nineteenth-century Europe tend to reproduce the narrative of the abolition of patronage following the introduction of open competitive examinations, the professionalization of bureaucracies, anti-corruption electoral laws, and the rise of mass party politics, in contrast with Latin America or southern Europe, where patronage remains an important theme in the study of nineteenth-century and twentieth-century states.[44] However, Maurizio Gribaudi's work on French administration—traditionally, in the literature, a paradigmatic model of professional merit and examinations—shows that patronage, family networks, and social relationships were enmeshed with the state even in modernizing societies.[45] Against this backdrop, this thesis contributes to our knowledge of the evolution of patronage by complicating the present narratives of the transition from patronage to more professional appointments in the nineteenth century.

This study also raises questions about the interface between public and private spheres. Although public office venality was officially abolished in eighteenth-century Britain (earlier than in France), other practices suggest that officeholding continued to be seen by contemporaries in terms of property. Philip Harling charts the existence of sinecures, gratuities, and gifts until the 1840s.[46] The boundaries of 'Old Corruption' were disputed in the past as they remain today, as suggested by Mark Knights: the law is often insufficient to determine corruption; the conception of what corruption and its limits have shifted over time.[47] Yet historians have also shown that the British state distinguished public from private spheres. While Knights traces the emergence of

[43] See, for example, C. Giry-Deloison and R. Mettam (eds.), *Patronage et clientélismes 1550–1750 (France, Angleterre, Espagne, Italie)* (Lille, 2018); Z. Moutoukias, 'Réseaux personnels et autorité coloniale: les négociants de Buenos Aires au XVIIIe siècle', *AHSS*, 47/4–5 (1992), pp. 889–915.
[44] See, for example, R. Theobald, 'The Decline of Patron-Client Relations in Developed Societies', *European Journal of Sociology*, 24/1 (1983), pp. 137–9.
[45] M. Gribaudi, 'Le savoir des relations: liens et racines sociales d'une administration dans la France du XIXe siècle', *La Découverte*, 228/3 (2009), pp. 9–38.
[46] P. Harling, *The Waning of "Old Corruption": The Politics of Economical Reform in Britain, 1770–1846* (Oxford, 1996).
[47] M. Knights, 'Explaining Away Corruption in Pre-Modern Britain', *Social Philosophy & Policy*, 35/2 (2018), pp. 94–117.

fiduciary trust in officeholding since the seventeenth century, the work of Henry Parris and Norman Chester charts the development of ministerial responsibility and salaried bureaucracies in the early nineteenth century.[48] Similarly, George Kitson Clark investigates the development of the Civil Service's neutrality before the publication of the Northcote–Trevelyan report in 1854.[49] Martin Daunton's work on nineteenth-century taxation examines the gradual development of an ethos of neutrality and disinterestedness upheld by the Treasury until the present.[50] As my research shows, the implementation of open competition further reshaped the interface between public and private spheres in Victorian Britain. It abolished pockets of patronage, promoted an ethos of merit and neutrality, changed the expectations of young men, and restructured family strategies for security and advancement. Yet my research shows the enduring importance of what I term 'professional patronage' and Treasury promotions, where connections, class, and familial support still mattered if clerks aspired to rise in their careers.

A third theme in the history of the state treated by this thesis is the cooperation between the central administration and 'private actors'. Recent scholarship on Britain has established the complex layering of authorities and jurisdictions, also characterizing Europe and the Americas.[51] Joanna Innes and Frank Prochaska have highlighted the persistence of diverse actors in the actions of the purportedly modern British state, such as local authorities, voluntary associations, and churches.[52] When social problems became acute due to urbanization and industrialization, these actors and associations discharged functions that would later be slowly taken on by the twentieth-century welfare state, such as education, pensions, medical care, and food provisioning. The professionalization of the nineteenth-century British state—studied by Lawrence Goldman, Roy

[48] H. Parris, *Constitutional Bureaucracy: The Development of British Central Administration since the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1969); N. Chester, *The English Administrative System, 1780–1870* (Oxford, 1981).
[49] Clark, 'Statesmen in Disguise', pp. 23–5.
[50] M. Daunton, *Just Taxes: The Politics of Taxation in Britain, 1914–1979* (Cambridge, 2007); *State and Market in Victorian Britain: War, Welfare and Capitalism* (Cambridge, 2012).
[51] See, for example, Barryere and Lemercier, 'Unexceptional State'; L. Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400–1900* (Cambridge, 2010).
[52] F. Prochaska, 'Philanthropy', in Thompson, *The Cambridge History*, pp. 357–393; *Christianity & Social Service in Modern Britain: The Disinherited Spirit* (Oxford, 2006); J. Innes, 'The Regulation of Charity and the Rise of the State', in D. Hitchcock and J. McClure (eds.), *The Routledge History of Poverty, c. 1450–1800* (London, 2021), pp. 3–20.

MacLeod, and Simon Szreter from political, social, and gender perspectives—involved different interactions with medical doctors, universities, families, public schools, and professionals.[53] My thesis extends our understanding of the cooperation between the central state and private actors from another perspective. While historians of nineteenth-century welfare have usually focused on the Poor Laws, middle-class charity, and the intellectual history of the welfare state, this study focuses on how Treasury clerks supported the enduring role of voluntary associations in society as complementary providers of relief to the pension scheme of the Civil Service.[54]

More generally, this thesis also engages with the historiographies of class and the professions. The Treasury was a refuge for many younger sons of the aristocracy in the nineteenth century. Studying it therefore helps to illuminate one of the great themes of British and European history: the transformation of nineteenth-century aristocracies.[55] International processes characterized as forming the Age of Revolutions as well as domestic ones, including the growth of the middle classes, Parliamentary and local government reform, cultural ideals of merit and an 'aristocracy of talent', radicalism, Irish nationalism, free trade and the economic depression of the 1870s, New Liberalism's social and taxation agenda, and Chartism, challenged the power and legitimacy of the British aristocracy. The world had changed for the aristocracy, and the world's perception of the aristocracy had changed, too.

Historians have offered a range of interpretations to explain these changing social structures. Harold Perkin argues that British society transitioned from a 'class society' dominated by the aristocracy to a 'professional society' dominated by experts and professionals.[56] F. M. L. Thompson and David Cannadine claim that the pan-British territorial aristocracy remained

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[53] See, for example, L. Goldman, *Science, Reform, and Politics in Victorian Britain: The Social Science Association 1857–1886* (Cambridge, 2002); R. MacLeod (ed.), *Government and Expertise: Specialists, Administrators and Professionals, 1860–1919* (Cambridge, 1988); S. Szreter, *Health and Wealth: Studies in History and Policy* (Cambridge, 2005).

[54] I will deal with this historiography more extensively in Chapter 4. For key works, see J. Harris, 'Political Thought and the Welfare State 1870–1940: An Intellectual Framework for British Social Policy', *P&P*, 135/1 (1992), pp. 116–41; P. Thane, 'The Origins of the British Welfare State', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, L/3 (2020), pp. 427–433; M. Pugh, 'Working-Class Experience and State Social Welfare 1908–1914: Old Age Pensions Reconsidered', *THJ*, 45/4 (2002), pp. 775–796.

[55] The pioneering work was D. Spring (ed.), *European Landed Elites in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore, 1977).

[56] H. Perkin, *Rise of Professional.*

powerful, wealthy, and commanded great political and local power until the early twentieth century, even though the old fortunes, landed estates, and attitudes to wealth declined by the First World War (1914–18).[57] Its composition and occupations provided more debate among historians. Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone assert that the aristocracy allowed a relatively small number of newcomers.[58] Others claim that the aristocracy was a relatively open elite despite its small size in comparison with the Russian and German nobilities.[59] The British aristocracy changed its social composition with the integration of Indian nabobs, businessmen, industrialists, newspaper moguls, and the Irish and Scottish peerages.[60] Honours multiplied and extended into a more British and imperial structure of rewards, incorporating many of these newcomers to the pavilions of status and power.[61] Peter J. Cain and A. G. Hopkin have showed that the aristocracy also adapted to new forms of wealth and class distinction, challenging oppositions between industry, gentlemanly capitalism, and finance.[62] Amanda Vickery's work further suggests that compartmentalized notions of social classes (e.g. aristocracy and middle classes) conceal the nexus between layers of the aristocracy, the professions, and local squirearchy.[63] Historians of the British aristocracy have mostly based their studies on landed families, their economic practices, the peerage, and a limited number of counties. The analysis of the nineteenth-century gentry and aristocratic younger sons attracted less attention. Their relationships with the professions were recurrent themes in Victorian novels but less so in historical research.[64] Yet, as I will show in this thesis, the Treasury's aristocratic younger sons provide a more elastic image of this social class and professionalism.

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[57] F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1963); D. Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (New York, 1999).
[58] L. Stone and J. C. Fawtier-Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540–1880* (Oxford, 1984).
[59] For the Russian and German nobilities, see D. Lieven, *The Aristocracy in Europe, 1815–1914* (London, 1992).
[60] D. Cannadine, *Aspects of Aristocracy: Grandeur and Decline in Modern Britain* (New Haven, 1994).
[61] D. Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw their Empire* (Oxford, 2001); H. J. Hanham, 'The Sale of Honours in Late Victorian England', *VS*, 3/3 (1960), pp. 277–89.
[62] See, for example, P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, 'Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas II: New Imperialism, 1850–1945', *Economic History Review*, 40/1 (1987), pp. 1–26.
[63] A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, 1998).
[64] See, for example, B. Disraeli, *Sybil, or the Two Nations* (Oxford, 1998).

The scholarship on the professions—which form the second link in this relationship—has predominantly focused on the middle classes. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the professions expanded and underwent changes to their structures, patterns, and composition. Historians focused on the medical, clerical, law, military, and naval professions, but new gender and social histories have expanded the scope of enquiry into emergent careers and women's professional development.[65] These studies, however, still privilege the associations between the professions and the middle classes. Some historians claim that professionalization began to transform the Civil Service since the 1850s.[66] Asa Briggs and Neil Daglish consider that reforms strengthened the ties between the upper classes and the higher positions of the profession.[67] Mike Savage and Andrew Miles believe Civil Service reforms contributed to the emergence of the modern career in the Post Office, reinforcing mechanisms of social closure based on educational standards, gender, and status.[68] By contrast, other scholars have a more open and mobile view of the reformed Civil Service. David Cannadine argues that a middle-class civil servant had replaced the 'patrician professional' by the early twentieth century.[69] Noel Annan and William Whyte also draw connections between the 'intellectual aristocracy' and elements of this increasingly middle-class Civil Service.[70]

My study of the Treasury suggests a more complex transition. A new cohort of middle-class civil servants connected to the 'intellectual aristocracy' did replace the 'patrician professionals' by the early twentieth century. But this social renewal happened at the beginning of the career, not in the high-ranking positions attained later in life which remained the preserve of the aristocratic.

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[65] G. Sutherland, *In Search of the New Woman: Middle-Class Women and Work in Britain, 1870–1914* (Cambridge, 2015); C. De Bellaigue, *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France, 1800–1867* (Oxford, 2007).
[66] For these definitions of professionalism, see Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 260; Sutherland, 'Examinations and the Construction, p. 53; Ackroyd et al, *Advancing with the Army*, p. 1.
[67] N. Daglish, 'Class and the Civil Service? The Case of the Board of Education Clerks, L. A. Selby-Bigge and the MacDonnell Commission', *History of Education*, 27/2 (1998), pp. 141–58; Briggs, *Victorian People*, pp. 107–20; Greenaway, 'Celebrating Northcote–Trevelyan', p. 7.
[68] A. Miles and M. Savage, 'Constructing the Modern Career, 1840–1940', in D. Mitch, J. Brown, and M. H. D. Van Leeuwen (eds.), *Origins of the Modern Career* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 79–100.
[69] Cannadine, *Decline and Fall*, ch. 6.
[70] N. Annan, 'The Intellectual Aristocracy', in J. H. Plumb (ed.), *Studies in Social History: A Tribute to G. M. Trevelyan* (London, 1955), pp. 243–87; W. Whyte, 'The Intellectual Aristocracy Revisited', *JVC*, 10/1 (2005), pp. 15–45.

This aristocracy of brains and blood shared the ethos of competition, merit, and industry usually ascribed by historians to the middle classes.[71] Until 1914, the most powerful positions of the Treasury and many other public departments remained in the hands of the aristocracy. Middle-aged and older Treasury clerks do not fit the image of the anxious younger sons studied by Mark Rothery and Henry French.[72] Several became, if not the wealthiest, some of the most powerful men in Britain. My thesis shows that their lives are key to understanding the interconnections of the British aristocracy, the state, and the professions in the late nineteenth century.

This study uncovers how a new 'administrative elite' rose in the Treasury, offering a new perspective on the evolution of the British state by exploring the relationship between the aristocracy and the Civil Service. Instead of defining professionalization exclusively in terms of administrative reform, I place Treasury clerks in a context of social relationships that helped to sustain their careers. This framework allows us to see the ascent of the new administrative elite—a concept originally used for the nineteenth-century Treasury by Henry Roseveare—to the top positions in the Treasury and other public establishments as the result of an Oxbridge education as well as a mixture of professional and social practices, such as promotions, marriages, honours, friendships, and intergenerational familial support. In retirement, the social standing and ties of Treasury clerks connected them to charitable activities, JP officeholding, local councils, and directorships of financial and industrial boards. A social history of the Treasury sheds light on the lifestyles, individual trajectories, family formations, and masculine identities of aristocratic professionals.

The career trajectories of successful Treasury clerks were usually measured according to the accepted benchmarks of the male life course and the occupational ladder. Obituaries often mentioned their aristocratic and upper-class backgrounds, but how these ties assisted them

[71] See, for example, J. Tosh, 'Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: Britain, 1800–1914', *JBS*, 44/2 (2005), pp. 332–3.
[72] M. Rothery and H. French, 'Male Anxiety Among Younger Sons of the English Landed Gentry, 1700–1900', *THJ*, 62/4 (2000), pp. 967–95.

throughout the life cycle against death, orphanage, ill health, and downward social mobility were not made explicit. Recent research depicts the professions as occupations that might be characterized by insecurity and might not provide guaranteed respectability.[73] Christina de Bellaigue and Selina Todd provide more fruitful frameworks to study how Victorians experienced class mobility than through the application of social science models which focus solely on men, occupational hierarchies, and economic rationalities. Instead, they encourage us to understand the pursuit of upward social mobility as an element of family strategies for security and advancement marked by their gendered emotional contexts and by intergenerational practices and attitudes.[74] These approaches, which demystify the idea of the self-made man and question professional mythologies of merit, are central to my research. As this thesis will show in Chapters 2, 3, and 4, maternal and paternal lineages served to sustain the status and careers of Treasury clerks as much as—or more than—individual achievements.

Examining the reform of the British Civil Service through the lens of the life cycle, family, and class provides fruitful new insights into the history of the nineteenth-century state, aristocracy, and the professions. To begin with, my thesis builds on a growing literature exploring family expectations and practices at different stages of life (youth, middle life, old age). Key studies underline the existence of high mortality rates, changing fertility and family formations, gendered differences in life expectancy, the endurance of intergenerational familial support, and the absence of clear age-grading boundaries in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[75] Studies of youth, notably by Anthony Fletcher, Paul Deslandes, Henry French and Mark Rothery, have focused on upper and middle-class education and upbringing.[76] Similarly, scholarship on middle life has

[73] C. De Bellaigue, 'Afterword', in H. Egginton and Z. Thomas (eds.), *Precarious Professionals: Gender, Identities and Social Change in Modern Britain* (London, 2021), pp. 325–6; K. Price, 'Victorian Professions: The Galvanising (and Shaping) Force of Death on Families', in Beardmore, Dobbing, and King, *Family Life*, pp. 48–61.
[74] C. De Bellaigue, 'Great Expectations? Childhood, Family, and Middle-Class Social Mobility in Nineteenth-Century England', *C&SH*, 16/1 (2019), pp. 29–46; S. Todd, *Snakes and Ladders: The Great British Social Mobility Myth* (London, 2021).
[75] M. Sanderson, 'The Emergence of the Modern Life Cycle in Britain', *SH*, 10/1 (1985), pp. 69–87.
[76] P. Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850–1920* (Bloomington, 2005); A. Fletcher, 'Courses in Politeness: The Upbringing and Experiences of Five Teenage Diarists, 1671–1860', *TRHS*, 12 (2002), pp. 417–30; H. French and M. Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities, c. 1660–1900* (Oxford, 2012).

concentrated on domestic duties and masculinities, as I mentioned earlier in the introduction.[77] The works of Pat Thane and Susanna Ottaway on old age have underlined gender differences, the vitality of elderly people despite their reliance on familial support and state relief, as well as challenging the myth of a 'golden age'.[78] Only a handful of scholars have attempted to follow their topics of investigation through several stages of the life cycle or their intergenerational relations. Marcus Ackroyd et al. covered the life cycle of medical doctors in the early nineteenth-century British Army, integrating into their analysis public and private spheres.[79] R. J. Morris and Alastair Owens focused on the inheritances practices of nineteenth-century middle classes, and Barbara Crosbie in the intergenerational relationships intrinsic to Georgian education, parenting, politics.[80] My research contributes a new dimension to scholarship on the life cycle by examining how youth, middle life, and old age—and their interrelations—were shaped by and shaped the British state and society.

In the Treasury, this approach reveals the impact of Civil Service reform on an individual and familial level. It helps us assess the development of new career structures from youth to old age. Throughout the life cycle, modern Treasury careers rested on family and intergenerational support, kinship ties, educational and patronage networks enlarged through marriages and friendships. My thesis demonstrates that this interplay should not be seen as the remnants of an older, inefficient, and nepotistic state, but rather as the evolution of practices and attitudes specific to a new kind of state. At the same time, by adopting a life-cycle perspective, my thesis refines our understanding of class and masculinity in the Civil Service by revealing how dependent occupational and professional status was on transitions in personal life over the life course.

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[77] See, for example, J. Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family, and Empire* (London, 2005); *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven, 1999).
[78] See, among many, P. Thane, "An Untiring Zest for Life": Images and Self-Images of Old Women in England', *JFH*, 25/2 (2000), pp. 235–47; S. R. Ottaway, *The Decline of Life: Old Age in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2004).
[79] Ackroyd et al, *Advancing with the Army*.
[80] R. J. Morris, *Men, Women and Property in England, 1780–1870: A Social and Economic History of Family Strategies amongst the Leeds Middle Classes* (Cambridge, 2005); A. Owens, 'Property, Gender and the Life Course: Inheritance and Family Welfare Provision in Early Nineteenth-Century England', *SH*, 26/3 (2001), pp. 299–317; B. Crosbie, *Age Relations and Cultural Change in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2020).

Yet the life cycle is not merely a useful historical framework to analyse the processes of professionalization in the British state. Nineteenth-century reformers and civil servants also thought in these terms, linking 'youth', 'middle life', and 'old age' to identify and understand the different stages of their careers. Life-course needs and expectations were central to the ways the new Civil Service profession was being rethought, and at the same time, Civil Service reform constructed new understandings and markers of the life course in Victorian Britain by establishing age gradings for appointments and pensions. Relatedly, the proposal made in the Northcote–Trevelyan report to introduce promotions by merit to attract the highly educated classes to the public service created intergenerational tensions between young and middle-aged civil servants in the 1850s which also shaped the development of reform. Assumptions about age and the life course were central to the practice and implementation of reform.

My research also develops an analysis of the British state through the lens of the family. Naomi Tadmor, among other scholars, has emphasized the endurance of a variety of family formations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, underlining the porousness of household and family boundaries, and fluidity and fictive kinship.[81] In contrast to those studies emphasizing individualism and the nuclear conjugal family as a feature or enabler of modernization, recent histories of nineteenth-century Britain and the British Empire demonstrate that families and their kinship ties had a pivotal role in the development of commercial networks, businesses, emigration, politics, poor relief, and industry.[82] In particular, my thesis builds on the work of Margot Finn, who decentres the patriarchal family unit and its primary exemplar in modern liberal theory (autonomous, adult, propertied male) underlining the central role of large British families in the

[81] N. Tadmor, 'Early Modern Kinship in the Long Run, Reflections, and Change', *Continuity and Change*, 25/1 (2010), pp. 17–9; *Family & Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge, 2004); B. Reay, 'Kinship and the Neighborhood in Nineteenth-Century Rural England: The Myth of the Autonomous Nuclear Family', *JFH*, 21/1 (1996), pp. 87–104; S. King, 'Configuring and Re-Configuring Families in Nineteenth-Century England', in Beardmore, Dobbing, and King, *Family Life*, pp. 229–54.

[82] See, for example, De Bellaigue, 'Great Expectations'; H. Barker, *Family & Business during the Industrial Revolution* (Oxford, 2017); A. Kuper, *Incest & Influence. The Private Life of Bourgeois England* (Cambridge, 2009); M. Finn, 'The Female World of Love & Empire: Women, Family & East India Company Politics at the End of the Eighteenth Century', *G&H*, 31/1 (2019), pp. 7–24.

making of East India Company rule.[83] Focusing on a later period, my thesis aims to show how the role of the family and intergenerational support continued to be central to the professionalization of the Civil Service in a period of modernizing bureaucratic models, ideals, and structures.

The third category of analysis deployed in my thesis is class, by which I mean how social standing and belonging shaped experience and the meaning of experience. My research departs from understanding class as an economic category, occupational category, or subjective identity, though all have relevance for thinking about the nineteenth century.[84] The sources I have analysed do not suggest a simple evolution from hierarchical and layered conceptions of rank to binary and tripartite categories of class, as David Cannadine also concludes.[85] This thesis suggests instead that, to understand the role of status and social structure in the lives of Treasury officials, we need to consider the position in the life cycle as a key dimension of class, and to understand the interrelation of different social hierarchies: occupational structures, honours systems, family lineage, and gender. Social standing was a relational phenomenon that rested on diverse and overlapping hierarchies but was also elastic and varied throughout the life cycle.[86] The interaction and tension between these different orders—which translated into practices, relationships, attitudes, emotions, and languages—imbued social position with a range of meanings and distinctions of wealth and power that structured the Civil Service and Victorian society.

This approach, inspired by the discoveries I have made in the archives as much as by the existing scholarship on class, offers new insights into how hierarchical the British state and society were in the late nineteenth century. Focusing on the Treasury underlines that the title of 'clerk' in the Victorian period covered a wide range of positions. The category of the salaried worker who

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[83] M. Finn, 'Family Formations: Anglo India and the Familial Proto-State', in D. Feldman and J. Lawrence (eds.), *Structures and Transformations in Modern British History* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 100–117.
[84] Cf. for example, R. J. Morris, *Class and Class Consciousness in the Industrial Revolution 1780–1850* (London, 1979); J. Thompson, 'After the Fall: Class and Political Language in Britain, 1780–1900', *THJ*, 39/3 (1996), pp. 784–806; S. R. S. Szreter, 'The Official Representation of Social Classes in Britain, the United States, and France: The Professional Model and "Les Cadres"', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 35/2 (1993), pp. 285–317.
[85] D. Cannadine, *The Rise and Fall of Class in Britain* (New York, 1999).
[86] For the relational aspect of class, see S. Todd, 'The Everyday Uses of Class', *History Workshop Journal*, 81/1 (2016), pp. 263–70.

ascended fixed ladders of promotion and benefited from a pension system encompassed clerks from the aristocracy, middle classes, and working classes. Yet despite participating in the same institutionalized model of professional merit, the family forms, education, lifestyles, intergenerational support, marriage patterns, charitable activities, and retirement of clerks of different socioeconomic standing were dissimilar. The introduction of promotion by merit (1856), the consolidation of clerical grades (1876), the marriage strategies adopted by aristocrats who populated the Civil Service, and the creation of the civil division of the Order of the Bath (1847) modified career structures, renewed and existed alongside long-standing demarcations of class and kinship in the British state, rather than replacing them with new markers of occupational status based on ideas of merit alone. Under public service ideals that were increasingly regarded as more legitimate than the claims of family lineage and patronage, these processes in bureaucratic promotions and honours systems enmeshed with familial networks to produce the new administrative elite.

As mentioned earlier, this thesis focuses on the Treasury because the department allows me to examine the interconnections between the aristocratic classes and the professionalization of the British state over the nineteenth century. More specifically, studying the Treasury is key to our understanding of the development of financial expertise which remains influential to this day in the state and society. The Treasury was the most important public department in the late nineteenth century. It possessed both controlling and executive functions. Through the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it exercised the responsibilities of a financial centre of power, collecting revenue, initiating financial legislation, overseeing public office pensions, and controlling civil and public expenditure.[87] This degree of control neither happened overnight nor reached the levels of the twentieth century. In the early nineteenth century, several governments sought to bring all financial subjects within the superintendence of the Treasury, though it rarely possessed the power to

[87] Wright, *Treasury Control*, pp. 1–2.

enforce it. By the 1850s, a new ethos of fiscal and public morality, notably advocated by William Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer, infused the department and gave it new powers. The Appropriation Act of 1846–47 tightened the Treasury's control over the surpluses in the naval and military departments. In 1866, the Exchequer and Audit Act further enabled the Treasury to judge every measure increasing, whether directly or indirectly, public expenditure, including additions to existing staff, salary increases, applications for pensions, and extra allowances. The Treasury also incorporated other functions, such as reviewing the legal business of other public departments.[88] This financial and administrative expertise became a trademark of the new administrative elite that dominated the Civil Service and joined financial boards and directorships in retirement. Finally, such a small body of Treasury clerks performing these duties, divided into six to five divisions, has allowed me to produce concentrated analyses of their familial relationships, friendships, intermarriages, career trajectories, and life cycle. In 1856, the superior establishment of the Treasury counted thirty-seven clerks; in 1870, this figure had been reduced to twenty-three. This was a small department compared to the thousands of officers of the Post Office or the Inland Revenue. Right before the First World War, when the Civil Service had reached more than 172,000 men and women, the entire staff of the Treasury numbered about 140 officials, of which twenty-five were part of the administrative staff.[89] Decades later, Sir Andrew MacFeydean, a retired Treasury clerk, recalled that when he entered the department in 1910 people used to wear top hats and tails, and 'the relationship of colleagues was very much that of a rather select club.'[90]

The Treasury was a select and hierarchical establishment composed of diverse kinds of permanent and temporary clerks, accountants, messengers, and female typists, whose grades and distinctions I will explore in the following four chapters. The nomenclature for these different categories changed, though the broad distinctions between those at the upper and lower ends of the scale persisted. Throughout the thesis, for the sake of clarity and to permit comparisons, I will

[88] 'Treasury Arrangement and Appointment Book, 1869–87', TNA, T 197/5, pp. 178–80.
[89] Thane, 'Government and Society', pp. 57–8.
[90] Quoted in Roseveare, *The Treasury*, p. 12.

categorize clerks from the highest grade—successively known as 'Superior Establishment', 'First Division', 'Higher Division', 'Administrative Class', or 'Class I'—as 'Treasury clerks'. At the beginning of their careers, Treasury clerks were responsible for copying. As they ascended the administrative ladder they began drafting and revising minutes, communicated with public departments, governments, imperial officials, and dealt with more complex financial and revenue matters. These men were the core of the new administrative elite of the Treasury that rose to the highest ranks of the department and other public establishments. I will categorize clerks from the lower grades—successively known in the period as 'Supplementary Establishment', 'Lower Division', and 'Second-Division clerks'—with the contemporary usage of 'Second-Division clerks' throughout the thesis. These men performed the more routine and mechanical work of the Treasury together with the gender-specific clerical grades created at the turn of the century: the 'Intermediate Class', 'the Assistant Class', the 'Boy Class', and the 'Female Typists', all terms used in the late nineteenth century. The collectivity of these many types of clerks and other Treasury positions (accountants, solicitors, messengers, charwomen), will be designated with the modern usage of 'Treasury officials'.

The Treasury is particularly rich in terms of sources. I have drawn upon eight archives and a wide range of untapped sources to reconstruct developments in the history of the British state, Treasury business, career structures and pensions, and the social lives of Treasury clerks.[91] By setting the Civil Service in the realm of social and cultural history, this thesis shows that distinguishing private sources from public sources may be as artificial as the historically contingent separation between private and public spheres. Indeed, the variety of sources selected is a testament to the importance of the social and cultural contexts in which the Treasury functioned. Using these sources allows me to write a different kind of history of the modern British state.

[91] The National Archives; the Somerset Heritage Centre; Newcastle University Special Collections and Archives; the British Library's Manuscript and Newspaper Archives; Nuffield College Archives at Oxford; Churchill College Archives at Cambridge; Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies; and Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies Library.

I analyse mid-nineteenth-century Civil Service reform through three core sets of sources: Sir Charles Trevelyan's manuscript archive deposited in Newcastle University's Special Collections, the annual reports of the Civil Service Commissioners in the National Archives (1855–1914), and reports and commentary in national and local newspapers across the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The first provides an overview of patronage practices in the 1840–50s, discussions between reformers on the reform of appointments and promotions, and Trevelyan's selection of newspaper articles on reform in 1854, the year the Northcote–Trevelyan report was published. The second offers a panoramic and systematic view of recruitment methods from 1855 to 1914, which helps to establish the evolution of Treasury appointments. Lastly, local and national newspapers help to decentre the history of civil-service reform from a high-politics approach by showing how debates extended across Britain and how civil servants engaged with the public sphere fighting for their causes.

Treasury papers provide extensive information on the department. The four volumes (400 pages each) of Treasury arrangement and appointments books recorded every appointment, promotion, pension, and reorganization from 1846 to 1914. These Treasury books are my core sources for these key themes. They tell a systematic story of the development of the department from an administrative perspective. Yet their importance goes beyond the data recorded. The Treasury books, written by the Second-Division clerks, also offer a wealth of information about historical vocabulary, mentalities, and even emotional experiences. When we read them against the grain, they reveal how the department, through the medium of Treasury clerks, understood its public ethos, professionalism, and articulated masculine norms and ideals associated with gentlemanliness.

Parliamentary debates on Civil Service reform, the press, Royal commissions, and select committees offer further evidence of Westminster perspectives on administrative reform from 1848 to 1914. Lawrence Goldman has demonstrated that the mid-nineteenth-century culture of 'policy formation' still relied on civil servants, voluntary associations, and cabinet members since

governments and political parties had yet to develop policy-making functions and resources. [92] Civil Service reform was the result of the interplay between public and private spheres. Reforming the British state was not a top-down process but a negotiated one. As Chapters 1 and 4 will demonstrate, the movement for superannuation reform, covered in the local and national press, is a good example of how civil servants mobilized and influenced changes in the 1850s.

On the other hand, Victorian censuses, genealogies, and more than 100 local and national newspapers provide essential material for pulling together the Treasury clerks' prosopographies, establishing their family formations, marital histories, intergenerational support, and career trajectories. In particular, newspaper coverage reveals their involvement in welfare activities in middle life and old age. Wills and bequests and obituaries also provide information on the activities of Treasury clerks after retirement, on career structures, and living patterns. These sources extend and deepen the information about the social lives of Treasury officials gleaned from administrative sources.

In this period, Treasury clerks are best traced through the family archives of aristocratic families and eminent politicians. Even if fragmentary, their private letters are crucial to unravelling the 'inner life of the state'. Margot Finn's work on the eighteenth-century East India Company has shown the significance of such private papers for understanding how state-families operated their inheritance practices, patronage networks, and family life in the context of imperial expansion and colonialism.[93] In the Treasury, the private archives of the Martin Leake, Fremantle, Hervey, and Puller families complicate the idea of the neutral and disinterested bureaucracy.[94] Treasury clerks come to life through their charitable activities, patronage networks, anxieties about career advancement, legacies for future generations, and education. By focusing on the practices

[92] Goldman, *Science, Reform, and Politics*, pp. 61–2.
[93] Finn, 'Family Formations', pp. 100–17.
[94] These archives are deposited in the Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, and Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies Library.

illuminated by these sources, we gain a new understanding of the socially negotiated forms of the British state, the agency of Treasury clerks, and their social worlds.

Autobiographical writing offers further insights into the lives of Treasury clerks.[95] Some focused more on their religious life, while others enjoyed recollecting their bureaucratic friendships, social life, and career trajectories. These sources offer a glimpse—albeit one influenced by the conventions of the genre and the aspirations and self-narrativizing tendencies of the authors—of how Treasury clerks structured their life course, ancestry, formative influences, career trajectories, and understood their place in the world. Such documents reveal the intimate and close-knit social worlds that civil servants inhabited.

Class and gender distinctions within the Treasury have presented challenges and skew my findings. We know much more about Treasury clerks and officials from aristocratic backgrounds than about those from the lower middle classes because the former left manuscript archives, genealogies, marriage notes, obituaries, memoirs, and personal writings. These sources have allowed me to reconstruct their family structures, expectations, lifestyles, marriage networks, charitable activities, retirement occupations, and sociability. The clerks in the lower grades of the Treasury did not leave as many traces behind, a sign of their inferior status and unexceptional character in the eyes of contemporaries, although this is not to say that they had no social life. Unlike historians of the British working classes using autobiographies, I have not found any written by Second-Division clerks or messengers.[96] My reconstruction of the social backgrounds of Second-Division clerks solely builds on their paternal line because the lineages of women, once married, are almost impossible to trace back in Victorian censuses.

One of the central state's powers is to produce unified categories of thought and cultural representations that we spontaneously apply to the world, including the state itself.[97] This thesis

[95] For these sources, see R. Gray, 'Self-Made Men, Self-Narrated Lives: Male Autobiographical Writing and the Victorian Middle Class', *JVC*, 6/2 (2001), pp. 288–312.
[96] Cf. E. Griffin, *Liberty's Dawn: A People's History of the Industrial Revolution* (New Haven, 2013).
[97] P. Bourdieu, L. J. D. Wacquant, and S. Farage, 'Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field', *Sociological Theory*, 12/1 (1994), pp. 1–18.

interrogates these historical vocabularies and narratives by approaching them in three ways. Firstly, I have contrasted official sources with private papers to offer a plural perspective on Civil Service reform and contemporary experiences of the state. While the Treasury arrangement and appointment books reproduced a language of merit and disinterestedness, other sources show that administrative ties and practices were inseparable from social ones. Secondly, this thesis analyses sources against the grain, which situates historically the production of written documents and exposes hidden traces, unconscious attitudes, and words that escaped the authors' intentions.[98] Using this method with the Royal commissions' minutes of evidence, personal papers, newspapers, and memoirs helps us to reveal the Treasury clerks' attitudes towards the state and society. Thirdly, I have found recourse to the 'perhaps' and 'may-have-beens' of Natalie Zemon Davies, when the evidence has been scant or perplexing, as a form of constructing historical possibilities on the development of the British state rooted in historical research.[99]

This thesis has also been shaped by methodological restrictions. Different circumstances limited my access to archives and sources during the period of research. Valuable documents for understanding the Treasury clerks' careers and recruitment practices appear to be either lost or non-existent in the National Archives, such as their files and applications to the Civil Service Commissioners.[100] Moreover, the Covid-19 pandemic restricted my access to prime ministers' manuscript papers, the Playfair Commission (1875) and Ridley Commission (1886–88), Treasury clerks' family archives, and other departmental papers.[101]

The thesis begins with a first chapter on the reform of the British Civil Service in 1840–50s. It explores why and how reformers aimed to create a new state profession by reforming appointments, promotions, and pensions. It will show that they responded to administrative challenges and the civil servants' family, class, and individual expectations at different points in

[98] S. Cerutti, "À rebrousse-poil": dialogue sur la méthode', *Critiques*, 769–770/6–7 (2011), pp. 567–70.
[99] N. Z. Davies, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 5.
[100] Other historians of the Treasury have encountered similar problems before 1919. See Peden, *The Treasury*, p. 1.
[101] For example, the family archive of Stephen Spring-Rice in Manchester University or George Murray's family archive in Blair Castle, Scotland.

their life cycle. This chapter sets the scene and debates for the following three parts of the thesis, each focusing thematically on three stages of the life cycle and each one internally chronological between 1847 and 1914. Chapter Two explores youth as the first stage of Treasury clerks' careers. It focuses on the reform of patronage appointments in the Treasury and analyses how open competition coexisted with more professional forms of patronage, impacting the experiences of upper and middle-class youth, clerical division of labour, family formations, and class structures. We then turn to the middle life of Treasury clerks. Chapter 3 focuses on how the reform of promotions, changing marriage strategies, and the distribution of honours changed this stage of the life cycle and career structures in the British Civil Service. These processes in bureaucratic promotions and honours systems enmeshed with familial networks to produce a particular administrative elite. Finally, the thesis explores the old age of Treasury clerks. Chapter 4 analyses the reform of pensions and the retirement of civil servants, showing how superannuation reform redefined the boundaries of old age and the profession, Treasury officials in several cases enjoyed a productive old age and they privileged the interplay of public and private welfare provision rather than the growing intervention of the central state.

This thesis cannot pretend to be all-inclusive. Many dimensions require further studies: in the words of Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, we need both parachutists to see the larger picture and truffle hunters to see the smaller one.[102] I have shifted from large to small scales of analysis to explore the complexities of my topic. The following four chapters sketch how Civil Service reforms altered the British state and society over the nineteenth century. They show how improvements in appointments, promotions, and pensions shaped the emergence of a Civil Service profession with new employment and career structures and the formation of a new administrative elite in the Treasury. Seeing this public department through the lens of the life cycle, family, and class offers a different perspective on these developments of the British state and the aristocratic

[102] E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: Cathars and Catholics in a French Village, 1294–1324* (London, 1990).

classes. Drawing upon eight national and local archives and a wide range of untapped sources, my thesis shows that the professionalization of the Treasury was the result of historical processes that played out in private as well as in the public sphere. Family formations, intergenerational support, social connections, educational institutions, social clubs, and voluntary associations shaped—and were shaped by—the creation of a new Civil Service profession at different stages of the life cycle. At the eighth annual dinner of the Civil Service in 1894, Sir William Harcourt (Chancellor of the Exchequer) described the loyal anonymity of civil servants as Lord Welby with lines borrowed from Virgil: 'So we the bees make honey, but not for ourselves.'[103] The pages that follow partially demystify these enduring metaphors to unravel the 'inner life of the state' during a period of great transformation for both the Civil Service and the aristocratic classes.

[103] Harcourt actually used the Latin words: *Sic nos non nobis mellificates apes*. In 'Sir William Harcourt', p. 5.

Chapter 1. The Reform of the British Civil Service 1840–50s: Creating a New State Profession

Introduction

On 21 November 1853, Sir Charles Trevelyan (Assistant Secretary to the Treasury) wrote to Lord Elphinstone (Governor of Bombay) seeking a position for his older brother Major Henry Trevelyan, a political agent at 'Mahu Kanta', Bengal. In his letter, Trevelyan mentioned that Lord William Bentinck, the former Governor-General of Bengal (1828–34), previously appointed Henry to several positions, the last of them being that of political agent in Bhopal. It was not the first time that Trevelyan used his patronage networks to secure positions for his siblings in the Colonial service or the Army in India. 'I have no personal claim on yr. [your] Ld.-[Lordship] but I worked hard for India in my youth (My Brother's original appointment as Assistant to the Agent in Rajputana was made by Lord W. Bentinck as a reward for my services) and I have neglected no opportunity of promoting the interests of India in my after life,' Trevelyan said to Lord Elphinstone.[1] At the same time as he was starting to make a case for patronage reform in the British public offices, Trevelyan used his connections to help relatives and friends secure positions at home and in the Empire. This image of the great reformer using his patronage networks is at odds with most historical depictions of him, but sets the scene for an enduring tension between the drive for merit and efficiency within the public service on the one hand, and fulfilling family duties and expectations on the other. If a man as determined as Trevelyan in the cause for reform could not escape familial and life-cycle demands easily, was there hope of abolishing patronage in the public departments? And if there was, what other drivers and ambitions were shaping this new impulse for reforming the British public offices?

[1] 'Charles Trevelyan to Lord Elphinstone', 21 November 1853, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/32, pp. 118–9.

In the 1840–50s, reformers—notably civil servants, government officials, press commentators, university dons, statisticians, and medical doctors—strove to develop employment and career structures modelled on the life cycle that would redefine the interplay between private and public spheres in Britain through to 1914. A series of official enquiries, select committees, and reports investigated how the efficiency, merit, division of labour, and prospects of the public offices could be improved. The Treasury was a focal point for rethinking the reform of the Civil Service as a profession. In the Select Committee on Miscellaneous Expenditure (1848), Sir Charles Trevelyan (Assistant Secretary to the Treasury) proposed a division between intellectual and mechanical labour in the clerical grades; in the influential Northcote–Trevelyan report (1854), he proposed alongside Stafford Northcote the introduction of a system of open competition, promotion by merit, and the crystallization of the division of clerical labour across the public offices. These reforms aimed to weaken patronage, improve the professional standing and prospects of the upper and highly educated classes, and ensure the efficiency of the service. However, appointments and promotions were not the only focal point of reform. Throughout the 1840–50s, debates about superannuation reform raged in the press, sparking the mobilization of civil servants, the press, and MPs favourable to the cause of efficiency, justice, and the expansion of Civil Service pensions to included widows and orphans. The concept of 'Civil Service' became widespread, a term which had until this period been rarely applied to public offices, as I mentioned in the introduction. In the 1850s, contemporaries increasingly began to use these terms to evoke the model of greater efficiency, coordination, and corporate spirit that reformers ambitioned. Thus, reforming the public offices as a new Civil Service profession aimed to fit the administration's drive for efficiency and merit with the civil servants' class and familial needs at different points in their life cycles.

This chapter explores how the project of developing a new Civil Service profession took root in the British Civil Service in the 1840–50s. It argues that this project evolved in ways that reflected and were influenced by changing administrative conditions and attitudes to the life

course, family, and class. Reforms intended to establish a model of Civil Service employment and career structures common to clerks, which would form a shared model of professional merit. In the process, however, changes were formulated alongside the renewal of class markers in the British state.

As I suggested in the introduction, this chapter contributes to our understanding of the administrative and social processes leading to Civil Service reforms in this period in four novel ways. First, proposals for reforms should be conceptualized in terms of attempts for reforming the public offices as a new state profession, which tried to accommodate civil servants' class and familial expectations during their life course. Secondly, the project of reforming the public offices involved appointments but also promotions and pensions, which were practices central to the life cycle and career structures of civil servants and thus to the future implementation of reform and the professionalization of the Civil Service. Thirdly, this chapter draws on domestic and international drivers to explain the creation of a new state profession, but it also reveals that the parallel development of the professions—Navy, Army, the Bar, and the Church—was a key source of inspiration and debate leading to reforms. Fourthly, the processes of reform were shaped by bottom-up and top-down discussions between press commentators, university dons, public school masters, statisticians, medical doctors, and civil servants across Britain.

The first section analyses the administrative drivers—including actors, mechanisms, and historical processes—leading to, and shaping, proposals on mid-nineteenth-century reform. The second examines how Civil Service improvements were also shaped by the social structures of Victorian Britain, in particular class, the life cycle, familial expectations, and the public sphere.

1.1. Administrative drivers of the new Civil Service profession

This section explores the administrative drivers, actors, and mechanisms which drove and shaped Civil Service reform in the 1840–50s. Attempts to create a new Civil Service profession differed

from earlier movements for reforming the British state. The contrasts with the late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century economical reform are significant. To begin with, although reform in the 1850s had a moral and Christian foundation, conservative Evangelicals played a less prominent role than Anglican reverends, bishops, and Oxbridge professors in shaping improvements.[2] Second, imperial war played a subordinate part in fostering administrative change, in contrast with its preeminent role in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[3] While the Seven Years War (1756–63), American War of Independence (1775–83), and Napoleonic Wars (1803–15) were catalysts for economical reform and the reform of morals and manners, the Crimean War (1853–56) merely added fuel to earlier mid-nineteenth-century aspirations to professionalize and reform the civil administration.[4] Third, though once again, exigencies arising from the Empire and America, impelled reform, they did so in a different fashion to the eighteenth century. Republican America provided an evil mirror ('spoils-system') in which contemporaries confronted alarming simulacra of British Parliamentary corruption and patronage. In relation to the Empire, by contrast, Haileybury College and the introduction of open competition into the Indian colonial service in 1853 (previously corrupt and inefficient according to contemporaries), fostered discussions about how to reform patronage at home.[5] Fourth, a new type of reformer came into play. Instead of the humanitarian reformer outside government, as in the late eighteenth century, those who pushed forward Civil Service reform were reform-minded government officials and public officers in collaboration with Oxbridge dons, statisticians, medical doctors, government officials, and MPs.[6] These reformers intended to make societal change through Civil Service reform, including purifying Parliament, hoping among other things thus to promote national

[2] M. Daunton, *State and Market in Victorian Britain: War, Welfare and Capitalism* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 67; J. Parry, 'The Decline of Institutional Reform in Nineteenth-Century Britain', in D. Feldman and J. Lawrence (eds.), *Structures and Transformations in Modern British History* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 169; C. Hall, *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain* (New Haven, 2012), pp. 11–2.
[3] J. Innes, *Inferior Politics: Social Problems and Social Policies in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2009), p. 74.
[4] Daunton, *State and Market*, p. 61; O. Anderson, 'The Janus Face of Mid-Nineteenth-Century English Radicalism: The Administrative Reform Association of 1855', *VS*, 8/3 (1965), pp. 233–4.
[5] V. Cromwell, *Revolution or Evolution: British Government in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1977), p. 132.
[6] For eighteenth-century reformers, see Innes, *Inferior Politics*, p. 46.

education, social mobility, and moral and masculine self-improvement. Lastly, 'efficiency' and 'merit' became key concepts in this phase of reform. In the 1840s-50s, reformers' goal was no longer to eliminate 'Old Corruption' but rather to improve appointments, promotions, and superannuation. Their obsession with merit and efficiency reflected a more ambitious agenda than making the state smaller as in earlier decades: they intended to invent a new state profession with a trajectory from youth to old age, which would change career structures and produce a new civil servant.

1.1.1. *Reformers, proposals for reform, and mechanisms of administrative change*

Contemporaries referred to the creation of the new profession of government and to administrative improvements as 'reform'.[7] People used this word from the eighteenth century and throughout the Age of Reform in various ways and spheres of life, as the *Manchester Guardian* observed when noting its extension to new territory in 1854: 'Reform,' it appears, is not to be confined to the Parliamentary system, or to the Universities, or to the Ecclesiastical Courts; it is to penetrate even into that almost unknown territory which is occupied by our permanent Civil Service."[8] Despite being located in a new context, reform retained earlier associations with moral improvement, and the improvement of character, both individual and national.[9] The press drew a distinction between English improvement and continental revolutions.[10] Critics underlined its speculative nature; those in favour, its practical advantages.[11] Reform could be applied to quite radical change. Promoters of introducing open competition for Civil Service appointments believed that it would make the public service accessible to the middle classes, overthrowing patronage and destroying aristocratic and family influence. Yet, when they advocated these vast

[7] Contemporaries also used 'improvement', 're-organization', 'innovation', and 'administrative reform'.
[8] *TMG*, 18 January 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[9] A. Burns and J. Innes, 'Introduction', in A. Burns and J. Innes (eds.), *Rethinking the Age of Reform: Britain 1780–1850* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 45–8. For 'improvement', see P. Slack, *The Invention of Improvement: Information and Material Progress in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 1–13.
[10] 'Practical and Parliamentary Reform', *South Eastern Gazette* (17 January 1854), p. 4.
[11] 'Civil Service Reform and the Gazette', *CSC* (25 June 1853), p. 408.

transformations, newspapers identified people pushing for this reorganization as reformers, and not as revolutionaries.[12] For contemporaries, reform occupied a middle ground between reaction and revolution and was a leitmotif of a longer English history of gradual and practical improvement.[13] Indeed, while reformers were attempting to build a new profession, they represented themselves as improving the public service on the basis of principles enforced in ancestors, ancient laws, and the economic reform of the late eighteenth century.[14] In 1855, Sir Charles Trevelyan (Assistant Secretary to the Treasury), one of the architects of reform and the new profession, assured Robert Lowe (MP for Kidderminster and Joint-Secretary to the Board of Control) that reforms were designed to breathe new life into the constitution: 'Without making any organic change in our institutions, it has turned a stream through them which will purify & reinvigorate them all.'[15]

In the 1850s, those in charge of Civil Service plans were called 'reformers'. Throughout this thesis, I will conceptualize 'reformers' as the people not only in favour of gradual change, but also those who were actively designing improvement plans and/or negotiating them with different social spheres. Reformer meant different things to different people: after all, not all of them agreed on everything or had the same objectives in mind.

The creation of the new profession was the product of men belonging to the higher ranks of the home and imperial administration, government, Parliament, and the universities. In the 1840-50s, Sir Charles Trevelyan (Assistant Secretary to Treasury, 1840–59), the Liberal politician William Gladstone (Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1852–55), the Conservative MP Stafford Northcote, and Thomas Macaulay were behind the proposals for open competition and promotion by merit, supported by less well-known figures including Edward Romilly, Sir Edward Ryan, Sir Charles Wood, and Robert Lowe *(Appendix A)*. This close-knit group shared many experiences

[12] *TG* (31 January 1854), NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[13] Burns and Innes, 'Introduction'; Hall, *Macaulay and Son*, pp. 158–60.
[14] 'Charles Trevelyan to R. H. Mefis', 17 April 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/33, p. 142; Hughes, 'Civil Service Reform', p. 26.
[15] 'Charles Trevelyan to Robert Lowe', 19 December 1855, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/36, pp. 36–7.

and bonds. To begin with, they were part of the same generation born between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. These men lived through tumultuous times and social transformations, including the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. Since the 1820s, reform was a key concept in their political practice, conception of English society, and administrative attitudes, projected into Catholic emancipation, education, criminal law, and the East India Company, among others. Their concern was reforming the Constitution, Parliament, the state, and drawing new lines in the latter's role and responsibilities, as opposed to the reformation of the self.[16] Another aspect binding this group was their links with Oxford and India. Most of them were educated at Oxford, some were appointed fellows to its colleges, or became MPs for this constituency, as in Gladstone's case.[17] Many reformers belonged to professional backgrounds that situated their lives, families, and social circles in connection with the professionalization of British society. Professional values and practices were therefore not unknown to reformers and, as we shall see later, they perceived them as the best avenue for the development of a gentleman and civil servant. Finally, these reformers developed family ties, political and religious affinities, and long-lasting friendships which gave a further degree of cohesion to the group, proving vital to the formulation of reform plans or supporting them.[18]

The construction of the Civil Service profession also relied on the development of, and negotiation with, other spheres of society. The support of leading educationalists who were members of the universities, public schools, and the Anglican Church proved central to the reform of appointments and promotions. Trevelyan corresponded with university dons and public-school masters, sustained friendships with some of them, and sent reports to school inspectors and Irish and Scottish colleges.[19] Among these Anglican Church reformers, James Prince Lee (Bishop of Manchester) was a major advocate of examinations.[20] Richard Dawes (Dean of Hereford)

[16] Hall, *Macaulay and Son*, pp. 139–57.
[17] E. Biagini, *Gladstone* (Basingstoke, 2000), p. 25.
[18] Hall, *Macaulay and Son*, p. 224.
[19] Hughes, 'Civil Service Reform', pp. 27–8.
[20] 'Charles Trevelyan to James Prince Lee', 15 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/33, p. 72.

mobilized in favour of reforms by writing in the press and circulating plans.[21] In the 1850s, university reform at Oxford led by Francis Jeune (Master of Pembroke) and other dons validated the existence of examinations and competition.[22] Trevelyan and Gladstone strove to relate Civil Service reform with improvements in Oxford: they believed that securing the positive testimony of eminent men would convince the government and the House of Commons.[23] Similarly, they hoped that administrative reform would help to shape educational goals in the country and the Empire.[24] In this context, Benjamin Jowett, the famous Balliol and Oxford don, became an instrumental supporter of open competition and promotion by merit in the Civil Service, writing a letter on examinations as an appendix to the Northcote–Trevelyan report published in 1854. Other figures enlisted for the cause of reform by Trevelyan included Dr Richard Jelf (Principal of King's College, London) and Frederick Temple (Principal of Kneller Hall Training School), among others.[25]

Superannuation reform had origins elsewhere, although we know little about these connections. This historical neglect may partly be explained by its exclusion from the canonical Northcote–Trevelyan report.[26] Yet, by broadening the scope of mid-nineteenth Civil Service reform to include other topics and sources, we get a better perspective not only of other central actors in the creation of the new profession, but also of how the state relied on private spheres to formulate new solutions to social problems, professionalization, career structures, and the life cycle. The narrative of Civil Service reform should include MPs, statisticians, medical doctors, and civil servants interested in resolving Victorian health, mortality, gender, and family anxieties. The social origins of superannuation reformers were regionally diverse, ranging from the peerage to

[21] 'Charles Trevelyan to Benjamin Jowett', 27 February 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/33, p. 35.
[22] J. H. C. Leach, 'Jeune, Francis (1806–1868)', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14806 (23 September 2004).
[23] Hughes, 'Civil Service Reform', pp. 27–8.
[24] 'Charles Trevelyan to Francis Jeune', 21 November 1855, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/36, p. 11.
[25] 'Charles Trevelyan to William Thompson', 25 May 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/33, pp. 75–6; Hughes, 'Civil Service Reform', pp. 27–8.
[26] Although superficially treated, Trevelyan and Northcote tied superannuation to the professionalization of the service. *Report on the Organisation of the Permanent Civil Service, together with a Letter from the Reverend B. Jowett* (London, 1854), p. 21.

agricultural labourers, although they were mainly tied to the middle classes *(Appendix A)*. The movement for superannuation benefited from the political leadership of the Liberal MP Sir Francis Baring and Conservative MPs Benjamin Disraeli and Lord Naas, as I will show in Chapter 4. While reformers interested in improving appointments and promotions established connections with bishops and Oxbridge dons, superannuation reform gained from the support of statisticians and physicians like William Willis and Henry Ancell.[27]

Among the civil servants pressing for superannuation reform, two deserve especial mention. First, William Farr, a medical doctor and expert statistician at the General Registrar Office since 1837, who worked on forty-one annual reports on births, marriages, deaths, and epidemics, was committed to public health reform, and sat in parliamentary commissions on insurance associations, mines, and hygiene.[28] Second, the less well-known figure of Sir Richard Bromley. Bromley rose to public notoriety during the Irish Famine (1846–48) when he was Treasury Accountant. Afterwards, he was appointed Secretary to the Commissioners for Auditing the Public Accounts by the Prime Minister Lord John Russell (1848–52), and employed in other special commissions, select committees, and individual reports. His work on simplifying the process of auditing in the Audit Office was praised. An obituary remarked in 1886, nevertheless, that one of his major achievements was his campaigning for superannuation reform: 'For many years Sir Richard Bromley took a deep interest in the Civil Service and superannuation question, and to his influential exertions is mainly to be attributed the repeal of the Superannuation Tax in 1857.'[29] This was no exaggeration. In the early 1850s, Bromley helped to create a widows fund to channel revenues for the benefit of destitute families, and corresponded with politicians, government officials, and civil servants on this subject.[30] Throughout the decade, he served eight years as the Chairman of the General Committee of Civil Servants. Bromley, together with

[27] See, for example, 'Superannuation Tax-Testimonial to Mr Bromley', *CSG* (9 January 1858), p. 28.
[28] J. M. Eyler, 'Farr, William (1807–1883)', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9185 (23 September 2004); 'The Late Henry Ancell', *British Medical Journal* (28 November 1863), pp. 588–9.
[29] 'Sir R. M. Bromley, K.C.B.', *The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Review* (February 1886), p. 277–8.
[30] 'Thursday, June 1', *TG* (1 June 1854), p. 2.

statisticians like Farr, provided the calculations with reference to the superannuation abatements and supported Parliamentary inquiries on this question. Bromley, not Trevelyan, was the hero of Civil Service reform for many of his contemporaries; the Customs department, not the Treasury, was considered the origin of change; and it was by means of negotiation with the lower ranks of this department, rather than any imposition from above, that the seeds of superannuation reform were gradually planted across the public service.[31]

The reformers' most significant proposals for creating the new profession—discussed at length in the next chapters—can be resumed as follows:

1) *Appointments*: the Northcote–Trevelyan report proposed a system of open competitive examinations for the supplying of the public service with a thoroughly efficient class of men.

2) *Promotions*: the Northcote–Trevelyan report proposed to encourage industry and foster merit in the public offices by introducing merit as the guiding principle to rise in the career —as opposed to seniority.

3) *Superannuation*: Lord Derby's second government (1858–59) proposed to reform the Superannuation Act of 1834 by introducing a scheme with a new voluntary age of retirement (60-years-old), annual increments, minimum length of service, and maximum allowance after forty-years of service.

Reformers used various practices to plan the new Civil Service profession. Despite the rhetoric of novelty, reform built upon long-standing practices of state and social enquiry hailed as 'practical' in contrast with continental 'theory'.[32] Parliament and public departments, especially the Treasury, retained their preeminent role as organs of investigation in the eighteenth and nineteenth

[31] 'Superannuation Tax-Testimonial', p. 28.
[32] A. Hawkins, *Victorian Political Culture: Habits of Mind and Heart* (Oxford, 2015), p. 56.

centuries.[33] Select committees, notably the South African Commission (1847) and the Select Committee on Miscellaneous Expenditure (1848), were vital Parliamentary procedures for investigation and advice that helped to review conceptions of efficiency and division of labour. Other enquiries recommended different actions. The influential Northcote–Trevelyan report of 1854 advocating the introduction of open competition in the public offices, promotion by merit, and the clerical division of labour originated following eleven official inquiries into public departments.[34] Similarly, the Select Committee on Civil Service Superannuation and the Commission on the Superannuation Act conducted in 1856–77 were key to promoting the superannuation acts of 1857 and 1859.[35]

Reformers tried to shift from previous administrative patterns to achieve changes. Until the mid-nineteenth century, appointments and promotions had been regulated upon departmental principles. Reformers urged Parliament to centralize and unify regulations rather than leaving the task to individual heads of department. But without strong precedents and the outbreak of the Crimean War, these plans failed. Several MPs, civil servants, and government officials preferred departmental regulations and jurisdictions, or disliked experiments; feared large scale transformations as opposed to piecemeal improvements; believed in the powers already vested in the heads of departments, or claimed that the Civil Service was under Crown jurisdiction.[36] In contrast, contemporaries favoured a Parliamentary act in superannuation reform as it had already been regulated by one in 1834.

Historians have demonstrated that the mid-nineteenth-century culture of 'policy formation' still relied on civil servants, voluntary associations, and cabinet members because governments and political parties had yet to develop policy-making functions and resources.[37] Civil

[33] Innes, *Inferior Politics*, p. 59.
[34] R. Chapman, *The Civil Service Commission, 1855–1991: A Bureau Biography* (London, 2004), p. 14.
[35] M. Raphael, *Pensions and Public Servants: A Study of the Origins of the British System* (Paris, 1964), p. 148.
[36] *TMC*, 4 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[37] L. Goldman, *Science, Reform, and Politics in Victorian Britain: The Social Science Association 1857–1886* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 61–2.

Service reform was the result of this interplay between public and private spheres. Different forms of enquiry into state structures and information gathering had developed since the eighteenth century with local acts and Parliamentary commissions.[38] Some were staffed by representatives of civil society or clerics.[39] In the 1850s, medical doctors, Benthamites, Utilitarians, clergymen, and statisticians joined parliamentary crusaders to deploy a rhetoric of improvement and grapple with the social challenges posed by industrialization and urbanization.[40] It was a period in which a culture of popular social science and social welfare flourished, with extensive inquiries carried out by national, local, and statistical associations.[41] In the 1850s, several associations were created, among them the famous Social Science Association, providing forums and expertise to MPs, reformers (Gladstone, Northcote, Farr), civil servants, aristocrats, and middle-class gentlemen for discussing social problems, influencing legislation, and applying pressure to ministers.[42]

Plans of creating a new Civil Service profession were also favoured by other forms of interactions between state and society. Family networks, political affiliations, religion, and universities fostered social circles which proved vital to the formulation of improvement plans and diffusing the ideal of gradual improvement as the motor of English history. Reforming the state was not a top-down process, but rather a horizontal and negotiated one. In the case of appointments and promotions, it was the product of negotiation between a group of reformers who belonged to Oxford, Cambridge, the Church, public schools, public departments, and government. Social intercourse encouraged the discussion of reform plans. Trevelyan combined the meticulous study and first-hand knowledge gathered from different public offices, the correspondence with bishops, politicians, school masters, university dons, voluntary societies, and the exchange of books with personal interviews, meetings, and dinners.[43] Reformers and civil

[38] Innes, *Inferior Politics*, p. 59.
[39] Chapman, *Civil Service Commission*, p. 13.
[40] R. Macleod, 'Introduction', in R. MacLeod (ed.), *Government and Expertise: Specialists, Administrators and Professionals, 1860–1919* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 9.
[41] J. Harris, 'Political Thought and the Welfare State 1870–1940: An Intellectual Framework for British Social Policy', *P&P*, 135/1 (1992), p. 120.
[42] Goldman, *Science, Reform, and Politics*, pp. 2–3; Macleod, 'Introduction', p. 5.
[43] Chapman, *Civil Service Commission*, p. 13.

servants also used the public sphere, whether in favour of or against improvements, as we shall see in the next section. These exchanges proved fruitful to generate support for reform plans.

The creation of the new profession was also the product of Victorian Britain's popular politics and petitioning culture.[44] While the reform of appointments and promotions was largely determined by administrative mechanisms, petitions played a major role in superannuation reform, as I will explore in depth in Chapter 4. These practices were constitutional and decentralized, but not spontaneous nor private initiatives, and must be set in a broader context of British and European petitioning which dated back to the Early Modern period.[45] Civil servants were particularly discouraged to engage in political activities due to ideals of neutrality and disinterestedness, yet they were also aware that great changes required greater political leverage.[46] Petitions enabled them to present their grievances to Parliament, bridge departmental jurisdictions, and coordinate local initiatives with a broader 'superannuation movement'. Many civil servants still advocated for a limited interference of the central government in welfare, including pensions, while others argued for a more active regulation and improvement of state provisioning for civil servants and their families. In the 1850s, Civil Service petitioning was not as massive as the anti-slavery, temperance, Chartist, parliamentary reform, or free trade campaigns had been, but it mobilized a great number of officials from diverse departments, especially the Customs, Inland Revenue, and Post Office.[47] By considering petitions to Parliament, prime ministers, and public departments, reform seems more decentred from London, central government, and the public service. This 'superannuation movement' did not produce an influential text like the Northcote–Trevelyan report, but instead produced petitions that are not only a testament to how vibrant Victorian popular politics (meetings, print culture, activism) were outside the franchise, but also to how

[44] For a broader nineteenth-century context, see R. Huzzey and H. Miller, 'Petitions, Parliament and Political Culture: Petitioning the House of Commons, 1780–1918', *P&P*, 248/1 (2020), pp. 123–64.
[45] See, for example, S. Cerutti, 'Travail, mobilité et légitimité: Suppliques au roi dans une société d'Ancien Régime (Turin, XVIIIe siècle), *AHSS*, 65/3 (2010), pp. 569–611.
[46] 'The Superannuation Tax', *CSG* (24 September 1853), p. 617.
[47] Huzzey and Miller, 'Petitions, Parliament', pp. 1–6.

changing state structures and patterns could be a bottom-up process. The significance of these petitions can hardly be overestimated, for they promoted Royal commissions, select committees, and public debate.

1.1.2. *Domestic and international drivers for reforming the public offices*

One of the key drivers of mid-nineteenth-century Civil Service reform remained government growth. It had a long history in British politics and society. Government growth was the result of the expansion of the central state's fiscal-military apparatus since the eighteenth century with notable peaks during the Seven Years War, the American War of Independence, and the Napoleonic Wars.[48] A patchwork of variously efficient state structures developed in response to the financial and administrative demands of global warfare, while inferior politics (welfare, police, transport, roads, canals, justice), increasingly channelled by acts of Parliament, remained largely in the magistrates', parishes', and voluntary societies' hands.[49] In the early nineteenth century, successive governments pursued 'practical improvements' and 'economical reform' to reduce fiscal expenditure, alter the regressive tax system, and curtail the remains of 'Old Corruption'.[50] By the 1840s, much of this had been achieved. However, government growth also covered the expansion of the central state's functions and structures hitherto managed by local elites, parishes, churches, and inferior offices. The central state's new responsibilities at home and abroad—most of them undefined and with limitations—were partly the result of broader social changes in Victorian society, including population increases, education, commerce, urbanization, mining, industry, and social problems.

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[48] P. Harling and P. Mandler, 'From "Fiscal-Military" State to Laissez-Faire State, 1760–1850', *JBS*, 32/1 (1993), pp. 44–7.

[49] P. Harling, 'The State', in D. Brown, G. Pentland, and R. Crowcroft (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern British Political History, 1800–2000* (Oxford, 2018), p. 71; J. Innes, 'Managing the Metropolis: London's Social Problems and their Control, c. 1660–1830', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 107 (2001), pp. 64–7; S. Szreter, *Health and Wealth: Studies in History and Policy* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 250.

[50] P. Harling, 'Parliament, the State, and "Old Corruption": Conceptualizing Reform, c. 1790–1832', in Burns and Innes, *Rethinking the Age of Reform*, pp. 98–113.

Reformers lived through this context of administrative and social change and were active agents advocating economy, wary that a powerful central government could be an instrument of corruption.[51] The formation of the Civil Service profession must be partly contextualized in relation to mid-nineteenth-century retrenchment ideals developing a new phase in the culture of public morality. Public trust, disinterested service, and fiscal probity were recreated not only by developing a system of direct taxation and unified administrative techniques, but also by fostering new political cultures in society and the public offices.[52]

Ideals of retrenchment shaped the ethos and practices of the new Civil Service profession in various forms, which some historians tend to see more successfully attained in nineteenth-century Britain than in other European countries.[53] First, both Peelite and Liberal policies were key to achieve new conceptions of public morality, neutrality, and transparency, though they were far from finished products: the reintroduction of the income tax (1842), free trade, and Parliament's vigilance of annual budgets.[54] Second, government growth along with earlier precedents of economy drove politicians and civil servants to reassess how public business was being conducted. A new rhetoric of fiscal probity developed in the strongholds of power.[55] The Treasury, the Liberal and Conservative governments, newspapers, and individuals, like Robert Peel and William Gladstone, played a major role in advocating these values.[56] Third, this new public morality was more than mere rhetoric: it was also a conception of the state and a practice of administration. Public officers, like Trevelyan in the Treasury and Sir James Graham in the Admiralty, strove to reduce government growth and expenditure with accounting innovations and abolishing offices.[57] Official enquiries into the expenditure of public money were launched, such as the Select Committee on Miscellaneous Expenditure (1848), the Committee on Official Salaries

[51] Harling, 'The State', p. 70.
[52] Daunton, *State and Market*, pp. 66–74.
[53] Daunton, *State and Market*, p. 61.
[54] Daunton, *State and Market*, p. 70.
[55] 'Economical efficiency', 'retrenchment', 'saving economy' were common terms. See 'Promotion,' *CSC* (19 March 1853), p. 186.
[56] Daunton, *State and Market*, pp. 61–70.
[57] Cromwell, *Revolution or Evolution*, pp. 121–2.

(1850), and the series of eleven reports on public offices leading to the publication of the influential Northcote–Trevelyan report in 1854.[58] The increasing levels of business due to the expansion of communication networks, staffs, new state functions, and the Crimean War forced the reorganization of diverse establishments and practices.[59] Throughout the 1840-50s, Trevelyan urged public servants to reduce unnecessary expenses and offices in Canada, Ireland, Crimea, and England.[60]

Reformers also made a case for reforming the public offices and legitimizing it in public opinion based on other administrative mismanagements. A key objective was to improve the administration's 'efficiency', which meant more than fiscal probity and the abolition of offices. This ideal proved central for the reformers' ambition of creating a new state profession. Historians have not usually examined the languages of Civil Service reform, how these changed, by what kinds of internal and external pressures, how contested or consolidated were they, and by what kinds of historical actors they were adopted.[61] Yet the language of efficiency pervaded the state itself and was diffused into society.[62] It was far from being the only language of reform associated with the public offices, but the growing use of the word reflected the aspirations of mid-nineteenth-century reformers.[63]

It was not easy for the Victorians to determine the efficiency of the public service. Moreover, there is no method by which we can assess the flow of administrative machinery, or how idle and incompetent clerks really were then. In the Treasury, for example, the arrangement books show few staff transgressions capable of affecting the course of business.[64] Contemporaries themselves did not have a common idea beyond their investigations, minutes of evidence from select committees, and their perceptions.

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[58] Chapman, *Civil Service Commission*, p. 15.
[59] See, for example, R. Jones, *The Nineteenth-Century Foreign Office: An Administrative History* (London, 1971), pp. 32–40.
[60] See, for example, 'Charles Trevelyan to William Gladstone', 4 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/34, pp. 47–8.
[61] Cf. Daunton, *State and Market*.
[62] See, for example, 'Civil Service Reform', p. 409.
[63] These ideals pervaded the Treasury until the early twentieth century. See G. C. Peden, *The Treasury and British Public Policy 1906–1959* (Oxford, 2000), p. 4.
[64] 'Treasury Arrangement and Appointment Book, 1846–57', TNA, T 197/3.

However, several administrative processes drove the impulse to enhance the efficiency of the new profession. Rather than perceiving the necessity of reform through ideological frameworks—Benthamian utilitarianism, for example—reformers focused instead on long aspirations for reform, practices, and short-term events.[65] To begin with, the Irish Famine (1846–48) exposed administrative inefficiencies to a generation of statesmen and civil servants. Historians have usually focused on the Treasury's role during the Irish Famine but paid less attention to how it affected the civil servants' conceptions of the state back in London. Partly, the division of labour between intellectual and mechanical labour crystallized in Trevelyan's mind because of the bulk of work resulting from the Famine. He informed his sister, Fanny, and other public servants about the mounting public business.[66] In 1848, he told the select committee on miscellaneous expenditure how this pressure led to inefficiency in the public offices, on account of an unequal division of clerical labour and ill health:

> Then there came this extraordinary pressure upon me and my wonder is that I was able to get through it alive. It exceeded anything within my experience. I went through a great deal of wear and tear of that sort in the course of 12 years' experience in various situations in India, but I never knew anything equal to that.[67]

Although deprived of comfort and social enjoyment, Trevelyan was lucky enough to survive that amount of work. Other Treasury clerks broke down, putting pressure on the remaining ones and forcing a reorganization of staff. By the end of the Famine, Trevelyan noted that many were overworked:

> The remark applies to Mr Hankins, the law clerk. He is decidedly over-worked; he does the work of three men; he is a most valuable public officer. It also fully applies to Mr Charles Crafer, the clerk, who, at the end of every session of Parliament, looks worn to a degree which is quite painful; the excessive labour he undergoes has a manifest effect upon his health.[68]

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[65] For a revisionist view on Bentham's influence in explaining government change, see Macleod, 'Introduction', p. 6.
[66] Hall, *Macaulay and Son*, p. 187.
[67] *Report from the Select Committee on Miscellaneous Expenditure; together with the Minutes of Evidence Taken before them* (London, 1848), p. 115.
[68] *Report from the Select*, p. 87.

Apart from the Famine, the focus on improving the efficiency of the public offices also stemmed from partisan consensus on the subject. Patronage and corruption scandals crossed the line of morality and disinterestedness in England and Ireland setting new precedents to reform the public offices.[69] In 1853, Trevelyan told Gladstone that the matter had gone too far with the Irish Board of Works.[70] This time, governments, MPs, and civil servants did not turn a blind eye to the clerks' memorials and their letters addressed to newspaper editors complaining about peers or subalterns rising without considering their competence, intelligence, or efficiency.[71] Several Liberal and Conservative MPs were convinced that administrative reform was necessary.[72] Eleven inquiries into public departments between 1848 to 1853 were the ammunition for the Northcote–Trevelyan report.[73] Trevelyan, who inquired deeply into the state of the public offices, who corresponded widely with officials and aristocratic families at home and abroad, and who knew the workings of many establishments due to his department's superintending faculties, concluded that a more efficient and trustworthy service should be developed. He acknowledged that improving its zeal and qualifications should come first to the 'saving of candles': 'The formation of an able and zealous body of Public Servants is the foundation of all efficient administration.'[74] In his correspondence to other high-ranking public officers, Trevelyan promoted effecting tighter controls on the efficiency of the service:

> Forgive me if I remind you while it is not desired that you should be "extreme to mark what is done amiss," it is important both for the sake of the Public service and of the young men themselves, that you should immediately notice anything in their conduct or demeanour or mode of transacting their business which you consider objectionable, in order that they may amend it.[75]

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[69] I am referring to Lord Morpeth's appointments in the Board of Ordnance in 1838 and a corruption scandal in the Board of Board of Works. See 'Charles Trevelyan to R. Griffith', 8 August 1853, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/32, p. 7. There were also corruption scandals in the Customs in the 1840s. See Hughes, 'Civil Service Reform', p. 23.
[70] 'Charles Trevelyan to William Gladstone', 21 December 1853, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/32, pp. 178–9.
[71] 'The Civil Service: To the Editor of the Times (Oxonienses)', *TT*, 16 January, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[72] 'The New Ministers and the Public Departments', *CSG* (1 January 1853), p. 9.
[73] Cromwell, *Revolution or Evolution*, pp. 130–1.
[74] *Papers Originally Printed in 1850 Respecting the Emoluments of Persons in the Permanent Employment of the Government as Compared with those of Persons in the Employment of Joint Stock Companies, Bankers, Merchants, &c.: and Three Papers on the Superannuation Question* (London, 1856), p. 85.
[75] 'Charles Trevelyan to Randolph Routh', 13 June 1853, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/31, p. 50.

In the 1850s, the concern for achieving efficiency led reformers to reflect upon how civil servants should be recruited in the new profession, and to which qualities they should be subject. In lieu of 'Old Corruption', patronage became the major target of reform. In *The Times*'s words, the giant sinecurists had passed away, but incapacity, indifference, and idleness were reported as a characteristic of the body appointed chiefly through private interest or political venality.[76] 'What is the best method of providing the public service with a supply of good men, and of making the most of them after that have been admitted?,' asked the Northcote–Trevelyan report.[77] These reflections were the culmination of a deep concern about the public offices' levels of efficiency, rather than a radical new phase in the culture of the British state. Trevelyan's correspondence debunks claims that public officers at home and abroad were not interested in merit and efficiency before mid-nineteenth century Civil Service reform. Some degree of attachment to qualifications, examinations, certificates of efficiency, and probation already existed in the public service, though this varied widely according to each department and public officer.[78] Reformers, nonetheless, were adamant to raise standards of efficiency and unify them against a backdrop of patronage incapacity not just by addressing salaries like in the 1820s, but by reimagining the service as a profession.

Yet abolishing patronage was one of the biggest undertakings one could ever imagine of doing in Victorian Britain. Following the corruption scandals in the Irish Board of Works in 1853, Trevelyan wrote to Gladstone that the significance of reforming patronage went beyond administrative reform: it touched upon almost every sphere of social life, including the administration, the electoral system, and public morality.[79] Reformers were aware that abolishing patronage was a herculean task. Many civil servants opposed reforms because the introduction of well-educated active men would force them to bestir themselves, and because their hopes of getting their own ill-educated sons appointed to the new system would wilt. Caution and good

[76] *TT*, 9 February 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[77] *Report on the Organisation*, p. 8.
[78] 'Charles Trevelyan to W. H. Robinson', 27 June 1842, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/2, pp. 68–9.
[79] 'Charles Trevelyan to William Gladstone', 21 December 1853, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/32, pp. 178–9.

allies were therefore key to success. In 1854, Trevelyan wrote a confidential letter to Jowett discussing the scale of their endeavours; in the process, he formulated one of the most complete descriptions of patronage's social roots during those years:

> The old established Political Families habitually batten on the public Patronage – Their sons legitimate & illegitimate, their Relations & Dependants of every degree are provided for the score – Besides the adventuring, disreputable class of Members of Parliament who make God knows what use of the Patronage, a large number of Borough Members are mainly dependent upon it for their seats – What for instance are the Members to do who have been sent down by the Patronage Secretary to contest Boroughs in the interest of the Government and who are pledged twenty deep to their constituents – And then there is the very large class of persons who have received or expect to receive Promises of Places – All these orders of men, remember, are entrenched in the Strongholds of political power – At the same time, therefore, that we avoid everything like open agitation we must get all the help we can.[80]

As Trevelyan's quotation illustrates, the power of patronage resided not only in its powerful and varied families enjoying some of its prizes, but also in the incontrollable force of the system itself. Nobody could tame it, nor was anybody entirely free from its bondage. Despite the rhetoric against patronage, the letters addressed to the Treasury secretaries show that it enjoyed a degree of legitimacy in Victorian Britain that secured the reproduction of the practice. Indeed, many contemporaries shared *The Standard*'s opinion; the system was not the problem so much as its dispensers: 'Patronage pervades the whole chain of employment and service; and in this constitutes one of the most valuable bonds of the social union. But patronage may be abused; as what may not? —but "abuses non tollit usum" [any abuse does not take away use].'[81] Other contemporaries believed that the legitimate duty of an MP or public officer still was to reward his own relatives and friends. Many people were skeptical about examinations being able to filter the fittest public servants, instead of proven family claims, services, and social qualities. It certainly did not help the reformers' cause that patronage networks penetrated the world of commerce, banking, and the professions. 'How do men, in companies or as individuals, select their servants? By competition? Does the Bank of England trust to *competition* for its nearly one thousand clerks?

[80] 'Charles Trevelyan to Benjamin Jowett', 27 February 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/33, pp. 33–4.
[81] *The Standard*, 17 April 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.

No, these thousand gentlemen all owe their offices to patronage, and no thousand men in the world do their business better,' *The Standard* claimed in 1854.[82]

The creation of the new Civil Service profession faced a mighty challenge because patronage was a dominant presence across social spheres, a characteristic of professional and unprofessional relationships, and what is more, a key practice which tied together different social hierarchies and gave form to their interactions. For some reformers, patronage expressed the foundations of social relations: its emotional and material force came from the fact that debts, friendships, or kin were hard to ignore or break down, as I will show in Chapter 2. To reform patronage therefore meant nothing less than changing how Victorians interacted and understood social relations. 'Human nature will have its way. When kindly social relations are once established they cannot be easily broken,' Trevelyan explained to Major Larcom in 1854.[83]

To create the new Civil Service profession, reformers and their newspaper allies made a stronger rhetorical case against patronage. First, they linked patronage with aristocratic inefficiency. The Northcote–Trevelyan report argued partly that the roots of inefficiency in the public offices were found in the placement of unfit, indolent, and physically infirm young men without better professional prospects.[84] The *Londonderry Standard* wondered how the public business was done at all in the higher ranks: 'These appointments are nearly all reserved for the sons of the gentry -not for the best of them, but the worst- the intellectual and moral abortions of the family.'[85] This rhetoric partially fed on radical and middle class attacks on the aristocracy as a moribund social class, even though politicians like John Bright never wished to see a complete transformation of English institutions.[86] In this context, patronage became a label applied to

[82] *The Standard*, 17 April 1854.
[83] 'Charles Trevelyan to Major Larcom', 15 April 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/33, p. 134.
[84] *Report on the Organisation*, p. 4.
[85] *Londonderry Standard*, 13 April 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[86] A. Briggs, *Victorian People: A Reassessment of Persons and Themes 185167* (London, 1977), pp. 207–8.

perceived problems of efficiency rather than an accurate cause of administrative mismanagement, such as the lack of coordination, departmental jurisdictions, or wasteful division of labour.[87]

Second, reformers opposed patronage to merit, a contemporary dichotomy that was sometimes uncritically accepted by later scholars seeking to trace the birth of the modern Civil Service.[88] Reformers associated professional merit with examinations, qualifications, and good conduct. The Northcote–Trevelyan report advocated the general principle of admitting a carefully selected body of young men, who should feel that their promotion prospects depended on the industry and ability with which they discharged their duties rather than family claims, seniority, or connections.[89] The higher offices required experience and skills gained through training which men appointed from outside the service lacked. In 1854, Trevelyan underlined education and examinations as the symbols of professionalism:

> Judging from my own observations and from the much larger experience of others, I should say that the studious, persevering, self denying young man who by a painstaking course of conduct followed through a considerable period, is able to beat his competitors at a literary examination, is likely to be more amenable to reason and discipline than the young man admitted at haphazard under the influence of the various motives which actuate the givers and receivers of Patronage.[90]

Third, reformers argued that patronage favoured the entry into the public offices and promotion to those men who enjoyed connections regardless of individual merit. *The Morning Advertiser* asserted that able and talented men were passed over by the sons of butlers or some thirty-second cousin to a bishop with the consequence of having made the country indifferently served.[91] By contrast, reformers rhetorically advocated a conception of the state in which competitive examinations and promotion by merit would open its doors to talents of all kind and station.[92] Jowett and Trevelyan opposed granting special privileges to civil servants' sons.[93] Richard

[87] *TMC*, 24 February 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[88] Cf., for example, Hennessy, *Whitehall*.
[89] *Report on the Organisation*, p. 9.
[90] 'Charles Trevelyan to A. N. Bather', 14 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/33, p. 72.
[91] *TMA*, 4 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[92] *TT*, 16 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[93] 'Charles Trevelyan to Benjamin Jowett', 28 January 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/32, p. 268.

Dawes claimed these series of reforms from youth to middle life would guarantee an efficient public service.[94] For Trevelyan, replacing patronage appointments with promotion by merit would resolve the problem of inefficiency throughout the career structure, as he told W. L. Handcock in 1845:

> It can hardly be necessary for me to observe that the character of every body of men for zeal & activity depends far more upon what they have in prospect, than upon what they have in possession, & there is no Government Office which would not be deteriorated if its most important prize were taken from it.[95]

Fourth, reformers and their allies contrasted patronage with notions of public trust. They associated it instead with the evils of the public good: corruption, favouritism, and jobbery.[96] It was not a stream of new accusations, for most of them had been heard since the high tide of 'Old Corruption', but reformers reiterated the notion that open competition and promotion by merit would break down this link between politics and administration.[97] In 1855, Trevelyan told Robert Lowe that examinations brought the Civil Service closer to fulfilling the old conception of public offices as trusts: 'What has really taken place is that the making of appointments to the Public Service has been replaced on its old & true footing of a Public Trust, to be administered like other Public trusts, with a single view to the public interests.'[98]

The reformers' new profession based on the abolishment of patronage was not only a reconceptualization of the Civil Service but also of society. Reforms implied the re-imagination of social structures, Parliamentary politics, professionalization of the public service, novels ways of assessing careers, and binding together of social classes. Reformers conceived improvements well beyond a change in administrative machinery and foresaw that it would impact upon many social spheres. For Trevelyan, open competition and promotion by merit would promote the education

[94] 'Letter from the Dean of Hereford (R. Dawes)', NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2, p. 19.
[95] 'Charles Trevelyan W. L. Handcock', 4 September 1845, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/5, pp. 95–96.
[96] *TT*, 31 January 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[97] 'Charles Trevelyan to Stephen Spring-Rice', 18 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/33, p. 40.
[98] 'Charles Trevelyan to Robert Lowe', 19 December 1855, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/36, pp. 36–7.

of the country across all ranks.[99] Gladstone, by contrast, conceived administrative reform as an auxiliary to parliamentary reform because it would take away the sinews of 'political war'.[100] Dawes envisioned a moralizing effect on society: the encouragement of merit, education, and self-improvement among all classes without raising up religious disputes.[101] 'The plan advocated by the Government is one the importance of which all classes ought to feel; yet it involves a change of such magnitude, and will affect social habits to so great a degree, that it can hardly be appreciated at once,' *The Times* observed in 1854.[102]

While superannuation was considered a crucial stage in the construction of the new profession by reformers and civil servants, its reform was often conceived separately from appointments and promotions, and as having different aims. In the 1850s, the association between superannuation and 'patronage' or 'corruption' was uncommon in the press and official papers. Yet one of the main reasons to change the superannuation acts of 1829 and 1834 was also to prevent the existence of 'inefficiency' in the service. The Royal Commission on superannuation of 1857 proposed to lower the civil servants' pensionable age from 65-years to 60-years of age because they believed it was when bodily and mental vigour began to decline. Facilitating the retirement or removal of infirm or incompetent officers at that age would improve the overall efficiency of the service.[103] Additionally, civil servants' petitions and Sir Richard Bromley, Chairman of the General Committee of Civil Servants and leading reformer of mid-nineteenth century superannuation, expressed another common grievance in a mixed language of 'rewards', 'justice', 'Christian charity', and 'fairness': superannuation was unjust because the generation entering the service after 1829 lost the whole of its contributions in the event of any civil servant dying in active service or not retiring after 65-years-old, unless under special circumstances.[104]

[99] 'Charles Trevelyan to William Thompson', 18 January 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/32, p. 245.
[100] Hughes, 'Civil Service Reform', pp. 23–4.
[101] 'Letter from the Dean', p. 19.
[102] *TT*, 9 February 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[103] Raphael, *Pensions and Public*, p. 156.
[104] 'Civil Service Superannuation Fund', *DPCA* (31 December 1852), p. 2.

Moreover, it was unjust because widows and orphans of deceased and incapacitated civil servants remained unprovided for by the central state. In 1852, an anonymous civil servant immersed in a long debate with other officers in *The Morning Herald* perfectly encapsulated the feelings of injustice concerning superannuation contributions: 'I do feel that when a man is called upon to subscribe to a fund such as this, and has been paying thereto during a period of thirty or forty years, or even more, in common justice and honesty the widow of that man ought to have some claim on this fund.'[105] The notion of justice was not uniform: it covered moral, Christian, and family grounds. Reformers and civil servants pressed for a more 'just' central state, one that solved how the financial and emotional prospects of old age could be improved, how retirement could be secured after short or long years of loyal service, how entire families could be protected against Victorian Britain's poverty, accidents, and insecurities. In other words, a more just central state was one that could expand its scope and provisioning not to the whole of society, but rather to the whole of the public service and its families.

Administrative processes shaping the creation of the Civil Service profession would be unintelligible without considering the global context. Reform was also encouraged by imperial and international developments and connections. From the late eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, imperial competition, the rise of fiscal-military states, the Age of Revolutions (c. 1760-1850), new projects of central government intervention, and the expansion of professional bureaucracies also shaped state formation in continental Europe and the Americas, as I mentioned in the Introduction. Some of these territories dealt with similar problems posed by change and the processes of governing new societies. Situating British Civil Service reform in an international context should not lead us to overestimate such connections nor privilege them over domestic affairs. Not all of them played the same role, carried the same weight or had the same outcome. Some historical processes fostered reforms, while others hindered them.

[105] 'The Civil Service Superannuation Fund', *TMH* (30 October 1852), p. 6.

The influence of India over the metropole provides insights into how imperial territories could engender change at home. Historians have established importance of this connection for the reform of promotions and appointments, though some have exaggerated its scope and impact.[106] It is worth re-examining how the Indian experience had informed the direction of reform by the 1850s. First, although not usually mentioned, it offered Britain with a mirror to compare its society, government, and historical and racial progress. Colonial officers, civil servants, and government officials—including reformers like Trevelyan and Macaulay—spent several years in India or connected with its affairs through their work, travels, commerce, or kin relations.[107] Many believed that reform was urgent due to patronage networks, corruption scandals, and the need to civilize native populations.

Second, Indian reform fostered a social and intellectual circle that allowed to connect the imperial sphere with the metropole, highlighting England's sense of secular providentialism, and aligning the objectives of Civil Service and university reformers. Macaulay left a deep imprint on reform due to his close relationship with Trevelyan (brother-in-law), his leading public voice on Indian affairs and English history, and his chairmanship of the committee for the reform of the East India Company in 1853.[108] Other reformers enjoyed connections with India. As judge of the supreme court at Calcutta and Chief Justice in Bengal in the 1830s-40s, Sir Edward Ryan's commitment to educational reform and the encouragement of agriculture, art, and sciences won him the affection of both Macaulay and Trevelyan and the respect of colonial officials.[109] Jowett, on the other hand, lost two cadet brothers in India, sustained a life-long interest in its public service and history, and sat in the committee for Indian reform together with Macaulay and Trevelyan.[110] They became friends who met frequently to discuss administrative reform during the 1850s. 'I

[106] See, for example, E. W. Cohen, *The Growth of the British Civil Service 1780–1939* (London, 1965), pp. 81, 110.
[107] J. Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World System* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 180–9; M. Finn and K. Smith (eds.), *The East India Company at Home, 1757–1857* (London, 2018), pp. 3–20.
[108] Chapman, *Civil Service Commission*, p. 12.
[109] See appendix A for reference.
[110] Chapman, *Civil Service Commission*, pp. 12–3.

remember a period of one or two years, when the question of Civil Service reform was at its height, during which Mr Jowett constantly came to us at Westbourne Terrace, and used to sit through the evening, as my boyish recollection goes, quite silent,' George Trevelyan (Trevelyan's son) recalled.[111] Trevelyan himself excelled as a student at Haileybury College, procured writerships for his younger brothers, and served in the Bengali service for twelve years, where he wrote on native education and untapped corruption scandals which cemented his reputation in the metropole.[112] Back in England, Trevelyan never lost interest nor his associations with the Indian subcontinent beyond Treasury work. In the 1840s, he lived in the same household together with Macaulay, and corresponded with politicians and public officers on Indian politics, youth, administration, and history.[113]

Third, India offered Civil Service reformers a blueprint for the creation of the new profession. The Indian colonial service had been a model of rising professionalism since Haileybury College's foundation in 1806, and the Charter of 1833 introducing a system of limited competition in the East India Company.[114] The introduction of open competition in 1853 provided a model for emulation in the Civil Service which Sir Charles Wood (Secretary of State for India, 1855–58) oversaw its introduction as an instrument of enlightened imperialism.[115] Ryan had addressed a letter in 1850, co-written with Charles Hay Cameron, to the East India Company's directors to open the Colonial service's positions to Indians.[116] It is claimed that Macaulay read a complete draft of the proposal to Trevelyan and that the latter was very pleased with it.[117] Contemporary newspapers linked Civil Service improvement plans to Indian reform. Open competition was an inspiration for Britain, according to *The Times*: 'The principle, once admitted,

[111] E. Abbot and L. Campbell, *Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett, M. A., Master of Balliol College, Oxford* (2 vols, London, 1897), i, p. 197.
[112] Hall, *Macaulay and Son*, p. 226.
[113] 'Charles Trevelyan to Robert Peel', 5 February 1849, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/24, p. 45.
[114] Chapman, *Civil Service Commissioners*, pp. 12–3.
[115] See Appendix A for reference.
[116] See Appendix A for reference.
[117] H. Finer, *The British Civil Service: An Introductory Essay* (London, 1927), p. 19.

cannot be confined to a single dependency of the empire.'[118] However, while historians have asserted the significant impact of Indian reform, they have been less inclined to recognize that it was a precedent that could also be used against improvements. Indeed, some newspapers argued that innovations were too recent to constitute solid evidence in favour of introducing open competition into the British public offices.[119]

India provided a vital international stimulus for the creation of the Civil Service profession, but it was not the only one. The preservation of order, the balance of the constitution, and the harmony of class structures triggered by fears of European revolutions are supposed to have played an important role.[120] In this context, the political significance of the Civil Service set its development in a different path to other professions and career structures. The reformers' emotions were certainly grounded in old revolutionary fears which some of them experienced first-hand.[121] Jowett visited his parents during the February Revolution in Paris in 1848 which forced them to flee to Bonn.[122] Chartism troubled Trevelyan, who urged his brother-in-law, Macaulay, to make a powerful statement to preserve English institutions following the London convention.[123] Years later, in a letter dated from 1875, he still claimed that 'the revolutionary period of 1848 gave us a shake, and one of the consequences was a remarkable series of investigations into public offices, which lasted for five years, culminating in the Organisation Report.'[124] This revolutionary anxiety was not new, and indeed seems a plausible trigger for reforming the Victorian state in 1848–49, but on closer inspection such an argument is limited in its capacity to explain later developments. While the European revolutions prompted reflections about British administrative reform during 1848–49, more evidence is needed before we can accept that it was a conservative

[118] *TT*, 12 January 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[119] *TMC*, 15 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[120] H. Ellis, 'Efficiency and Counter-Revolution: Connecting University and Civil Service Reform in the 1850s', *History of Education*, 42/1 (2013), pp. 23–44.
[121] Daunton, *State and Market*, pp. 69–70.
[122] Abbot and Campbell, *Life and Letters*, i, p. 153.
[123] Hall, *Macaulay and Son*, p. 197.
[124] Quoted in Finer, *The British Civil Service*, p. 24.

political measure designed to counter revolutions exclusively, as some historians have argued.[125] Indeed, the role conceded to the middle classes in Oxford and the civil administration may be partially explained by the reformer's efforts to placate any revolutionary alliance between the radical middle classes and working classes, but this explanation seems less convincing when confronted with earlier Catholic unrest in Ireland in the 1820–30s, as well as Chartism's disintegration and that of almost every European revolution by 1852.[126] Instead, the strengthening of aristocratic institutions within the Civil Service owed much more to administrative drivers already mentioned in this chapter, and to broader social structures and cultural attitudes, as I shall illustrate in the next section.

A set of rhetorical contrasts based on impressions of continental and American states also shaped debates on the creation of the new profession. Unlike Indian reform and the impact of the European revolutions, they offer a more diverse picture of both emulation and disentanglement. In some cases, contrasts with other contemporary state structures, conceptions of authority, and class relations demonstrated English shortcomings. The *Civil Service Gazette* argued that the French public service was ahead of England in auditing techniques, accounting, professionalism, and corporate spirit.[127] Moreover, reformers considered it valuable to gather information from the French central offices about *grandes écoles* examinations.[128] However, in most cases comparisons with European and American states served to reinforce ideas about the singularity of English traditions, institutions, and racial progress. Some newspapers viewed the French bureaucracy as centralized, patronage-based, corrupt, and incompatible with English liberties.[129] Many arguments against the creation of a central board of examiners for appointments were precisely rooted in this

[125] I have not found evidence that supports this argument in the following decade. Cf. Ellis, 'Efficiency and Counter-Revolution'.
[126] Yet even in this case, reformers formulated their arguments based on the professionalization of other social spheres, not on the potential alliance between middle-class radicals and the working classes.
[127] In this context, words like *esprit de corps* and *employés* were used favourably. 'The Civil Service in France', *CSC* (16 April 1853), p. 248.
[128] After the publication of the Northcote–Trevelyan report in 1854, Trevelyan asked the French Foreign Affairs Ministry for a copy of the *concours* in the French public service. See 'Charles Trevelyan to Monsieur Dupont', 29 April 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/33, p. 186.
[129] See, for example, 'Administration in France', p. 395; 'The Officer of Coroner', *CSG* (9 April 1853), p. 235.

animosity. By contrast, comparisons with the Prussian bureaucracy reinvigorated the defence of aristocratic traditions. The national and provincial press portrayed the Prussian bureaucracy as an enclosed hierarchy of officials encroaching upon society. Reformers, like Trevelyan, cherished English people and institutions over the growing germanophilia.[130] *The Glasgow Commonwealth* argued that reforms were required to recruit the fittest men, but that a Prussian caste should be developed.[131] Similarly, the Americas, and even Asia, offered useful points of comparison for British reform. The American 'spoils system' encouraged the abolition of patronage through open competition.[132] *The Morning Chronicle* believed that examinations would create a caste of mandarins as in the Chinese state unbalancing the constitution and posing a threat to a rightful governing class.[133]

If imperial and international connections played various roles in the formation of the new profession, this influence seems less obvious in the case of superannuation. A close inspection reveals public contrasts with other European states and the imperial sphere, although these can hardly be considered a cause for reform. If anything, international events and comparisons with other administrations hindered the reform of superannuation, or at best set its trajectory away from centralization. Newspaper articles reviewed a French bill of 1853 expanding the pensions system to 300,000 people, abolishing the separate *caisses de retraite*, and encompassing bodies unconnected with central government, such as private banks and similar institutions. 'This interference with the freedom of independent institutions is, of course, quite foreign to our views,' declared the *Civil Service Gazette* in 1853.[134] Once again, the French parallel reinforced in public opinion English traditions and the interplay between private and public welfare structures, rather than providing a useful centralized model for emulation.[135] In the case of India, it cannot even be

[130] 'Charles Trevelyan to A. Loch', 24 July 1853, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/30, pp. 106–7.
[131] *Glasgow Commonwealth*, 10 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[132] 'To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle (M)', *TMC*, 23 February 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[133] *TMC*, 24 February 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[134] 'Civil Service Pensions in France', *CSG* (21 May 1853), p. 329.
[135] 'Assurance Society for Public Officers', *TG* (27 October 1852), p. 2.

considered a source of inspiration for change. The East Indian Company's superannuation scheme only amplified discussions to an imperial sphere, highlighting even more the central state's injustice towards unprotected loyal public servants.[136] Lastly, in contrast with the triggers of the European revolutions of 1848, the Crimean War halted administrative reform, including the superannuation bill about to be introduced in 1854.

1.2. Social formations and cultural attitudes as drivers of the new Civil Service profession

In the mid-nineteenth century, the ambitions to create a new profession were also connected to the development of social structures and cultural attitudes in Victorian Britain. In this section I will demonstrate how these shaped the practices of reform in ways that the historiography has treated less extensively. Concerns for enhancing merit and efficiency in the public service did not emerge in a vacuum but rather were deeply connected to how reformers and contemporaries thought about the social structures of daily life. Key processes included the growth of the professions and the service economy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, renovated ideas about the intersection between the life cycle and career structures, family attitudes and practices for security and advancement, the persistence of class structures, and a vibrant public sphere.

1.2.1 *The development of the professions in Georgian and Victorian Britain*

The development of the Victorian professions connected with Civil Service reform on many levels. Since the eighteenth century, the professions underwent numerical expansion, as well as changes to their structures, patterns, and composition, and developed new interconnections with the British state in the fields of medicine, social policy, engineering, and statistics, as I mentioned in the Introduction. Reformers were connected to these processes at different levels. Many came

[136] 'The Superannuation Fund', *CSG* (16 April 1853), p. 250.

from, and married into, professional backgrounds, whether aristocratic or middle class. Moreover, their knowledge of the professions came not only from official enquiries, but also from an accumulation of kin networks, friendships, and neighbours. The professions offered a model of more specialized knowledge and opportunities for the 'worthy' and 'talented' to rise in life, whether in the Bar, Church, Army, and Navy.[137] By the 1850s, these cultural distinctions, values, and languages of merit had been circulating widely as an integral part of professional conceptions for the middle classes and sections of the aristocracy. New institutions reflecting this growing professionalization of society spread in the world of medicine, the law, and the Church, including training colleges, clubs, universities, and voluntary societies.

Reformers framed their plans in terms of the creation of a new liberal profession. This ambition posed a major difference with earlier attempts to reform the public offices. The Northcote–Trevelyan report set its proposals in the context of the expectations and standards of the 'open professions'.[138] Other sections of British society also sought to turn the public service into another respectable profession, just like the Navy, Church, Army, or Bar. *The Manchester Guardian* echoed this new ambition in 1854: 'The opening of a new profession to the mass of intelligence which is daily increasing and fermenting in the higher ranks will be like the discovery of a new world to the adventurers of a former century.'[139] Yet its boundaries, status, and shape turned into a matter of public debate. These reflections took different forms: parallels, emulations, and divergences, shaped by different administrative experiences, life-cycle expectations, and career structures. Different conceptions of what the Civil Service should look like, how it should be structured, and by which values it should be guided, flourished among civil servants, MPs, and the press. While some recognized the existence of a profession, others wanted to improve it, as there was not enough unity, professionalism, coordination, or *esprit de corps*.

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[137] P. J. Corfield, *The Georgians: The Deeds and Misdeeds of 18th-Century Britain* (New Haven, 2022), pp. 322–3; Macleod, 'Introduction', p. 10; H. Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society: England since 1800* (London, 1996), pp. xii-xiii; Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780–1850* (London, 2019), p. 235.
[138] *Report on the Organisation*, p. 4.
[139] *TMG*, 18 January 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.

Various levels of professionalization existed in the public service. Indeed, we should not be misguided by the novelty proclaimed in contemporary rhetoric. The ages of admission, training, moral character, examinations, probation, and the estimation of merit and qualifications were standards appreciated and implemented to various degrees in the public offices.[140] Civil servants sometimes used the word 'profession' to refer to the administration.[141] When the Treasury clerk, George Russell, left for another department in 1856, Trevelyan underlined his professional choice: 'You have chosen the Public Service as your Profession, and I am confident that, besides doing full justice to the duties entrusted to you, you will continue to avail yourself of every opportunity of enlarging your knowledge and improving your qualifications.'[142] However, despite these aspects of contemporary professionalism, reformers found in the older professions a framework of standards, systems of values, and structures to review the administration. Comparisons made them insecure about the strength, scope, and future of the service. In many quarters, the administration was not considered a profession.[143]

The professions offered a parallel story worth emulating in the public offices. Historians have recently cautioned that the social mobility myth should not be exaggerated, but for reformers and contemporaries it turned into a comparative lens which allowed them to claim how much patronage, unambitious men, incompetent aristocrats, and social immobility plagued the public offices.[144] By contrast, the professions offered examples of diligence, training, expertise, method, qualifications, and social mobility.[145] If men rose from the bottom to the top in the great professions, why should not this happen in the Customs, pondered James Wilson (Financial Secretary to the Treasury) in 1853.[146] Though education and training were the requisite for the

[140] Before the 1850s, 'qualifications', 'merit', or 'good conduct' were common words used by public officers to refer to official standards. See, for example, 'Charles Trevelyan to Lord Monteagle', 12 July 1842, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/2, p. 74.
[141] *Papers Originally*, p. 72.
[142] 'Charles Trevelyan to George Russell', 27 May 1856, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/36, p. 168.
[143] *TMH*, 7 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[144] For this social mobility myth, see C. De Bellaigue, 'Great Expectations? Childhood, Family, and Middle-Class Social Mobility in Nineteenth-Century England', *C&SH*, 16/1 (2019), pp. 29–46.
[145] *Report on the Organisation*, p. 4
[146] 'Reform of the Customs', *CSG* (23 April 1853), p. 266.

professions, every man seemed to be born a civil servant, complained the *Civil Service Gazette* that same year.[147] The professions provided a key framework to broaden access from a young age, especially where the Church, medical, Army, and East India Company's examinations were concerned. Proposals about Civil Service colleges also emulated the Church's and Navy's institutions stipulating a gentlemanly education for their offspring.[148]

The emulation of the professions also fed into reflections about middle life and career structures. Reformers contrasted public service salaries with other private ventures to improve the service's conditions and attract the aristocratic and highly educated classes. In the 1850s, public enquiries concluded that the civil servants' remuneration was barely sufficient compared with that of other professions.[149] For Trevelyan, who was part of these commissions, this situation seemed unfair: the duties performed by them exceeded in difficulty, trust, and responsibility those performed by persons of a corresponding rank in private employment. National newspapers believed that the promises of rewarding merit alone were insufficient incentives to attract the best men: higher salaries and faster promotions were also required.[150] Trevelyan therefore advocated for improved salaries and promotion prospects in middle life, while striking a balance with economical reform.

Yet the interactions between professionalization and the Civil Service's development cannot be framed as a simple narrative of emulation. Reformers and contemporaries also highlighted similarities or differences between the Civil Service and other spheres of society that hindered reform. The national press criticized the examination craze given its absence from businesses and other professions.[151] Similarly, while the Northcote–Trevelyan report recommended promotion by merit as the guiding principle across the clerical grades, this was not a unanimous point of view. Provincial newspaper articles argued that public offices should not

147 'Examinations in the Civil Service', *CSG* (8 January 1853), p. 24.
148 'Proposed Civil Service College', *CSG*, (19 March 1853), p. 185.
149 *Papers Originally*, pp. 3–14.
150 *TMP*, 20 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
151 *The Standard*, 17 April 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.

replicate the Army and Navy's gradations because public departments were more diverse institutions.[152] The myth of social mobility associated with professional merit was also contested. Historians have shown the significance of patronage networks for advancing in the career in the East India Company, the Army, businesses, and other professions.[153] Instead, contemporaries supported patronage networks with the argument that the professions, and even commercial ventures, had expanded and worked well because of them.[154] Comparisons with the Army and Navy further highlighted the importance of 'high character' and 'good education' to dispatch business.[155] The editors of *The Morning Chronicle* concluded that good moral judgement, friendship, and family connections were sufficient reasons for admitting men into the public service; the heads of departments in a better position than an independent board of examiners to judge the fitness of candidates for appointment and promotion.[156] This newspaper laughed at Trevelyan's plans of introducing competitive examinations throughout the career by contrasting his scheme with the older professions: 'Sir C. Trevelyan, when he undertakes the reorganisation of our Ecclesiastical Establishment, will probably recommend that all curacies shall be given away by competition.'[157] Rather than advocating change, these comparisons with the professions favoured the *status quo* of the service.

Superannuation shows in greater detail the diversity of the relationship between the professions and Civil Service reform. The parallel structures and patterns of the professions, and even businesses, enabled contemporaries to press for administrative change without necessarily falling into emulation. In the 1850s, official enquiries led by Trevelyan concluded that the public servants were heavily burdened by the income tax and aggrieved because their widows and orphans were denied pensions. Civil servants perceived this situation as yet more unjust when they made

[152] *Glasgow Commonwealth*, 10 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[153] M. Ackroyd et al (eds.), *Advancing with the Army: Medicine, the Professions, and Social Mobility in the British Isles 1790–1850* (Oxford, 2006), ch. 4; M. Finn, 'Family Formations: Anglo India and the Familial Proto-State', in D. Feldman and J. Lawrence (eds.), *Structures and Transformations in Modern British History* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 100–117.
[154] *TMC*, 24 February 1854, NUSC, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[155] *TMP*, 15 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[156] *TMC*, 18 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[157] *TMC*, 24 February 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.

comparisons with the East India Company, and the banking and mercantile establishments, whose staff allegedly enjoyed gratuities for good service, pensions, funds for their widows and orphans, and sometimes a percentage on profits.[158] These comparisons often turned into pressures for emulation. Of particular importance to civil servants was the support that the professions and commercial establishments provided to staff's widows and orphans, who were not provided for by the public offices. Some local and national newspapers believed that the civil administration should resemble the pension system of the East India Company, while others claimed that charging a 'superannuation tax' was unjust because the naval and military services had created a fund for their widows supported by the country.[159] Some public servants proposed the London and North-Western railway companies as models for contribution and scope, whereas others suggested that the framework of insurance companies should be adopted in the service.[160]

Public debates on the links between superannuation reform and the professions also show that welfare provisioning was still far from being conceived by contemporaries as the exclusive responsibility of the central state. In contrast with appointments and promotions, debates about superannuation reform illuminate the vitality of voluntarism in Victorian Britain. Various schemes dealing with old age and life course accidents resorted to an interplay between public and private spheres. The professions, once again, and the growing associational world provided a reference point for reformers and civil servants. Values and notions of Christian self-improvement reinforced among civil servants the role of voluntary societies and charities in complementing the lack of state pensions for widows and orphans. Diverse medical associations provided for decayed practitioners and their widows, together with educational establishments for their orphans and children. In 1849, the Anglican clergy created the Friend of the Clergy Corporation, established for the purpose of providing permanent pensions for the widows and unmarried daughters of the

[158] *Papers Originally*, pp. 4, 30.
[159] 'Civil Service Superannuation Fund', *DPCA* (31 December 1852), p. 2.
[160] 'The Civil Service Superannuation Act: To the Editor of the Evening Mail', *EM* (23 November 1853), p. 1.

clergymen in England and Ireland.[161] Additionally, mutual assurance societies were supposed to provide another avenue for the security of civil servants and their families that was not dependent on sickness or disease.[162] In light of these institutions, the disregard of the central state for the security of the Civil Service's bereaved seemed not only unjust to many contemporaries, but also unusual where compared with other professions relying on voluntary welfare. In 1853, the *Civil Service Gazette* meditated on this predicament:

> Why is it that the Civil Service, whose widows and orphans are so shamefully neglected by the country, has not before this endeavoured to repair by its own energy the disadvantageous and anomalous position in which it finds itself, as the only class which, as a class, permits its widows and orphans to starve?[163]

Although this was an exaggeration —a few institutions did exist for the voluntary relief of public servants— civil servants and newspaper editors were right to complain that the spirit of voluntary association had been slow to take root in the public offices in comparison with other professions and commercial ventures.

1.2.2. *The life cycle, family, and class structures*

Changing notions and expectations about the life cycle were also central to the formation of the new Civil Service profession. In the mid-nineteenth century, these reflections should be understood in connection with the growing professions and commercial ventures, but also with family expectations and class structures. Reformers did not always contemplate reform plans throughout the entire civil servants' life course. The Northcote–Trevelyan report of 1854 did not reflect on old age and superannuation, and, conversely, the 'superannuation movement' did not tie their efforts to the report. Thus, there are differences in objectives, languages, and associations between career structures and the life cycle worth exploring.

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[161] 'Association', *CSG* (15 October 1853), p. 665.
[162] 'Assurance Society for Public Officers', *TG* (27 October 1852), p. 2.
[163] 'Association', *CSG* (15 October 1853), p. 665.

Reformers considered that the highly educated classes were being attracted in greater numbers from a young age by other professions because these were more challenging and better remunerated than the Civil Service. Instead, they argued, the incompetent, idle, and inefficient members of the aristocracy chose the public career to the detriment of its efficiency, trust, and standing. The Northcote–Trevelyan's plan was therefore to attract the ablest and most ambitious youth.[164] Reform-minded administrators and government ministers were brought into close association with Oxford, Cambridge, and public schools professors to improve the professional prospects of youth and recruit the highly educated classes into the Civil Service. These career objectives led reformers to reflect on the life cycle: what were youth's expectations, what appealed to the ambitious young men, and how could their professional prospects be improved early in life, they wondered.[165] Illustratively, Trevelyan corresponded with university dons and public-school masters to unravel the aspirations of youth. In 1856, he asked Reverend George Mortimer (Master of the City of London School) whether the Civil Service was becoming more appealing than commerce and finance to the more intelligent and highly educated middle-class youth:

> 1. Is the permanent Public Service or employment on the Establishments of Merchants, Bankers and Joint Stock Companies most attractive to the more intelligent and best educated youth with whom you have been brought into connection? 2. What are the reasons of the preference shown? 3. Has the public Civil Service become of the late more attractive to this class? – and if so, why? -and 4. What arrangements are in your opinion required in order to secure for the public service the best portion of the Youth of the Country?[166]

Such semi-official investigations complemented comparative enquiries on career structures (age of admission, salaries, promotions, pensions) with the professions, banking, and commercial ventures. However, both practices proved to be insufficient to reframe the Civil Service. The higher ranks of the service, government officials, and the public had to be convinced of youth's importance in the public offices. A key part of the reformers' strategy to improve career prospects

[164] *Report on the Organisation*, p. 4.
[165] *Report on the Organisation*, p. 4.
[166] 'Charles Trevelyan to George Mortimer', 5 April 1856, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/36, pp. 126–7.

also included the construction of a positive conception of youth in semi-official circles and the public sphere. The Northcote–Trevelyan report argued that younger men could be more easily trained and less tempted by jobbing than older servants.[167] Bromley, Lewis, and Trevelyan, among other public servants, increasingly associated youth with efficiency when discussing lowering the age of admission into the service.[168] 'I am convinced that this will conduce to the efficiency of the Office, and that it must therefore in the end be the best arrangement for the clerks. At any rate it will be the best for the Public, and we cannot look beyond that,' Trevelyan said to Bromley in 1852.[169] The plans to reform the age of admission, the division of labour into mechanical and intellectual work, and open competition shows the British state's instrumental role in shaping people's notions about youth, although this was a negotiated process with the family, and religious and educational institutions.

But reformers did not stop there. The creation of the new profession was also driven by taking into consideration the aspirations and expectations of middle life. In contrast to the reform of appointments, promotions did not produce landmark events. Perhaps this explains why historians have paid less attention to them than competitive examinations. Middle life and notions of rising in the career, however, were central to the Northcote–Trevelyan report, and of the utmost importance to newspapers, families, and civil servants concerned with the professionalization of the service. Entry into the administration did not constitute the end of careers and the consolidation of social hierarchies; it was a starting point. Any consideration of class, social mobility, and career structures must take promotions and middle life into account.

A defining characteristic of mid-nineteenth century reform was that reformers privileged youth over seniority. Trevelyan and Northcote claimed that seniority, the fruits of age and experience in middle life, had denied the deserving youth of their natural ambition of rising quickly

[167] *Report on the Organisation*, p. 8.
[168] 'Charles Trevelyan to George Lewis', 22 November 1855, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/1, fo. 52/31.
[169] 'Charles Trevelyan to Richard Bromley', 27 December 1852, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/30, p. 155.

by capacity and assiduity.[170] According to reformers, inefficiency had flourished because promotion by seniority had turned civil servants into lazy men without professional and gentlemanly prospects. As early as 1846, Trevelyan suggested in his correspondence that the Audit Office maintained a state of efficiency by the certainty that those who did not exert and qualify themselves for the higher situations would have to give pace to their meritorious juniors.[171] Over the following decade, promotion by seniority came increasingly under attack in the press while promotion by merit rose in popularity. The new profession required a well-regulated system of promotion in order to attract candidates of superior qualifications, claimed *The Morning Chronicle* in 1854.[172] By introducing promotion by merit as the principle of the service, Trevelyan and Northcote aimed to privilege youth over senior servants to improve the character, efficiency, and prospects of the profession.[173] This refashioning of the notions about, and expectations for, middle life in the public service reshaped career prospects and familial expectations, but also led to an intergenerational conflict amongst public servants.

Social conditions promoted this reassessment of middle life in the public service. First, the growing professions embodied a narrative of meritorious rise and social mobility.[174] Even if these depictions were sometimes fantasized rather than accurate, they influenced public reflections about the new profession. In 1848, Trevelyan lamented this absence of professional spirit among the junior clerks:

> Feeling that he is employed on work of an inferior kind, he learns to do it in a mechanical manner; and instead of following the public service in the spirit of a profession, in the ways the lawyers in Westminster Hall, or the active members of the mercantile, banking, manufacturing, and other professions follow theirs, he regards his business as a tax upon his time, and executes it as a task which he must get through.[175]

[170] 'Reorganizing of the Public Departments. The Official Project,' *TS*, 21 January 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[171] 'Charles Trevelyan to William Hodries', 17 January 1846, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/5, p. 257.
[172] *TMC*, 23 February 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[173] *Report on the Organisation*, pp. 6–7.
[174] Perkin, *Rise of Professional*, p. xiii.
[175] *Report from the Select*, pp. 113–4.

Second, cultural and social attitudes to the nature of work following industrialization refashioned middle life expectations. There was amongst the Victorians a growing concern about making masculine work more meaningful, enjoyable, and fulfilling well beyond the Civil Service.[176] 'A young man comes from a public school full of energy, intelligence, and excited hopes, but after two or three years' incessant copying he becomes disappointed and disgusted,' Trevelyan said in 1848 illustrating clerical disenchantment with professional life.[177] The Northcote–Trevelyan report therefore proposed a division of labour into mechanical and intellectual classes portraying two different clerical grades and masculine experiences to attract the aristocracy and highly educated classes to the public service.[178] Trevelyan insisted that public business had to be exciting and demanding for the upper classes to engender efficiency. These reflections were important not only to reconsider the nature of public business, but also to re-examine the notions and experiences of masculinity and professionalism.

The re-imagination of middle life in the new profession was also a response to existing familial structures and their strategies for security and advancement. The Treasury secretaries' correspondence was overburdened with family claims. Trevelyan received hundreds of letters from fathers awaiting their son's promotion, such as Commander-General Palmer's in 1848:

> I have duly received your Official Letter dated the 6 of May, last & your private hope of the same date, & have learned from them with pain that you were disappointed at your son not having been included in the promotion of last Christmas. The reasons which prevent it were that his age is less than that of which young men usually attain the rank of Deputy Assistant & that he was not employed at the seat of War or the frontier.[179]

Reformers did not turn a blind eye to family expectations in middle life, which they knew too well. The civil servants' expectations of marrying, setting up an independent and respectable home, giving to charities, educating their offspring, traveling, joining clubs, and providing their families

[176] J. Tosh, 'Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: Britain, 1800–1914', *JBS* 44/2 (2005), pp. 331–3.
[177] *Report from the Select*, pp. 113–4.
[178] *Report on the Organisation*, p. 6.
[179] 'Charles Trevelyan to Commander-General Palmer', 17 July 1848, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/22, pp. 59–60.

with insurance, depended to a great extent on their salaries and chances of being promoted. In the Foreign Office, even though its under-secretaries opposed Trevelyan's reforms, there was also a growing discontent about slow promotions among the junior clerks.[180] In the Treasury these clerks spent on average thirteen to fourteen years in a position before they could reach the top of their class and be promoted to a higher grade.[181] It was a lengthy period considering changes, events, and accidents in the life cycle, too long a period to be able to sustain an upper-class lifestyle independent from kin support. This was detrimental to upper-class civil servants who expected to sustain status and large families.

Old age expectations among civil servants changed with the generation recruited after 1834. While the late eighteenth-century warfare and the Napoleonic Wars caused a general dislocation that posed social problems, including mutilated soldiers, unemployment, widowhood, and orphans, the demands influencing mid-nineteenth-century superannuation reform arose in a different setting of urbanization, life-cycle accidents, family obligations, and class. Demands were not necessarily different, but they were set in a new generational context.[182] Like youth and middle life, notions and emotions about old age were rooted in social experiences. Mortality rates remained high in Victorian Britain, especially in the urban crises of the 1830–40s, until cities had committed to upward investment in improving health services and environment.[183] The early death of fathers did not spare the Civil Service; in fact, it was a common experience which left widows and orphans in positions of insecurity and destitution. This situation included those who belonged to the aristocratic and upper classes, albeit to a lesser degree than the middle and lower classes.[184] These social realities would have been less problematic for civil servants if the superannuation scheme included their wives and orphans, but this was not the case.[185] Yet they mobilized for the

[180] Jones, *Nineteenth-Century Foreign*, p. 28.
[181] H. Roseveare, *The Treasury: The Evolution of a British Institution* (London, 1969), pp. 157–65.
[182] Innes, *Inferior Politics*, p. 74.
[183] Szreter, *Health and Wealth*, p. 18.
[184] 'The Civil Service Superannuation', *CSG* (1 January 1853), p. 7.
[185] By an Act of Parliament: The Superannuation Act 4th & 5th Wm. IV, c. 24 of 1829. See 'A Peculiar Tax', *CSG* (20 April 1853), p. 281.

reform of superannuation not only to secure better provision for their widows and orphans, but also because old age was conceived as a period of enjoyment and peaceful rest after long years of faithful service, as we will see in Chapter 4. Securing a respectable old age was not an issue limited to the middle-aged and older public servants, but rather an intrinsic part of constructing a more appealing profession for the younger servants entering the service.

Life-cycle expectations must be contextualized within diverse family formations. Civil Service reform was also the outcome of the strategies, obligations, and duties of Victorian family structures. Historians and anthropologists have established the significance of the family on a wide range of topics (welfare, education, inheritance, lineage, gender) into the late nineteenth century, its varied formations beyond the nuclear family, and its key intersection with the public both at home and the Empire, as I mentioned in the Introduction. Among several practices (entail, primogeniture, annuities, probates, or settlements) patronage networks offered numerous opportunities to preserve and advance the interests of very large families, as I will show in Chapter 2. The material and emotional security of the family was important for both the aristocracy and the middle classes. Setting up an independent home and providing for it was also a Christian, class, and gendered realization of manhood, as Chapter 3 will explore.

The pressures of family structures in the formation of the new profession took other forms. As we know, a persistent driver for superannuation reform was the condition of unprotection of widows and orphans in the Civil Service. The grievances came from middle-aged and old aged servants. Married life was common in the public offices: a mid-nineteenth-century return showed that 7,961 men in the service (around half of it according to contemporary estimates) supported no fewer than 5,369 women and 16,341 children, 10,506 of whom were under the age of 15.[186] Dependency upon the male breadwinner was therefore high even without considering other kin. On average, civil servants from this sample had salaries of £141, but 3,865

[186] 'The Civil Service Superannuation', *CSG* (1 January 1853), p. 7.

of them did not exceed £100. Under such conditions, individual provisioning for old age and the welfare of their relatives was a strenuous business or quite simply an impossible one, despite the central state, churches, and voluntary societies' promotion of a culture of independence and self-improvement. Family duties and obligations included education, household economy, insurance, charities, leisure, the recently introduced income tax, and domestic service.[187] In the 1850s, these family expectations were stretched not only with rising living standards, but also with every child born. The early death of a permanent official, which was common in certain offices and departments, was therefore considered a tragedy. These accidents were aggravated because the widows and orphans of the service had not been entitled to any pension since 1829. Lower-class families were hit the hardest, but middle-class ones were not immune either. An anonymous servant encapsulated this reality for thousands of people when he wrote to the *Liverpool Mercury*'s editors in 1852: 'My friends and medical attendant, like myself, are quite convinced that a few short months will consign me to my grave; and my sad affliction is doubly aggravated by the reflection that I shall leave behind me a widowed wife and a totally unprovided-for and helpless family.'[188] Contemporaries pressed for a more compassionate and active role of the central state in lessening family obligations: the creation of a widows' and orphans' fund or for extending the superannuation scheme to them. It would be wrong, however, to see this movement as an opposition to self-improvement ideals or the growing voluntarism in Victorian Britain.

Apart from family structures, one of the most important drivers behind Civil Service reform was the pressure that political and social transformations were inflicting on class structures. Many Victorians believed in the hierarchical and natural order of society. The governing classes remained powerful, wealthy, and commanded great political and local power even by European standards until the early twentieth century, though they were not omnipotent. The nineteenth century witnessed the consolidation of a pan-British territorial aristocracy, even though there were

[187] 'A Peculiar Tax', *CSG* (20 April 1853), p. 281.
[188] 'The Civil Service Superannuation Fund', *LM* (9 November 1852), p. 9.

provincial and local variations. From the late eighteenth century, honours and knightly orders extended into a more British and imperial structure of rewards. Rank continued to be imagined, represented, and symbolized both at home and the Empire. Yet, as I have noted earlier in this chapter, the legitimacy and the right to rule of the British aristocracy was challenged by international processes such as the Age of Revolutions, and by closer domestic ones such as the growth of the middle classes, Irish nationalism, free trade, and Chartism. By the 1850s, the world had changed for the aristocracy, and the world's perception of the aristocracy had changed, too. Nothing predicted its demise, but many things indicated its transformation. As I indicated in the Introduction, in the first-half of the nineteenth century, the social composition of the aristocracy had changed with the incorporation of Indian nabobs, bankers, merchants, and the integration of Irish and Scottish peers. Moreover, new forms of class distinction spread, new histories placing the middle classes at the centre of English progress were written, new forms of popular liberalism flourished, new appreciations of 'merit' and an 'aristocracy of talent' challenged older forms of legitimacy and privilege, and new political and social concessions were made to the middle classes.

The creation of the new profession should be read as the reformers' project to further open the higher ranks of the public service to the highly educated middle classes from Oxford, Cambridge, and the public schools. Reformers distinguished different layers of this social class linked to the Civil Service's gradations. In 1853, Gladstone (Chancellor of the Exchequer) hoped that the division into mechanical and intellectual labour would give command to the educated classes over the higher ranks of service, which they had never enjoyed up to that moment.[189] A year later, Trevelyan wrote to Jowett hoping that the reform of appointments and promotions would turn the Civil Service into a liberal profession for the 'well educated youth of our upper & middle classes.'[190] The 'intellectual' positions would be reserved for the upper-crust of the middle classes, while the more 'mechanical' work for the lower echelons unable to provide a university

[189] Cromwell, *Revolution or Evolution*, pp. 139–40.
[190] 'Intellectual' clerkships did not exceed 220 to 250 in the whole Civil Service, according to Trevelyan. 'Charles Trevelyan to Benjamin Jowett', 7 January 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/32, pp. 222–3.

education for their sons.[191] This division was designed to improve not only the standing of clerical work in the upper-middle classes' eyes, but also to offer an avenue of their own for the less-educated middle classes who, in Trevelyan's words, 'look with great jealousy upon our Cambridge & Oxford men to whom they cannot attain & it is therefore desirable to show them that the great mass of appointments will be open to be competed for by their sons who have received a really good English Education.'[192] The proposed new administrative hierarchy replicated, and built upon, the social standards of the country. Achieving the social mobility of the lower middle classes was not a particular objective for this kind of reformers.

Overall, reformers never sought to displace the preeminent role of the aristocracy. In fact, their project intended to reinvigorate its legitimacy to rule the British state in growing alliance with the highly educated middle classes. Conceptions of government were still very much aristocratic across political lines, but, equally important was the fact that aristocratic families continued to see in the public offices as a stronghold for their younger sons. The Northcote–Trevelyan report did not condemn the aristocracy as a social class nor questioned its right to govern. It only criticized its incompetent, indolent, and unprepared elements who entered the public offices by means of patronage and diminished the efficiency and standing of the service.[193] In 1856, Trevelyan told Sir William Hayter (Patronage Secretary to the Treasury) that Civil Service reforms—appointments, promotions, and the division of mechanical and intellectual labour—were the means to attract the aristocracy to the higher ranks of the service:

> The extensive employment of Gentlemen in the Treasury upon work totally unsuited to them has largely contributed not only to make our administrative system inefficient, but to bring our Aristocracy into disrepute in connection with it – and I am confident that in wishing to confine our highly educated young men of the upper classes to duties worthy of them, to raise the standard of qualification throughout the Public Service, and to

[191] 'Charles Trevelyan to James Prince Lee', 15 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/33, p. 72.
[192] A good English education did not mean a furnished university education, as Trevelyan made clear in one of his letters. 'Charles Trevelyan to William Gladstone', 10 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/33, pp. 59–60.
[193] *Report on the Organisation*, p. 9.

> provide for the early promotion of those who do best, we are adopting the true means of strengthening our aristocratical institutions.[194]

The reform of promotions was a crucial step towards renewing the aristocracy's right to occupy the higher ranks of the new profession. Historians have usually written about the development of the professions in the nineteenth century as the story of the rise of the middle classes, as I mentioned in the Introduction. Yet this is not a complete picture of how reformers and their contemporaries viewed the creation of the Civil Service profession. The reformers' aims were to enhance the prospects of the service, while at the same time providing a stronghold for the younger sons of the aristocracy.[195] The languages of merit were not unknown to certain segments of this class who entered the professions, and, to some extent, they also shared and reproduced what has been usually hailed as middle-class cultural values and expectations.[196] For some reformers, the place of the aristocracy in the state was irreplaceable: 'Is it not true that the gentlemanly virtues (I do not mean real worth) exist tenfold among the aristocracy for one "gentleman by nature" you find among the middling classes?,' Jowett told Ralph Lingen in 1846.[197] These conceptions were voiced by *The Morning Chronicle*, a newspaper that argued that Victorians shuddered at the idea of altering the structures of power: 'The people of England are governed, and wish to be governed, by those who combine fortune, position, and ability; and they have not the smallest desire that the sub-government, or permanent administrative body, should be constituted with exclusive reference to the standard of scholastic attainment.'[198]

The question of social mobility in the new profession was therefore restricted to the aristocracy and upper middle classes. To rise in life was one of the most common metaphors used

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[194] 'Charles Trevelyan to William Hayter', 9 February 1856, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/36, pp. 92–3. On a similar point, see Gladstone's defence of administrative reform in 1853 in J. Greenaway, 'Celebrating Northcote/Trevelyan: Dispelling the Myths', *Public Policy and Administration*, 19/1 (2004), pp. 7–8.
[195] In 1848, Trevelyan described accurately the young Treasury clerks rising to the higher situations of the department as 'cadets'. *Report from the Select*, pp. 88–9.
[196] See, for example, J. Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family, and Empire* (London, 2005), p. 34.
[197] Abbot and Campbell, *Life and Letters*, i, pp. 151–2.
[198] *TMC*, 18 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.

by novels, newspapers, and civil servants to describe the aspirations of young gentlemen going into middle life. These expectations of social mobility also informed the reformers' considerations. Yet despite any rhetorical illusion of openness, they strove to maintain the social structures of Victorian Britain, leaving open only a small gate to the higher ranks of the service for the upper middle classes. Lower-class clerks in charge of 'mechanical' work would rise within their own grades but would not be typically allowed to advance into the more 'intellectual' positions of the service.

In contrast with appointments and promotions, the class drivers behind superannuation reform were not social mobility nor the persistence of social hierarchies under more legitimate values. Rather, lower-class public servants sought a safeguard against their families' poverty and destitution, as I have showed earlier in this chapter. While the aristocracy and the upper classes relied more easily on rents, annuities, and inheritances to deal with financial insecurity, the lower grades of the service could barely make a respectable living out of their salaries or plan for the provision of their potential widows and orphans, which made them more vulnerable to life-course accidents, infirmity, old age, and poverty.[199] Middle-class and lower-class civil servants therefore mobilized in favour of the extension of the central state's welfare activities to prevent the downward social mobility of their unprotected families. Compassionate allowances, raising money as a trust or giving employment to offspring of deceased servants were partial solutions limited in time and scope. Moreover, their access to other forms of relief were limited because they were not the philanthropists' and charities' main concern.[200] Class inequalities provided ammunition to their demands for reform. That the pensions of wealthiest grades of the permanent service were supported by the poorest further seemed unjust to many Victorians.[201]

[199] 'The Civil Service Superannuation Fund', *TMH* (30 October 1852), p. 6.
[200] 'Superannuation Fact', *CSG* (29 January 1853), p. 71.
[201] 'Letters Addressed to the Editor: The Provincial Post Offices', *CSG* (16 April 1853), p. 247.

1.2.3. *The press as a forum of debate and an actor of reform*

The role of the British press was central in the formation of the new Civil Service profession. The press was vibrant and relatively free in Victorian Britain by nineteenth-century standards.[202] Newspapers of metropolitan and imperial reach, such as *The Times*, *The Daily News*, *The Globe*, *The Spectator*, and *The Morning Herald*, promoted discussions on the new profession, while local journals reproduced their articles and sometimes contributed in original ways. Civil servants were not passive actors in this process. Many addressed letters to newspaper editors, sparked proposals for reforms and discussed each other's ideas. Thus, they contributed not only to shaping reform but also to the formation of a British and imperial public sphere.

Other ways of conceiving Civil Service reform can be traced in national and local newspapers. Public debates suggest why it was difficult to unite the country in favour of the creation of the new profession. Contemporaries disagreed on how to conceptualize inefficiency and improve the aristocracy's and middle classes' prospects. Few Victorians possessed Trevelyan's knowledge of the civil administration. Most people assessed it fragmentarily based on their own experiences and expectations. Whether true or false, justified or unjustified, experienced or imagined, these perceptions were vivid for them.[203] Newspaper rhetoric was central to the public legitimation of the new profession and the development of the myth of open competition that spans to this day. Yet many contemporary debates remained unresolved and, indeed, unreformed, setting the tone of public discussion until the early twentieth century. Dichotomizing the reception of reform as a question of individuals being in favour or against it, as the struggle of Liberal reformers against Conservative sections of the state and society unwilling to change obviates more nuanced views. There were elements of this opposing narratives, but Victorians were not that

[202] Goldman, *Science, Reform, and Politics*, pp. 72–3. For overviews of the press in other parts of the world, see C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 212–18.
[203] For the significance of the 'imagined' and the 'imaginary' as human experiences of reality, see M. Godelier, *L'imaginé, l'imaginaire et le symbolique* (Paris, 2015).

predictable. While most newspapers admitted that the administration worked well in comparison with continental and American administrations, plans for reform also met with support.

Contemporaries shared the enthusiasm for abolishing patronage through open competition and promotion by merit. In 1854, a lively public debate on the Northcote–Trevelyan report flourished.[204] *The Times* and the *Civil Service Gazette* approved of the implementation of open competition in the metropole—following the Indian colonial service's example—by arguing that the administration required more efficient servants to operate public business in a context of social transformations, government growth, and commercial expansion.[205] Open competition was also conceived as a mechanism to renew the legitimacy of the governing classes.[206] Other newspapers were in awe of those men opposing reforms conducive to the social mobility of the talented youth, like Lord Monteagle and Lord Brougham, who, in the words of *The Morning Advertiser*, 'have endeavoured to *burke* one of the best measures, of a reformatory character, ever adopted by the Government of the country.'[207] Proposals for reorganizing promotions attracted less attention than open competition in the press, but several newspapers were convinced that promotions by merit implied the demise of incompetence and family influence.[208]

Many of these positive reviews were based on assumptions rather than facts. This did not go unnoticed to contemporaries as well. The press examined plans with scepticism, even though it generally supported administrative reform. Newspapers expressed concern about the claims of social mobility of lower-class clerks.[209] *The Daily News* worried instead about the creation of a narrow field of competition and promotion only accessible to those attaining a good education, fearing an hereditary bureaucracy would follow an hereditary aristocracy: 'A caste of officials would be introduced into society, and a permanent possession of all the emoluments of office would be

[204] *House of Lords*, 13 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[205] *TT*, 12 January 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[206] 'Editorial: Examinations in the Civil Service', *CSC* (22 January 1853), p. 56.
[207] *TMA*, 21 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[208] *TMA*, 4 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[209] *TE*, 21 January 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.

property of the Northcotes, the Trevelyans, and their descendants.'[210] Moreover, sections of the press deemed the twenty-paged Northcote–Trevelyan report as theoretical, ill-founded, and even romantic given departmental jurisdictions.[211] Lastly, a few newspaper editors deplored the introduction of competitive examinations and a centralized board of examiners because these innovations could neither predict competent officers nor assess character. The most vehement critics of reforms argued that patronage was distributed wisely by the heads of departments, the service already attracted an able class of young men who rose in the career, and remarkable public officers achieved success in the past without sitting exams.[212]

Newspapers conceived superannuation reform more positively than that of appointments and promotions. It was perceived not only as a just administrative policy rewarding permanent civil servants, but also as a moral and compassionate measure that would remedy problems arising throughout the life cycle. The expansion of the central state's welfare activities to include civil servants' widows and orphans was therefore understood as a mechanism to address poverty. Although people valued voluntary services and charities raised with local funds, the *Civil Service Gazette* saw them as an additional expense to superannuation contributions which were quite often of limited and local impact.[213] The contrast with the reform of appointments and promotions is obvious in terms of languages and content: on the one hand, medical, Christian, class, and other family considerations were woven into people's languages; on the other, purifying the evils of patronage, improving the education of the country, or moralizing the corruption of the political system were not the issues at stake as much as providing for the welfare of destitute families.

The press provided a common platform to unite the service around superannuation reform. Parliament remained the main site of legislative power but pressure for improvements

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[210] *TDN*, 23 February 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[211] 'The Civil Service: To the Editor of the Daily News (An Official Subaltern of Nearly Thirty Years Standing)', *TDN*, 9 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[212] See, for example, 'The Reorganizing of the Public Departments. The Official Project', *TS*, 21 January 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[213] 'The Civil Service Superannuation', *CSG* (1 January 1853), p. 7.

came not only from government officials, high-ranking civil servants, official enquiries, or MPs. Change also came from the mobilization of provincial and local public officers who expressed their grievances through the press. 'The Superannuation Fund has, in letters and leading articles, been the constant subject of animadversion, and we have lost no opportunity of exposing and denouncing the injustice of that odious impost,' the *Civil Service Gazette* remarked in 1853.[214] However, the press could unite as much as divide. The topic of promotions by merit sparked one of the liveliest discussions about the creation of the new profession. In 1854, 'An Official Subaltern' of thirty years of experience in the public offices wrote to *The Morning Herald*'s editors claiming that depictions of the public service as inefficient were the product of unjust ideas.[215] His animosity towards promotion by merit was understandable. Many senior servants like him had been patiently waiting for a promotion after decades of service but could find themselves, suddenly, in a disadvantaged position against younger men.[216]

Debates in the press had an important impact in shaping reform in Parliament and the Civil Service. As we know, select committees and Royal commissions were the result of civil servant mobilization in the press and Parliament. This changing but cumulative escalation of the 'superannuation movement' reveals not only that reform was a bottom-up negotiated process, but also that the press facilitated the temporary pursuance of common causes despite the diversity of public offices, regional variations, and class differences. The national and local press also struck a chord on the subject of the division between intellectual and mechanical labour. In 1854, Trevelyan confessed to Reverend William Thompson, future Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, how public debates had giving him the chance to reassess his examination plan:

> After our plan was promulgated the great body of public officers & the middle class generally complained that the Oxford & Cambridge men would carry off all the prizes &

[214] 'A Word to Our Readers', *CSG* (2 April 1853), p. 216.
[215] 'Civil Service Reform: To the Editor of The Morning Herald (An Official Subaltern)', *TMH*, 7 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.
[216] 'The New Scheme for Re-Organising the Civil Service', *TO*, 30 April 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2.

> of the two they had most reason on their side. We must take care that the plan of the examinations is so framed as to encourage every good system of examination.[217]

Public debates also affected civil servants' emotions and relationships.[218] Some were damaged forever. Trevelyan celebrated public discussion: he tried to enlist public moralists and civil servants behind the Northcote–Trevelyan report.[219] But the subject aroused a great deal of emotions and tensions in the Treasury and elsewhere.[220] George Arbuthnot (Auditor of the Civil List to the Treasury) became one of the fiercest critics of the proposed division between mechanical and intellectual labour in the revenue departments.[221] In 1855, following the introduction of competitive examinations in the public service, Trevelyan complained to William Gladstone (Chancellor of the Exchequer) about Arbuthnot's criticism leaked to the public: 'In general I am sufficiently indifferent to attacks upon my official reputation, but on this occasion my feeling partook of the "Et tu Brute"; for the Letter evidently came from the Treasury. "I was wounded in the house of my friends".'[222]

Conclusion

This chapter analysed how the project of developing a new Civil Service profession took root in the British Civil Service in the 1840-50s. This period inaugurated a new dawn for Civil Service employment and career structures specific to its time. These proposals and ideals evolved in ways that reflected and were influenced by changing administrative conditions and the accommodations of civil servants' needs during their life course. The reforms seeking to improve the efficiency and meritocratic character of the public offices encompassed the practices of appointments, promotions, and pensions, even though the latter were often treated as a separate—though not

[217] 'Charles Trevelyan to William Thompson', 25 May 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/33, p. 76.
[218] 'Civil Service Reform. To the Editor'.
[219] For example, John Stuart Mill and Edwin Chadwick. See 'Charles Trevelyan to Edwin Chadwick', 20 April 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/33, p. 158.
[220] For tensions with the Foreign Office secretaries, see Jones, *Nineteenth-Century Foreign*, pp. 22–4.
[221] Cromwell, *Revolution or Evolution*, pp. 144–5.
[222] 'Charles Trevelyan to William Gladstone', 19 June 1855, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/4, fo. 50/2.

unrelated—part in the creation of the new profession. Domestic and international historical processes drove the course of reform; in particular, the contemporaneous development of the professions was a crucial source of stimulation and debate leading to reforms. Finally, the reform of appointments and superannuation shows that wide-ranging discussions involving statisticians, civil servants, university dons, medical doctors, public school masters, and government officials across Britain shaped the practices of reform. Thus, the creation of the new profession was the result of the interplay between administrative and social structures, the dialogue between London and the localities, and the negotiation between MPs, high-ranking government and administrative officials, and the mobilization of lower-grade civil servants.

The life cycle was central to re-imagining employment patterns and career structures both as a driver for reform and as a structuring principle of the new Civil Service profession. As I will show throughout this thesis, later developments in appointments, promotions, and pensions in the Civil Service were deeply marked by proposals and ideals formulated in the 1840-50s. The next chapter analyses youth, the first stage in the civil servant's life cycle and career. By focusing on the Treasury, it explores how reforms restructured youthful Civil Service appointments and the impact these changes had on Victorian society over the nineteenth century.

PART ONE: YOUTH

Chapter 2. The Professionalization of Patronage, c. 1848–1914

Introduction

In 1865, Lady Cecilia Hervey, widow of Lord William Hervey, wrote to her brother Sir Thomas Fremantle (Chairman of the Board of Customs) celebrating her third son's results in a limited competition for a Treasury First-Class clerkship.[1] She thanked Providence and the friends who had made George William's success possible. The family secured his nomination through patronage networks, but the idea of him sitting an examination before entering the public service had left his mother hopeless and hopeful at the same time. Lady Hervey told her brother that competition between candidates was tighter than expected: 'His numbers were 1542. The other two Candidates 1496 & 1490. So it was a very close race altogether, & I am now delighted George was not nominated at the same time as Mr Puller when he could not have got in.'[2] The Herveys and Fremantles could not escape the pressures of the life cycle and social ties. How did these families entrenched in the British state adapt their strategies for security and advancement under new processes of professionalization in the Civil Service? What was the impact of these changes on the Victorian state and society?

From 1855 to 1914, patronage reform changed the landscape of youthful appointments in the British Civil Service. With the introduction of a centralized Board of Civil Service Commissioners and limited competition in 1855, uneven and diverse standards of recruitment in the public departments advanced towards professionalism, neutrality, and competition. In 1870, the introduction of open competition under William Gladstone's government (1868–74) further weakened patronage and ensured that young and diligent clerks graduated from Oxford and Cambridge entered the service. Throughout this period, Treasury control over appointments grew.

[1] 'Death of Sir George Hervey', *Hendon & Finchley Times*, (27 August 1915), p. 2.
[2] 'Cecilia Hervey to Thomas Fremantle', 17 October 1865, CBS, MS Fremantle, D/FR, 92/5. She referred to Christopher Puller, who entered the Treasury in 1865.

These reforms gave birth to one of modern British history's biggest myths: the narrative of the end of patronage and the subsequent rise of an open, modern, and meritocratic Civil Service. Despite the existence of these conventional narratives, these late nineteenth-century innovations remain underexplored. Focusing on patronage reform during this period will enable us to challenge aspects of this myth but, more crucially, deepen our understanding of a massive transformation in Victorian society: the professionalization of the Civil Service from the beginning of the young men's careers.

This chapter focuses on the reform of patronage appointments in the Treasury department from 1848 to 1914. It analyses why certain innovations were promoted and how a transition towards new career structures, life-cycle expectations, and administrative ideals got underway. The chapter will argue that patronage became more professional and bureaucratized rather than gradually declining or being abolished. Open competition coexisted with novel types of appointment used in diverse circumstances and for different reasons. The professionalization of the Treasury, and the British state more broadly, impacted the experiences of middle and upper-class youth, family formations, masculinities, and class structures.

This chapter engages with the history of youth in nineteenth-century Britain. Historians of childhood and masculinity have explored the transitions from politeness to manliness, from public schools boys to homosocial young men from Oxbridge.[3] Some historians have challenged ideas of a linear transition concerning youthful masculinities placing a greater emphasis on long-term continuities.[4] Overall, the scholarship connecting youth, the British state, and the upper and middle classes, remains focused on the representation of elite manliness, the role of Oxbridge as the cradle of the increasingly middle-class governing elites, and the significance of character as a cornerstone

[3] The bibliography is extensive. Key works are P. Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850–1920* (Bloomington, 2005); A. Fletcher, 'Courses in Politeness: The Upbringing and Experiences of Five Teenage Diarists, 1671–1860', *TRHS*, 12 (2002), pp. 417–30; M. Cohen, "Manners" Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry, and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750–1830', *JBS*, 44/2 (2005), pp. 312–29; H. French and M. Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities, c. 1660–1900* (Oxford, 2012).

[4] A. Fletcher, *Growing Up in England: The Experience of Childhood, 1600–1914* (New Haven, 2008); K. Harvey and A. Shepard, 'What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500–1950', *JBS*, 44 (2005), pp. 278–80.

of their education.[5] However, the ways in which Civil Service reform redefined conceptions of youth and familial strategies for security and advancement over the nineteenth century remain largely unexplored.

The social sciences have contributed to our understanding of patronage from different perspectives. Anthropologists have formulated important theoretical propositions but limited their analysis to contemporary agrarian societies of Africa, Asia, and Spanish America.[6] It has been argued that limited state power have promoted the development of patron-client relations. Common examples remain the Sicilian *mafia* and the Spanish American *caciques*.[7] Anthropologists have understood these relationships as hierarchical, asymmetrical, or reciprocal. For their part, sociologists have usually portrayed patronage as incompatible with the development of the modern state and society.[8] The detailed history of late nineteenth-century bureaucracies, however, suggests that in practice, even in modernizing societies, patronage has often persisted.

British historians have also contributed to our understanding of government patronage. Most studies have focused on the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century with particular attention to Parliament, elections, and women.[9] Several historians assume the gradual decline of patronage following the introduction of open competition in 1870.[10] This chronology has had far-reaching implications for our understanding of the state, professionalization, and class structures

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[5] S. Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850–1930* (Oxford, 1991); C. De Bellaigue, "Educational Homes" and "Barrack-like Schools": Cross-Channel Perspectives on Secondary Education in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England and France', in D. Phillips and K. Ochs (eds.), *Educational Policy Borrowing: Historical Perspectives* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 89–108.

[6] See, for example, S. N. Einsenstadt and L. Roniger, *Patrons, Clients and Friends. Interpersonal Relations and the Structure of Trust in Society* (Cambridge, 1984); J. C. Scott, 'Patron-Client Politics and Political Change in Southeast Asia', *The American Political Science Review*, 66/1 (1972), pp. 91–113.

[7] A. Weingrod, 'Patrons, Patronage, and Political Parties,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 10/4 (1968), pp. 377–400; L. Li Causi, 'Anthropology and Ideology: The Case of 'Patronage in Mediterranean Societies', *Critique of Anthropology*, 2/4–5 (1975), pp. 90–109.

[8] See, also, R. Theobald, 'The Decline of Patron-Client Relations in Developed Societies,' *European Journal of Sociology*, 24/1 (1983), pp. 137–9.

[9] See, for example, S. E. Finer, 'Patronage and the Public Service: Jeffersonian Bureaucracy and the British Tradition,' *Public Administration*, 30/4 (1952), pp. 329–60; J. M. Bourne, *Patronage and Society in Nineteenth-Century England* (London, 1986); L. B. Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (London, 1957); N. Tadmor, *Family & Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge, 2004); E. Chalus, *Elite Women in English Political Life, c. 1754–1790* (Oxford, 2005).

[10] See, for example, R. Chapman, *The Civil Service Commission, 1855–1991: A Bureau Biography* (London, 2004); J. M. Bourne, *Patronage and Society in Nineteenth-Century England* (London, 1986); H. J. Hanham, 'Political Patronage at the Treasury, 1870–1912', *THJ*, 3/1 (1960), pp. 75–84.

in Victorian Britain. Some historians have situated the birth of the modern Civil Service during those years, as we saw in the introduction. Others have stressed that the professionalization of the service favoured the rise of the middle classes graduating from Oxford and Cambridge.[11] Recent scholarship argues that open competition marked a shift towards more meritocratic practices but emphasizes that single nominations and limited competitions among those nominated remained predominant in the early twentieth century.[12]

This chapter aims to contribute to our understanding of these processes in two ways. Firstly, it complicates the present narratives of the transition from patronage to more professional appointments in the British Civil Service because it characterizes change in terms of the development of 'professional patronage' distinguishing new from older practices and those in the Americas.

Secondly, this chapter shows how the professionalization of youthful appointments restructured the relationships between the British state and society in four ways. First, open competition and 'professional patronage' produced new career structures and bureaucratic relationships. Civil Service reform reinforced the significance of character in public office and demarcated new limits of age for youth. Second, developments in initial appointments to the Civil Service paralleled developments elsewhere. Even as the central state legitimated the medical profession's and universities' role in assessing merit, qualifications, and fitness, the growth of Civil Service examinations led to unprecedented levels of professionalization across different classes and counties. Third, the professionalization of early careers in the Civil Service changed life-cycle expectations and the structures of daily life. Instead of dwindling in importance under the model of open competition, Victorian families acquired in response to central state regulations in the process of recruitment varied functions and institutional forms of legitimation. Fourth, in the early-career phase, open competition and 'professional patronage' changed the social composition

[11] D. Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (New York, 1999), ch. 6.
[12] R. Lowe, *The Official History of the British Civil Service: Reforming the Civil Service* (2 vols, London, 2011), i.

of the Treasury so that, from an aristocratic institution it became a highly educated upper-middle-class populated by graduates from Oxford and Cambridge.

The first section explores contemporary conceptions and practices of patronage before mid-nineteenth-century Civil Service reforms. The second examines how competitive examinations (1855), the Board of Civil Service Commissioners (1855), and open competition (1870) professionalized Civil Service appointments and redefined the relationships between the administration, politics, and society. The third section acknowledges that open competition was one of the most professional and meritocratic ways of appointing nineteenth-century civil servants but shows that it was only one form of recruitment from 1870 to 1914. Thus the chapter analyses 'professional patronage', why it endured, and the implications of these changes for the Treasury, the Civil Service, and British society in the late nineteenth century.

2.1. Before mid-nineteenth-century Civil Service reform: Youth and patronage in the Treasury

This section explores contemporary conceptions and practices of patronage before mid-nineteenth-century Civil Service reforms. It proposes that patronage can be analysed in three ways. First, as an administrative practice. Second, as a social practice, deployed as part of family strategies for the security and advancement of younger sons and relatives. Third, as a political practice which tied governments, Parliament, state institutions, and the counties together. Exploring these overlapping aspects of patronage will set the scene for later administrative developments and help us to assess the impact of the latter on Victorian class structures and families in the following sections.

2.1.1. *Patronage as an administrative practice*

In the early nineteenth century, the practice of Treasury patronage was a central and far-reaching element of British civil administration, politics, and society. Usually, letters of application were written by upper-class male heads of the family accompanied by testimonials directed to prime

ministers or the assistant secretary to the Treasury. While the latter became the head of administrative business in the department after 1805, he was not much more than a conduit; in reality, patronage belonged to the prime ministers and patronage secretaries to the Treasury.[13] In content and tone, application letters to Sir Charles Trevelyan (Assistant Secretary to the Treasury, 1840–59) bear little resemblance to the deferential petitions from the lower classes to Parliament, the King, magistrates, and heads of department.[14] Although application letters to other public offices conform to a more conventional anthropological conception of patronage—a practice founded in hierarchical, asymmetrical, and vertical social relations—the letters received by Trevelyan suggest a more horizontal and informal administrative practice.[15] Applicants did not feel socially inferior to Trevelyan. Indeed, the Treasury was an upper-class refuge, something that Benjamin Disraeli immortalized in *Sybil, or The Two Nations* (1845): 'They once looked to the privy council, but would now be content with a hereditary honour; if they can have neither, they will take a clerkship in the treasury for a younger son.'[16] Upper-class families were motivated to apply to the Treasury as it was a very prestigious public department. 'This was of course a first-rate opening to a public career', Sir Stevenson Blackwood recalled of his appointment in 1852.[17]

Applicants to the Treasury began by establishing that there was a vacancy arising from a reorganization of staff, death, illness, retirement, or new administrative business. Patronage was not an open system because applicants required connections to discover the existence of a vacancy and know where to send their applications. Yet patronage was also a competitive system because many candidates managed to get hold of that information. Sometimes, applicants were so desperate that they presented themselves as willing to work in any possible way to provide for

[13] Before 1867, the 'Permanent Secretary' was known as the 'Assistant Secretary'. H. Roseveare, *The Treasury: The Evolution of a British Institution* (London, 1969), pp. 87–8.
[14] See, for example, S. Cerutti, 'Travail, mobilité et legitimite: Suppliques au roi dans une société d'Ancien Régime (Turin, XVIIIe siècle)', *AHSS*, 65/3 (2010), pp. 571–611.
[15] Middle-class and lower-class families may have written petitions to Trevelyan for Second-Division clerkships and minor appointments elsewhere, but I struggled to find any evidence in his manuscript archive.
[16] B. Disraeli, *Sybil, or the Two Nations* (Oxford, 1998), p. 40. For the early nineteenth century, see Roseveare, *The Treasury*, p. 152.
[17] S. H. Montague, *Some Records of the Life of Stevenson Arthur Blackwood K.C.B. Compiled by a Friend and Edited by his Widow* (London, 1896), pp. 30–1.

their families. Instead of the clock-work system described by contemporaries, Trevelyan's correspondence reveals a different story, one full of mistakes, frustration, luck, uncomfortable moments, and closed doors. Even high-ranking public officers like Trevelyan, who dealt with the daily irritation of receiving misplaced applications, knocked at the wrong door once in a while. 'I have already mentioned to you that appointing magistrates is no part of my business, and I shall be obliged to you (Don't be offended) to make your further communications to those whose duty it is,' Sir William Sommerville (Chief Secretary for Ireland) said to Trevelyan in 1849.[18]

After establishing a vacancy, application letters to the Treasury expanded on the applicant's claims for office. As employed in such letters, the word 'claim' had two meanings. First, it referred to the applicant's case for seeking office, which included lineage, public services, social debts, qualifications, and poverty. Second, it meant a particular form of asking for positions. While some people sought them as 'favours' or 'rewards, others 'claimed' them as entitlements. These distinctions are significant because they reveal how different conceptions of the state and public office were rooted in social relationships, notions of property, and Christian compassion. Moreover, applicants used their claims to negotiate, advance, and validate their status, services, and entitlements. In this context, applicants and the state constructed and negotiated gendered ideals of public officers.

Applications to the Treasury included testimonials that reinforced claims to office. Since the eighteenth century, at least, polite society required social introductions and letters of reference for entering commerce and the professions.[19] Establishing how and when testimonials became part of applications for a position in the British state is a matter requiring more research. But historians cannot doubt their importance. Testimonials situated the young men's lives in a moral and social background, reinforcing acceptable or ideal notions of masculinity, morality, lineage, and qualifications. Unfortunately, Trevelyan's manuscript archive does not reveal whether kin,

[18] 'Charles Trevelyan to Lieutenant-Colonel Archer', 3 February 1849, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/24, p. 38.
[19] 'Testimonials to Character', *Chambers Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts*, (24 May 1856), p. 329. For polite society, see L. Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Society, Etiquette and the Season* (London, 1973), pp. 41–5.

friends, university dons, or school tutors wrote such letters in greater proportion. However, he took testimonials seriously when considering applicants. Creditable letters from persons of social standing were pivotal assets of successful applications.[20]

Allocating patronage was in the gift of the heads of departments. The notion of 'gift' had two meanings in application letters: it generally referred to the nominations in the hands of prime ministers, heads of departments or the patronage secretary to the Treasury, but it could also refer to notions of public offices as property. Even though the Treasury had forbidden venality since the late eighteenth century, one cannot easily dismiss other non-saleable notions of public offices as property because applicants and civil servants came from nations and communities with a variety of customs, moralities, and conceptions of the state.[21] Indeed, corruption and patronage scandals in the late nineteenth century reveal that these conceptions endured beyond Civil Service reform.

The First Lord (prime minister) and Second Lord (chancellor of the Exchequer) usually weighed application letters with the assistant secretary before nominating any boy to a clerkship in the Treasury or its superintended departments. These men assessed the efficiency and economy of the public service, the boys' lineages, connections, life accidents, poverty, and social debts. Even though some letters of application were 'private' or 'confidential', Trevelyan forwarded several to other departments where he thought his influence might yield a positive outcome. In the 1840s, the Treasury ratified the appointments of young clerks once they had undergone successful examinations and a one-year probationary period. Only after that did young clerks receive their certificate of efficiency and become part of the Treasury's permanent establishment.[22]

However, rejections were the most common outcome of applications to the Treasury and other public offices. As I later note, historians and anthropologists have often conceptualized

[20] 'Charles Trevelyan to Edward Romilly', 22 October 1852, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/29, pp. 279–80.
[21] J. C. Sainty, *Treasury Officials, 1660–1870* (London, 1972), p. 3.
[22] See the Treasury Minute of 12 April 1831 ratified by the Treasury Minute of 3 December 1841. 'Treasury Arrangement and Appointment Book, 1846–57', TNA, T 197/3, pp. 6, 8, 152.

patronage as a 'system of reciprocity', but Trevelyan's letters show that we can also conceive it as predominantly a 'system of rejection'. Applications far outnumbered vacancies in a small department like the Treasury where only eleven junior clerks were appointed from 1846 to 1855.[23] One constraint on numbers was that, unlike in the republican 'spoils-systems' of the Americas, most British public servants—except for temporary clerks—were in practice not removed unless they became incapacitated, retired, or died.[24] If historians and anthropologists are correct in conceiving patronage as a 'system of reciprocity', then we must conclude that it was unable to gratify most applicants. Rejecting applicants could be difficult for public officers depending on the strength of their claims, as Disraeli suggested through one of his characters in *Sybil*: 'there is nothing like asking, except refusing.'[25] Despite rejections, people re-applied, not only because patronage enjoyed some degree of legitimacy among Victorians, but also because this practice was central to Parliamentary politics and family strategies for security and advancement.

Treasury nominations were the result of patronage networks. Indeed, social ties helped upper-class boys enter the department. Lord John Russell appointed during his ministry (1846–52) John Martin Leake, son of the Treasury Chief Clerk, Stephen Martin Leake, and a member of the gentry, as a token of appreciation for his father's long and faithful services.[26] In 1848, Lord Russell appointed his son-in-law, Maurice Drummond.[27] While he sometimes listened to Trevelyan's recommendations, a closer look suggests that some of Lord Russell's nominations were made as a result of oral and informal applications.[28] Women were successful negotiators even compared to men. In 1852, Blackwood recalled how his mother went to see Lord Russell to advance his interests:

> She therefore hurried to Downing Street, and asked him, before leaving office, to give me an appointment. It so happened that there were three vacancies at the Treasury. One of

[23] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1846–57', pp. 23–293.
[24] G. E. Aylmer, 'From Office-Holding to Civil Service: The Genesis of Modern Bureaucracy: The Prothero Lecture', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 30 (1980), p. 91.
[25] Disraeli, *Sybil*, p. 40.
[26] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1846–57', pp. 47–8.
[27] 'The Late Mr Maurice Drummond, C.B.', *HHE* (23 May 1891), p. 3
[28] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1846–57', pp. 47–8.

> these Lord John gave to me, and another to [Charles Lister] Ryan, who a few years before had sat next to me in school at Eton.[29]

2.1.2. *Patronage as a social practice*

Seeking patronage was a family practice rather than an individual one at home and in the Empire. Families put their hopes for survival into these letters. Trevelyan's correspondence offers a privileged perspective on how gentry families considered different intergenerational strategies for their security and advancement. In 1828, his father's death plunged the family into sorrow and uncertainty. Trevelyan stepped into his shoes, trying to restore the family's financial and emotional security: 'Consider what would be the wishes of my poor Father himself could he look down from heaven at this moment would he desire to see you uselessly bemoan up & lamenting his fate or steadily exert yourself for the welfare of your common family & the education of your children,' he implored his mother, when he resided in Delhi. [30] Two years later, Trevelyan took on the manly duty of seeking employment for his younger siblings, William and Otto. But this task was collective rather than individual: his mother and brothers, John Thomas and Henry, were committed to providing a future for the boys. William had little voice in choosing his career. In 1830, Trevelyan had lined up for him a writership in India. 'The separation, after all, is not so great & it is the only prospect I can see that William has of rising in life & of benefiting himself & his family,' he assured his mother.[31]

Trevelyan's correspondence illuminates the role of emotional bonds in patronage networks. Love and affection were socially regulated feelings used for the family's benefit. Trevelyan and her mother weighed their claims upon the Stark family trying not to put too much pressure on their friendship. To Trevelyan, it seemed that his mother miscalculated her chances with Mrs Stark. While they were good and friendly people, he told her that a motive was wanting to induce the Starks to make so great a sacrifice as to support the conferring of an Indian

[29] Montague, *Some Records*, pp. 30–1.
[30] 'Charles Trevelyan to Harriet Trevelyan', 24 March 1828, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 10/3, fo. 3/4.
[31] 'Charles Trevelyan to Harriet Trevelyan', 16 June 1830, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 10/3, fo. 3/15.

appointment on William. They possessed Scottish cousins with stronger claims. Asking for a position was not a simple matter; on the contrary, it required a carefully planned emotional strategy to avoid putting the family's honour and friendships in peril. Emotional power over friends and relatives was a key asset in patronage, but one that Trevelyan knew was not persuading the Starks. '(….) Mrs. Stark is a sensible woman & instead of telling you this plainly, she treats the matter as you do "I lately thought that I should have had an opportunity of being of some little use to you concerning him"- as if it were an applepye or a bunch of crepes you were asking for.'[32] From this perspective, patronage differed from the individualistic, vertical, and rigid 'patron-clients' sociological models.[33] In the early nineteenth century, Victorian families used patronage along more equal relationships as well.

Yet patronage was embedded in a wider web of interdependent relationships. Social ties created material and emotional debts that tied people together over some years, and, in some cases, lifetimes. Trevelyan's letters reveal such debts were exploited as mechanisms of pressure on friends to find positions for their offspring. Over time, material debts could become emotional ones. According to Trevelyan, the family had more claims on John Hankey, a family associate in the West Indies, than they did on the Starks, because anything he had achieved in life was due to them. 'Our family have been the making of his & continue to be so of which Mr Hankey is well aware &, if John were disposed to meet him with a conciliatory spirit, I am sure the appointment might be obtained.'[34] The role of Trevelyan's mother added additional pressure, difficult for Mr Hankey to neglect: 'Of course he will not give it so long as you do not allow a disposition to oblige him also & he would be a great ninny if he did.'[35] His brother John claimed that Hankey had cheated the family, but Trevelyan disregarded such accusations. Even if they were proven, added the future Treasury man, Hankey would have provided a position for William. The family needed to prevail

[32] 'Charles Trevelyan to Harriet Trevelyan', 16 June 1830.
[33] Cf., for example, Scott, 'Patron-Client, pp. 92–103.
[34] 'Charles Trevelyan to Harriet, 16 June 1830.
[35] 'Charles Trevelyan to Harriet, 16 June 1830.

at the expense of its dignity. Perhaps more than a mature politician would, a young Trevelyan writing to his heartbroken mother provided one of the most lucid lessons on these emotional but practical family negotiations: 'Favours must be reciprocal an uncompromising spirit will never obtain any -I am fully aware, My dear Mother, how great a sacrifice it will be to you to part with William – but, after all, his welfare is the paramount consideration & your greatest happiness is to secure it.'[36]

By the time Trevelyan returned to England, he had acquired in India considerable experience of patronage. He then received many applications during his Treasury tenure (1840–59). Trevelyan's manuscript archive holds his rejection letters to fathers, brothers, uncles, mothers, and grandparents who sought positions for their offspring in the Treasury and the public departments it superintended. Trevelyan never wrote to the young men themselves: as in France, applications were a family practice negotiated by guardians or heads of the household.[37] His correspondence from the Treasury does not reveal intra-familial negotiations, like those that once took place between him and his mother. Nor does it illuminate how applicants constructed their application letters or why some were more successful than others. However, by analysing against the grain thirty-eight volumes of Trevelyan's semi-official correspondence, we can get an idea of patronage as a social practice in the 1850s. Crucially, these letters illuminate the Victorian family's expectations of youth, their claims, and conceptions of the state.

We should situate patronage as a social practice in the context of competing families and their gendered life-cycle expectations. The life course intersected with class and gender to produce a variety of intergenerational family strategies for security and advancement. Trevelyan's correspondents usually came from the upper classes. The British aristocracy was distinctive from its European counterparts because of the systems of primogeniture, entail, and strict settlement,

[36] 'Charles Trevelyan to Harriet, 16 June 1830.
[37] M. Gribaudi, 'Le savoir des relations: liens et racines sociales d'une administration dans la France du XIXe siècle', *La Découverte*, 228/3 (2009), pp. 11–2.

which shaped the strategies for the security of its younger sons.[38] From the Early Modern period, preserving the family's lineage, wealth, and power was a matter of material interest, honour, and duty. Large families—those with five to six children, relatives, and dependents—could not bear the financial and social burden of supporting younger sons, who were commonly excluded from the inheritance of landed property, unless they pursued professional prospects.[39] The education of these boys and making something out of them was a concern and duty for upper-class fathers and mothers well into the late nineteenth century.[40] Fathers presided upon their children's schooling and careers, influenced and aided by their wives and relatives.[41] For many upper-class families, seeking patronage in public offices was a practice for the family's security and advancement, just like marriages, a future in the professions, and a country seat. Using patronage networks to find a position for their offspring was not shameful as Trevelyan's correspondence with his mother revealed. On the contrary, it was a dutiful and honourable practice in which the head of the family played a pivotal role.

Family claims were often emphasized in patronage applications to the Treasury. The applicants' inexperience made it necessary to appeal to their family's lineage, public services, and connections, but there were other reasons for doing that too. Family claims expressed a conception of the state and individual careers in which serving in public offices was considered an extension of their familial status and networks. Moreover, the lineage and power of upper-class families offered a promise of character and politeness, both considered indispensable masculine qualities for governing.[42] In this context, many families considered their claims to an office almost as an entitlement rather than a reward or favour. In 1842, W. Julyan's professional claims to a clerkship

[38] D. Spring, 'Landed Elites Compared', in D. Spring (ed.), *European Landed Elites in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore, 1977), p. 6.
[39] M. Rothery and H. French, 'Male Anxiety Among Younger Sons of the English Landed Gentry, 1700–1900', *THJ*, 62/4 (2000), pp. 967–95, pp. 982–3; M. Rothery, 'The Reproductive Behaviour of the English Landed Gentry in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *JBS*, 48/3 (2009), pp. 675–9.
[40] D. Gilmour, *Curzon. Imperial Statesman* (London, 2019), p. 32; French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, chs. 2–3.
[41] Fletcher, *Growing up in England*, p. 154.
[42] H. French, 'The "Remembered Family" and Dynastic Senses of Identity among the English Gentry, c. 1600–1800', *Historical Research*, 92/257 (2019), pp. 531–45.

in the Commissariat Office would have made him successful sooner or later, wrote Trevelyan to Lord Monteagle, but, he noted, 'I am glad to have your Lordship's testimony to the worth & respectability of his parentage ("Fortes creantur &") & I need not add that it is always gratifying to me to have an opportunity of doing what I have reason to believe will give you pleasure.'[43] Both Trevelyan and applicants for the positions he distributed held to the words of Horace: *fortes creantur fortibus et bonis* [brave sons spring from the steadfast and good].[44] As was the case in nineteenth-century France, neutral administrative languages concealed the British state's social roots, hierarchies, and networks.[45] These conceptions of office were not limited to the higher ranks: the lower classes presented similar claims to departments the Treasury superintended.[46] In the mid-nineteenth century, however, Trevelyan became increasingly irritated by these conceptions of office. In 1849, he closed the door to his cousins. 'They have endeavoured for several years past to make all possible use of me to get places for them & it is time that this shd. [should] be brought to a close,' he told his uncle, Sir Walter Trevelyan.[47]

Other patronage claims tried to underline poverty and disease as reasons for the conferment of a position. Unemployment, illnesses, old age, and the high mortality rates of parents were among the things that threatened upper and middle-class families in the early nineteenth century.[48] Boys and girls were particularly vulnerable to these calamities. Lower-class applicants presented their claims to local authorities, MPs, and heads of departments to escape poverty and maintain their family's status and rights.[49] Moreover, by arguing poverty as a claim, they appealed

[43] 'Charles Trevelyan to Lord Monteagle', Treasury, 12 July 1842, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/2, p. 72.
[44] J. R. Stone, *The Routledge Dictionary of Latin Quotations: The Illiterati's Guide to Latin Maxims, Mottoes, Proverbs, and Sayings* (London, 2004), p. 34.
[45] Gribaudi, 'Le savoir des relations'.
[46] 'Memorial from Charles Shannon to the Master General of the Board of Ordnance', 13 February 1849, TNA, T 64/361.
[47] 'Charles Trevelyan to Walter Trevelyan', 20 January 1849, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/24, p. 4.
[48] M. Finn, 'The Female World of Love & Empire: Women, Family & East India Company Politics at the End of the Eighteenth Century', *G&G*, 31/1 (2019), p. 11; L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780–1850* (London, 2019), p. 322.
[49] R. A. Houston, *Peasant Petitions: Social Relations and Economic Life on Landed Estates, 1600–1850* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 269–73; A. Shepard, 'Poverty, Labour and the Language of Social Description in Early Modern England,' *P&P*, 201/1 (2008), pp. 51–95.

to two foundations of British society and power: on the one hand, the virtue of Christian charity; on the other, the upper rank's social duty of protecting the poor.[50] Naturally, the two intersected. Charity was not only a foundation of Christian love and philanthropic institutions but also of power, status, and government since the Early Modern period.[51] The gentry and middle classes were brought up by families, clergymen, and public schools to see charity as a duty to God, relatives, connections, and the poor.[52] In the Treasury, applicants from humbler backgrounds sometimes appealed to Trevelyan's charitable emotions. They conceived the state as a moral entity they could appeal to in times of familial hardship. Occasionally, alleviating the alleged poverty or economic insecurity of public-service families became a concern for Trevelyan. In 1849, he instructed Colonel Jones (Commissariat Office) to enquire into the case of a seemingly distressed woman who sought an appointment for his son: 'His Father's loss of life in the public service, & his mother's destitution, establish strong claims upon us.'[53]

In the 1840s-50s, qualifications constituted another ground for claiming patronage from the Treasury alongside family ties and poverty. This evidence substantiates the existence of several degrees of professionalism in public offices. In 1852, Trevelyan encouraged Sir Thomas Fremantle to consider merit and character in deciding appointments: 'The class of Persons we want are trustworthy, intelligent, persons who write a good hand, & are accustomed to the care & arrangement of Papers.'[54] Trevelyan increasingly conceded importance to qualifications rather than social connections in the public offices. His correspondence with other officers demonstrates his desire to privilege 'diligence', 'industry', and 'ability' as the manly qualities necessary for the professionalization of the public service in youth.

[50] F. Prochaska, 'Philanthropy', in F. M. L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750–1950* (3 vols, Cambridge, 1990), iii, p. 360.
[51] A. Guerreau-Jalabert, 'Caritas y don en la sociedad medieval occidental', *Hispania*, 60/204 (2019), p. 34.
[52] L. Kilbracken, *Reminiscences of Lord Kilbracken* (London, 1931), p. 32; Gilmour, *Curzon*, p. 41.
[53] 'Charles Trevelyan to Colonel Jones', 3 March 1849, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/24, pp. 94–5.
[54] 'Charles Trevelyan to Thomas Freemantle', 16 November 1852, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/30, p. 73.

Finally, long-term material and emotional debts figured as bases for patronage claims among Trevelyan's letters, although less frequently than those already discussed. Indebtedness was an integral part of the daily lives of the aristocracy and the lower classes.[55] Obtaining credit was an essential economic strategy deployed by English men and women during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[56] Patronage debts, however, were different to those characterizing market relations and contractual law. Material debts (appointments, promotions, pensions, etc.) turned into emotional ones coloured by clingy emotions: gratitude, affection, compassion, love, deference, and even fear. The words 'obliged' or 'indebted' used in application letters suggests that patronage-seeking as a social practice had elements of reciprocity. But this reciprocity differed in its motives, in the attitudes that it embodied, and in its beneficiaries from that studied by anthropologists.[57] Indeed, notions of 'reciprocity' provide little analytical clarity.[58] Treasury patronage was neither an open nor cyclical form of reciprocity: it depended on vacancies, connections, and the will of those who had patronage in their gift. In 1848, for example, Trevelyan attempted to repay the support he had received from the editor of a Calcutta newspaper in the cause for educational reform with an appointment for that man's son. The feelings of gratitude towards him still had power over Trevelyan. 'And I felt so much obliged to him, that I have never since ceased to befriend him to the extent of my power,' he confessed to Henry Tufnell (Patronage Secretary to the Treasury).[59] In these confidential letters, I have struggled to find evidence of exchanges of material gifts as historians have done in India.[60] By contrast, emotional debts brought a social character to the development of the British state, locating the public offices at an interface between public and

[55] D. Cannadine, 'Aristocratic Indebtedness in the Nineteenth Century: A Restatement', *TEHR*, 30/4 (1977), pp. 624–50.
[56] M. Finn, *The Character of Credit: Personal Debt in English Culture, 1740–1914* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 4–5.
[57] Cf., for example, M. Godelier, *El enigma del don* (Barcelona, 1998).
[58] Like 'ritual', historians and anthropologists have abused the concept of 'reciprocity', originally taken from Karl Polanyi's work. Motives, beliefs, and beneficiaries were different, to say nothing of their functions and the social structures they inhabited. See J. Murra at al, 'Pour une histoire anthropologique: la notion de réciprocité', *AHSS*, 29/6 (1974), pp. 1309–10.
[59] 'Charles Trevelyan to Henry Tufnell', 7 January 1848, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/12, pp. 80–1.
[60] Other sources might reveal otherwise. For India, see M. Finn, 'Colonial Gifts: Family Politics and the Exchange of Goods in British India, c. 1780–1820', *Modern Asian Studies*, 40/1 (2006), pp. 203–31.

private spheres. Other letters were explicit about engendering new social debts rather than claiming older ones.[61]

As we know, Trevelyan consulted about all these Treasury applications with other officers and government officials. Different kinds of patronage claims (family, poverty, qualifications, social debts) are often intermixed. Each case seemed unique, but some invoked more powerful obligations than others. Ultimately, Trevelyan frequently rejected applications, claiming that he had no patronage of his own. This was not just an excuse. The distribution of almost all Treasury patronage ultimately remained in the hands of the Patronage Secretary.

2.1.3. *Patronage as a political practice*

A third way to conceptualize patronage before the 1850s is as a political practice. Contemporaries understood it as a 'system of influence' that tied together governments, Parliament, state institutions, and the counties. The patronage secretary to the Treasury (PS) played a key role in distributing government patronage over the nineteenth century.[62] This office developed in the eighteenth century and consolidated in the Treasury rearrangement of 1801 when the Financial Secretary and the PS's duties were separated: the former was placed in charge of administrative business, and the latter of distributing the secret service money (£10,000) and the Treasury's patronage in the departments that it superintended, notably the Post Office, Customs, and Inland Revenue.[63] Despite rhetorical associations between patronage and corruption, the PS appointed by the prime ministers enjoyed a semi-official position in the Treasury and his official title 'Patronage Secretary' remained in common use until 1887.[64] His duties involved the management

[61] 'Charles Trevelyan to R. N. Hamilton', 5 February 1847, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/12, p. 26.
[62] While Prof. John Sainty claimed that the term 'Patronage Secretary' came into general use in the Treasury Minutes only in the 1860s, I have found it already in vogue in the Treasury arrangement and appointments books since 1846. Cf. J. C. Sainty, 'The Evolution of Parliamentary and Financial Secretaryships of the Treasury', *The English Historical Review*, 91/360 (1976), pp. 578–9.
[63] J. Sainty and G. Cox, 'The Identification of Government Whips in the House of Commons 1830–1905', *Parliamentary History*, 16/3 (1997), p. 343; Sainty, 'The Evolution', pp. 573–84.
[64] Thereafter, the title lost usage in favour of the more palatable 'Parliamentary Secretary'. For the 'Government Whip' metaphor, see Sainty and Cox, 'The Identification', pp. 340–3.

of the House of Commons.[65] In 1883, *The Daily Telegraph* underlined how his distribution of Treasury patronage was a key aspect of Parliamentary politics and a foundation of the government's power and legitimacy with lines borrowed from Charles James Fox's father addressed to the duke of Newcastle: 'How am I to know how to rule the House of Commons unless you tell me whom you have gratified.'[66]

The manuscript archive of Sir William Jolliffe, PS under Lord Derby's second government (1858–59), offers a privileged perspective on how contemporaries understood patronage as a political practice. After consulting approximately 1,700 letters addressed to Jolliffe (half of his manuscript archive), I can identify similarities with applications directed to Trevelyan. First, applicants used connections to ascertain the existence of vacancies. Second, testimonials written by relatives and friends were an integral part of the applications. Third, applicants wrote from diverse counties in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Fourth, people applied for offices both in the metropole and across the Empire, ranging from cadetships in India to dockyard posts in Devonport. Lastly, applications came from upper-class and middle-class families seeking positions for their sons, orphans, and relatives. This multigenerational competition forced families to apply years in advance, as Sir John Pakington (Board of Admiralty) ironically told Jolliffe: 'You may tell Mr. Lyall that I shall be very happy to give his boy a nomination as a naval cadet, if he will ensure my being First Lord of the Admiralty for the next twelve years!'[67]

However, there were differences between the applications received by Trevelyan and by Jolliffe because different jobs were in question. Jolliffe received more letters from middle-aged men seeking positions for themselves, their friends, or relatives than from heads of the family looking out for their boys. Similarly, most applications came from Conservative MPs writing on behalf of their connections and constituents and to a lesser degree from bishops, reverends, and

[65] A. Hawkins, *Victorian Political Culture: Habits of Mind and Heart* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 115–6.
[66] 'By the Death of the Right Honourable Thomas Edward Taylor', *TDT*, (5 February 1883), p. 5.
[67] 'John Pakington to William Jolliffe', 28 October 1858, SHC, MS Jolliffe, DD/HY/18/3, fo. 119.

magistrates. Women seldom wrote to him, but may have remained influential through social channels.

Some of the claims that were made when patronage was approached as a social practice were echoed when patronage was approached as a political practice. But what differentiated the latter from the former was the centrality of political and county claims. Jolliffe received collective letters rather than merely individual or family ones. Tory and Whig local committees wrote to him expressing the will of the parish and the vitality of local identities.[68] Here, patronage resembled a 'patron-client' relationship because applicants claimed appointments in exchange for their political support. MPs served as brokers to men who expected rewards following their services often framed as entitlements, favours, or justice. At the local level, people's conceptions of the public offices could differ from the neutral representations of the British state. The collective nature of these requests and what they represented as the justice of their claims gave them their force. Local authorities, MPs, and Jolliffe could not ignore them if they wanted to remain in power, even though they could not meet them all.[69]

2.2. Professionalizing youth and appointments in the Civil Service since 1855

Reforming the patronage practices (administrative, social, political) studied in the previous section was one of the hardest things to imagine doing in Victorian Britain. It meant a radical change in administration and society. But this is precisely what mid-nineteenth-century reformers attempted to do. In the 1850s, the reform of the Indian colonial service, ideals of economy and efficiency, life-cycle and class expectations, emulation of the professions, the Crimean War (1853–56), and university reform triggered an impulse for administrative reform in Britain. Patronage became increasingly associated with corruption, idleness, or seen as a burden, as I showed in Chapter 1.

[68] 'Henry Hearn to William Jolliffe', 6 December 1858, SHC, MS Jolliffe, DD/HY/18/3, fo. 95.
[69] 'H. M. Cairns to William Jolliffe', 13 November 1858, SHC, MS Jolliffe, DD/HY/18/3, fo. 115.

Reformers helped to introduce two orders in council to tackle patronage and turn the public service into a more efficient, neutral, and attractive profession for the highly educated, aristocratic, and middle classes. First, they implemented competitive examinations and created the Board of Civil Service Commissioners in 1855, under Lord Palmerston's government (1855–58). Second, they introduced open competition in 1870, under William Gladstone's first government (1868–74). The two reforms professionalized Civil Service appointments, changed contemporary attitudes toward the state and redefined the relationships between the administration, politics, and society. Yet at the same time, these innovations renewed class structures, reshaped the expectations of the young men aspiring to enter the Civil Service, restructured family strategies for security and advancement, and produced a wider range of models of civil servant masculinity.

2.2.1. *Creation of the Board of Civil Service Commissioners and introduction of competitive examinations in the Civil Service in 1855*

In the 1850s, reformers and contemporaries discussed the creation of a more efficient, meritocratic, unified, and attractive Civil Service profession. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, the influential Northcote–Trevelyan report published in 1854 proposed the introduction of open competitive examinations in the public offices, assuming that this reform would bring patronage to an end. A first step in this direction was the Order in Council of 15 May 1855, which created an independent Board of Civil Service Commissioners (CSC) to ascertain whether young candidates nominated for public offices were within the limits of age, free from any physical defect or disease, possessed a character such to qualify them for public employment, and the knowledge and ability for the proper discharge of their duties. The introduction of competitive examinations and standardized statements of character testing abilities and character tightened the link between the Civil Service's development and the universities. The Treasury played a key role in this process by approving the appointment of Oxbridge dons—notably from Trinity College, Cambridge—as

examiners in consultation with 10 Downing Street.[70] The CSC provided a professedly more objective and professional check on the single nominations (one nominated candidate per vacancy) and limited competitions (three nominated candidates per vacancy) made by the heads of departments, who disposed of departmental patronage since at least the early nineteenth century.[71] The CSC revised the personal, medical, and character information provided by young candidates nominated by the heads of departments. Thenceforth, every young man before being admitted to probation required a CSC certificate of qualification.[72]

Initially, Sir Charles Trevelyan (Assistant Secretary to the Treasury) seemed excited about these developments in his letters to other reformers. In June 1855, he wrote to Benjamin Jowett: 'I am quite satisfied with the progress we are making. The Institution established by the Order in Council, will, I think, develop naturally, without any new violent effort, into all we desire.'[73] In the next six months, however, the winds came to seem less favourable. Trevelyan acknowledged the significance of the new system of limited competition but worried about its implementation across every public department. In private, he confided to Sir George Lewis: 'A new spring has been introduced into the centre of our complicated official machinery — and was it to be wondered at that we were at first in some doubt as to some of the details of its adaptation?'[74]

Trevelyan drew attention to other public officers about the persistence of patronage under the new competitive system. Open competition, the Northcote–Trevelyan report's great object, was circumscribed in the Indian Civil and Medical Services and the Royal Artillery and Engineers.[75] Patronage dominated public offices until 1870, including the Treasury.[76] Single nominations and nominations under limited competitions endured in the gift of the heads of departments. Family

[70] Chapman, *Civil Service Commission*, pp. 18–20.
[71] Throughout this thesis, I will use the contemporary terms 'single nominations' or 'singly nominated' to refer to appointments where one candidate was nominated per vacancy; 'limited competition' to appointments were three or more nominated candidates competed for vacancies.
[72] An exception prevailed for candidates of mature age who had acquired qualifications in other pursuits. This prefigured the Clause 4 of the Superannuation Act of 1859. See Chapman, *Civil Service Commission*, pp. 17, 23.
[73] 'Charles Trevelyan to Benjamin Jowett', 6 June 1855, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/35, p. 236.
[74] 'Charles Trevelyan to Edward Romilly', 27 December 1855, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/36, pp. 41–2.
[75] 'Charles Trevelyan to J. Elliott', 5 July 1856, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/36, p. 49.
[76] M. Wright, *Treasury Control of the Civil Service 1854–1874* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 53–73.

formations and their needs changed little in fifteen years: patronage remained a practice based on kin testimonials and the social claims outlined in the previous section.[77] Trevelyan's great expectations of reform met with entrenched conceptions of office, patronage networks, and departmental jurisdictions.

Despite Trevelyan's letters, things changed in the public offices from 1855 onwards. Familial expectations about sons' futures altered due to the introduction of competitive examinations. Uneven and independent standards of recruitment in public departments gradually were replaced by professionalism, neutrality, and competition. The CSC certified that single nomination and limited competition candidates for the public offices fulfilled the requirements of age, health, character, and competence set by the civil departments. The professionalization of patronage (examinations, medical certificates, CSC certificates) in the nineteenth century did not mean that the practices studied earlier disappeared from the landscape. Rather, they assumed new forms that I will explore in the third section of this chapter. For now, we need to understand how patronage persisted and was incorporated into a more professionalized mode of recruitment.

From 1855, the CSC applications signalled a shift towards more professionalized practices. The new printed forms presented innovations in style and content in contrast with patronage letters to the heads of departments. The 'form A', 'medical certificate', and 'written examination' marked a shift towards more professional standards. Unlike simple patronage letters, the CSC applications provided no space to make the kinds of social and political claims for office studied in the previous section. Form A left blank spaces only for the candidates' brief personal, family, educational, and employment history. Moreover, young men needed to meet the requirements of health and ability established by the departments. The medical certificate signed by physicians attested to the candidates' fitness. Given the burgeoning overwork, breakdown, and ill-health cases in the public offices, the central state took special care in establishing the candidates' healthy

[77] 'Charles Trevelyan to William Hayter', 4 August 1856, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/36, p. 250.

constitution before making appointments. Additionally, young men underwent a written examination devised by individual departments according to their needs and assessed by the CSC.

The CSC application incorporated the assessment of character with a twist. Testimonials accompanying patronage applications developed into a standardized 'statement of character' intended to confirm the young men's personal information, morals, and qualifications. The CSC sent a questionnaire to referees who, after filling it out, sent it back to them. Until then, people negotiated their moral and masculine conceptions with the churches, educational institutions, and the state. The novelty here is that the central state, though informed by social and cultural notions, centralized and standardized the definition of character as honesty, temperance, intelligence, diligence, and freedom from bankruptcy and pecuniary embarrassment. Thus, the central state constructed its ideal type of morality and masculinity.[78]

By professionalizing patronage through CSC applications, the British Civil Service institutionalized its social expectations in new ways rather than replacing them with complete objectivity and anonymity. Recruitment reinforced the patriarch's family role and underlined the masculine character of youth and career structures. Edward Hamilton, who applied for a clerkship in the Treasury in 1869–70, listed his father's name, residence, and profession: 'Walter Kerr Hamilton, The Palace, Salisbury, late Bishop of Salisbury.'[79] This practice trend continued until the early twentieth century. During this period, the maternal lineage figured in the application only when the CSC required the baptismal record, or an oath certified by a magistrate to ascertain the candidates' age.

The family and educational institutions also played a pivotal role in the statement of character. While historians have emphasized the role of trust in the early modern world's credit-relations, commerce, and public offices, its role in the professionalization of the state has remained

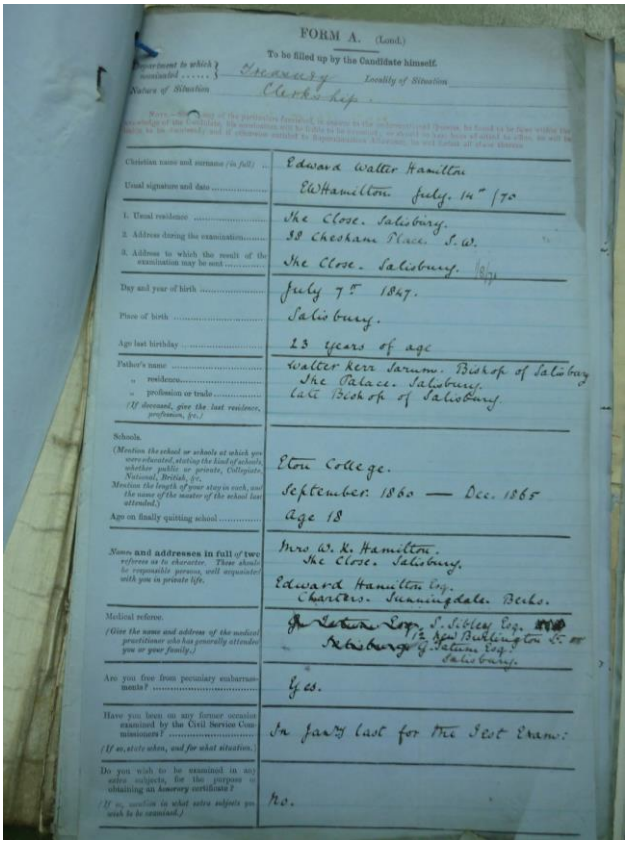
[78] The French administration also placed a great deal of emphasis on its public servants' character (*charactère*). See P. Karila-Cohen and J. Le Bihan, 'L'Empire de la notation (France, XIXe siècle). Première partie: l'essor d'une pratique', *Genèses*, 111/4 (2018), p. 12.
[79] 'Hamilton, Edward Walter', TNA, CSC/11/120, Form A.

obscure.[80] However, character—and being a worthy object of trust in particular—played a pivotal role in the functioning of the modern British state, bureaucratic relationships, and the construction of civil servants' masculine norms, which were integral to professional careers. The Victorian state expanded unevenly. Small departments like the Treasury favoured close contact, friendships, and family connections until the early twentieth century. Many contemporaries believed that examinations could not predict competent civil servants. Rising in the career required additional social, intellectual, and moral qualities. Although character was the mark of an individual gentleman, it was also socially formed through education, religious instruction, and family upbringing. In 1856, Trevelyan insisted to Sir William Hayter (Patronage Secretary to the Treasury) on character's importance in conjunction with the new examination system: 'Recent Examples make it especially necessary that the previous history & character of the Candidates shd. [should] be thoroughly sifted, & that it shd. [should] be ascertained that they are men of steady, respectable habits, & that they are free from pecuniary embarrassment.'[81]

Edward Hamilton's application provides an example of the persistent importance of the family as referees. Form A asked the young candidate to give the names and addresses of two referees well-acquainted with him in private life *(Figure 2.1*). Hamilton did not list his father because he died in 1854. Candidates' choices suggest that for CSC applications they did not consider women —including mothers— appropriate. Instead, they preferred powerful male kin. Hamilton recorded his mother in his first application but in his second one he included Sir Walter Farquhar, 3rd baronet, a Scottish cousin once removed who had known him since his birth *(Figure 2.2)*. When the statement of character asked Sir Walter about his cousin's honesty and diligence, he gave a powerful statement in his favour: 'It is impossible to speak too highly of him in every sense &

[80] See, for example, M. Knights, 'Reviews: Political Trust in Early Modern Britain', *History Workshop Journal*, 82/1 (2016), p. 256.
[81] 'Charles Trevelyan to William Hayter', 21 June 1856, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/36, pp. 180–1.

particular.'[82] Moreover, when the statement of character asked Sir Walter if he would give himself employment to his cousin, he did not hesitate to convey his trustworthiness: 'most certainly.[83]



FORM A. (Lond.)

To be filled up by the Candidate himself.

Department to which nominated ..... Secretary — Locality of Situation

Nature of Situation Clerks hip.

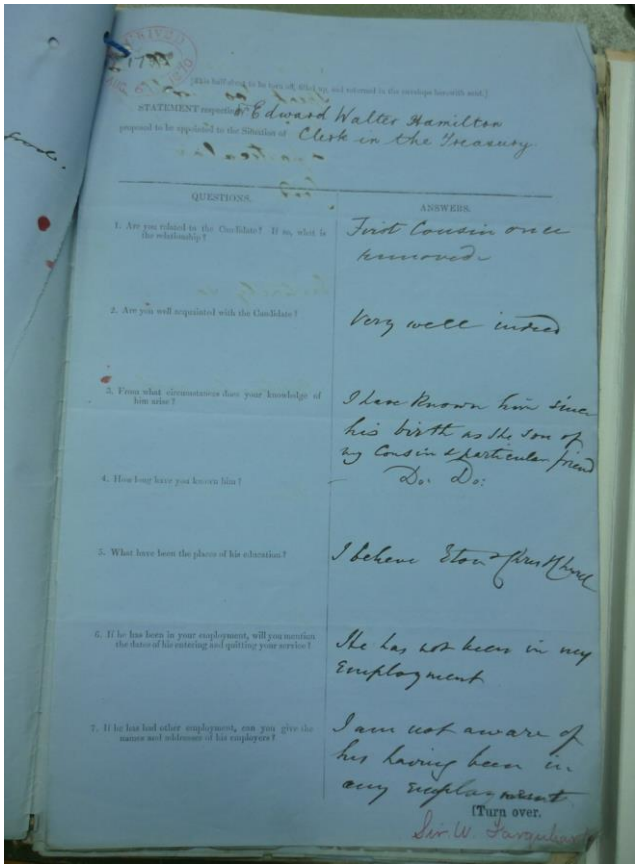
Christian name and surname (in full)	Edward Walter Hamilton
Usual signature and date	E.W.Hamilton July. 14th /70.
1. Usual residence	The Close. Salisbury.
2. Address during the examination	38 Chesham Place. S.W.
3. Address to which the result of the examination may be sent	The Close. Salisbury.
Day and year of birth	July 7th 1847.
Place of birth	Salisbury.
Age last birthday	23 years of age
Father's name	Walter Kerr Sarum. Bishop of Salisbury
" residence	The Palace. Salisbury.
" profession or trade	late Bishop of Salisbury
(If deceased, give the last residence, profession, &c.)	
Schools. (Mention the school or schools at which you were educated, stating the kind of schools, whether public or private, Collegiate, National, British, &c. Mention the length of your stay in each, and the name of the master of the school last attended.)	Eton College. September. 1860 — Dec. 1865
Age on finally quitting school	Age 18
Names and addresses in full of two referees as to character. These should be responsible persons, well acquainted with you in private life.	Mrs W. K. Hamilton. The Close. Salisbury. Edward Hamilton Esq. Charters. Sunningdale. Berks.
Medical referee. (Give the name and address of the medical practitioner who has generally attended you or your family.)	The Saturn Lodge. J. Sibley Esq. M.D. 12 Kensington Gr. W. Salisbury. G. Saturn Esq. Salisbury.
Are you free from pecuniary embarrassments?	Yes.
Have you been on any former occasion examined by the Civil Service Commissioners? (If so, state when, and for what situation.)	In July last for the Sect Exam:
Do you wish to be examined in any extra subjects, for the purpose of obtaining an honorary certificate? (If so, mention in what extra subjects you wish to be examined.)	No.

Figure 2.1. Edward Hamilton's Form A, 1870: Hamilton, Edward Walter, TNA, CSC/11/120.

Hamilton chose the Dean of Christ Church College, Oxford, as his second referee. His decision is understandable, since public schools and universities assumed the nurturing of character as one of their central missions.[84] Moreover, attending public schools and Oxbridge were sure signs of class. Hamilton graduated from Eton College and later from Oxford. The Dean of Christ Church, Reverend Henry Liddell, seemed an excellent choice as his referee. But, unlike those who wrote to support patronage claims, college tutors usually provided only brief information about the candidates they supported: answering questions yes or no. George Murray, student of Christ Church, Oxford, son of a fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and great-

[82] 'Statement of character', Hamilton, Edward Walter.
[83] 'Statement of character', Hamilton, Edward Walter.
[84] See, for example, De Bellaigue, 'Educational Homes', p. 103.

grandson of the 3rd Duke of Atholl, enjoyed a more verbose referee in Reverend Henry Thompson: 'I think you are very fortunate to receive his services; & he is sure to do well.'[85]



STATEMENT respecting Edward Walter Hamilton proposed to be appointed to the Situation of Clerk in the Treasury

QUESTIONS.	ANSWERS.
1. Are you related to the Candidate? If so, what is the relationship?	First Cousin once removed.
2. Are you well acquainted with the Candidate?	Very well indeed
3. From what circumstances does your knowledge of him arise?	I have known him since his birth as the son of my Cousin & particular friend
4. How long have you known him?	Do. Do.
5. What have been the places of his education?	I believe Eton & Christ Church
6. If he has been in your employment, will you mention the dates of his entering and quitting your service?	He has not been in my employment
7. If he has had other employment, can you give the names and addresses of his employers?	I am not aware of his having been in any employment

[Turn over.

Dr. W. Farquhar

Figure 2.2. Edward Hamilton's statement of character written by Sir Walter Farquhar, 1870: Hamilton, Edward Walter, TNA, CSC/11/120.

The CSC applications indicate that the central state increasingly relied on the specialized knowledge and judgement of physicians, universities, and schools for recruiting civil servants. By asking candidates to list the schools and universities they had graduated from, stating whether these were public or private, collegiate, national, or British, the central state legitimized and reinforced the educational and moral responsibility of Oxbridge, among other institutions. Similarly, the inclusion of the medical certificate signed by a physician underlined the power of the

[85] G. C. Peden, 'Murray, Sir George Herbert (1849–1936)', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/35160 (23 September 2004).

medical profession in Victorian Britain.[86] Form A required each candidate to list the name and address of a medical referee who had generally attended him or his family. Dr S. Sibley, a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, declared that Hamilton was free from any disease or defect. Thus, physicians reinforced class-based conceptions of health, and illness early in the civil servant's life cycle.

CSC examinations constituted a final element in the professionalizing of patronage. By the 1850s, written examinations were key mechanisms testing and validating knowledge in the professions, universities, and schools in Britain and Europe.[87] Reformers and professionals believed that written examinations identified and rewarded ability more objectively and meritocratically than patronage. Exams, however, were not novel in the Treasury. Since 1840, the department had conducted limited competitions for Second-Division clerkships in the Registry department, selecting the best candidates from the Audit Office, Inland Revenue, and Customs.[88] In the 1850s, Trevelyan increasingly corresponded with reformers and civil servants on the role of examinations in developing a more meritocratic, efficient, and professional public service, as I showed in Chapter 1.

The CSC introduced a variety of written examinations depending on the requirements set by the public departments. Under the influence of Cambridge fellows, CSC examiners awarded written examinations numerical marks.[89] From 1855 onwards, the Treasury drafted two model papers for clerical examinations in accordance with the Northcote–Trevelyan report's proposed division between intellectual and mechanical labour. The ages of admission to Treasury clerkships ranged from 18–24-years old. Treasury clerks undertook an examination to test liberal education

[86] The CSC reserved to themselves the right to require a personal examination of the candidate by their own medical officer.
[87] G. Sutherland, 'Examinations and the Construction of Professional Identity: A Case Study of England 1800–1900', *AEPPP*, 8/1 (2001), p. 52.
[88] The Treasury minute of 24 March 1840 prescribed how Treasury Second-Division clerks were examined before being recruited. From 1848 onwards, Treasury books registered limited competitions based on examinations, although they are silent about the content. 'Treasury Arrangement, 1846–57', pp. 126–7.
[89] C. Stray, 'The Shift from Oral to Written Examination: Cambridge and Oxford 1700–1900', *AEPPP*, 8/1 (2001), pp. 33–50.

rather than financial expertise. By contrast, the Second-Division clerks had to display evidence of basic copying and bookkeeping skills (*Table 2.1*). As the Treasury acquired new accounting functions over time, the CSC sometimes reshaped their examinations to meet the new administrative needs.[90] However, the contents of these examinations did not radically change in later decades, and the Treasury arranged them, like any other department, in communication with the CSC.

Table 2.1. Examinations Topics in the Treasury, 1855–70

Treasury Grade	Examination Topics
Junior Clerks	Handwriting and orthography Arithmetic (including vulgar and decimal fractions) English composition The précis or abstract of official papers Geography History of England First three books of Euclid Latin, French, German or Italian translation, the selection being left to the candidate
Second-Division Clerks	Handwriting and orthography Arithmetic (including vulgar and decimal fractions) English composition
Clerks in the Solicitors Office	Writing from dictation Arithmetic (including vulgar and decimal fractions) English composition General Principles of Equity and Common Law
Messengers	Reading Writing from dictation Arithmetic (elementary)

Sources: *First Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners; Together with Appendices* (London, 1859), p. 13; *Tenth Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners; Together with Appendices* (London, 1865), p. 28.

Only a handful of Treasury clerks' examination files survive. The limited competition for a clerkship in which Hamilton took part in 1869–70 is one of them. These examination papers consisted first of a preliminary test of four subjects that served as a filter: 1) handwriting, 2) orthography, 3) arithmetic (including vulgar and decimal fractions), and 4) English composition.[91] After he had passed this test, the CSC invited him to sit the departmental examination.[92] They

[90] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1846–57', pp. 285–7.
[91] Chapman, *Civil Service Commission*, p. 24.
[92] 'Edward Hamilton to Civil Service Commissioners', 6 August 1869, Hamilton, Edward Walter.

encouraged young men like Hamilton to bring their pens, prohibited them from copying other people's exams and punished any found doing so with the refusal of the certificate. On 19 July 1870, at 10:00 am, Hamilton presented himself at the Manchester Buildings, London.[93] For two days of exams, he signed his name every morning and left the room when he had finished his paper. Overall, he did well, though not outstandingly well, for a man who later shone as one of the most admired and loved financial secretaries to the Treasury, as I will show in Chapter 3 and 4. In the 'handwriting and orthography' paper, Hamilton misspelt one word during dictation; in other papers, he committed only seven mistakes. In 'arithmetic', he obtained a total of 75/100.[94] His three-hour 'précis' looked very orderly but only obtained 70/100. Lastly, he recast passages from Cicero and Livy into English in his two-hour Latin translation, obtaining 90/100 in the former and 80/100 in the latter *(Figure 2.3).*[95]

As the vignette which opened this chapter also suggests, CSC examinations restructured Victorian families' expectations of youth and intergenerational support. Aristocratic families like the Herveys could no longer rely on connections to secure positions for their younger sons and relatives. Success and financial independence from the family now depended to a greater degree on the young men's ability to beat other candidates in limited competitions. Gradually, the conceptions and emotions of merit that boys associated with examinations during school and university transferred to the public service.[96] The CSC examinations contributed to the processes whereby merit was increasingly equated with success in exams.

[93] 'Edward Hamilton to Civil Service Commissioners', 14 July 1870, Hamilton, Edward Walter.
[94] 'Arithmetic Paper', Hamilton, Edward Walter.
[95] 'Latin translation', Hamilton, Edward Walter.
[96] J. Roach, *Public Examinations in England 1850–1900* (Cambridge, 1971).

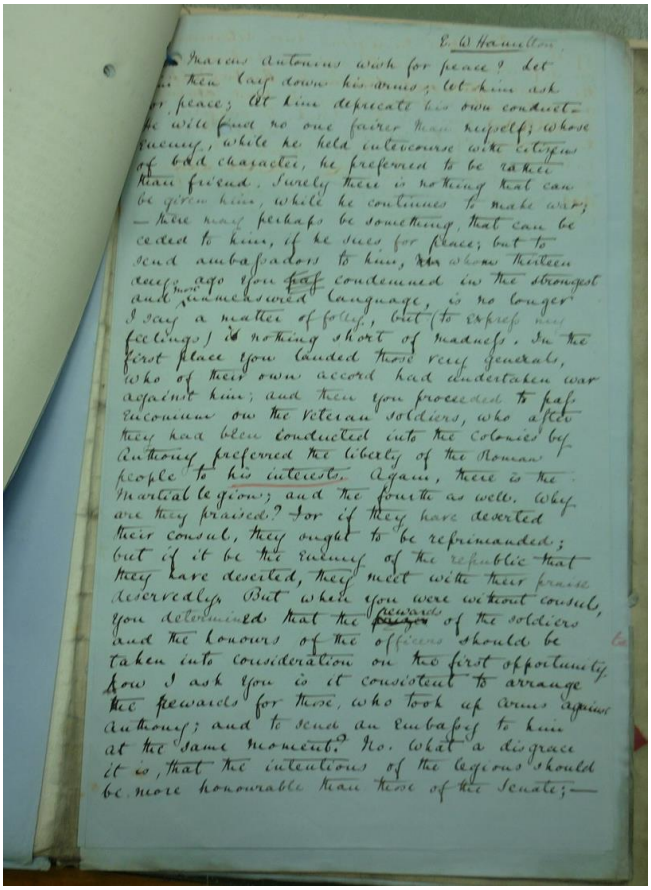


Figure 2.3. Edward Hamilton's Latin translation of Cicero and Livy, 1870: Hamilton, Edward Walter, TNA, CSC/11/120.

Between 1855 and 1870, those Treasury officials who had been nominated for limited competitions achieved remarkable results in examinations. The professionalization of patronage ensured a steady flow of qualified young men to the Treasury. Several candidates for Second-Division clerkships obtained very good marks. In 1858, W. P. Jones scored 1143/1450; a year later, T. Elliot obtained 638/650.[97] The CSC granted honorary certificates to candidates for their proficiency in extra subjects or prescribed ones. In 1862, both J. B. Fox and George Skinner earned a certificate acknowledging their 'fair practical acquaintance with the language' of French, as an additional subject, and bookkeeping by double entry.[98] In 1864, F. C. Stephenson beat them in English history and the précis as recognized by his 'creditable' certificate.[99]

[97] *Fourth Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners; Together with Appendices* (London, 1859), p. 75; *Fifth Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners; Together with Appendices* (London, 1860), p. 71.
[98] *Eighth Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners; Together with Appendices* (London, 1859), pp. 121–3.
[99] *Tenth Report*, p. 111.

Treasury clerks from the aristocratic classes also received praise for their examinations from the CSC, especially in 1856. Reginald Welby did not graduate with First-Class honours from Trinity College, Cambridge, but he excelled in his Civil Service examination: his Greek translation earned praise for 'creditable knowledge', while his French translation was commended as showing 'very creditable knowledge'.[100] Welby's case is instructive because it underlines that nineteenth-century Treasury financial experts had their professional roots in liberal and classical education rather than in financial instruction. Other young Treasury clerks became financial experts without even impressing in their examinations, like Henry Primrose, second son of the Honourable Bouverie Primrose, son of the 4th Earl of Rosebery, and Frederica Sophia (née Anson), daughter of the 1st Viscount Anson.[101] To some extent, contemporary critics of reform were right: exams could not entirely predict brilliant careers. However, in the Treasury's case and the Civil Service more broadly, competitive examinations ensured a standard of professionalism.

The effect of the professionalization of patronage on the Treasury was the reinforcement of existing administrative, class, and masculine hierarchies. The department remained an aristocratic institution under the system of competitive examinations. The Treasury clerks born during the 1830s–50s prolonged the eighteenth-century connection between segments of the aristocracy and the professions. Of the twenty-nine Treasury clerks appointed by limited competitions from 1855 to 1870, approximately 80 per cent descended from aristocratic lineages on the paternal or maternal side of the family, though some enjoyed more direct and privileged connections than others *(Appendix B)*. Almost 80 per cent of them were younger sons, while the remaining 20 per cent were eldest sons *(Appendix C)*. Their lineages were not homogeneous and do not reveal who their close kin were, but they situate the Treasury clerks' social worlds. Maternal lineages offer a more complex view of class structures in the Civil Service and Victorian Britain because they uncover wealth, power, status, and intergenerational connections not always found

[100] *Second Report*, p. 141; Kilbracken, *Reminiscences of Lord*, p. 95.
[101] H. C. G. Matthew, 'Primrose, Sir Henry William (1846–1923)', *ODNB* https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/35613 (23 September 2004).

in the paternal line.[102] In many cases, as I will show throughout this thesis, maternal kin served to advance the Treasury clerks' careers, like those of George William Hervey and Maurice Drummond already mentioned in this chapter.

In their youth, Treasury officials' status also depended on their fathers' occupations. Many Treasury clerks' fathers held public offices, practised law, owned land, served as JPs, MPs, or were part of the British peerage or gentry throughout their lives *(Appendix D)*. These boys belonged to aristocratic and governing circles, growing up in townhouses and country houses packed with domestic servants, drawing rooms, Italian art collections, carpets, and pianos that captured their imaginations. 'I give my best love to you Mamma and Grandmama there is a very pretty Pianoforte carved outside,' read one of Christopher Puller's first letters.[103] By contrast, Second-Division clerks and messengers were part of the middle and lower-middle classes. Most of their fathers were commercial travellers, accountants, coppersmiths, solicitors, and surveyors scattered in London and English counties.[104] Having domestic servants revealed their social status.[105] A few Second-Division clerks' families afforded one servant, others none. Few boys grew up with anything like Frederick Follett's middle-class lifestyle that included a governess and two servants.[106] Treasury messengers came from working-class, rural, and poorer origins. Most fathers worked as agricultural labourers, farmers, and domestic servants, while others spent their lives as fishermen, post-boys, and public notaries.[107] Their mothers work—sometimes as female servants—emphasized the social gulf with Treasury clerks.[108]

The Treasury's clerical division of labour established class and masculine hierarchies early in life that reflected previous educational experience. Under new ideals of public merit,

[102] For analytical inspiration, see C. De Bellaigue, 'Great Expectations? Childhood, Family, and Middle-Class Social Mobility in Nineteenth-Century England', *C&SH*, 16/1 (2019), pp. 29–46.
[103] 'Christopher Puller to Christopher W. Puller', unknown date, HRO, MS Puller, DE/cp/C17, fo. 30.
[104] 'George W. Craggs', 1851, EWSC, HO107, P1473, fo. 38, p. 17.
[105] S. Pooley, 'Domestic Servants and their Urban Employers: A Case Study of Lancaster, 1880–1914', *TEHR*, 62/2 (2009), pp. 407; S. Todd, 'Domestic Service and Class Relations in Britain 1900–1950', *P&P*, 203 (2009), pp. 191–2.
[106] 'Frederic J. Follett [sic]', 1861, EWSC, RG09, P457, fo. 14, p. 19.
[107] 'George Maddams', 1841, EWSC, HO107, P436, b. 10, fo. 12, p. 19.
[108] 'Robert H. Maguire', 1841, EWSC, HO107, P833, b. 2, fo. 6, p. 6.

examinations fulfilled the reformers' ambition of restricting the higher grades of the service to the upper and highly-educated classes graduating from public schools and Oxbridge. Manly notions of diligence, industry, self-restraint, and competition cut across both clerical grades, but the division of labour reinforced administrative hierarchies and produced two types of civil servant masculinity: one intellectual, backed by liberal education, and another more mechanical and physical based on secondary education at best.

Public schools and Oxbridge education paved the way to Treasury clerkships due to their focus on intellect, character, manners, moral autonomy, homosocial manliness and sociability, and values that fitted students to govern. The Treasury tailor-made CSC examinations for Oxbridge graduates by including subjects (Modern Languages, Classics) beyond the reach of the lower-middle-class clerk's education. From 1855 to 1870, recruitment figures reflect this close-knit social world. The predominance of Eton College and other public schools was noticeable *(Appendix E)*. Algernon West, a famous Chairman of the Inland Revenue, recalled in his memoirs how Eton graduates captured the Civil Service in the 1850s: 'As Lowe said, it was a case of Eton v. Education, and Eton always won.'[109] The dominance of Oxbridge was equally overwhelming, confirming earlier studies of British administrative elites *(Appendix F)*.[110] These public school and Oxbridge bubbles integrated well together. Eton graduates like Stevenson Blackwood, Herbert Murray, Raglan Somerset, and Charles Rivers Wilson renewed their friendships at Oxbridge. 'I at once found myself amongst a number of old Eton friends, and within a few weeks was elected a member of the Atheneum,' recalled Blackwood.[111]

2.2.2. *The introduction of open competition in the Civil Service in 1870*

By 1870, the Civil Service's recruitment had been to some extent professionalized, even though it was uneven, changing, and imperfect. Patronage practices (administrative, social, political) did not

[109] A. West, *Recollections, 1832–1886* (London, 1900), p. 33.
[110] See, for example, Joyce, *The State of Freedom*, p. 224.
[111] Montague, *Some Records*, pp. 29–30.

disappear but assumed new forms certified by the CSC. Single nomination and limited competition applications to the CSC differed from the confidential letters received by Trevelyan and Jolliffe. As we have seen, these changes deeply impacted youth expectations, class, family practices, and masculinities in the Treasury and the Civil Service more broadly.

A major blow to patronage came in the form of the introduction of open competition in 1870, under William Gladstone's first government (1868–74). Much of the public animosity against open competition in the 1850s had allegedly waned two decades later.[112] Meanwhile, the domestic and international contexts created a favourable climate for institutional reform once again. In the 1860s, a new impulse for reform was triggered by the further opening of the franchise (Second Reform Act of 1867) which benefited the growing middle classes, an anti-aristocratic feeling encouraged by criticisms of the southern US slave-owning 'aristocracy' following the American Civil War (1861–65) engendering a radical model of aristocratic criticism based on the American southern slaveowners, popular evangelical liberalism, the Irish Church disestablishment, university reform, and the Army's venality and inefficiency.[113] This climate of reform and its popular mobilization facilitated rather than caused Civil Service reform. A consensus towards examinations developed in the press and Parliament between 1855–70, though it had cracks and various degrees of consent. The introduction of open competition is best understood as the result of top-down administrative reform and long-standing ambitions of introducing open competition dating back to the 1850s. Although Trevelyan had officially retired from the Civil Service by 1870, reformers like Gladstone and Robert Lowe, his Chancellor of the Exchequer, were instrumental in fulfilling his vision of the Civil Service without patronage and thereby redefining the relationships between the civil administration, politics, and society.

The Order in Council of 4 June 1870 introducing open competition in the Civil Service turned it into a more neutral and attractive profession. The CSC continued to ascertain whether

[112] Chapman, *Civil Service Commission*, p. 22.
[113] J. Parry, 'The Decline of Institutional Reform in Nineteenth-Century Britain', in D. Feldman and J. Lawrence (eds.), *Structures and Transformations in Modern British History* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 171–7.

young candidates nominated for the public offices were within the limits of age, free from any physical defect or disease, possessed of a character to qualify them for public employment, and whether they had the knowledge and ability for the proper discharge of their duties. The major difference from the old order revolved around the enforcement of competition. Before 1870, the heads of departments decided on these matters. While some positions were subject to limited competition, such as Treasury clerkships, the CSC mostly assessed single nomination candidates. In contrast, the new Order in Council of 1870 introduced open competition in most departments, with significant exceptions and nuances that I will treat in the next section. Overall, open competition was a blow to patronage practices because the press openly advertised vacancies, and any candidate could apply if he was willing to pay the fee and sit the examinations. Public departments continued to set their own rules of admission and examination in communication with the CSC.[114] But, in contrast with the conventions of patronage, candidates sent their applications directly to the CSC instead of the heads of departments. These changes further linked public notions of merit to examinations and thus restructured life-cycle expectations, class structures, and family strategies for security and advancement.

Open competition reshaped youthful professional expectations and the Victorian family's role in state and society. Unlike single nominations or limited competitions, whose candidates were selected by the heads of departments after they had reviewed applications sent to them, applicants for an open competition vacancy sent their applications—Form A, medical certificate, and statement of character—directly to the CSC. This new practice changed families' customary intergenerational support of their younger members. The heads of the households no longer sent their applications to MPs, heads of department, or the patronage secretary to the Treasury hoping to receive a nomination for their boys as in the old days. Increasingly, career advancement and the achievement of financial independence depended on the boy's success in examinations rather than

[114] Wright, *Treasury Control*, p. 66.

on the head of the household's social connections. The family remained pivotal as the provider of education and upbringing necessary for a successful career, but under open competition it could not ensure a boy's entry into the Civil Service. This generational shift put unprecedented pressure on the shoulders of boys from the upper and middle classes. In 1877, Trevelyan summed up these changes with respect to pre-reform days: 'Formerly boys for any branch of the public service had no motive to exert themselves because however idle they might be, they were certain to get an appointment. Now, from their earliest years, boys know that their future depends upon themselves & a new spirit of activity has supervened.'[115] Trevelyan's portrayal of success in pursuing appointments under patronage was an exaggeration, as we saw in the first section of this chapter. But open competition did shape the life cycle of the next generations and the myths and cultural representations of the modern Civil Service.

The evolution of printed forms shows how professionalization at this stage of the life cycle rooted out family support in favour of educational qualifications. Open competition applications to the CSC retained similar formats, questionnaires, and requirements to those of single nominations and nominations under limited competitions.[116] However, open competition printed forms differed from earlier ones in one important aspect: form A explicitly asked young candidates to give the name and addresses of two referees well acquainted with them in private life who were *not near relations* nor *previous employers* (*Figure 2.4*). Thus, the new format—introduced in the late 1870s, though the date remains unclear—removed any remnant of family influence at this career stage. Treasury clerks' application forms suggest that schools and universities became the prime source of evidence for the boys' characters. In 1882, Robert Chalmers named Dr Edwin Abbot (Headmaster of the City of London School) and Dr David Munro (Vice-Provost and fellow of Oriel College, Oxford) as his referees.[117] Dr Abbot stated that Chalmers was honest, truthful,

[115] 'Charles Trevelyan to Dorman Eaton', 20 August 1877, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/8, fo. 54/3.
[116] I have observed minor differences in form A between the 1870s–1880s. In 1873, the paper became white. Similarly, in 1880, the school's section included a blank line for the master's name, and the candidates' date of entry and leave.
[117] G. C. Peden, 'Chalmers, Robert, Baron Chalmers (1858–1938)', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/32346 (23 September 2004).

sober, and diligent, before adding: 'Yes he is a young man of the highest character'.[118] Gone were the days when Treasury clerks listed their brothers-in-law and other relatives as referees.

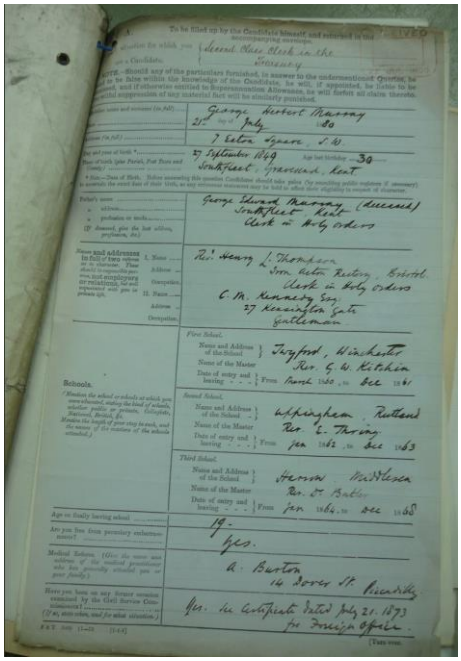


Figure 2.4. George Murray's Form A, 1880: Murray, George Herbert, TNA, CSC/11/199.

The professionalization of the Civil Service was not merely an elite process. Many Victorian families' cultural attitudes towards the state were affected by this shift away from patronage. The *London Gazette* and the *Civil Service Gazette* advertised open competition vacancies for the clerical grades and other positions. Young candidates from all classes were increasingly attracted to the profession due to its openness.[119] In 1877, Trevelyan wrote to an American observer about the level of popular support for open competition in some places: 'We were especially interested & amused at this sudden popularity which the system acquired in Ireland where "the competition" as they called it, was regarded as a very preferable alternative to the old jobbery.'[120] Preparation for examinations became a concern for universities, schools, and families.[121] Several figures show that applicants grew as the century progressed and positions

118 'Chalmers, Robert', TNA, CSC/11/5, statement of character.
119 'The Choice of a Profession: The Civil Service', *PMG*, (11 December 1889), p. 1.
120 'Charles Trevelyan to Dorman Eaton'.
121 Sutherland, 'Examinations and Construction', pp. 52–3.

multiplied: the CSC received 3,494 applications in 1856, 20,422 in 1879, and 50,627 in 1911.[122] Increasing numbers of Victorians across the British Empire came in contact with this examination craze. In 1884, exams took place in twenty-three centres in Britain requiring vast-scale organization, accommodation, invigilators, and supervision.[123] Examinations gained unprecedented—though not absolute nor uncritical—cultural acceptance among different classes and counties.[124] At the turn of the century, this growing spread of professional values and practices was manifest in the Civil Service examination manuals available for parents and guardians, and the emergence of numerous training schools and tutors.[125] Through these processes, new terms such as 'competition Wallah' emerged, and others like 'cramming' became more popular.[126] Google N-grams suggest that the use of these words peaked in the 1850s–70s, at the beginning of university reform and the shift towards Civil Service reform (*Figure 2.5* and *Figure 2.6*).

Figure 2.5. Google N-gram of 'competition Wallah', 1700-1914: Google N-Gram viewer.

[122] These figures include open competition, limited competitions, and single nominations. See *Second Report*, p. 26; *Twenty-Fourth Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners, Together with Appendices* (London, 1880), p. 154; *Fifty-Fifth Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners, with Appendices* (London, 1911), p. 2.
[123] Chapman, *Civil Service Commission*, p. 26.
[124] 'A Civil Service Examination. By an Unsuccessful Candidate', *PMG* (30 May 1887), p. 4.
[125] Several manuals existed in the late nineteenth century. See, for example, J. Morris, *The "ABC" Guide to the English Civil Service at Home and Abroad* (London, 1887).
[126] Undoubtedly, Sir George Otto Trevelyan's *The Competition Wallah* (1864) popularised these words. I wish to thank Malcolm Deas for directing me to this book.

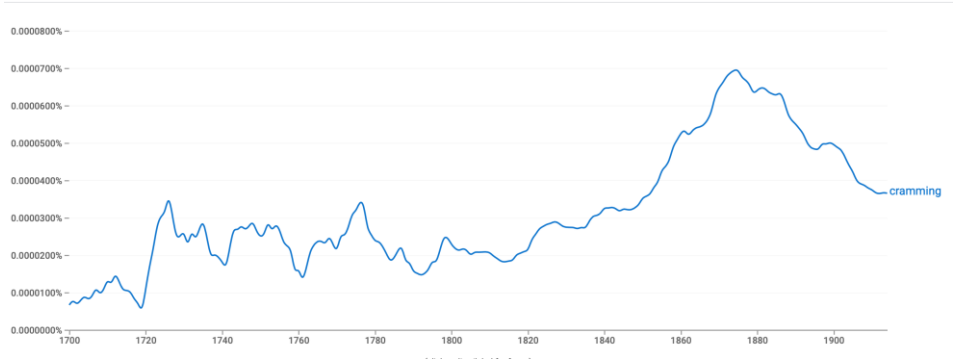


Figure 2.6. Google N-gram of 'cramming', 1700-1914: Google N-Gram viewer.

These social and cultural changes were the result not only of central state intervention but also of broader socioeconomic forces. The expansion of the service economy, population, commerce, communication networks, and the British Empire increased the volume of goods, money, people, and written culture flowing back and forth to Britain.[127] These processes doubled government expenditure, expanded public departments and multiplied vacancies.[128] If the number of male clerks in other professions quadrupled from 91,000 to 370,000 over the course of the century, male and female positions in the Civil Service also multiplied to deal with the growing amount of bureaucratic work.[129]

Open competition redefined relationships between the central state and society. Conceptions of office as a family or political reward, of favour, and entitlement found in Trevelyan's and Jolliffe's letters were gone. In open competition, claims to office were based on individual merit—measured by success in a competitive examination—even though the relevant qualities were in fact socially formed. Open competition also changed the traditional patronage nexus between constituencies and the British state. The patronage secretary to the Treasury relinquished several hundreds of appointments in the Post Office, Customs, Inland Revenue and other departments that it superintended. Open competition replaced the traditional patronage

[127] J. Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783–1939* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 107–9; F. M. L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain* (London, 1988), p. 51; J. Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System 1830–1970* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 182–3.
[128] F. M. G. Wilson, 'Ministries and Boards: Some Aspects of Administrative Development since 1832', *Public Administration*, 33/1 (1955), pp. 45–8; P. Harling and P. Mandler, 'From "Fiscal-Military" State to Laissez-Faire State, 1760–1850', *JBS*, 32/1 (1993), p. 54.
[129] Thompson, *Rise of Respectable*, p. 68.

nexus between the patronage secretary to the Treasury and the counties with notions of merit, neutrality, and competition.[130] In 1877, Trevelyan was right to some degree when he declared that open competitions had liberated MPs from the double bondage of the patronage secretary to the Treasury and the annoying correspondence with their constituents.[131] Indeed, for many Victorian families, patronage claims and networks were no longer a viable practice. Instead, their offspring had to compete for the clerical vacancies advertised in the *London Gazette* and *Civil Service Gazette*.

2.3. Patronage professionalized in the Treasury and the Civil Service, 1870–1914

By the late nineteenth century, many contemporaries claimed that patronage belonged to the past. The myth of open competition started to take root and expand internationally.[132] By European and American contemporary standards, the development of the nineteenth-century British state toward more professional practices was remarkable. As I showed in the previous section, the new printed application forms, CSC certificates, and Treasury control offered professional standards and oversight in recruitment. Moreover, open competition redefined the relationships between the state and society.

Beyond 1870, however, there is little evidence to substantiate the story of the overarching triumph of open competition in the next forty years. The next section acknowledges that open competition was one of the most professional and meritocratic ways of appointing nineteenth-century civil servants but shows that it was only one form of recruitment. Other forms of bureaucratic and professional appointment developed which remain unexplored by the historiography and the social sciences. I will call these new forms of recruitment 'professional patronage' to distinguish them from earlier practices. The section assesses 'professional patronage', why it endured, and the implications of these changes for the Treasury, the Civil Service, and British society in the late nineteenth century.

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[130] H. J. Hanham, 'Political Patronage at the Treasury, 1870–1912', *THJ*, 3/1 (1960), pp. 75–9.
[131] 'Charles Trevelyan to Dorman Eaton'.
[132] For the American connexion, see Cromwell, *Revolution or Evolution*, pp. 211–3.

2.3.1. *Types of appointments in the Civil Service, 1870–1914*

Dichotomies like patronage/open competition have so far prevented us from understanding the complexity of Civil Service appointments, and thus some characteristics of the modern British state. The Order in Council of 4 June 1870 encouraged the introduction of open competition but did not make it compulsory across the Civil Service.[133] The Order in Council of 12 February 1876 acted as a mechanism of closure in the development of the Civil Service profession, dividing clerical work into two administrative grades: the Higher Division and the Lower Division; the former was in charge of more 'intellectual and administrative work', while the latter of 'mechanical and routine copying' The Playfair Commission (1875) and the Ridley Commission (1886–88) picked up on Sir Charles Trevelyan's division of labour into intellectual and mechanical work formulated in the 1850s. By 1890, the Lower Division had been divided into four classes reflecting divisions of labour, age, and educational standards, as shown in (*Figure 2.7)*. Open competition was effectively introduced in the Indian Colonial Service Administrative Class and the junior clerical grades (ages 12–25) in the Home Civil Service. However, public departments had discretion to implement open competition or not. Over time, things changed within and across departments, as the annual reports of the CSC show from 1870 to 1914.

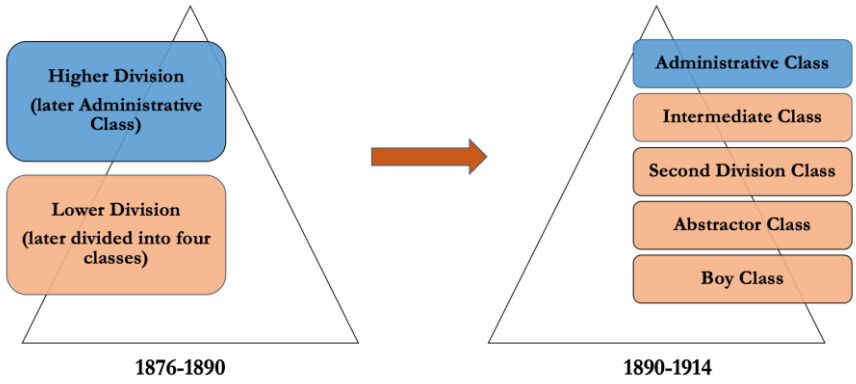

Figure 2.7. Evolution of the Civil Service's clerical gradation from 1876 to 1914: *Fourth Report of the Commissioners* (London, 1914), pp. 29–31.

[133] *Fifteenth Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners, Together with Appendices* (London, 1870), pp. ix–x. See, also, J. Greenaway, 'Celebrating Northcote/Trevelyan: Dispelling the Myths', *Public Policy and Administration*, 19/1 (2004), pp. 3.

Apart from open competition, six other ways of making appointments characterized the processes of recruitment in the British Civil Service from 1855 to 1914. The most relevant because they were widely used across the public departments were: 1) single nominations, in which one candidate was nominated by a head of department for a vacancy; 2) nominations after limited competitions, in which a head of department nominated three or more candidates to compete for vacancies; 3) single nominations made by heads of department under Clause 4 of the Superannuation Act of 1859; and 4) single nominations made by the heads of departments under Clause 7 of the Order in Council of 4 June 1870. As we know from the previous section, 1) single nominations and 2) limited competitions were subject to CSC certificates from 1855, which were granted to successful candidates after having passed their written examinations, medical exams, and character tests. By contrast, the great novelty of 3) single nominations under Clause 4 of the Act of 1859 and 4) single nominations under Clause 7 of the Order in Council of 1870 was the absence of competition for vacancies and the fact that these appointments were subject to Treasury approval and CSC certificates (a formality in such cases) without applicants having to undergo the written examinations, medical exams, and character tests. These recruitment practices were used when public departments were satisfied with the candidates' abilities and considered that further tests were unnecessary to proof their aptitude for a given position. All of these appointments were ratified by the Order in Council of 31 January 1910 (*Table 2.2*).

Table 2.2. Types of appointments in the Civil Service, 1855–1914

Type of Appointments	Regulation	Period of Enforcement
Crown nominations schedule B	Order in Council (OC) of 4 June 1870; ratified by OC of 31 January 1910	1855–1914
Departmental single nominations, subject to CSC' certificates	OC 15 March 1855	1855–1914
Departmental nominations to limited competition, subject to CSC' certificates	OC 15 March 1855	1855–1914
Departmental nominations, subject to Treasury approval	Superannuation Act of 1859	1859–1914
Open competition under Schedule A, subject to CSC' certificates	OC of 4 June 1870. Ratified by the OC of 31 January 1910	1870–1914

Departmental nominations under Schedule B (promotions)	OC of 4 June 1870. Ratified by the OC of 31 January 1910	1870–1914
Departmental nominations under Clause 7, subject to Treasury approval and CSC' certificates but not to examination	OC of 4 June 1870. Ratified by the OC of 31 January 1910	1870–1914

Sources: *Fifty-Fifth Report*, p. xi–xii; *Appendix to First Report of the Commissioners. Minutes of Evidence, 26th March 1912–19th April 1912 with Appendices* (London, 1912), p. 38.

Leaving aside open competition, how did contemporaries conceptualize all these types of appointments? Was patronage a thing of the past? In 1912, Sir Robert Chalmers (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury) provided the MacDonnell Commission (1912–14) with an important insight into the nature of these appointments, when he said to the chairman of the commission:

> May I with all respect say that your own appointment in Ireland was by pure patronage. You were appointed under section 4 of the Act of 1859. But I meant by patronage cases that would include that and would include my own appointment to the Inland Revenue, where there is not anything in the way of examination.[134]

Another commissioner wished to know the difference between the idea of 'pure patronage' and single nominations under Clause 7 of 1870. 'There is, of course, in that [single nominations under Clause 7 of 1870] a very large element of patronage,' Chalmers answered.[135] As these examples illustrate, Treasury officials conceived of such appointments as 'patronage' because nominations remained in the gift of the heads of departments, who could dispense either with examinations or CSC certificates. These nominations resembled earlier conceptions of patronage as an administrative practice studied in the first section. However, in other ways, these kinds of nominations departed from the administrative practice of patronage early in the century. Nominations were now more professional (medical certificate, examinations) and subject to centralized Treasury approval or CSC certificates, as I showed in the previous section. By 1912, the Treasury's superintendence of appointments across the Civil Service had increased, although

[134] *Appendix to First Report of the Commissioners. Minutes of Evidence, 26th March 1912–19th April 1912 with Appendices* (London, 1912), p. 38.
[135] *Appendix to First Report*, p. 56.

it did not usually interfere with departmental nominations after initial procedures had been completed.[136]

While contemporaries still used the word 'patronage', these administrative practices had changed since pre-reform days in ways that affected the recruitment of civil servants across the whole life cycle, including for professionals and politicians coming from outside the service. 'Professional patronage' was predominant. MPs and civil servants were aware that heads of departments retained great nomination powers. In 1900, Robert Hanbury (Financial Secretary to the Treasury) declared to Parliament: 'There is a great amount of patronage in all these Departments, and the Treasury carefully abstains from interfering with them altogether.'[137] A thorough revision of the CSC' annual reports from 1870 to 1914 shows that the triumph of open competition, much celebrated in rhetoric, was a myth. Identifying the coexistence of much 'professional patronage' alongside open competition shows a different image of the modern British state.

Several figures attest to the predominance of 'professional patronage' in the late nineteenth-century Civil Service. First, limited competitions outnumbered open competitions by the early twentieth century (*Table 2.3*).

[136] *Appendix to First Report*, p. 40.
[137] [*Hansard*], *Parliamentary Debates*, lxxxii, cols. 134–5. (27 April 1900).

Table 2.3. Limited competitions and open competitions in the Civil Service, 1899–1911

Year	Limited Competitions	Open Competitions	Total	Open Competition %
1899	142	134	276	49
1900	146	137	283	48.41
1901	190	168	358	47
1902	171	130	301	43.19
1903	157	117	274	42.7
1904	200	97	297	32.66
1905	43	34	77	44.16
1906	140	55	195	28.20
1907	653	122	775	15.74
1908	407	102	509	20.03
1909	531	85	616	13.8
1910	520	81	601	13.48
1911	498	65	563	11.55

Sources: *Forty-Fourth Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners, with Appendix* (London, 1900), p. 2; *Forty-Fifth Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners, with Appendix* (London, 1901), p. 2; *Forty-Sixth Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners, with Appendix* (London, 1902), p. 2; *Forty-Seventh Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners, with Appendix* (London, 1903), p. 2; *Forty-Eighth Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners, with Appendix* (London, 1904), p. 2; *Forty-Ninth Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners, with Appendix* (London, 1905), p. 2; *Fiftieth Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners, with Appendix* (London, 1906), p. 2; *Fifty-First Report of His Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners, with Appendices* (London, 1907), p. 2; *Fifty-Second Report of His Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners, with Appendices* (London, 1908), p. 2; *Fifty-Third Report of His Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners, with Appendices* (London, 1909), p. 2; *Fifty-Fourth Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners, with Appendices* (London, 1910), p, 2; *Fifty-Fifth*, p. 2.

Second, the CSC's annual reports between 1879 and 1909 show that most CSC certificates were granted to successful candidates for single nominations, limited competitions, and single nominations under Clause 7 of 1870 as opposed to those for open competitions. In 1879, the CSC granted 1,122 to successful candidates in open competitions, 3,587 to those applicants for single nominations and limited competitions, and 129 to those singly nominated under Clause 7 of 1870. Twenty years later, the CSC still granted more certificates to applicants for single nominations, limited competitions, and single nominations under Clause 7 of 1870 combined than to successful candidates for open competitions, as shown in (*Figure 2.8)*. This suggests that the Civil Service was recruiting more civil servants through 'professional patronage' rather than open competition by the turn of the century. Even though figures varied over time, the growth of CSC certificates

granted to applicants singly nominated under Clause 7 of 1870—appointments that were subject to Treasury approval and CSC certificates that did not require written examinations, medical exams, and character tests—was a trend.

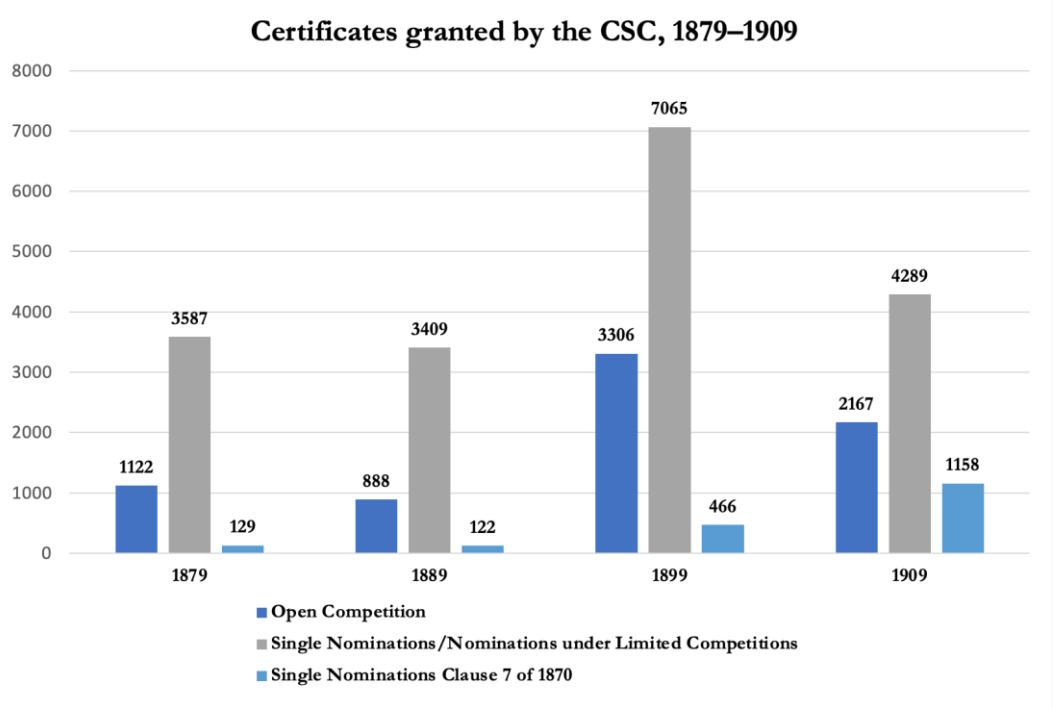

Figure 2.8. Certificates granted by the CSC from 1879 to 1909: *Twenty-Fourth Report*, p. 154; *Thirty-Fourth Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners, with Appendix* (London, 1890), p. 42; *Forty-Fourth Report*, p. 2; *Fifty-Fourth Report*, p. 2.

Third, historians have generalized about the implementation of open competition after 1870 without considering intra/interdepartmental change over time. The CSC's annual reports also reveal the need to assess each department individually because overall they differed in terms of administrative functions, trajectories, and heads of department. Apart from the junior clerical grades usually appointed through open competition 70–80 per cent of public departments recruited the rest of their permanent establishment through single nominations, limited competitions, and single nominations under Clause 7 of 1870. Yet, even in public departments where open competition was implemented, it never entirely displaced 'professional patronage'. In 1879, for example, only fourteen public departments implemented open competition out of sixty-six for positions other than the junior clerical grades. *Figure 2.9* shows that in some cases,

'professional patronage' predominated, in others, it coexisted almost evenly with open competition, and sometimes it was not used, as in the India Audit, which meant that applicants were recruited through the usual procedures of open competition. *Figure 2.10* shows how difficult it also is to generalize over time, although some patterns recur.

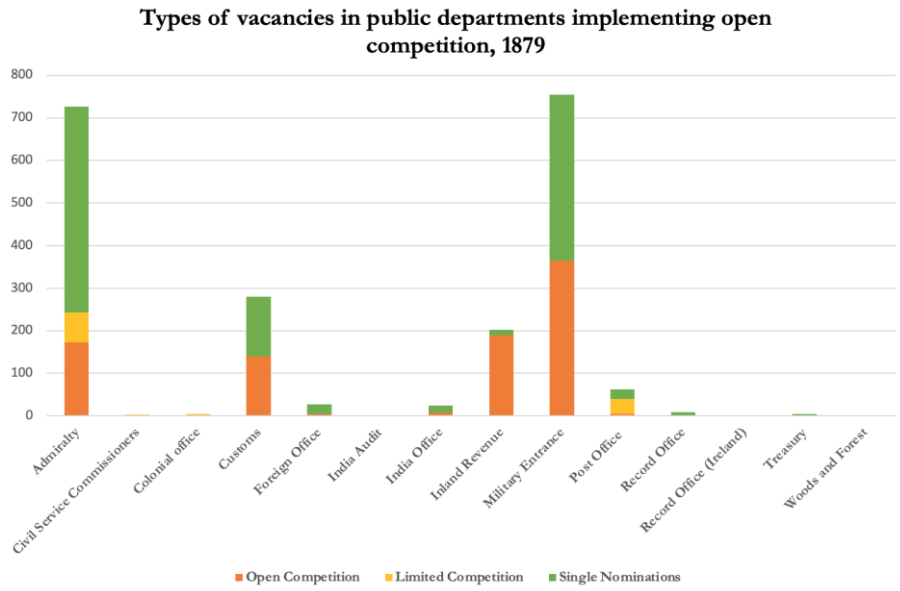

Figure 2.9. Types of vacancies in those public departments implementing open competition beyond appointments for the junior clerical grades, 1879: *Twenty-Fourth Report*, pp. 154–65.

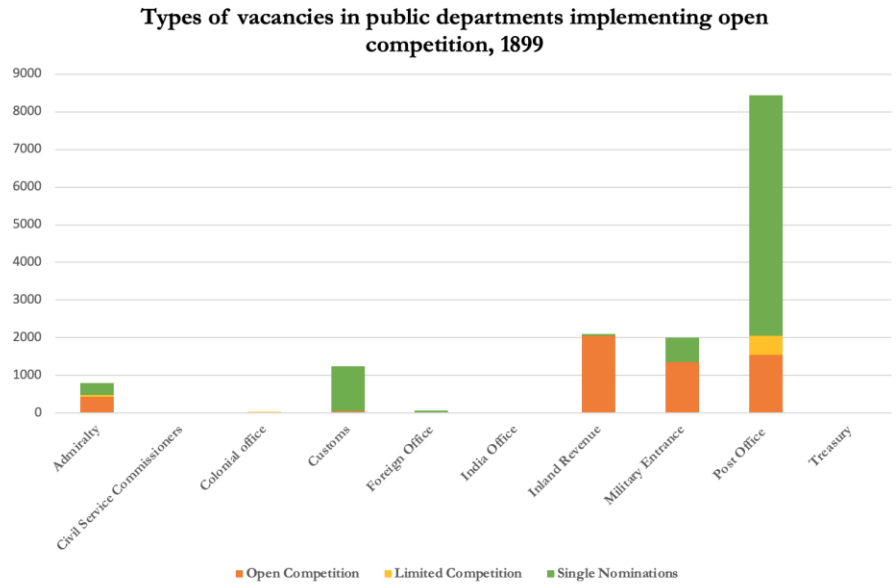

Figure 2.10. Types of vacancies in those public departments implementing open competition beyond appointments for the junior clerical grades, 1899: *Forty-Fourth Report*, pp. 2–23.

Since Max Weber, the opposition between patronage and modern bureaucracies has become a classical topic in the social sciences. According to Weber, the Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884 decreased the role of the patronage secretary to the Treasury, changing the way in which parliamentary majorities were constructed and therefore enabling the rise of mass party politics in the context of nineteenth-century urbanization and industrialization.[138] British historians have arrived at similar conclusions. [139] However, the bulk of his patronage went unrecorded, posing a challenge to studying its changing distribution and the extent of his power.[140] From the evidence I have gathered, it seems that the patronage secretary to the Treasury remained influential at home and in the Empire but restricted his activity to lower-class and local appointments, especially in the Royal Mint, Post Office, Customs, and Inland Revenue. From 1878 to 1912, the House of Commons received complaints from MPs regarding his appointment of postmasters, rural messengers, Customs boatmen, and preventive officers.[141] The press claimed that successive patronage secretaries to the Treasury nominated more than 16,000 postmasters in late nineteenth-century Britain.[142]

Although these figures were considerable, the patronage secretary to the Treasury's 'professional patronage' was reduced in importance whereas that in the gift of heads of departments—especially in the Admiralty, Customs, Inland Revenue, and Post Office—became more prominent from the 1880s onwards. In the Treasury, the patronage secretary only appointed a handful of messengers and porters, and nominated one or two female typists per year.[143] In 1912, the Master of Elibank appointed 122 Customs preventive officers.[144] These figures paled by comparison with the singly nominated 1,399 male learners by the postmaster-general each year.[145]

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138 M. Weber, *La política como vocación* (Madrid, 2009), pp. 124–35.
139 Hanham, 'The Political Patronage', p. 76.
140 'Treasury Waiver of Patronage by Parliamentary Secretary', 1912, TNA, T 1/11467.
141 See, for example, [*Hansard*], *Parliamentary Debates*, ccxxxix, cols. 212. (29 March 1878); [*Hansard*], *Parliamentary Debates*, ccxcii, cols. 178. (7 August 1884).
142 Hanham, 'Political Patronage', p. 80.
143 'Treasury Arrangement and Appointment Book, 1907–14', T 197/7, pp. 52–4.
144 'Waiver of Patronage Parliamentary Secretary', 1912, TNA, T 18548, fo. 310–1.
145 See, for example, *Fifty-Six Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners, with Appendices* (London, 1912), p. 21.

The Treasury Minute of 15 September 1912 handed back to sixteen public departments what remained of the patronage secretary's appointments.[146] Yet patronage as such did not vanish: it returned to the heads of departments in a more professional form.

By the early twentieth century, MPs and newspapers lamented the persistence of 'professional patronage'.[147] In 1910, the *Civil Service Gazette* condemned nearly 1,000 patronage appointments: 'This is going back to the days of the Georges with a vengeance!'[148] Conceptually, this was an exaggeration and failed to recognize patronage's professional evolution in Victorian Britain. But the figures estimated by the newspaper were not wide of the mark. In 1909, the CSC granted 1,290 certificates for candidates singly nominated under Clause 7 of 1870.[149] The *Civil Service Gazette*'s article is significant because it shows how perceptions of the Civil Service had changed since Trevelyan had adopted a confident tone back in the 1870s. Under Herbert Asquith's government (1908–16), public and parliamentary pressure encouraged the creation of the MacDonnell Royal Commission (1912–14) to investigate the extent of patronage in the Civil Service.[150]

2.3.2. *Why did 'professional patronage' endure alongside open competition?*

Open competition had an aura of neutrality, merit, and openness but also practical advantages. For Sir Robert Chalmers (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury) in the early twentieth century, its attraction was that it deterred friends and families from writing to him seeking positions for their offspring.[151] Why then did the Treasury and other public departments implement 'professional

[146] The list of sixteen departments included appointments for minor clerks, porters, subordinate staff, female typists, income tax collectors, distributors and sub-distributor of stamps, packers and tellers. A smaller portion (office-keepers in subordinated departments) remained in his hands. 'Master of Elibank to Robert Chalmers', 27 June 1912, Treasury Waiver of Patronage.
[147] 'Plums (The), for our Friends,' *The Athenaeum* (25 January 1913), p. 100.
[148] 'Patronage Scandal,' *CSG*,(13 August 1910), p. 9.
[149] *Fifty-Third Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners, with Appendices* (London, 1909), p. 2.
[150] 'Patronage Inquiry', *PMG* (March 1912), p. 3.
[151] *Appendix to First Report*, p. 42.

patronage' rather than open competition? There are administrative and social answers to this question.

Many civil servants and MPs believed that 'professional patronage' was suitable for some positions, especially high-ranking and female appointments.[152] Several Victorians distrusted open competition as the best method of assessing merit among young men and women. While opposition to open competition gradually diminished, Trevelyan doubted that the House of Commons would have approved its introduction in 1870:

> The change was made by persons conversant with public affairs from a practical perception of its necessity, but these early supporters of it might be counted upon its fingers, & if this matter had been put to the vote in London society, or the Clubs, or even in Parliament itself by secret voting, the new system would have been rejected by an overwhelming majority.[153]

Moreover, while some heads of departments dreaded the responsibility of nomination, others considered they were better judges of fitness and character than open competition could ever be.[154]

'Professional patronage' remained entrenched in the British central state also because the machinery of administration required it. Indeed, it was often the answer to the challenge of dealing with complex administrative business in the context of new ministries and boards, welfare provision, war, centralization, and the expansion of local government since the late nineteenth century. Herbert Asquith's Liberal government used single nominations under Clause 7 of 1870 to rapidly implement massive transformations in social provision and land valuation, like the Valuation Department and the Labour Exchanges (1909), and the enforcement of the National Insurance Act (1911).[155] Differences in attitude among the heads of public departments also explain variation over time.[156]

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[152] 'Women Who Work,' *PMG*, (9 May 1885), p. 4; G. Sutherland, *In Search of the New Woman: Middle-Class Women and Work in Britain, 1870–1914* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 42.
[153] 'Charles Trevelyan to Dorman Eaton'.
[154] [*Hansard*], *Parliamentary Debates*, ccxxxix, cols. 212. (29 March 1878); [*Hansard*], *Parliamentary Debates*, xxv, col. 421 (3 May 1911).
[155] 'Patronage in the Civil Service', *CSG* (13 August 1910), p. 9; *Fifty-Fifth Report*, p. xi.
[156] H. H. Asquith, *Memories and Reflections 1852–1927* (London, 1928), p. 213.

'Professional patronage' created a recruitment system in which applications were directed to prime ministers and heads of departments. That apart, four social and cultural factors explain the persistence of 'professional patronage'. To begin with, associations between merit, on the one hand, and character and connections, on the other, endured in the late nineteenth century. The public offices were embedded in social and familial networks. Public departments like the Treasury remained close-knit social and educational worlds. The public schools, Oxbridge, and family ties formed a key part of the Treasury clerks' life and professional identities. I have traced at least nineteen family connections in the Treasury, some multigenerational and others by marriage, between 1848 and 1914 *(Appendix G)*. Overlapping professional ties with kinship ones could prove vital to rising in a career, as I will show in Chapter 3. The influence of family in Victorian institutions was not peculiar to the Civil Service. The upper classes and the middle classes also used their wealth, religious networks, and kin connections to rise in the professions, commerce, and banking.[157] The gates of several educational institutions, including members of the middle classes, opened on the strength of patronage networks rather than merit well into the nineteenth century.[158] Civil servants were familiar with these environments through daily interactions, friends, and relatives. This broader perspective on recruitment practices in Victorian Britain contested Civil Service examinations. Similarly, civil servants spent a considerable part of their lives in social intercourse, where character and manners played a key role in allowing participants to thrive in country houses, charities, sports, gentlemen clubs, balls, theatres, concerts, and literary societies.[159] The dividing line between the Civil Service and social life was more easily drawn on paper than at a dinner table or an office desk.

Second, family obligations and duties encouraged the persistence of 'professional patronage' in two ways. First, the transformation of family structures from large families (four to

[157] N. Annan, 'The Intellectual Aristocracy', in J. H. Plumb (ed.), *Studies in Social History: A Tribute to G. M. Trevelyan* (London, 1955), pp. 255–8; A. Kuper, *Incest & Influence: The Private Life of Bourgeois England* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 24–8.
[158] Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, pp. 235–63.
[159] See, for example, A. West, *Private diaries of Rt. Hon. Sir Algernon West, G. C. B.* (London, 1899), p. 39.

six children) into smaller ones (two to three children) was underway but far from complete in the late nineteenth century.[160] Amid financial insecurities, life-cycle accidents, and social change, the emotional and economic security of the family remained a key concern for upper-class and middle-class families. Among the lower classes, social transformations (migration, industrialization, urbanization) reinforced the importance of the family unit and its connections in new environments.[161] As was the case in Trevelyan's days, patronage remained for many families a key practice that was expected to ensure the security of their young men and women. In 1912, Sir Robert Chalmers (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury) suggested the emotional freighting of patronage when he declared to the MacDonnell Commission that he preferred open competition to nominations because '(…) in practice it would be too terrible a position for the head of a department with all his friends wishing to put their sons into his office, and everybody writing to him.'[162] Family experience might also lead people to conceive of the Civil Service as a family tradition or profession.[163] Thus, several public departments still attached value to family ties despite the winds of change. 'Professional patronage' remained the normal mechanism for the appointment of several hundreds of female typists and clerks annually. Women were not allowed to sit in open competition to the higher grades of the Civil Service until 1925.[164] Speaking of the Inland Revenue female typists, Chalmers said to the MacDonnell Commission in 1912:

> In the case of female typists, I hold what perhaps might be regarded as a rather retrograde view. If you take the Inland Revenue there the appointments for typists are reserved for the daughters and relations of those who have served in that large department, and I could contravert my own views as a mere matter of logic, but it seems to me on the whole a desirable thing that those appointments should be competed for by the daughters of old servants of the Inland Revenue (…) To that extent I am supporting patronage.[165]

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[160] Thompson, *Rise of Respectable*, pp. 89–90; Rothery, 'The Reproductive Behaviour', p. 675.
[161] B. Reay, 'Kinship and the Neighborhood in Nineteenth-Century Rural England: The Myth of the Autonomous Nuclear Family', *JFH*, 21/1 (1996), pp. 96–7.
[162] *Appendix to First Report*, p. 42.
[163] 'The Civil Service in Embryo- And After', *CSG*, (24 September 1910), p. 7. More broadly, see W. D. Rubinstein, 'The Social Origins and Career Patterns of Oxford and Cambridge Matriculants, 1840–1900', *Historical Research*, 82/218 (2009), pp. 717–21; Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 230.
[164] Sutherland, *In Search*, p. 42.
[165] *Appendix to First Report*, p. 42.

Third, 'professional patronage' endured because Civil Service reform could not abolish old cultural and political practices in forty years (1870–1914). In the world of social practices—not of myths or normative ideals—people still found a way to negotiate, advance, or re-legitimate their position and status through patronage.[166] The letters addressed to Joseph Pease (Secretary to the Treasury, 1907–08) show the persistence of the social claims studied in the first section of this chapter.[167]Although several MPs and heads of departments despised the responsibilities attached to patronage, application letters and petitions kept arriving from their hands. The number of applicants for single nominations in the Customs boatmen still impressed Sir William Walrond (Patronage Secretary to the Treasury) in 1898: 'The names already on the list of candidates are so numerous that under the most favourable circumstances some years must elapse before they all receive nominations.'[168] Despite urbanization and political reforms, local politics still mattered to people at the dawn of mass party politics.[169]

Fourth, 'professional patronage' remained an option because, paradoxically, open competition closed many doors. In the late nineteenth century, imperial expansion and government growth offered new possibilities for young and older applicants at home and in the British Empire. However, success rates in open competitions were low in the case of appointments in the Treasury, Post Office, Inland Revenue, and Customs. In 1880, for example, seventy-one candidates applied for one single Second-Division clerkship in the Treasury.[170] In junior, clerical open competitions, the ratio of successful applications was equally low because vacancies were extremely limited and much competed for.[171] Thus, after failing in open competitions or considering how hard it would be to succeed in them, hundreds if not thousands of applicants still

166 'Politics and the Post Service', *MG* (15 April 1890), p. 9.
167 See, for example, Winston Churchill to Joseph Pease, 25 February 1908, University of Oxford, Nuffield College Special Collections and Archives, MS Pease, box 80, fo. 80/16.
168 [*Hansard*], *Parliamentary Debates*, lv, col. 1229 (29 March 1898).
169 Hawkins, *Victorian Political Culture*, pp. 321–2.
170 *Twenty-Fifth Report*, p. 165.
171 For instance, the CSC received 169 applications for open competition clerical vacancies in the Administrative Class (Class I) in 1905. In the end, only twenty-five young men (14.79 per cent) managed to secure a position in the Civil Service that year. See *Fiftieth Report*, p. v–vi.

found in the patronage secretary to the Treasury's local nominations an alternative way to rise in life.

These four social factors help to explain the continuity of 'professional patronage'. But applications for the Treasury-nominated position of receiver-general officer in the Isle of Guernsey reveal that 'professional patronage' also incorporated social claims. Patronage as a social practice survived in offices where local knowledge and ties were important. Historians of the modern British state have charted the development of Victorian consent to taxation based on perceptions of public neutrality and disinterestedness.[172] In the localities, however, people may have been influenced in giving their consent depending on social backgrounds and claims. Civil servants emphasized the applicants' social and professional claims. In 1912, Sir Edward Hamilton (Lieutenant Governor-General of Guernsey) presented for the consideration of the Treasury the most highly qualified candidates, touching upon their professional and social roots. Victor Carey was his favourite because he belonged to an old Guernsey family, although Osmond Priault was also an excellent second choice due to his character and social connections: 'Mr Osmond Priault also belongs to an old Guernsey family and has been for years one of the two Chief Constables of St Peter Port. He is intimately acquainted with all classes in the Island, is very capable and tactful and universally popular.'[173] The candidates' testimonials emphasized their social claims and networks, as well as their professional merits. Another candidate, Eugene Carey, ranked higher and possessed greater local claims than the rest: he was the son of Sir Godfrey Carey, first as Procureur and Bailiff, and the cousin of Julius Carey, former Receiver-General from 1885 to 1895, 'not to speak of other Careys in more remote times', said one referee.[174] For this man, who was not personally acquainted with Carey, family claims were just as important to professional ones: 'Eugene Carey is about 36-37 years of age is a member of the Guernsey Bar, & is related by

[172] M. Daunton, *State and Market in Victorian Britain: War, Welfare and Capitalism* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 68–70.
[173] 'Edward Hamilton to Under-Secretary of State, 22 April 1912, TNA, T 10174.
[174] 'J. A. Dergne to Roland Wilkins, Guernsey', 29 January 1912, TNA, T 10174.

marriage to almost everyone of the old Guernsey families, so that he is first in the proper position for the Crown Receiver to hold.'[175]

Male family members found in 'professional patronage' an opportunity to advance their social claims and networks but so did women, who sought advancement for sons and husbands. In 1912, Augusta Whitehead wrote to Lady Asquith, wife of Prime Minister Herbert Asquith, hoping that he could use his interest on behalf of J. Lancelot Bailey. Mrs Whitehead's letter pinned her hopes of getting the office for her friend based on family claims as in pre-reform patronage:

> We have known Mr Bailey for many years, & think him most suitable, he also has a charming wife & family & only tiny means. He tells us that interest is all that is necessary, & that one word from the Prime Minister would get him the appointment. Therefore I cannot resist writing to ask you to help him.[176]

Lancelot's kin were helping him in the Home Office, but Mrs Whitehead's message to Lady Asquith was unequivocal: 'His brother Lord Glanusk & an uncle in the Home Office are helping him all they can, but pin the whole of their hopes on my success in gaining your sympathy & help.'[177]

2.3.3. *The Treasury's administrative and social transformation following 'professional patronage' and open competition, 1870–1914*

From 1855 to 1870, the system of professionalized patronage (single nominations and nominations under limited competitions subject to CSC certificates) developed in the Treasury. The Treasury books and George Hamilton's (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, 1859–1869) semi-official correspondence show that prime ministers continued to nominate Treasury clerks, the assistant secretaries the Second-Division clerks, and the patronage secretaries the messengers.[178] The life cycle, promotions, transfers to other departments, and mounting public

[175] 'J. A. Dergne to Roland Wilkins'.
[176] 'Augusta Whitehead to Margot Asquith', 27 January 1912, TNA, T 10174.
[177] 'Augusta Whitehead to Margot Asquith'.
[178] 'Treasury Arrangement and Appointment Book, 1857–69', TNA, T 197/4, pp. 18–30.

business forced the reorganization of the Treasury divisions and motivated the appointment of new staff.[179] Additionally, the shape of the Treasury changed over time as it acquired new functions which required solicitors, accountants, and private secretaries.[180] The department used different forms of 'professional patronage' to cope with life-cycle accidents and administrative change: single nominations, limited competitions, single nominations under Clause 7 of 1870, and single nominations under Clause 4 of the Superannuation Act of 1859.[181] Applicants used patronage claims (social and political) and networks to obtain Treasury clerkships until the introduction of open competition in 1870. But meanwhile the Treasury had professionalized through the CSC' certificates and Hamilton's attention to qualifications.[182]

From 1870 to 1914, open competition and 'professional patronage' coexisted in the Treasury the two systems having different consequences. Open competition stripped from the prime ministers their monopoly of most Treasury clerkships, though they retained patronage over the department's messengers, solicitors, accountants, valuers, and inspectors of rates.[183] Other Lords of the Treasury possessed no greater powers: 'The Chancellor of the Exchequer has practically no patronage at all. He has little patronage at the National Debt Office, and that represents the sum total of his patronage.'[184] This was caused by open competition. The Treasury books, however, reveal that open competition did not always operate for all the clerical grades. The department was flexible.[185] Approximately, 51 per cent of Treasury clerks were appointed by open competition, as opposed to 49 per cent by a mixture of single nominations and single nominations under Clause 7 of 1870 *(Figure 2.11)*. Taking together the whole establishment (Treasury clerks, Second-Division clerks, boy clerks, female typists, accountants, solicitors, messengers), the figures attest to the predominance of 'professional patronage': 35 per cent were

[179] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1857–69', pp. 196–8, 222, 275.
[180] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1857–69', pp. 225–31.
[181] 'George Hamilton to William Gladstone', 14 November 1864, TNA, MS Hamilton, T 168/1, p. 151.
[182] 'George Hamilton to William Gladstone'.
[183] 'Treasury Arrangement and Appointment Book, 1887–1907', TNA, T 197/6, pp. 180, 194; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1907–14', p. 46; Roseveare, *The Treasury*, pp. 178–9.
[184] *Appendix to First Report*, p. 54
[185] See, for similar findings, Roseveare, *The Treasury*, pp. 178–9.

appointed by open competition, 29 per cent by single nominations, 29 per cent by single nominations under Clause 7 of 1870, and 7 per cent by nominations under limited competitions *(Figure 2.12)*. In other words, the Treasury made 65 per cent of its appointments through nominations rather than open competition. Young men like George Murray, Alexander Waterfield, Saxon Sydney-Turner, and Basil Blackett, came from other departments like the Estate's Duty Office, War Office, Inland Revenue, and Admiralty.[186] The Treasury used single nominations under Clause 7 of 1870 for several reasons: age limits, deaths, clerical transfers from other departments, missions to imperial territories (notably Egypt and Natal), and placement of qualified people from outside the service.[187] Under Sir Francis Mowatt's (1895–1903) and Sir George Murray's (1903–1909) tenures as Permanent Secretaries to the Treasury, single nominations under Clause 7 of 1870 increased for Administrative Class clerkships.[188]

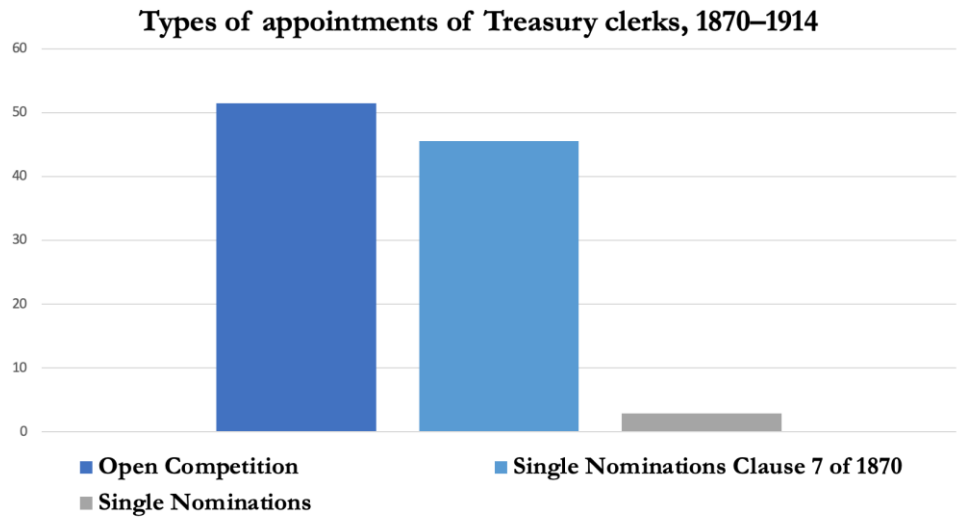

Figure 2.11. Percentage of types of appointments of Treasury clerks, 1870-1914: 'Treasury Arrangement Book, 1846–57'; 'Treasury Arrangement Book, 1857–69'; 'Treasury Arrangement Book, 1869–87'; 'Treasury Arrangement Book, 1887–1907'; 'Treasury Arrangement Book, 1907–14'.

[186] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1887–1907', pp. 344–52; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1907–14', p. 131.
[187] *Appendix to First Report*, pp. 39–40; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1869–87', TNA, T 197/5, pp. 177–80; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1887–1907', pp. 116–9.
[188] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1887–1907'; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1907–14'.

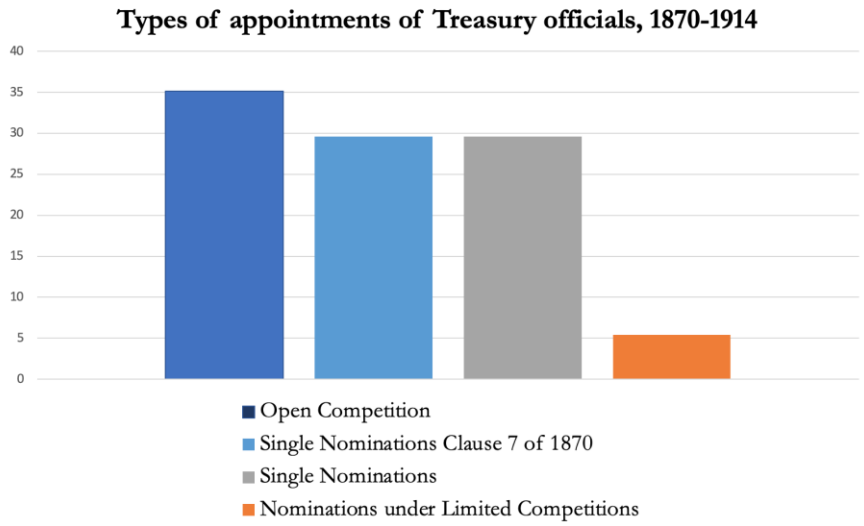

Figure 2.12. Percentage of types of appointments of Treasury officials, 1870-1914: 'Treasury Arrangement Book, 1846–57'; 'Treasury Arrangement Book, 1857–69'; 'Treasury Arrangement Book, 1869–87'; 'Treasury Arrangement Book, 1887–1907'; 'Treasury Arrangement Book, 1907–14'.

After 1870, open competition and 'professional patronage' changed the social composition of the Treasury. The new recruitment practices turned the department into a middle-class stronghold, fulfilling the dream of mid-nineteenth-century reformers like Richard Dawes, Robert Lowe, or Benjamin Jowett. Treasury clerks born during the 1860s-90s established new connections between the middle classes and the professions. Of the fifty-three Treasury clerks appointed by open competition and single nominations under Clause 7 of 1870 from 1870 to 1914, nearly 70 per cent came from the middle classes, 28 per cent from the aristocracy, and 2 per cent from the lower middle classes. The share of the aristocracy diminished by 52 per cent compared to the period from 1855–70. Many of the new Treasury clerks' fathers were middle-class reverends, university professors, surgeons, barristers, merchants, colonial servants, and booksellers without landed or peerage connections *(Appendix H)*. Although these boys came from diverse regional backgrounds, Victorians censuses show that they grew up in apparently similar middle-class houses with two or four servants.[189] By contrast, Second-Division Clerks, messengers, boy clerks, and female typists still came from the lower middle classes.

[189] See, for example, 'Otto Niemeyer', 1891, EWSC, RG12, P1369, fo. 87, p. 2.

Civil Service reform only partially explains this massive social shift at the centre of Whitehall. Another explanation for the transformation of the Treasury is the expansion of the public schools and universities, and the opening of these institutions to the middle and professional classes through scholarships and competitive examinations.[190] Oxbridge was the cradle in alliance with 100 public schools for this new aristocracy of intellect and character, which several Treasury clerks represented.[191] According to some historians, 3/4 of the Administrative Class's candidates were the product of ancient universities in the late nineteenth century.[192] Moreover, the cadet branches and the lower segments of the aristocracy—traditionally connected with the old professions from the eighteenth century—increasingly married people from the middle classes or plutocracy, and engaged in commerce, finance, and the new professions, as we shall see in Chapters 3 and 4. The aristocracy's new professional and business preferences opened the door for new blood to enter into the service. Thus, the rise of the middle classes in the Administrative Class was not only the product of Civil Service reform but also of broader societal changes in upper-class education and aristocratic perceptions of finance, commerce, and the new professions in a growing service and imperial economy. The aristocracy became less dependent on the state as a provider for their younger sons—the inverse of what was occurring in Prussia and Russia.[193]

The impacts of open competition and 'professional patronage' on the Treasury therefore confirms two narratives regarding elite formation in modern Britain. First, a new cohort of middle-class civil servants replaced the 'patrician professionals' by the early twentieth century.[194] In the Treasury, this social renewal indeed happened at the beginning of the career but not in the high-ranking positions attained later in life which remained aristocratic, as I will show in Chapter 3.

[190] Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men*, p. 4; W. Whyte, 'The Intellectual Aristocracy Revisited', *JVC*, 10/1 (2005), pp. 21; D. Lancien, 'Balliol College, Oxford (fin du XIXe siècle–1914): une élite de *gentlemen*', in D. Lancien and M. De Saint Martin (eds.), *Anciennes et nouvelles aristocraties de 1880 à nos jours* (Paris, 2007), pp. 139–54.
[191] Whyte, 'The Intellectual Aristocracy', p. 21.
[192] Whyte, 'The Intellectual Aristocracy', p. 24.
[193] Spring, 'Landed Elites Compared', p. 9.
[194] Cannadine, *Decline and Fall*, ch. 6.

Second, public schools and Oxbridge remained central to the development of the new Administrative Class's character, masculine ideals, and ethos of devotion to the public service. Viewed from a European perspective, Britain offers an interesting case study of the renewal of its governing classes in the late nineteenth century. In contrast to the aristocracy's fate in France, Britain's aristocracy remained powerful until the Great War.[195] Yet its decline came slowly but surely. The public schools and Oxbridge became pivotal institutions for the fusion of the upper classes and the middle classes around gentlemanly values, professionalism, muscular manliness, and a shared public service ethos.[196] This amalgamation may have averted the advent of a dissident and revolutionary intelligentsia akin to those which formed in France, Russia, Germany, and Italy.[197] Civil Service reforms did not favour the social mobility of the lower middle classes as in the French administration.[198] In fact, the formation of the new Administrative Class was the result of university, public school, and Civil Service reformers working together from the 1850s to renovate and re-legitimize the governing classes.

By establishing 'professional patronage' and open competition, the Treasury sought to identify the brightest male youth, expecting thereby to guarantee a high standard of professionalism in the public service. Reforms fulfilled Trevelyan's mid-nineteenth-century ambitions of recruiting from the highly educated classes of the country without downgrading the social standing of the service. From 1870 to 1914, Eton lost ground. In fact, the new institutions listed reflected the expansion of the public school system after the Clarendon Commission of 1864. Oxbridge, however, continued to provide young men to fill Treasury Administrative-Class clerkships. A sample of Treasury clerks appointed through open competition from 1899 to 1912 illustrates their degree of excellence compared with those selected in other public departments.[199]

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[195] T. Zeldin, 'France', in Spring, *European Landed Elites*, pp. 127–39.
[196] Lancien, 'Balliol College'; Robert Anderson, 'Aristocratic Values and Elite Education in Britain and France', in Lancien and de Saint, *Anciennes et Nouvelles aristocraties*, pp. 261–78 .
[197] Annan, 'The Intellectual Aristocracy', pp. 285–6.
[198] Robert Anderson, 'Aristocratic Values and Elite Education in Britain and France', in Lancien and De Saint, *Anciennes et Nouvelles Aristocraties*, pp. 261–78.
[199] I have used the CSC annual reports cited earlier in this chapter.

All of the six young men attended Westminster, Malborough, Merchant Taylor's School, and Rugby; five of them graduated from Oxford and one from Cambridge. Four men reached the top of the list of the twenty to thirty Administrative Class vacancies in the Home Service; the remaining two ranked no lower than fifth place. Frederic Leith-Ross, a future financial expert and private secretary to Prime Minister Herbert Asquith, was one of these extraordinary men. In 1909, Leith-Ross came top of his class with a total mark of 3,571. He had graduated from Merchant Taylor's School and Balliol College, Oxford, where his reputation preceded him: winner of the Warner and Jenkyns Exhibitions, honourable mention for the Hertford Scholarship, First-Class in Moderations, and First-Class in Classical Literature and Humanities.[200] In addition to the brothers Theodore and Charles Llewellyn Davies, other young men from the middle classes graduated from Oxbridge with honours, scholarships, and prizes.[201]

The Treasury became a centre of power of the young 'intellectual aristocracy' in Victorian Britain, who prided itself of its upper-middle class backgrounds and intellectual achievements.[202] The Trinity College, Cambridge, graduate Saxon Sydney-Turner became a member of the Bloomsbury group, befriending Virginia Woolf, Vanessa Bell and Clive Bell, and enjoying a brief romantic relationship with the artist Barbara Hiles *(Figure 2.13* and *Figure 2.14).* Competent men like Sydney-Turner later rose to the Civil Service's highest ranks as the twentieth century progressed. Contemporaries thought this boded well for the home and imperial administrations.[203] In 1889, *The Pall Gazette* contended that open competition had produced many distinguished men who left their mark upon India.[204] In 1912, Sir Robert Chalmers (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury) boasted about the cohorts of civil servants raised in public schools and Oxbridge in front of the MacDonnell Commission: 'Yes. I do not think we can get better men than are coming

[200] *Fifty-Fourth Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners, with Appendices* (London, 1910), p. iii;
[201] An old Marlburian and member of the scholarly family headed by Reverend John Llewelyn Davies, Theodore had been elected fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and recipient of a Bell Scholarship and the Woddington University Scholarship. See 'Mr Theodore Llewelyn Davies', *North Devon Gazette* (10 June 1902), p. 2. The list also included Sir Robert Chalmers, Sir Henry Babington Smith, and Saxon Sydney-Turner. See Roseveare, *The Treasury*, p. 179.
[202] Whyte, 'The Intellectual Aristocracy', p. 18;
[203] J. A. Kempe, *Reminiscences of an Old Civil Servant 1846–1927* (London, 1928), p. 36.
[204] 'The Choice of a Profession: The Civil Service Indian', *PMG* (19 December 1889), p. 1.

in now.'[205] The Treasury's prestige and the envy it stimulated among other public departments were not unfounded. By the turn of the century, newspapers, MPs, and Royal commissions noticed this predominance.[206]

Figure 2.13. Saxon Sydney-Turner, Clive Bell, Virginia Stephen and Julian Bell at Studland in Dorset, 1910: Unknown photographer, private collection.

Figure 2.14. Saxon Arnold Sydney-Turner and Barbara Bagenal (née Hiles), 1917: Ray Strachey, National Portrait Gallery, Photographs Collection.

[205] *Appendix to First Report*, p. 93.
[206] See, for example, 'The Plums for our Friends', *The Review of Reviews* (October 1912), p. 445.

After 1870, Royal commissioners, high-ranking civil servants, and university dons still conceived training intellect and character as the Administrative Class's educational goals.[207] The mathematical tripos and a liberal education (History and Classics) prevailed over the growing scientific Germanophilia at Oxbridge or commercial and political science degrees.[208] The British case differed from Prussia where civil servants were trained in law.[209] Manly notions of diligence, industry, self-restraint, and competition persisted as the public service's ethos in youth. Yet this pan-British type of masculinity rooted in Oxbridge was neither monolithic nor static: regional, religious, class, family, and individual experiences gave it a plural character.[210] The boys' correspondence and their memoirs also reveal meaningful distinctions between different public schools and Oxbridge colleges.[211]

The period from 1876 until the Great War was also characterized by new masculine hierarchies at the bottom of Treasury careers. While gender historians have usually focused on the male/female clerical divergence from the 1870s, distinctions between young men also differentiated this period. The Northcote–Trevelyan report's proposal to divide clerical work into intellectual and mechanical labour evolved to set novel class and masculine boundaries in youth. To cope with the growth of administrative business, achieve efficiency, and improve the prospects of the highly educated classes, the post-1876 clerical gradations distinguished between 'administrative', 'clerical', and 'routine' work'.[212] This rationalization shifted routine work to boys (ages 14–18) coming from the lower-middle classes and lower classes instead of giving it to those graduating from Oxbridge. In 1912, The MacDonnell Commission reported that Second-Division Clerks (ages 17–20) furnished the largest and most widely spread clerical force in the service with

[207] *Appendix to First Report*, p. 28; Annan, 'The Intellectual Aristocracy', pp. 250–1.
[208] 'The Methods of the Civil Service. Antiquated Ideas and Doubtful Competence (From a Correspondent)', *PMG* (10 August 1900), p. 6; Joyce, *The State of Freedom*, p. 224. For the germanophilia, see De Bellaigue, 'Educational Homes', p. 91.
[209] Spring, 'Landed Elites Compared', p. 17.
[210] B. Griffin, 'Hegemonic Masculinity as Historical Problem', *G&H*, 30/2 (2018), pp. 382–4.
[211] Kilbracken, *Reminiscences of Lord*, pp. 44–5.
[212] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1887–1907', pp. 226–8.

4,000 clerks in sixty departments, followed by 1,200 intermediate clerks in six departments. Their professional prospects differed from those in the intellectual grade due to their lack of some masculine qualities, manners, and education. Hundreds of boy clerks faced limited predicaments because they skipped secondary school to enter the Civil Service and thus did not receive the formative influences that could mould and develop their character for the Administrative Class. Only 25 per cent of them managed to ascend to Second-Division clerkships, leaving unsuccessful boys and their families in unfavourable situations.[213] Boys and young men mobilized for improved salaries and prospects through associations representing their life-cycle and class interests, such as the Second-Division Clerks Association and the Boy Clerks Association.[214]

Among other changes, the expansion of financial business saw the appointment of female typists through 'professional patronage' in the late nineteenth century. Whereas reformers conceived efficiency along male lines in the 1850s, Treasury officials believed three decades later that middle-class women could make the public service more efficient. In 1888, Sir Reginald Welby (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury) consulted the principal clerks of the department about the introduction of female typists. They unanimously recommended female employment because they conceived women to be more efficient, less troublesome, and cheaper than male labour, given the experience other public departments.[215] Welby began to employ two women clerks to work at the typewriter in the Treasury.[216] Over time, their numbers grew but remained paltry by comparison with the thousands of female typists employed in the Post Office and the Inland Revenue.[217] Gender differences with men manifested in inferior wages (a lower rate per week than boy clerks aged 14) and spatial segregation in conformity with ideas about feminine propriety while maintaining a large, efficient, and cost-effective supply of mechanical labour.[218] Welby established

[213] *Fourth Report of the Commissioners* (London, 1914), pp. 31–40.
[214] *Fourth Report of the Commissioners*, p. 2.
[215] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1887–1907', pp. 60–3. For the emasculation of male clerical work, see C. Keep, 'The Cultural Work of the Type-Writer Girl', *VS*, 40/3 (1997), p. 401.
[216] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1887–1907', p. 64.
[217] The Treasury appointed one or two annually. For female work, see Sutherland, *In Search*, p. 42.
[218] Keep, 'The Cultural', p. 412.

this system in the Treasury in 1889, in preparation for the arrival of Miss Deacon and Miss Mitchell from the Inland Revenue.[219] His successors maintained it: Sir George Murray (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, 1903–09), for example, declared to the MacDonnell Commission that uniting gendered working spaces would entail an untimely overhaul of public departments.[220]

Masculine conceptions of female labour, however, are only one side of the equation in understanding gender status in the Civil Service. Newspaper articles highlighted the independence and glamour of this 'new woman' to counter male fears of emasculation, the dissolution of the family, or the moral decay of the nation.[221] Female typists like Winifred Fryers, who came from the provincial middle classes, may have conceived their Treasury position as liberating, modern, and even satisfying.[222]

Conclusion

This chapter explored how reforms restructured youthful Civil Service appointments over the nineteenth century. By looking at the Treasury, it offered a new conceptualization of patronage specific to the British state. Rather than disappearing or gradually declining, patronage developed into a more bureaucratized set of practices subject to examinations, Treasury control, and CSC certificates. Administrative and socio-cultural factors explain why it endured under this new guise. The coexistence of 'professional patronage' with open competition reveals a multifaceted image of the modern British state. Open competition was successfully implemented in the young clerical grades, but variations across and within departments challenge its mythical triumph in the whole service. The concept of 'professional patronage' may be relevant for rethinking the development of nineteenth-century European states undergoing similar processes of professionalization and bureaucratization.

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[219] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1887–1907', p. 64.
[220] *Appendix to First Report*, p. 84.
[221] Keep, 'The Cultural Work', pp. 406–12.
[222] Winifred R. Fryers, 1901, EWSC, RG13, P. 1222, fo. 115, p. 38.

The chapter has also shown that the Civil Service's professionalization restructured the interplay between state and society. Five outcomes are worth mentioning. First, establishing merit so as to justify appointment became increasingly associated with examinations in youth. Civil Service reform reinforced the significance of character in public office and demarcated new limits of age for youth. Second, the central state reinforced the professionalization of British society by the ways in which it cooperated with the medical profession and educational institutions. Similarly, the examination craze led to new degrees of professionalization. By the early twentieth century, tutors, training colleges, and manuals for the use of applicants, parents, and guardians had spread all over Britain. Third, examinations changed life-cycle expectations and the structures of daily life. Career advancement and financial independence depended on boys' success in exams instead of on the head of the family and social connections. Victorian families equipped their young men with the education to succeed in their careers, but they could no longer assist their offspring's entry into the Civil Service under open competition. Fourth, the division between mechanical and intellectual labour created new clerical grades leading to the formation in youth of diverse masculinities rooted in class, education, and work. Finally, at the beginning of the career, the Treasury was transformed from an aristocratic bastion into a middle-class one connected with the 'intellectual aristocracy' These new interconnections between private and public spheres differentiated the development of the British central state from other state-formation processes in Europe and the Americas.

For young men, taking up a position in the Treasury was the first step in a career structured by middle-life realities and expectations. As they aged, Treasury men experienced individual and family ambitions unknown in their youth. George William Hervey, the nineteen-year-old man we encountered at the beginning of this chapter, felt excited at the news that he would join his cousin, Charles Fremantle, at the Treasury. How could he fulfil his life's ambitions and manhood in the Treasury? How could other Treasury clerks live up to the status expectations of being an aristocratic younger son?

PART TWO: MIDDLE LIFE

Chapter 3. The Making of a New Administrative Elite: Promotions, Marriages, and Honours in the Treasury, c. 1848–1914

Introduction

The years 1864–65 were some of the most important in the life of Treasury clerk, Charles Fremantle. His education at Eton and Oxford was almost a decade distant. In middle life, Charles faced new expectations and realities. He had risen in his career since his appointment in 1853, notably as private secretary to successive patronage secretaries to the Treasury.[1] But his professional achievements were only one aspect of his life. We find Charles house hunting in Kensington, buying carpets, and attending weddings. His engagement letters with Sophia Smith, daughter of Abel Smith of Woodhall Park, illustrate his longing for love and domesticity. This path was not paved with roses; Charles experienced first-hand how a cold mother-in-law could complicate matters. 'Mummy is to see the latter this afternoon at Abel's suggestion, & disabuse her mind of the idea that I am looked upon as a black sheep in the family,' Charles told his father.[2] The Fremantles' and Smiths' marital negotiations epitomize the instability of status and masculine identity for a middle-aged aristocrat. While his title was that of 'clerk', Charles's social life diverged significantly from the contemporary stereotypes of the lower-middle class Victorian clerk. Instead, as a Treasury clerk, he epitomized the new administrative elite then emerging. How did Civil Service reform, marriages, and honours promote these new social hierarchies? And what insights can an examination of middle life in the Civil Service give us into the relationships between the aristocracy and the professions in the late nineteenth century?

From 1848 to 1914, Civil Service reform, changing marriage strategies, and the distribution of honours changed middle life and career structures in the British Civil Service. A more

[1] 'Treasury Arrangement and Appointment Book, 1857–69', TNA, T 197/4, pp. 6–7, 225.
[2] 'Charles Fremantle to Thomas Fremantle', 25 June 1864, CBS, MS Fremantle, D/FR 92/5.

professional administrative elite rose to the higher ranks of the Treasury. The introduction of promotion by merit (1856) and the consolidation of clerical grades (1876), the marriage strategies adopted by the aristocrats who populated the Civil Service, and the creation of the civil division of the Order of the Bath (1847) renewed the demarcations of class and kinship in the British state and reinforced particular ideals of masculinity. Under public service ideals of professional merit that were increasingly regarded as more legitimate than the claims of aristocratic lineage and patronage, Treasury clerks from the aristocracy rose to the top positions in the department and other public establishments. Focusing on middle life helps us uncover not only that the title of clerk in the Victorian period covered a very wide range of positions but also the significant role played by class, the family, and rank in the formation of the modern British state. Moreover, it broadens our understanding of how contemporaries conceived merit in the late nineteenth century, enabling new distinctions of status, careers, and masculinities to emerge, rather than eradicating them.

This chapter explores middle life in the Treasury department from 1848 to 1914. It analyses this stage of the life cycle through the lens of promotions, marriages, and honours. The chapter argues that processes in bureaucratic promotions and honours systems enmeshed with familial networks to produce a particular administrative elite in the reformed Civil Service. These practices show a world of clerical Civil Service life not previously captured. The chapter uncovers how the myth of open competition concealed social connections, and the interplay of a range of social hierarchies interplaying within the service. It also demonstrates how the introduction of ideas of merit created new distinctions of status, public service, and masculinity. Approaching the Treasury through the lens of the life cycle, class, and gender thus provides a new and important dimension to our understanding of elite formation, and the ties between the aristocracy and the professions, and the evolution of the state in modern Britain.

Historians of Victorian Britain have made important contributions to our understanding of promotions and class in the Treasury and the Civil Service. Administrative history has improved

our knowledge of regulations, salaries, promotions, and prosopography of high-ranking civil servants.[3] Similarly, economic and social historians have illuminated key aspects of the languages of class, attitudes, practices, and ties among different classes, situating the British state within its broader social background.[4] This scholarship has tended to blend the Civil Service into the professions or into binary and tripartite socioeconomic categories. Recent research on the British state has illuminated the nexus between institutions, the life cycle, gender, and class in the nineteenth century, although the study of class structures and relationships in the Civil Service remains largely unexplored apart from a few exceptions.[5] This chapter departs from understanding class as an economic category, occupational category, or subjective identity because the sources I have analysed do not suggest a simple evolution from hierarchical and layered conceptions of rank to binary and tripartite categories of class. It suggests instead that, to understand the role of status and social structure in the lives of Treasury officials, we need to consider the position in the life cycle as a key dimension of class, and to understand the interrelation of different social hierarchies: occupational structures, honours systems, family lineage, and gender. Social standing was a relational phenomenon that rested on diverse and overlapping hierarchies but was also elastic and varied throughout the life cycle, as I mentioned in the Introduction. The interaction and tension between these different orders—which translated into practices, relationships, attitudes, emotions, and languages—imbued social position with a range of meanings and distinctions of wealth and power that structured the Civil Service and Victorian society.

This chapter therefore aims to contribute to the history of the state and class in Victorian Britain in two ways. First, it proposes a three-fold framework for the study of class in the British state relevant to middle-aged civil servants. In middle life, promotions, marriages, and honours

[3] See, for example, M. Wright, *Treasury Control of the Civil Service 1854–1874* (Oxford, 1969).
[4] See, among many, H. Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society: England since 1800* (London, 1996); D. Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (New York, 1999); P. J. Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain 1700–1850* (London/New York, 1995).
[5] These exceptions include: P. Joyce, *The State of Freedom: A Social History of the British State since 1800* (Cambridge, 2013); N. Daglish, 'Class and the Civil Service? The Case of the Board of Education Clerks, L. A. Selby-Bigge and the MacDonnell Commission', *History of Education*, 27/2 (1998), pp. 141–58.

gave different layers to class within the Civil Service and across the Empire. Each one of these practices presupposed its own social hierarchy: 1) an occupational gradation based on promotions, incomes, work, locality, education, age, and gender; 2) a moral and social order based on marriage; 3) an aristocratic rank based on the honours and titles conferred by the British monarchy.[6] This different but overlapping forms of status—encompassing practices, relationships, attitudes, emotions, and languages—interacted and in doing so structured the Civil Service. No single social hierarchy could account for the richness and complexity of class in Victorian Britain. Indeed, the interaction and tension between different orders (administrative gradations, familial lineages, and rank) imbued class with its meanings and distinctions of wealth and power. At the heart of these negotiated practices figured the gendered expectations of individuals and family formations.

Second, this chapter illuminates the connections between the aristocracy and the professions in the nineteenth century. Historians have usually explained the emergence of an increasingly middle-class administrative elite based on education and gender nurtured by the public schools and Oxbridge, as I mentioned in the Introduction. However, we still know very little about the practices, systems of values, and institutions shaping elite formation in middle life. In contrast to the mythical open competition studied in the previous chapter, the reform of promotions did not produce landmark events. Perhaps, this explains why historians of class tend to base their interpretations of the modern British state on open competition. However, this chapter shows that promotions were central to the rise and legitimation of a new administrative elite comprised of those aristocratic Treasury clerks who rose through the ranks of the Administrative Class. By building on recent scholarship on gender and family formations, it also reveals that this new administrative elite consolidated through the imbrication of marriages and honours with the British state. Family formations remained meaningful to the aristocracy due to their emotional and material support (loans, inheritances, cohabitation). Thus, the study of the links between the

[6] Religious affiliations and localities are significant markers of status and identity which are beyond the scope of my thesis. I will make, however, a few references *en passant* in this chapter.

aristocracy and the professions also illuminates how Victorian clerks—a social group which has usually been associated with the lower-middle classes—in fact comprised a wide-ranging .[7]

The first section shows how the reform of promotions and administrative gradations enabled the rise of aristocratic Treasury clerks to the higher grades of the department while ensuring the lower classes and female typists remained at the bottom. The second reveals how marriages and different family formations in the Treasury reinforced the existence of social and moral hierarchies within the department. Finally, the third section argues that the multiplication of honours in the Treasury, especially the Order of the Bath, created new hierarchies based on these honorifics distinctions.

3.1. Promotions in the Treasury, c. 1848–1914

This section explores the reform of promotions in the Treasury department over the nineteenth century. It argues that this change ensured the consolidation of an administrative elite from aristocratic backgrounds in the Civil Service. Promotions consolidated administrative hierarchies during this period rather than favouring the social mobility and professional advancement of Second-Division clerks and female typists. Promotion by merit played another key role in the department. It offered more attractive career ladders for the young Treasury clerks from the aristocracy and highly educated classes. Moreover, the reform of promotions engendered notions of professional merit in middle life differing from those created by competitive examinations in youth.

3.1.1. *Administrative gradations in the Treasury, 1848–1914*

The world of class in the nineteenth-century Treasury was a very complex one. To begin with, administrative hierarchies reflected diverse career structures, division of labour, and social backgrounds. On closer inspection, there were further subtler distinctions: age, sex, the nature of

[7] The bibliography is extensive. See, more recently, M. Heller, 'Work, Income and Stability: The Late Victorian and Edwardian London Male Clerk Revisited', *Business History*, 50/3 (2008), pp. 253–71.

work, permanent or temporal positions, and interdepartmental prestige. These differences between civil servants translated into diverse salaries, allowances, pensions, and promotions prospects.

The nature of administrative work inspired reflections about the efficiency, attractiveness, and division of labour of public office in the 1850s. In the early nineteenth century, several Treasury clerks manifested their dissatisfaction with their work patterns and slow career prospects.[8] This department became a focal point of deliberation for developing the Civil Service profession, as we saw in Chapter 1. Apart from Sir Charles Trevelyan (Assistant Secretary to the Treasury), Treasury clerks used industrial analogies, popular at the time in Victorian literary circles and published works, to express their distaste for their mechanical labour.[9] That is how George Boyd (Principal Clerk of the Second Division) remembered his early years in the Treasury in 1848: 'I can say from my own experience, that the first years I was in the office, when I did those duties myself, I did not understand what I was doing; I did my duty merely as a machine.'[10] Other Treasury clerks, such as Stevenson Blackwood, did not find their first years as junior clerks intellectually stimulating: 'It consisted in copying letters into a big book; and then, at the close of the day, folding the said letters, enclosing them in large envelopes, addressing them, and sealing them, regardless of cost, with an enormous weight of red sealing wax.'[11] The drudgery of copying described by Boyd and Blackwood, the lower salaries in comparison with those offered by commercial occupations, and the slow prospects of advancement for the highly educated and aristocratic classes were a cause of concern for mid-nineteenth-century reformers, as seen in Chapter 1.

[8] H. Roseveare, *The Treasury: The Evolution of a British Institution* (London, 1969), pp. 161–5.
[9] Notably, English writers Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881), John Ruskin (1819–1900), and William Morris (1834–1896).
[10] *Report from the Select Committee on Miscellaneous Expenditure; together with the Minutes of Evidence Taken before them* (London, 1848), p. 140.
[11] S. H. Montague, *Some Records of the Life of Stevenson Arthur Blackwood K.C.B. Compiled by a Friend and Edited by his Widow* (London, 1896), p. 31.

The division between intellectual and mechanical labour formulated by reformers in the 1850s strengthened the development of intradepartmental grades and careers. While certain departments grew more than others—notably, the Post Office, Inland Revenue, Admiralty and Customs—the Treasury remained mindful of the need to reduce its staff to achieve economy and efficiency. In 1821, thirty-eight persons holding office in the department received £42,9601 in total; in 1850, the same duties were performed by twenty-nine persons, who received £24,680 in total.[12] These figures remained relatively steady over time. In this context, the division of labour between intellectual and mechanical labour remained a cornerstone of the clerical grades in the Treasury. It created intradepartmental distinctions in work, salaries, and career structures that changed little. As we saw in Chapter 2, the Order in Council of 1876 acted as a mechanism of closure in the development of the Civil Service profession, dividing clerical work into two administrative grades: the Higher Division and the Lower Division; the former was in charge of more 'intellectual and administrative work', while the latter of 'mechanical and routine copying'. By 1890, the Higher Division turned into the Administrative Class; the Lower Division into a Clerical Class divided into four classes reflecting divisions of labour, salary, age, and educational standards (*Figure 3.1*).

[12] Roseveare, *The Treasury*.

Administrative Class	**22-25 (ages)**	**£190-1200/ year**	**University Education**	**Promotion to higher grades**
		Clerical Class		
Intermediate Class	**18-19 (ages)**	**Not recruited in the Treasury**	**Secondary School**	**Promotion to Administrative Class (Exceptional merit)**
Second Division Class	**17-20 (ages)**	**£120-500/ year**	**Secondary School**	**Promotion to Administrative Class (Exceptional merit)**
Abstractor Class	**16-17 (ages)**	**£120-180/ year**	**Secondary School**	**Promotion to Second Division Class (Open examination)**
Boy Class	**14-16 (ages)**	**14*s.*/week**	**Elementary School**	**Promotion to Abstractor Class (Open examination)**

Figure 3.1. Administrative gradation in the Civil Service, 1890–1914: *Fourth Report of the Commissioners* (London, 1914), pp. 29–34, 56–60; M. Wright, *Treasury Control of the Civil Service 1854–1874* (Oxford, 1969), p. 11; 'Treasury Arrangement and Appointment Book, 1887–1907', TNA, T 197/6, pp. 70-1.

The work of the Treasury's five divisions in charge of financial business had been performed by one permanent secretary, five principal clerks, and thirteen junior clerks from the 1870s.[13] The creation of the Registry branch in the department, on the other hand, congregated all the Second-Division clerks employed for routine copying, bookkeeping, registering letters, and indexing papers. Treasury clerks and Second-Division clerks were not only physically segregated in their working space but also followed divergent career ladders *(Table 3.1* and *Table 3.2)*. Other positions, such as accountants, messengers, and the law branch of the Treasury, had their own career structures which grew as the department took charged of public business from other departments, such as the County Courts and Elementary Teacher's Superannuation Act of 1898.[14]

[13] Roseveare, *The Treasury*, p. 211.
[14] 'Treasury Arrangement and Appointment Book, 1907–14', TNA, T 197/7, pp. 4–5.

By contrast, Treasury female typists possessed lesser prospects of promotion than men because of the marriage bar in place for women.[15]

Table 3.1. Administrative Class hierarchy in the Treasury, 1848–1914

Position	Salary	Annual Increase	Career Ladder
Permanent Secretary	£2,000–2,500	£50	None
Auditor of the Civil List	£1,500–2,000	£50	None
Principal Clerks	£1,000–1,200	£50	Permanent Secretary/Auditor Civil List
First-Class Clerk	£700–900	£25	Principal Clerk
Second-Class Clerk	£350–600	£20	First-Class Clerk
Third-Class Clerk	£100–250	£15	Second-Class Clerk

Sources: Wright, *Treasury Control*, p. 11; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1887–1907', p. 283.

Table 3.2. High-ranking Second-Division clerks in the Treasury Registry and Paper Room, 1898–1914

Position	Salary	Present Salary	Annual Increase
Superintendent	£400–500	£550	£20
Assistant to Parliamentary Clerk	£300–400	£370	£15
Clerk in Charge of Paper Room	£300–400	£500	£15
Clerk in Charge of Registry	£250–350	£385	£10
Clerks in Charge of Copying Branch	£250–350	£333	£10

Sources: 'Treasury Arrangement, 1887–1907', p. 250.

According to contemporary estimates, Treasury officials' salaries were high compared with those of other public departments, but we can classify them as sufficient to sustain a middle-class living.[16] Only those earning an annual salary above £1,000 (the permanent secretary and principal

[15] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1907–14', p. 39.

[16] *Papers Originally Printed in 1850 Respecting the Emoluments of Persons in the Permanent Employment of the Government as Compared with those of Persons in the Employment of Joint Stock Companies, Bankers, Merchants, &c.: and Three Papers on the Superannuation Question* (London, 1856), p. 5.

clerks) could be considered to have a comfortable income, though it did not make them rich.[17] By comparison, private companies, such as the Great Western Railway, East India Company, the Bank of England, and merchant houses, often offered better prospects of annual increments, bonuses, gratuities, and starting salaries. The permanent secretary to the Treasury had the highest income: he earned £2,000 rising to £2,500, which was comparable to the £2,400 of the secretary of the East India Company or the £2,000 of a managing director of the South Eastern Railway. These salaries, however, were low compared with the £6,000 of a Peninsular and Oriental Steam-Ship Company manager. The middle ranks of the Treasury—First-Class and Second-Class clerks—earned a similar amount to a chief registrar and cashier from the Great Western Railway. Treasury clerks therefore did not fare much better than average middle-class men working in finance, insurance, or railways. Many civil servants, including a few Treasury officials, found it hard to cope with their household and family expenses, falling into debts and pecuniary embarrassment.[18]

Administrative hierarchies were interdepartmental too. The Treasury had a reputation for increasing its powers of control and oversight, for being an aristocratic bastion, a point of contact with cabinet ministers, and a cradle for the administrative elite in the late nineteenth century.[19] Only the Foreign Office, mostly of aristocratic extraction as well, competed with the Treasury.[20] Sir Charles Trevelyan (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury) loathed the department's hubris.[21] Even though newspapers and civil servants used tripartite notions of class (middle classes, lower classes), these examples illustrate that administrative hierarchies were in fact more subtle. The Civil Service clerical world was differentiated by distinctions derived from religion, locality, and even the material culture of public departments.[22] The growth of Civil Service clubs, in particular, generated new ways of moulding civil servants' masculinities, sociability, and status irrespective of

[17] H. Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society: England since 1800* (London, 1996), pp. 29–30.
[18] 'Treasury Arrangement and Appointment Book, 1857–69', TNA, T 197/4, pp. 160–4.
[19] H. H. Asquith, *Memories and Reflections 1852–1927* (London, 1928), p. 255; 'Civil Service Dis-Appointments', *London Daily News* (28 March 1867), p. 3.
[20] R. Jones, *The Nineteenth-Century Foreign Office: An Administrative History* (London, 1971), pp. 61–2.
[21] 'Charles Trevelyan to William Gladstone', 28 April 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/33, p. 180.
[22] See, for example, 'Lockers in the Liverpool Customs', *CSG* (21 May 1853), p. 328.

their departmental provenance. In the 1860s, when these clubs and others were spreading, George Hamilton (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury) complained about how they were adding unnecessary layers to administrative hierarchies and distracting married men from their domestic life:

> To belong to it would probably be considered a mark of social position -not to belong to it of social inferiority -this objection has come to me from Gentlemen in the service of small means. It has been said to me- "We shall be looked down upon if we decline joining the Civil Service Club -and yet if we join it will be at the expense of our wives & families.[23]

So far, I have depicted a static picture of middle life and Civil Service structures. However, life trajectories and career structures changed over the nineteenth century. We cannot assume that rising in life was a universal aspiration or that civil servants shared it evenly. As historians, we must also be careful not to impose our contemporary understanding of social mobility on past lives and centuries. The evidence suggests that Treasury officials had varying expectations of climbing their career ladders, improving their salaries, and fulfilling their domestic duties. The Treasury clerk, John Kempe, recalled the hopes and ambitions of promotion as a subject of individual anxiety.[24] In middle life, Sir Charles Fremantle's letters to his father weighing possible candidates for promotions showed his concern for rising in his career.[25] Several Treasury Second-Division clerks wrote applications to improve their salaries over the course of the century.[26] More broadly, Second-Division clerks' associations mobilized in the press, public departments, and Parliament to achieve improvements in the career prospects.[27]

These middle-life expectations must be set in a broader social context. In Victorian Britain, novels, newspapers, and religious tracts created an environment of individual and collective expectations around self-improvement.[28] Avoiding downward social mobility was also one of the

[23] 'George Hamilton to W. G. Goodliffe', 13 September 1864, TNA, MS Hamilton, T 168/2 , p. 159.
[24] J. A. Kempe, *Reminiscences of an Old Civil Servant 1846–1927* (London, 1928), p. 179.
[25] 'Charles Fremantle to Thomas Fremantle', 15 June 1859, CBS, MS Fremantle, D/FR 92/4.
[26] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1846–57', TNA, T 197/3, pp. 145–8.
[27] 'Civil Service Writers', *Abergavenny Chronicle* (13 July 1872), p. 3.
[28] 'Civil Service III.', *Irish Times* (23 February 1875), p. 5.

many concerns of civil servants, including Treasury officials. The security and advancement of their large families created obligations which motivated them to improve their position. In 1867, the anonymous 'C.S.' wrote a letter addressed to the *Pall Mall Gazette* outlining his domestic duties: household consumption was rising alongside charitable obligations, his little girls developed into young ladies, and his boys asked for riding coats and imbibed dry sherry. The office entailed additional 'professional expenses', such as Civil Service clubs. His tragedy was that his income stood at the same figure for more than nine years, even though consumer prices and life expectations had grown. C.S. felt that with each passing year, all was going downhill: his position was, in many respects, worse than the clergyman's, a predicament of status he felt obliged to remedy:

> Because I am what Mr Dickens calls a "Tite Barnacle," and am supposed to partake largely of the loaves and fishes of the State (though I get only a crumb and a herring-bone), I am expected to give my hock and champagne, and to be waited upon by a butler, with Second-Division aides supplied by the confectioner, or enlisted from the greengrocer's shop.[29]

As these examples show, the prospects of promotions were set beyond individual social mobility. Aristocratic and upper-class civil servants situated their middle-life expectations in the context of familial relationships. Treasury clerks rarely declined to undertake new positions, suggesting they also embraced the prospects of professional and familial advancement.

3.1.2. *Treasury promotions, 1856–1914*

Promotions, understood as the passing from one administrative grade to a higher one, were central to the formation of hierarchical structures in the British Civil Service, including the Treasury.[30] Although they could be conceived as mechanisms to break down social barriers, they consolidated instead an administrative elite comprising those aristocratic Treasury clerks who rose in the Administrative Class. Promotions, therefore, suggest broader questions in the study of the state

[29] 'Correspondence: Fixed Incomes', *PMG* (31 October 1867), pp. 4–5 .
[30] *Fourth Report of the Commissioners* (London, 1914), p. 57.

and social mobility in Victorian Britain: how mobile were Treasury careers? Were reforms conducive to social mobility? And if merit really triumphed, as some contemporaries and later historians have claimed, what kind of meritocracy was it? These questions cannot be addressed from the perspectives of economists who study intergenerational mobility based on male occupations and salaries.[31] The following pages show how the Treasury clerks' social life interplayed with their professional merit to produce a new administrative elite in the late nineteenth century.

Treasury vacancies opened up space for promotions for several reasons. From 1848 to 1914, 271 promotions were made in the department. As *Table 3.3* shows, most vacancies were the product of internal promotions linked to the life course, adaptations to the rhythms of modern London, the expansion of the administrative elite, and government growth. A major trigger for the reorganization of the department was the retirement of Treasury officials, followed by their deaths and appointments to other public departments. Public business increased over time even though the department reduced its staff.[32] Consequently, several Treasury clerks broke down. The department adopted generous measures to relieve work-related illnesses, granting those who were sick leaves of absence until their recovery.[33] As was the case with other Victorian professionals, however, the pressure of public business caused a handful of middle-aged Treasury clerks, such as Edmund Plunkett and William Dalrymple-Hay, to break down permanently.[34] Resignations were uncommon. The few clerks who resigned without being ill—William Gurdon and Quintin Twiss—pursued careers in Parliament and the theatre with some success.[35] These facts suggest that Treasury clerks valued permanent careers, perhaps motivated by a mixture of governing-class

[31] C. De Bellaigue, 'Great Expectations? Childhood, Family, and Middle-Class Social Mobility in Nineteenth-Century England', *C&SH*, 16/1 (2019), p. 30.
[32] Roseveare, *The Treasury*, p. 177–81.
[33] See Chapter 4 for more detail on this subject.
[34] 'Treasury Arrangement and Appointment Book, 1869–87', TNA, T 197/5, p. 17; 'Treasury Arrangement and Appointment Book, 1887–1907', TNA, T 197/6, p. 337.
[35] 'Death of Mr. Quintin Twiss, The Canterbury Old Stage', *Whitstable Times and Herne Bay Herald* (11 August 1900), p. 2; 'Obituary. Mr. Gurdon', *Illustrated London News* (7 May 1881), p. 22.

values, pension prospects, improved salaries, and security of tenure.[36] Their careers contrasted with people who changed occupations, such as manufacturers, bankers, and tradesmen.[37]

Table 3.3 Promotions in the Treasury, 1848–1914

Reason for promotions	Number	Percentage
Internal promotions	117	43.1
Retirements	54	19.9
Appointments outside the department Deaths	39	14.3
N/A	20	7.3
Deaths	20	7.3
Exceptional Merit	11	4
Rearrangement of business	6	2.2
Resignations	4	1.4

Sources: 'Treasury Arrangement, 1846–69', TNA, T 197/3; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1857–69', TNA, T 197/4; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1869-87', TNA, T 197/5; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1887–1907', TNA, T 197/6; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1907–14', TNA, T 197/7.

Determining how the Treasury decided on promotions is a twofold problem. First, the department handled promotions within administrative channels and communicated its resolutions in a routine language of efficiency and merit. To this administrative bias, one must add that Treasury clerks' promotions were the outcome of unrecorded personal meetings between the permanent secretary and the principal clerks. From 1834 to 1914, this practice remained in force with minor changes. In 1912, Sir Robert Chalmers (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury) illustrated to the MacDonnell Commission (1912–14) how the principle worked in the department: 'Now we have a Promotion to make; "who, in your opinion, is the man to put forward?",' he asked the principal secretaries.[38] Chalmers claimed that the final recommendation rested with him, even though he took seriously their opinions. While most heads of public departments decided on

[36] In 1849, a Treasury minute also forbade public servants holding additional employments. See 'Treasury Arrangement, 1846–57', p. 82. In 1882, the Treasury restated in a new minute that the public was entitled to the whole time of its civil servants. See 'Government Officials and Public Companies', *PMG* (21 November 1882), p. 10.
[37] L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780–1850* (London, 2019), p. 249.
[38] Kempe, *Reminiscences of an Old*, pp. 142–3; *Appendix to First Report of the Commissioners. Minutes of Evidence, 26th March 1912–19th April 1912 with Appendices* (London, 1912), p. 42.

promotions, the last word in the Treasury rested with the permanent secretaries or the prime ministers.

Increasingly, the Treasury considered promotion by merit as the guideline to assess promotions in middle life. In 1854, the Northcote–Trevelyan report recommended this reform instead of seniority as the principle for the public office to elevate the standards and abolish outside patronage.[39] Many civil servants did rebel against the proposal as we have seen in Chapter 1. Contemporaries often conceptualized these changes in dichotomous terms (merit/seniority), but this opposition is misleading because it underestimates the existing degrees of professional merit in the public offices before the 1850s and equally underestimates the significance of seniority afterwards.[40] In 1854, Sir Charles Trevelyan (Assistant Secretary to the Treasury) dismissed the idea of introducing examinations to determine promotions except in rare cases. Rather, he stressed that experience, skill, and mature judgement—the legitimate fruits of seniority determined by immediate superiors—should be rewarded.[41] 'Young men should not be arrogant however proficient they are at school and be conscious of their deficiencies in the knowledge which their new position require,' Trevelyan wrote to A. N. Bather.[42] 'On the other hand, a Person who neglects his duty and allows his Juniors to become better qualified than himself, is properly passed over,' Trevelyan explained to Sir George Lewis in 1856.[43] The Treasury Minute of 1 October 1856 ensured that merit instead of seniority remained the principle for Treasury promotions. This regulation was based on precedents dating back to 1834, but it was a crucial step in enforcing merit

[39] 'Charles Trevelyan to William Anderson', 12 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/2, p. 66.
[40] For existence of merit pre-1800, see J. Brewer, 'Servants of the Public—Servants of the Crown: Officialdom of Eighteenth-Century English Central Government', in J. Brewer and E. Hellmuth (eds.), *Rethinking Leviathan: The Eighteenth-Century State in Britain and Germany* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 137–8.
[41] 'Charles Trevelyan to Stafford Northcote', 18 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/33, p. 76.
[42] 'Charles Trevelyan to A. N. Bather', 14 March 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan, p. 71.
[43] 'Charles Trevelyan to George Lewis', 3 October, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 4/6, p. 231.

as an integral part of careers and masculine norms at work.[44] 'Diligence', 'good conduct', 'ability', 'efficiency', and 'industry' became typical ideals associated with men receiving promotions.[45]

The Treasury took special care to reproduce this ideal publicly but also nurtured its values in its rising middle-aged staff. Young men were not finished products. A few cases of indiscipline reminded high-ranking Treasury clerks of their educational role.[46] The Treasury aimed to impart habits of industry and duty.[47] Sir Robert Chalmers (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury), one of the rising comets of the administrative elite, said to the MacDonnell Commission in 1912:

> Yes, I think my 25 years at the Treasury and my general experience there had been a training for it; but I happened personally to have taken a great deal of interest in certain branches of taxation; they formed my own interest at home, and that is not unknown to people.[48]

Another key part of this process is around the kinds of homosocial manliness that young men brought with them into the Civil Service. In middle life, high-ranking civil servants remained appreciative of the Oxbridge tutors recommendations' of young men's intellectual qualities and personal appearances.[49] The Treasury clerks' attachment to public schools and Oxbridge guided their cognitive and emotional frameworks for navigating the public service. This was key to the rise of an administrative elite. One way of doing this was through the practice of elite sports, such as hunting, fishing, cricket, and football. Charles Baillie-Hamilton, for example, represented the English and Civil Service football teams alongside Old Harrovians and Westminster boys.[50] Similarly, the collegiate tutorial system provided an analogy for the Treasury clerks' perception of official ties. The relationships between superiors and junior clerks are crucial to understanding

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[44] Since 1834, the Treasury advocated for promotion by merit. Early on, chief clerks wrote the returns of hours of attendance and confidential reports (certificates of efficiency) as to qualifications, character, and services. 'Treasury Arrangement, 1846–57', p. 94.
[45] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1857–69', p. 29; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1907–14', p. 8. The Treasury also drilled these masculine values into the Second-Division clerks. See, 'Treasury Arrangement, 1869–87', p. 278.
[46] See, for example, 'Treasury Arrangement, 1846–57', pp. 319–20.
[47] 'Charles Trevelyan to George Clerk', 23 May 1853, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/31, p. 188.
[48] *Appendix to First Report*, p. 48.
[49] L. Kilbracken, *Reminiscences of Lord Kilbracken* (London, 1931), p. 196.
[50] 'Death of Lady Harriet Baillie Hamilton', *Aberdeen Evening Express* (24 March 1884), p. 3; 'England v. Scotland', *Field* (12 March 1870), p. 240.

how the British state drilled its ideals of devotion to the public interest into the latter's malleable minds. These male ties were as important as family upbringing and an Oxbridge education to the propagation of this public service and masculine ethos. Lord Kilbracken fondly remembered William Brampton Gurdon, a graduate at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, as a well-drilled tutor in the Treasury able to transmit expectations of a high standard of work and devotion to the public interests: 'I consider myself very fortunate in having had Gurdon as my tutor in those early days.'[51]

In middle life, the reformed Treasury placed a greater emphasis on the clerks' character and professionalism as they progressed in their career and their departmental functions became more complex. The British state reinforced forms of symbolic capital already present in society and gave them a new moral legitimacy. The 'tact', 'intelligence', 'mature judgement', and 'trustworthyness' required in the higher ranks were nurtured through the interplay of an Oxbridge education, professional experiences, and social intercourse. High-ranking civil servants' memoirs remind us that these qualities were key not only to the administrative elite's professional advancement, but also to forge friendships in the service. Sir Edward Hamilton (Financial Secretary to the Treasury), for example, had a good character: he was described as 'industrious', 'painstaking', 'accurate', and 'obliging', as well as 'in every way pleasant to work with'. 'These qualities gained him many friends, and ultimately raised him to the Joint Secretaryship to the Treasury,' Lord Kilbracken remembered in his memoirs.[52]

Civil servants' memoirs and private correspondence suggests that Treasury secretaries decided on promotions based on a broader context of social connections. This is hardly surprising as the Treasury was a small department of around twenty-five Treasury clerks connected by kin ties, intermarriages, and friendships. High-ranking officials attended their colleagues' weddings, clubs, and dinner parties, travelled together on holidays; and even shared religious bonds in the

[51] Kilbracken, *Reminiscences of Lord*, p. 86.
[52] Kilbracken, *Reminiscences of Lord*, p. 121.

Treasury offices. 'Just interrupted by a young clerk in a neighbouring office who came in to say that words spoken to him last Thursday, and a tract then given to him, have let in such a light as never had before, and we have together knelt down and praised God,' told Stevenson Blackwood, the follower of Lord Shaftesbury' evangelical millenarism, to a friend in 1868.[53] Whereas the Treasury books highlighted a language of devotion to the public service, civil servants' memoirs and correspondence conceived administrative relationships as inseparable from social and emotional terms.[54]

In this context, patronage found fertile soil in Civil Service promotions. The Northcote Trevelyan report of 1854 had warned about the ongoing favouritism of immediate superiors towards certain clerks. The report underlined the pivotal role of character and manners rather than professional merit to secure promotions:

> A man may be timid and hesitating in manner, and on that account may be passed over as dull, in favour of someone by no means his superior in real worth, but having more address in recommending himself; or, on the other hand, the chief officer may have taken a particular fancy to some young man on his first entrance into the department, and may have thrown in his way specially opportunities of advancing himself, which others have not.[55]

Neither promotion by merit nor open competition seems to have abolished patronage in the later stages of the career. The charges against the 'Treasury ring'—those men who rose to the high-ranking positions in other public departments—made by the press had some validity in the late nineteenth century.[56] Sometimes, Treasury clerks used patronage to their families' advantage. John Kempe, a former clerk who rose to the office of Comptroller and Auditor-General, shamelessly noted how he promoted one of his nephews to Auditor for the Crown in Kenya.[57] Not every Treasury clerk was like Kempe, though. Sir Robert Chalmers (Permanent Secretary to the

[53] Montague, *Some Records*, pp. 379–80; Kempe, *Reminiscences of an Old*, p. 144.
[54] A. West, *Recollections, 1832–1886* (London, 1900), p. 54; Kempe, *Reminiscences of an Old*, pp. 36–7.
[55] *Report on the Organisation of the Permanent Civil Service, together with a Letter from the Reverend B. Jowett* (London, 1854), p. 19.
[56] Roseveare, *The Treasury*, p. 185.
[57] Kempe, *Reminiscences of an Old*, p. 224.

Treasury) declined applications for positions by saying he had become as a sparrow on the housetop.[58] However, patronage scandals were reported by the press throughout the late nineteenth century.[59] Select committees and Royal Commissions were set up to investigate these practices. By the turn of the century, MPs and newspapers still denounced the existence of patronage in promotions. Unlike open competition, the means by which promotions were conferred was unregulated across the Civil Service and usually did not require written examinations. This situation favoured the persistence of patronage-based promotion in the intermediate and higher ranks of the service. Even in 1912, Sir Robert Chalmers (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury) was seemingly ignorant of how promotions functioned as they were handled independently by each public department, except for the rare cases falling outside Schedule B of the Order in Council of 4 June 1870 which required Treasury approval and certificates of the Civil Service Commissioners.[60]

Nevertheless, promotions into the highest ranks of the Treasury were also based on professional merit and expertise. This was already the case before the 1850s.[61] Professional competence was taken seriously by the permanent secretaries to the Treasury, even though the political heads of the department—prime ministers and chancellors of the Exchequer—sometimes meddled with promotions. One of these instances was Sir Reginald Welby's (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury) recommendation of Stephen Spring-Rice over John Kempe for a vacant principal clerkship in the department. William Henry Smith (Chancellor of the Exchequer) managed to secure the position for his latter protégé. Welby later acknowledged to Kempe that he had exercised efficient control of the Revenue Departments and Post Office:

> I think you know that when Barrington retired, I recommended Spring Rice as his successor. I did so because I thought that I was bound to submit, not the fit man, but the

[58] Kempe, *Reminiscences of an Old*, p. 37.
[59] See, for example, 'Extraordinary Report and to Civil Service Promotions', *Torquay Times, and South Devon Advertiser* (29 January 1876), p. 3.
[60] *Appendix to First Report*, p. 42.
[61] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1846–57', pp. 93–4.

> fittest. I should not mention this now, except in order to tell you honestly how well I think you have filled the post for which Smith selected you.[62]

High-ranking Treasury clerks valued a wide experience of affairs as well as holding expertise in financial matters. Their obituaries, written by friends and relatives, highlighted their professional efficiency, merit, and knowledge. Eminent political figures trusted their expertise and counsel.[63] High-ranking Treasury clerks valued a general perspective of administration, which is why the Second-Class and First-Class clerks shifted periodically from one departmental division to another.[64] Sir Robert Chalmers (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury) expressed this vision to the MacDonnell Commission in 1912: 'I should feel that a man who had had a wide experience of affairs -as wide as he could- would be the sort of man I would rather put there than a man who had a very minute knowledge of certain branches and certain details of one, and one only, of the branches.'[65] This approach was part of a broader trend that subordinated experts to professional generalists before the First World War (1914–18).[66]

Similarly, adherence to particular forms of political economy and political affiliations played a part in Treasury promotions. Following the Gladstonian tradition that prevailed in the department under Sir Ralph Lingen's, Sir Reginald Welby's, and Sir Francis Mowatt's tenures, an ethos of fiscal probity was a signal of professional competence and soundness. The Prime Minister Herbert Asquith (1908–16) recalled that the older members of the staff had in their earlier days worked either under Gladstone's guidance or while his methods were still dominant.[67] Similarly, political connections may have played a part in promotions, even though the Treasury was the embodiment of impartiality and disinterested public service for many Victorians.[68] Sir Charles Freemantle's rising career, for example, was backed by his father's Conservative connections. The

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[62] Kempe, *Reminiscences of an Old*, pp. 142–3.
[63] A. West, *Private diaries of Rt. Hon. Sir Algernon West, G. C. B.* (London, 1899), p. 334.
[64] See, for example, 'Treasury Arrangement, 1846–57', p. 23.
[65] *Appendix to First Report*, p. 49.
[66] R. Macleod, 'Introduction', in R. MacLeod (ed.), *Government and Expertise: Specialists, Administrators and Professionals, 1860–1919* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 16–21.
[67] Asquith, *Memories and Reflections*, p. 252.
[68] Roseveare, *The Treasury*, p. 213–4.

press conceived his promotions as patronage appointments perpetuating 'old blood', in allusion to his father, Lord Cottesloe.[69] Yet, from the beginning, Fremantle's professional merit and character were highlighted by successive patronage secretaries who took him under their wing as private secretary.[70] Ultimately, this Eton and Oxford-educated, middle-aged man rose to the higher ranks of the Civil Service under Conservative governments. In 1866, Benjamin Disraeli (Chancellor of the Exchequer) acknowledged his merits and appointed him as his private secretary, two years before promoting him to the office of deputy-master and comptroller of the Royal Mint, where he retired after twenty-six years of service.[71]

3.1.3. *The formation of an administrative elite in the Treasury*

In the late nineteenth century, the rise of a new administrative elite in the Treasury—the clerks rising through the ranks of the Administrative Class—was the result of three factors. First, new regulations divided the public service into clerical grades reflecting attitudes to work and educational standards reproduced throughout the administration, Royal Commissions, and universities.[72] Second, Treasury clerks benefited from the support of friends and kin, as well as their appointment as private secretaries to prime ministers and chancellors of the Exchequer. Third, their upper-class backgrounds provided the right kind of manners and systems of values, notably their public school and Oxbridge education.

To begin with, the new meritocracy was restricted following division between the Administrative Class and the Clerical Class. Promotions from the latter to the former existed only in cases of 'exceptional merit'. By 1888, differences between these grades were significant. Aware of this situation, Second-Division clerks organized meetings, mobilized, and sent memorials to the

[69] 'Promotion by Merit', *PMG* (6 April 1869), p. 5.
[70] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1857–69', pp. 6–7, 255.
[71] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1857–69', p. 355a.
[72] Joyce, *The State of Freedom*, pp. 235–45.

Treasury to improve their lower salaries and contest their reduced chances of promotion.[73] By 1892, only ten men out of 3,000 had been promoted to the Administrative Class since 1876.[74] In the Treasury, I have counted only seven promotions in almost forty years.[75] 'No, they are not frequent if you take the whole number of Second-Division clerks; but I do not know that they were ever intended to be frequent,' Robert Chalmers (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury) said to the MacDonnell Commission in 1912.[76]

Under more legitimate public service ideals of merit, the upper-class and highly educated Treasury clerks remained, with few exceptions, at the top ranks of the Treasury. Promotion by merit allowed this administrative elite to rise more quickly through the departmental gradation than in the early nineteenth century.[77] Most high-ranking positions were filled with Treasury clerks from the department, except for accountants and solicitors who often came from outside the Civil Service.[78] Despite rhetorical claims about more objective forms of merit, the greatest beneficiaries of these reforms were aristocratic men like Charles Barrington, Sir George Murray, Sir Francis Mowatt, Sir Reginald Welby, and Charles Maude. The professional and social universe which separated the Administrative Class from the Second Division was significant by the early twentieth century. The Treasury may not be representative of changes in other public establishments but helps to substantiate an important dimension of our understanding of Civil Service reform: mid-nineteenth-century improvements and later developments secured the rise of the highly educated young men's career advancement. Instead of reducing these gaps for other clerks, promotion by merit and the division of clerical grades widened them. In this context, promotions were a key practice—though least commented on by historians—for the renewal of stratification in the

[73] See, for example, 'The Grievances of Civil Service Clerks', *PMG* (16 November 1882), p. 10. However, promotions varied in each department, some of them enabling more than others Second-Division Clerks to rise up the ladder. *Appendix to First Report*, p. 41.
[74] 'Civil Service Grievances', *PMG* (14 November 1892), p. 3.
[75] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1869–87'; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1887–1907', T 197/6; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1907–14'.
[76] *Appendix to First Report*, p. 94.
[77] Prof. Henry Roseveare shares the same opinion in *The Treasury*, p. 161–5.
[78] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1869–87'; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1887–1907', T 197/6; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1907–14'.

British state and nineteenth-century society. It ensured that those men with capacity, character, and connections rose to higher offices.

A second key element in the rise of the administrative elite was the support of friends and kin whether inherited at birth or cultivated in middle life. In the Treasury, at least nineteen families shared different kin ties: multigenerational, blood-related, and kin, as I mentioned in Chapter 2. How much this density of social ties influenced promotions is hard to tell, but private correspondence suggests that kin looked out for each other.[79]

Sir William Stephenson's multigenerational Treasury family illuminates the interplay of family strategies and career advancement among this administrative elite. He was the eldest son of General Sir Benjamin Stephenson, GCH, and Maria Rivers, daughter of Sir Peter Rivers, 1st baronet.[80] Since youth, Stephenson was well connected: he was a page of honour to George IV, was present at his coronation in 1820, and was the representative of three generations of Stephensons connected with the public offices.[81] These connections enabled William to enter the Treasury. In 1827, aged 16, he joined the department as private secretary to Prime Minister Robert Peel (1841–46). As I show in the next section, his father-in-law was pivotal in providing a basis for maintaining his status, educating his son Benjamin at Charterhouse, and rising in his career, at a moment when his assistant clerk salary (£300–500) did not give him the means to have that sort of independence.[82] In 1851, Stephenson, aged 39, resided at his father-in-law's house at 12 Bolton Row, St George Hanover Square, together with his wife, Julia (née Hamilton), and four daughters (ages 4–9), two brothers-in-law, and eleven servants.[83] That year, Stephenson was promoted for the second time to fill a First-Class clerkship in the financial division vacated by Charles Crafer, who replaced George Brande as Principal Clerk in charge of Colonial business.[84] In 1852, aged 40,

[79] Cecilia Hervey to Thomas Fremantle, 17 October 1865, CBS, MS Fremantle D/FR, 92/5.
[80] 'Death of Sir William Henry Stephenson, K.C.B.', *Middlesex and Buckinghamshire Advertiser* (5 March 1898), p. 4.
[81] 'Death of Sir William'.
[82] 'Benjamin C. Stephenson', 1851, EWSC, HO107, P1515, p. 9, fo. 420.
[83] 'Benjamin C. Stephenson'.
[84] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1846–57', p. 158.

Stephenson received an unusually fast promotion to Principal Clerk of the Financial Division following the retirement of Stephen Martin Leake. In less than a year, William's salary rose from £500 to £800. In this position, Stephenson managed to provide his son Benjamin, aged 17, with a nomination to a Treasury clerkship in 1857. Father and son shared Treasury offices for four years with another relative connected to the Stephenson family, Charles Rivers Wilson, their nephew and cousin.[85] In 1861, a year before leaving the Treasury for the chairmanship of the Inland Revenue, William had risen spectacularly in his career, his son had joined the Treasury, and he had inherited his father-in-law's house at St George Hanover Square.[86] Partly, Stephenson's success was due to the interplay of his professional merits and connections throughout middle life.

Treasury clerks developed friendships with prime ministers and chancellors of the Exchequer that were crucial to their career advancement. Their position as private secretaries to these influential men proved especially pivotal. Sir Algernon West, a friend of several Treasury clerks and brother-in-law of Charles Barrington, remembered that these private secretaryships were based on patronage networks.[87] Given the nature of the office, friendly relationships and 'strong affections' developed between the Treasury clerks and men such as William Gladstone or Benjamin Disraeli.[88] John Kempe became so close to Sir Stafford Northcote (Chancellor of the Exchequer) as his private secretary that he designated him his little boy's Godfather.[89] He remembered fondly William Henry Smith (Chancellor of the Exchequer), a person who, in Kempe's words, 'throughout my career was always a good friend to me.'[90] These ties were not uncommon among other high-ranking civil servants in other departments: the admiration and friendship for these political figures spark commentaries, biographical sketches, and memoirs.[91] It was a source of honour and satisfaction for Treasury clerks as much of developing qualities

[85] C. Rivers Wilson, *Chapters from my Official Life* (London, 1916), p. 3.
[86] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1846–57', p. 349.
[87] West, *Private Diaries*, pp. 225, 300.
[88] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1869–87', p. 428; Kilbracken, *Reminiscences of Lord*, p. 159.
[89] Kempe, *Reminiscences of an Old*, p 177.
[90] Kempe, *Reminiscences of an Old*, p 60.
[91] West, *Recollections*, pp. 300–12.

valuable for positions of greater responsibility at the higher ranks of the service, such as confidence, political training, experience in government, and gaining intimate connections with the most distinguished civil servants.[92] Several Treasury clerks, such as Sir George Murray, Sir John Kempe, and Sir Edward Hamilton, were promoted by prime ministers and chancellors of the Exchequer to the higher ranks of the department following spells as their private secretaries *(Appendix I)*.

Private secretaryships enabled Treasury clerks to rise to the highest positions in the Civil Service. In 1906, Sir George Kekewich (former Secretary to the Board of Education) referred to these positions as 'passport to success':

> I should like to see a Parliamentary return of a number of heads of offices who have, at one time or other, been private secretaries to Ministers. Jobbery will never be eliminated from the Civil Service, nor the most efficient men placed at its head, nor the way opened for merit from the very bottom to the top, until there is established a proper Board of Promotions.[93]

A peculiarity of this administrative elite was its systematic expansion to the higher positions of public departments superintended by the Treasury, notably those connected with revenue and finance. The frequency of promotion from Treasury offices to high-ranking positions in the Mint Department, the National Debt Office, the Inland Revenue, the Customs, and the Post Office was the result not only of personal relationships developed in the department but also the governments' and Treasury's intention to build a tradition of financial expertise flowing into its superintended establishments.[94] In the late nineteenth century, the Treasury developed a well-earned reputation for breeding professional men of financial ability and exporting them to other departments, although public opinion also showed reservations over their control and alleged

[92] West, *Recollections*, p. 179.
[93] 'Passport to Success in the Civil Service', *Preston Herald* (8 December 1906), p. 6.
[94] 'Treasury Clerks', *Bradford Observer* (31 March 1882), p. 4.

ability to preside over certain establishments against a backdrop of imperial expansion, party conflict, and changing political economy.[95]

A third factor that explains the consolidation of this peculiar administrative elite was their class background. It was a close-knit social group, brought together by upper-class and aristocratic ties, a manly Oxbridge and public-school education, and marriages, as I will show in the next section. These connections situated the career of Treasury clerks in a broader context of social relationships, which were central to their interactions, status, and professional identities.[96] The resulting manners, character, and habits of mind favoured their ascent to the top compared to the Second-Division Clerks, whose lower social backgrounds Treasury clerks believed made them unfit for the more intellectual business of the Administrative Class. 'That is true of classes and not true necessarily of all individuals either way. Of classes that is an essential truth, and it is the strain that makes one realize just that truth,' Sir George Murray (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, 1907–11) concluded in front of the MacDonnell Commission in 1912.[97] Treasury men such as John Kempe further publicly supported the rise of this administrative elite throughout the Civil Service by arguing that they were better placed and acquainted than all others with finance and the sinews of power.[98]

Herbert Murray, among other examples, helps to substantiate the argument that the rise of Treasury clerks outside the department was the product of the interplay of professional merit, connections, and class. Murray spent the first decade and a half of his Treasury career as a Third and Second-Class clerk. His rise to higher offices took place only after he had occupied the office of private secretary (1866–68) to the Prime Minister Lord Derby, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer Benjamin Disraeli in 1868. In 1870, Sir Ralph Lingen (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury) promoted him to a First-Class clerkship. What followed shortly after were the

[95] 'The Treasury and its Critics', *DT* (22 February 1900), p. 10; Roseveare, *The Treasury*, pp. 183–6.
[96] Roseveare, *The Treasury*, pp. 171–81.
[97] *Appendix to First Report*, p. 60.
[98] Kempe, *Reminiscences of an Old*, pp. 212–4.

promotions to higher offices of superintended departments by the Treasury: Treasury remembrancer and paymaster general in Ireland (1871–82), secretary to the Customs (1882–87), its deputy-chairman (1887–90), and its chairman (1890–94).[99] Murray's promotions, however, did not happen in a vacuum. It is perhaps an accident, but his appointment as private secretary to the Earl of Derby coincided with the death a year earlier of George Arbuthnot, the famous Auditor of the Civil List, and his father-in-law in 1859.[100] By 1866, Murray had shared the Treasury with relatives but also with friends from Eton, such as Stevenson Blackwood, Charles Ryan, Reginald Welby, and Charles Rivers Wilson, all part of the rising administrative elite. In his memoirs, Blackwood shows that these friendships continued long after they left school, suggesting its advantages over the life course: 'Eton has certainly been of immense advantage to me during my whole life. Never have I been in any scenes or circumstances, or in any parts of the world, where I have not met old Etonians, whom either I knew, or who knew me; and this is a great help in rubbing through life.'[101]

3.2. Marriages and family formations in the Treasury

From the late eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century, Treasury business passed through the hands of three successive generations of the Martin Leakes of Thorpe Hall, Essex. In middle life, this gentry family intertwined their professional careers with their social lives. The Martin Leakes were also concerned with marriages, households, and family formations. For Stephen Martin Leake, middle life structured his private and public life in new ways. On 5 February 1843, three years after rising to Chief Clerk in the Treasury, his daughter Susanna married Spencer Shelley, another Treasury clerk and youngest son of Sir John Shelley, 6th Baronet of Mitchel Grove, and Maresfield Park, Sussex.[102]

[99] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1846–57', p. 207; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1857–69', p. 236, 300; 'Sir Herbert Murray', *Bristol Times and Mirror* (12 March 1904), p. 8.
[100] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1857–69', p. 193.
[101] Montague, *Some Records*, pp. 18–9.
[102] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1846–57', pp. 1778; 'Marriages', *Bell's New Weekly Messenger* (5 February 1843), p. 7.

Treasury marital histories such as this one show that the development of professional careers and the British Civil Service took place against a broader background of family, gender, and class expectations. Social mobility was not merely experienced individually but also collectively. In middle life, Treasury clerks experienced class through the lens of family ties and material culture. By setting up their own home, young men and women expected in return love, respectability, independence, comfort, the fulfilment of religious and gender ideals, the persistence of their lineages, and the transmission of inheritances and trusts.[103] Aristocratic Treasury clerks also longed for married life, aware of its role in producing class distinction, independence, mutual support, and rights.

This section shows how marriage strategies further structured class and moral hierarchies in the Treasury. It examines how the administrative elite was dependent on adherence to particular familial models and practices to sustain their status in middle life. Treasury marital histories show that a portion of the aristocracy intermarried endogamously, but that other aristocrats married 'out' to fuse with new forms of wealth and the middle classes. The section also explores how these marriages translated into different lifestyles, households, and family formations that reinforced class distinctions. Intergenerational support had a dominant presence in these aspects of middle life. Thus, looking at Treasury marriages broadens our understanding of nineteenth-century clerks and uncovers another set of social ties and hierarchies in the modern British state.

3.2.1. *Treasury marriages and intermarriages*

Aristocratic Treasury clerks met their future wives at Society balls in London, country houses, and dinner parties, which had united the governing classes, provided an arena for political struggle and

[103] See, for example, A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, 1999); A. Kuper, *Incest & Influence: The Private Life of Bourgeois England* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 14–16; J. Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family, and Empire* (London, 2005), pp. 36; J. Habakkuk, *Marriage, Debt, and the Estates System: English Landownership, 1650–1950* (Oxford, 1994), ch. 3; M. Finn, 'Women, Consumption and Coverture in England, c. 1760–1860', *THJ*, 39/3 (1996), pp. 703–722; 'Men's Things: Masculine Possession in the Consumer Revolution', *SH*, 25/2 (2000), pp. 133–55.

patronage, and acted as a marriage market for the reproduction of family alliances.[104] Treasury clerks remembered how friends congratulated them for their engagements.[105] It was a happy time. But the road to manhood was not always a fairy tale for some of them. Families meddled in these negotiations of love, status, and material resources. In 1847, Maurice Drummond eloped with Adelaide Lister, eldest daughter of the 2nd Lord Ribblesdale and Lady John Russell, second wife of Lord Russell, because the prime minister (his father-in-law) believed they were too young to marry. Newspapers registered this 'elopement in high life' and Lord Russell's disappointment in the whole affair: 'The Earl and Countess Grey were, with a small circle, dining with Lord and Lady John Russell; but the noble lord was so much affected that the party broke up shortly after they had assembled.'[106] In 1864, Charles Fremantle was seen by his future mother-in-law, Mrs Abel Smith, as a 'black sheep' for his religious views. This predicament almost ruined his engagement with his beloved Sophia of Woodhall Park, Hertfordshire *(Figure 3.2.)*. His mother and his brother-in-law played a pivotal role in changing Mrs Smith's mind: 'I had a very satisfactory & friendly interview with Abel this morning. He behaved like a man of the world & with great kindness, & is to let me know tonight what his mother says to my proposal, to be allowed an interview before giving it up for the present.'[107] During these negotiations, Treasury clerks' status was vulnerable and unstable, dependent on third parties. Occasionally, they also believed that God played an active force in forming these alliances. After his conversion, Stevenson Blackwood told a friend that God had intervened in his engagement with Harriet Montagu, the dowager Duchess of Manchester.[108] From his perspective, love and family were a blessing of God, the product of supernatural forces acting in the world.

[104] R. Mckibbin, *Classes and Cultures: England 1918–1951*, pp. 22–3; D. Spring, 'Landed Elites Compared', in D. Spring (ed.), *European Landed Elites in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore, 1977), p. 11.
[105] Montague, *Some Records*, p. 171.
[106] 'Elopement in High Life', *TG* (11 January 1847), p. 4.
[107] 'Charles Fremantle to Thomas Fremantle', 24 June 1864, CBS, MS Fremantle, D/FR 92/4.
[108] 'Death of Sir Stevenson A. Blackwood', *APJ* (4 October 1893), p. 3; Montague, *Some Records*, p. 190.

Figure 3.2. Woodhall Park, Hertfordshire, home of Sophia Fremantle (née Smith): 'Woodhall Park, Hertfordshire', https://www.countrylife.co.uk/architecture/woodhall-park-hertfordshire-exemplary-example-restoration-highlights-importance-colour-georgian-interiors-173803 (18 February 2018).

For this future administrative elite, marriage was an important step in manhood and a key marker of status in Victorian Britain.[109] Newspapers, for example, replicated a conception of class based on the lineage-family when discussing Treasury clerks' marriages.[110] Depending on the notoriety of the couple, marriage notes situated their middle-aged lives as part of 'high life' or members of 'ancient families'. One example, among many, is Sir Charles Rivers Wilson's marriage to Beatrice Mostyn on 9 November 1895. *The Morning Post* underlined their families' lineages and the select gathering of relations, friends, and presents. The newspaper notably highlighted Beatrice's pedigree: the daughter of the 6th Baron Vaux of Harrowden and the Honourable Mrs Mostyn, of Cadogan gardens. Rivers Wilson's wedding was small but attended by eminent people, such as Prince Poniatowsky, Lady Haliburton, Lord Rothschild, and his Treasury friends Sir Charles Freemantle, Sir Edward Hamilton, and Lord Welby.[111]

Marriages were also a marker of moral status for most Treasury officials regardless of their professional development. This surfaces more clearly when we contrast it with attitudes to bachelorhood. Newspapers represented the civil servant bachelor as living a life lacking in comfort,

[109] L. Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Society, Etiquette and the Season* (London, 1973), pp. 49–50.
[110] For the concept of lineage-families, see N. Tadmor, N. Tadmor, *Family & Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 73–89.
[111] 'Marriage of Sir C. Rivers Wilson and the Honourable Beatrice Mostyn', *Morning Post* (11 November 1895), p. 5.

subject to temptation, as neglecting family duties, and prone to leisure leading to low amusements, bars, unsuitable clothing, and slang company.[112] The married man, by contrast, was portrayed as a polite, dutiful, and domestic 'gentleman' who stayed away from music halls, brothels, and casinos. Other sources challenge these depictions of bachelorhood. But these moralized depictions of bachelorhood may have been one of the reasons—alongside love, family imperatives, the reproduction of life, material resources, and value systems—why Treasury officials walked down the aisle. From a sample of 110 Treasury officials active between 1846 to 1914, only eleven remained single.[113] This predominance is consistent with a Civil Service report of 1850 on 8,000 officers that stated that of every ten clerks, five were married at the age of 28, eight a decade later, nine two decades later, and eight remained married at the age of 58.[114]

From 1848 to 1914, the new administrative elite's marriages reflected the changing composition of the nineteenth-century British aristocracy. Treasury clerks' marital histories provide a lens through which to study the intermingling of sections of the professions with the peerage and the upper-middle classes. In many cases, Treasury clerks reinforced their aristocratic experiences by marrying women from similar backgrounds. One example, among many, is George William Hervey. He was the eldest son of Lord William Hervey, third son of the 1st Marquess of Bristol, and Cecilia Mary, the youngest daughter of Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Freemantle, GCB.[115] By marrying Emily Dora Pelham Clinton, daughter of Lord Charles Pelham Clinton, on 9 February 1881, he intertwined his aristocratic lineage with that of the duke of Newcastle.[116]

Not every Treasury clerk married into these privileged backgrounds. The marriage of Charles Barrington, grandson of the 2nd Earl Grey and the 5th Viscount Barrington, illustrates the fusing of the aristocracy with segments of the middle classes.[117] Barrington ended up marrying

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112 'The Daily Telegraph's Young Man', *PMG* (22 January 1869), p. 9.
113 Treasury bachelors: Francis Byron, Sir James Cole, Sir Edward Hamilton, Edward Harman, the brothers Charles and Theodore Llewelyn Davies, John Martin Leake, Francis Stephenson, Lord Welby, Christopher Puller, and George Geddes.
114 *Papers Originally*, p. 72.
115 'Death of Sir George Hervey', *Hendon & Finchley Times* (27 August 1915), p. 2.
116 'Births, Marriages, Deaths', *Essex Standard* (12 February 1881), p. 5.
117 'Death of Lady Caroline Barrington', *Leighton Buzzard Observer and Linslade Gazette* (4 May 1875), p. 2.

Mary Sellon, the middle-class daughter of Captain Gore Sellon from the 21st Bengal Native Infantry.[118] Her brothers were part of the English provincial middle classes: one was a silver smelting manager in Barton upon Irwell while another was a medical practitioner in Southampton.[119] Despite marrying Mary, Barrington still enjoyed a comfortable lifestyle, living in 13 Morpeth Mansions, London, with a parlour maid, housemaid, and cook *(Figure 3.3)*.[120]

Figure 3.3. Charles Barrington's former residence in 1901, 13 Morpeth Mansion, London: Photograph courtesy of Luis Gabriel Galán-Guerrero.

The marriage patterns and career paths of the administrative elite's offspring reveal the imbrication of the professional segments of the British aristocracy and the middle classes over the late nineteenth century. These pathways, once again, show variations between Treasury clerks. Some families fused with the 'intellectual aristocracy' of the country. Stephen Spring-Rice, a

[118] 'Mr C. G. Barrington', *EM* (24 April 1911), p. 8.
[119] 'Ernest Sellon', 1901, EWSC, RG13, P3658, fo. 46, p. 43; 'John W. G. Sellon', 101, EWSC, RG13, P1055, fo. 144, p. 27.
[120] 'Charles G. Barrington', 1901, EWSC, RG13, P95, fo. 126, p. 22.

grandson of the 1st Baron of Monteagle, may have married Julia Fitzgerald, daughter of Sir Peter Fitzgerald, 1st baronet, but part of his offspring married into the 'intellectual aristocracy' of the country.[121] One of his daughters married the third son of Charles Booth, the famous industrialist and social reformer.[122] Some Treasury clerks' offspring chose careers and occupations akin to the middle classes. John Kempe's daughters became college tutors and art students.[123] George William Hervey's sons pursued a life as farmers in Canada and as insurance clerks in London.[124] John Collier's children became architects, solicitors, and land agents.[125] Other Treasury clerks' descendants chose to remain in the Civil Service and the older professions, such as Roger Wilbraham's eldest son who was a captain in the South Lancashire Regiment.[126] This imbrication of the aristocracy and the middle classes, however, was only part of the picture. Treasury families also maintained their aristocratic ties through their siblings, daughters, and sons. A good example is Sir Charles Lister Ryan's eldest daughter, Madelaine, who married the Honourable Arthur Elliott (MP for Roxburghshire), second son of the 3rd Earl of Minto.[127]

By situating Treasury clerks in their social world, we also get insights into how the development of their careers relied on family ties. The narrative of the self-made man is not relevant to explaining how Treasury clerks rose to the higher ranks of the department and the Civil Service. These men often benefitted from family connections. Marriages sometimes improved their career prospects through the patronage networks they offered. The marriage of Maurice Drummond to Adelaide Lister, already mentioned in this chapter, allowed him to begin a career in the Treasury. The Drummond family was acquainted with Treasury business: Maurice's older

[121] 'Births, Marriages, and Deaths', *Islington Gazette* (11 September 1902), p. 3.
[122] N. Annan, 'The Intellectual Aristocracy', in J. H. Plumb (ed.), *Studies in Social History: A Tribute to G. M. Trevelyan* (London, 1955), p. 255.
[123] 'John A. Kempe', 1901, EWSC, RG13, P110, fo. 176, p. 19.
[124] 'George William Hervey', 1911, EWSC, RG14, P7168, s. 2.
[125] 'Robert W. Collier', 1881, EWSC, RG11, P1580, fo. 92, p. 3; 'Arthur Charles Collier', 1911, EWSC, RG14, P3208, s. 283.
[126] 'The Late Mr. Roger W. Wilbraham', *The Shrewsbury Chronicle* (29 January 1897), p. 6.
[127] 'Fashionable Marriage', *Dundee Evening Telegraph* (15 February 1888), p. 2.

brother, Edward, had served as a Treasury official in the early nineteenth century.[128] But it was his union with Adelaide which enabled Maurice to start a career in the public offices. In 1848, a year after marrying Adelaide, Lord Russell, his father-in-law, nominated Maurice to a Treasury clerkship.[129]

Another example that suggests the significance of marriages for Treasury clerks' professional development is the career of Richard Mills. In 1863, he married Alice Anderson, the daughter of Mary Whiteside of Frognal, Hampstead, and Sir William Anderson, Principal Clerk of the Finance Division (1854–65) and Auditor of the Civil List (1865–67) in the Treasury, who became Assistant Comptroller and Auditor of the Exchequer and Audit Department (1867–72).[130] Whether Anderson was acquainted with Mills or his family beforehand remains unclear, but his recommendation to Prime Minister Lord Palmerston proved successful in 1855.[131] Mills worked under Anderson's supervision for nine years, four of them as his son-in-law. His career progressed rapidly under Anderson's wing. During that time, he managed to secure for his younger brother, Edwin, a Second-Division clerkship in the Treasury.[132] In 1859, Mills was promoted to Accountant (1859–72) in the Finance Division, chaired by Anderson.[133] Like his father-in-law, he became part of the new administrative elite and their careers mirrored each other. Mills also became Assistant Comptroller and Auditor of the Audit Department (1888–96) and rose to Comptroller of the Exchequer and Auditor General of Public Accounts (1896–1900).[134] Additionally, he received the Companionship of the Order of the Bath (CB) in 1893 and became a Knight Commander (KCB) in 1901.[135] The two men remained close until his father-in-law's death. Mill was one of the

[128] J. A. Hamilton, 'Drummond, Edward (1792–1843)', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8064 (23 September 2004).
[129] 'The Late Mr Maurice Drummond, C.B.', *HHE* (23 May 1891), p. 3.
[130] 'Deaths', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* (5 September 1897), p. 6.
[131] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1846–57', p. 283.
[132] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1846–57', p. 353.
[133] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1846–57', p. 54; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1857–69', pp. 196–8.
[134] 'Deaths', *Kent & Sussex Courier* (23 April 1920), p. 7; 'Death of Sir R. Mills', *Surrey Mirror* (14 December 1906), p. 5.
[135] 'Sir Richard Mills, K.C.B.', *Clifton Society* (13 December 1906), p. 6.

executors of his will: Anderson left his property as a trust in equal shares for the joint benefit of his son William and Alice, Mill's wife.[136]

Other marital histories of this administrative elite show that sections of the modern British state remained entrenched in familial networks. In small departments like the Treasury, professional ties overlapped with family ones. The close-knit social world that its clerks shared and inhabited sometimes became so intimate that six intermarriages took place over the nineteenth century *(Appendix J)*. Like the families who formed an 'intellectual aristocracy', the new administrative elite also had clusters of familial networks within and across departments. Step-fathers and brothers-in-law shared Treasury desks for several years. The Arbuthnot family, for example, married two daughters to Treasury clerks. George Arbuthnot, the famous Auditor of the Civil List, married his daughter Augusta to Vernon Delves-Broughton.[137] Similarly, Herbert Murray married Charlotte Arbuthnot, daughter of Charles Arbuthnot, once patronage secretary to the Treasury, and cousin to George Arbuthnot.[138] By marrying Charlotte, Murray became related to the Arbuthnots, one of the most important Treasury families in the nineteenth century. Intermarriages in the Treasury are significant in indicating how the administrative elite cultivated kinship and professional ties.

This level of detailed information on Treasury clerks' marital histories can be recovered because their elite status meant that their alliances were well-documented. In contrast, it is harder to find information about lower-middle class Second-Division clerks and messengers in newspapers, memoirs, and official papers. The censuses do not allow us to easily trace their wives' backgrounds once they adopted their married surname. Presumably, these men married into families of similar social backgrounds, but we need more research on this topic. Yet, there is one indication of their social standing: their wives were not recorded as holding a registered occupation

[136] 'Wills and Bequests', *English Lakes Visitor* (16 October 1897), p. 7.
[137] 'Vernon D. Broughton', 1871, EWSC, RG10, P861, fo. 97, p. 27; 'George Hamilton to William Gladstone', 9 August 1865, TNA, MS Hamilton, T 168/2, p. 286.
[138] 'Sir Herbert Murray', *Bristol Times and Mirror* (12 March 1904), p. 8.

or profession in the census. Whether this apparent leisured status reflected reality is hard to say, but this would at least suggest that Treasury officials aspired to the middle-class expectations of domestic life.[139]

3.2.2. *Treasury neighbourhoods and lifestyles*

Creating an independent home was only the initial expression of class in married life. The administrative elite's houses and neighbourhoods expressed further differences in material culture, sociability, and domesticity.

Most Treasury clerks lived in exclusive London districts, suburbs, and country houses. Marylebone, Kensington, and St George Hanover Square stood out as the three neighbourhoods they inhabited. Treasury clerks also lived in London suburbs and country houses. A few lucky ones inherited large estates, such as Sir William Gurdon, who after retiring from the Treasury to pursue a career in Parliament, lived with his wife, Eveline Camilla, the second daughter of the 5th Earl of Portsmouth, in Grundisburgh Hall before moving to Assington Hall *(Figure 3.4)*.[140] The Treasury clerks in the suburbs stretched from Sutton-at-Hone to Lewisham, but Surrey was the particularly favoured location even in retirement. Occasionally, blood-related Treasury clerks lived close to each other, as the Crafer brothers in Clapham, or sometimes inhabited the same household, as the Llewelyn Davies brothers in Westminster.[141] Most Treasury clerks' neighbours were part of the upper and middle classes—they were MPs, doctors, high-ranking civil servants, military officers, merchants, and businessmen.

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[139] For a wider perspective of Victorian Britain, see E. Higgs and A. Wilkinson, 'Women, Occupations and Work in the Victorian Censuses Revisited', *History Workshop Journal*, 81/1 (2016), pp. 17–23.
[140] 'William B. Gurdon', 1891, EWSC, RG12, P1474, fo. 97, p. 21; 'Sir William B. Gurdon', *Kilburn Times* (12 September 1902), p. 7.
[141] 'Edward [sic] T. Crafer', 1851, EWSC, HO107, P1576, fo. 428, p. 17; 'Charles L. Crafer', 1851, EWSC, HO107, P1576, fo. 109, p. 19; 'Charles L. Davies', 1901, EWSC, RG13, P91, fo. 15, p. 21.

Figure 3.4. Assington Hall, Suffolk, former property of the Gurdon family: Unknown photographer, 'Assington Hall', http://www.lostheritage.org.uk/houses/lh_suffolk_assingtonhall_info_gallery.html

While most Second-Division clerks and messengers also lived in London suburbs, they did not share neighbourhoods with the aristocratic Treasury clerks. The Second-Division clerks' domestic structure and living standards matched the lifestyles that historians and Edwardian novelists have attributed to the lower-middle classes. George Hamilton (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury) was not wide off the mark when he said that their residence in the suburbs was standard practice in the 1860s: 'If the middle classes of the Civil Service were analysed, I think it would be proved that they consist largely of married men, living with their families in the environs of London.'[142] Most Second-Division clerks were part of the two million people living in London suburbs by the turn of the century.[143] Victorian and Edwardian novels often railed against the dullness of suburban life, or its uneducated men and women, or its emasculating and alienating character.[144] But the Second-Division clerks' decision to establish their families in Islington, Croydon, or Richmond may substantiate the growing view that the prospects of suburban life were seen more positively by Victorians, as offering of healthy outdoor recreation, community, and

[142] 'George Hamilton to W. G. Goodliffe', 13 September 1864, TNA, MS Hamilton, T 168/2 , p. 157.
[143] S. Bilston, 'Your Vile Suburbs Can Offer Nothing but the Deadness of the Grave': The Stereotyping of Early Victorian Suburbia', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 41/4 (2013), pp. 621–42; D. Georgiou, 'Leisure in London's Suburbs, 1880–1939', *London Journal*, 39/3 (2014), pp. 175–86.
[144] Georgiou, 'Leisure in London's ', p. 177.

social activity.[145] The majority of messengers also inhabited the suburbs, although half of them in my sample (12/25) lived in Chelsea and Fulham.[146] These families moved across and within districts, which suggests that their houses were rented rather than owned. The Second-Division clerks' and messengers' status was also defined by sharing neighbourhoods with bakers, carpenters, commercial clerks, tailors, dressmakers, and teachers.

Intergenerational support was crucial to the new administrative elite's lifestyle in middle life. Treasury clerks' memoirs rarely comment on how they afforded holidays abroad, cruises, expensive education for their offspring and their spinster daughters, or living in Kensington and Belgravia. Overall, these significant expressions of class standing cannot be fully explained by their Treasury salaries (£100–1,200). Victorian censuses, private correspondence, and wills and bequests suggest that Treasury clerks received different forms of intergenerational support throughout middle life, which allowed them to sustain upper-class lifestyles. Before marrying Sophia Smith, Charles Fremantle seems to have received the support of his father, Sir Thomas Fremantle (Chairman of the Board of Customs). 'My dear Pappy' helped Charles, aged 29, cover the lease or freehold (£600–£3000) of 11 Beaufort Gardens, Kensington, to start his married life (*Figure 3.5).*[147] Other Treasury clerks inherited stock and railway shares, money, furniture, and real estate.[148] One of these lucky clerks was George Lisle Ryder. In his forties, he received a share of one of his uncle's £33,000 legacy and inherited his father's property in Kensington where he lived for the next twenty years *(Figure 3.6).*[149] Other common forms of intergenerational support enjoyed by this administrative elite included cohabitation with parents or in-laws. William Stephenson, for example, lived with his wife and four daughters at his father-in-law's house at 12 Bolton Row, St George Hanover Square. Years later, he inherited the house.[150]

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[145] Georgiou, 'Leisure in London's ', pp. 179–82.
[146] See, for example, 'Thomas Halligan', 1851, EWSC, HO107, P1473, fo. 154, p. 9.
[147] 'Charles Fremantle to Thomas Fremantle', 14 October 1864, CBS, MS Fremantle, D/FR 92/4.
[148] See, for example, 'Wills and Bequests', *Glasgow Herald* (4 April 1860), p. 3.
[149] 'Wills and Bequests', *Glasgow Evening Post* (13 August 1880), p. 2; 'Wills and Bequests', *Otley News and West Riding Advertiser* (6 July 1888), p. 6.
[150] 'Benjamin C. Stephenson', 1851, EWSC, HO107, P1515, fo. 420, p. 9.

Figure 3.5. Charles Fremantle's former home at 11 Beaufort Gardens in 1860s, Kensington: Photograph courtesy of Luis Gabriel Galán-Guerrero.

Figure 3.6. George Lisle Ryder's former home at 16 Palace Gardens, Kensington, in 1881: Photograph courtesy of Luis Gabriel Galán-Guerrero.

Treasury clerks engaged in a range of stereotypically masculine activities. In middle life, some continued to engage in aristocratic leisure. Roger Wilbraham, Algernon Turnor, Stevenson

Blackwood, and Richard Clement loved to hunt.[151] Other clerks enjoyed going fishing, though nobody seemed to have loved the sport as much as Charles Barrington, the author of the famous *Seventy Years' Fishing* (1906).[152] These aristocratic activities overlapped with other homosocial and gentlemanly ones. Many Treasury clerks enjoyed a night out for dinner in London.[153] The press described the bachelor, Reginald Welby, as a delightfully humorous, sociable, and 'clubbable' companion: 'He never married; and it may safely be said that the life of a well-to-do bachelor was one which suited him, and which on the whole he thoroughly enjoyed.'[154] Treasury clerks were therefore not only fathers but also sociable bachelors. Overall, they welcomed home visitors, friends, and family but equally paid them visits in London and the countryside.[155] Some Treasury clerks loved to entertain dinners without being church-goers, while others saw religious sociability as a foundation of their household. Stevenson Blackwood, for example, was an evangelical patriarch who organized Bible reading groups at home. He greeted neighbours, police officers, civil servants, and diverse families in his house, witnessing unexpected conversions such as Colonel Stepney's: 'Continually, as we were reading all together in the afternoon, and in the evening whilst talking together, we heard a suppressed, 'Lord Jesus, help me' coming from the old man's lips. I trust he was much impressed.'[156]

3.2.3. *Treasury households and family formations*

The analysis of Treasury officials' family formations is significant because it reveals other aspects of clerical life in Victorian society. Their census returns substantiate the recent scholarship arguing that the nuclear family was neither the predominant nor fixed social formation in the eighteenth

[151] See, for example, 'Fatal Accident when out with the Bicester Hounds', *The Bicester Herald* (31 October 1873), p. 2; Montague, *Some Records*, p. 32.
[152] 'The Late Mr C. G. Barrington', *The Field, the Country Gentleman's Newspaper* (29 April 1911), p. 821.
[153] Kempe, *Reminiscences of and Old*, p. 178.
[154] 'Lord Welby', *TM* (1 November 1915), p. 6.
[155] West, *Private Diaries*, p. 277.
[156] Montague, *Some Records*, pp. 204–5.

and nineteenth centuries.[157] Family structures changed over middle life, including those of the administrative elite. Life-cycle accidents, second marriages, gender norms and family duties, class insecurities, and economic realities shaped these changes. The study of family formations shows that intergenerational kinship ties remained significant for the security and survival of Treasury families. Instead of overriding them or detaching from them, the British Civil Service professionalized amid the lingering support and reproduction of Victorian families.

By examining the censuses of 110 Treasury officials over middle life (ages 30-60) between 1848 and 1914, I have identified five family formations characteristic of Treasury households, although these often changed over time:

1) *The conjugal childless*: sometimes shared with kin, servants or lodgers.
2) *The nuclear family*: without kin, servants or lodgers.
3) *The nuclear plus kin*: included kin, though no servants nor lodgers.
4) *The nuclear household*: included servants.
5) *The household family*: included kin, servants or/and lodgers.[158]

Treasury officials had large families to support. This explains their anxieties behind rising in career structures and improving their living standards. Yet Treasury clerks' predominant family type was the *nuclear household* rather than the *nuclear family*. This pattern kept relatively steady throughout their middle lives. Except for a few childless marriages, Treasury clerks lived with their wives, children, and servants. Victorian censuses may underreport illegitimate children, but the average of 4.8 children per marriage suggests that fertility rates did not decline among Treasury clerks as for other upper-class and middle-class Victorians.[159] Second-Division clerks and

[157] For criticisms of this historical interpretation, see N. Tadmor, 'Early Modern Kinship in the Long Run, Reflections, and Change', *Continuity and Change*, 25/1 (2010), pp. 15–32.
[158] This type of family resembles the eighteenth-century 'household family'. For this concept, see N. Tadmor, 'The Concept of the Household-Family in Eighteenth-Century England', *P&P*, 151 (1996), pp. 111–23.
[159] For the fertility decline, see S. Pooley, 'Parenthood, Child-rearing and Fertility in England, 1850–1914', *The History of the Family*, 18/1 (2013), p. 83.

messengers born before the 1850s also had large families to support: 4 and 4.4 children per marriage, respectively.

There were, however, significant class differences between the different kinds of Treasury officials. The Second-Division clerks and messengers' family formations suggest the changing fortunes of the lower middle classes, their inability to live on their own means, and the role of kinship networks in providing security and survival. The Second-Division clerks' families seem more independent than those of messengers. While the former rarely shared their households with other kin, the latter cohabited with parents, sisters, in-laws, nieces, uncles, and grandchildren.[160] More revealing is that messengers opened their houses to lodgers for additional income and company.[161]

The use of domestic service also uncovers differences in clerical lifestyle within the Treasury. It was another mark of status and domesticity for Victorian society.[162] Treasury clerks employed a large staff of middle-aged and old-aged domestic servants in their households for their comfort, childcare, and status: butlers, nurses, housemaids, lady's maids, charwomen, cooks, footmen, housekeepers, and kitchen maids, among others. Treasury clerks' life cycle shows that servants and governesses—usually on brief contractual relationships—were a constant presence characterizing their aristocratic domesticity. On average, Treasury clerks aged 30–40 employed 3.9 servants, aged 40–50 they recruited 4.8, and aged 50–60 they hired 4.4 servants. These figures suggest that children were a reliable indicator of domestic service, but they could not predict how many servants Treasury clerks employed. For example, Sir Francis Mowatt (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, 1895–1903), his wife, and their six children were looked after by eight servants in his 40s, ten servants in his 50s, and nine servants in his 60s, when most of his children had left the

[160] See, for example, 'Herbert Hambling', 1871, EWSC, RG10, P81, fo. 46, p. 28.
[161] The sum of conyugal childless families, nuclear conyugal kin, nuclear household, and household families accounted for 76 per cent (ages 30–40), 61.1 per cent (ages 40–50), and 53 per cent (ages 50–60), in the case of messengers. The figures regarding Second-Division clerks also challenge the myth of the nuclear family: 75 per cent (ages 30–40), 90 per cent (ages 40–50), 75 per cent (ages 50–60).
[162] S. Todd, 'Domestic Service and Class Relations in Britain 1900–1950', *P&P*, 203/1 (2009), pp. 191–2.

house in Withdean Hall, Patcham *(Figure 3.7)*.[163] In contrast to Treasury clerks, the Second-Division clerks' and messengers' domesticity looks more modest. On average, Second-Division clerks employed one female servant with few exceptions. Messenger families, on the other hand, rarely employed female servants when their children were young.

Figure 3.7. Withdean Hall, Patcham, Sir Francis Mowatt's home in the late nineteenth century, unknown date: 'Withdean Hall', http://regencysociety-jamesgray.com/volume34/source/jg_34_034.html

The study of family formations shows how clerical life assumed different forms of domesticity shaped by class and kinship. The Treasury bachelors' family formations underline more broadly the ongoing importance and influence of domesticity and kin ties within male clerical lives. These men did not experience the famous flight from domesticity in search of manly imperial adventures at the turn of the century.[164] Unlike novels or newspaper articles, Victorian censuses show that Treasury bachelors enjoyed different forms of domesticity either as lodgers, living with siblings, or as heads of their households.

The course of Christopher Puller's middle life reveals that Treasury clerk bachelors experienced different family formations due to death, sickness, economic insecurity, and their single status. It also suggests that they received from, and gave support to, their siblings when their fathers and mothers died. This family support was essential for upper-class Treasury bachelors

[163] 'Frank [sic] Mowatt', 1881, EWSC, RG11, P1100, fo. 106, p. 11; 'Frances [sic] Mowatt', 1891, EWSC, RG12, P824, fo. 60, p. 23; 'Frances [sic] Mowatt', 1901, EWSC, RG13, P. 73, fo. 141, p. 16.
[164] Cf. Tosh, 'Home and Away,' p. 562.

aiming to maintain their living standards and navigate the hardships of Victorian society. Puller was another young man coming from the gentry, the fourth son of Christopher Puller (MP for Hertfordshire, 1857–64), and Emily Blake.[165] In 1861, aged 21, he lived with his parents, four sisters, three brothers, one governess and thirteen servants in 65 Portland Road, Marylebone, London.[166] In the next twenty-five years, the death of his father, mother, eldest brother, and his brother Charles's marriage presumably explain his departure from family houses in Marylebone and Youngsbury.[167] Three unmarried Puller siblings supported each other financially and emotionally. Puller experienced a new family formation. In 1891, aged 52, he was the head of the household in Gatton Road, Reigate, Surrey, where he lived alongside his siblings Ellen and Frederick, a butler, a cook, and a housemaid.[168] Only in old age did Puller achieve independence, just as Lord Welby did.

Looking beyond Treasury career structures and salaries provides us with a more complex perspective of class in Victorian society. Treasury clerks experienced the ups and downs of life differently, but intergenerational family support remained key to achieving security and survival, especially for those experiencing downward social mobility.

3.3. Honours in the Treasury, 1847–1914

This final section analyses honours as a social hierarchy that structured the middle-aged lives of Treasury officials and promoted the rise of the new administrative elite. It provides a novel conception of professionalization and administrative reform by considering the growing connections between the Crown, the aristocracy, and the Civil Service. To administrative gradation and class, one must add hereditary and honorific rank deriving from honours and aristocratic titles. This third system of social classification interconnected and overlapped with the previous two, but

[165] 'Death of Mr Puller,' *Hertford Mercury and Reformer* (20 February 1864), p. 3.
[166] 'Christopher C. Puller', 1861, EWSC, RG09, P72, fo. 108, p. 9.
[167] 'Christopher C. Puller', 1871, EWSC, RG10, P1352, fo. 101, p. 20.
[168] 'Christopher C. Puller', 1891, EWSC, RG12, P577, fo. 72, p. 24.

it was distinctly created and ordered by the Crown since medieval times. Historians overemphasizing two and three-stage models of social structure neglected more traditional notions of layered and individualistic hierarchy deriving from the British monarchs.[169] By contrast, recent scholarship has enriched our understanding of honours and the aristocracy into the early twentieth century.[170] This system of social classification was far from being static, monolithic, or uniform.

The expansion of honours played several roles in the Treasury and the Civil Service in the nineteenth century. It periodically legitimized and reinvented the Crown, unifying the aristocracy as a governing class which conceived itself as innately superior improving, civilizing, and protecting its nations, counties, and Empire.[171] The civil division of the Order of the Bath (1847) was central to the formation of an administrative elite, although it has been understudied by nineteenth-century historians of the aristocracy and the Civil Service. The myth of open competition concealed these mechanisms of social closure in the later stages of the career. Honours challenge the focus on merit understood as reflecting examination success or status understood exclusively in terms of occupational structure. This section shows how older understandings of rank and honour shaped the new administrative elite and created new distinctions of merit, status, and masculinity for middle-aged Treasury clerks.

3.3.1. *A new system of honours: The Order of the Bath, 1847*

From the late eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century, honours extended into a more British and imperial structure of rewards. The two centuries witnessed the expansion of the Order of the Garter (England), the Order of the Thistle (Scotland), the establishment of the Order of St Patrick (Ireland), the revival of the Order of the Bath (1725), and the creation of the Order of St Michael and St George (1818), among other distinctions. There were additions to the peerage following the conquest of the East India Company, the Napoleonic Wars, the unions with Scotland

[169] D. Cannadine, *The Rise and Fall of Class in Britain* (New York, 1999); Mckibbin, *Classes and Cultures*, p. 15.
[170] See, for example, Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*.
[171] Cannadine, *Aspects of Aristocracy: Grandeur and Decline in Modern Britain* (New Haven, 1994), p. 2.

and Ireland, and Parliamentary elections. These processes consolidated a pan-British and pan-imperial elite that governed the Empire underpinned by the cult of the monarchy as head of an imperial state and society.[172] It was imperfect, unstable, and contested. But rank continued to be imagined and represented at home and in the Empire. Coronations, genealogies, the House of Lords, obituaries, and country houses represented rank's place as a structuring social hierarchy and as a social reference for individual and family prestige by promoting a fake cult of unbroken male continuity.[173]

The Most Honourable Order of the Bath (OB) played a key role in structuring status in the Civil Service.[174] It was an imitation of the Order of the Garter revived by Sir Robert Walpole, the Duke of Montagu, and John Anstis in 1725 to recognize military prowess at home and abroad.[175] The OB's revival took place when several European courts established or renovated knightly orders as part of their dynastic strategies. The OB's promoters also intended to uncover the forgotten links between the English monarchs and the Hanoverian dynasty. In 1847, the OB underwent a fundamental reform that changed its scope, purposes, and ceremonies.[176] This project was initially conceived in the 1840s by responsible advisers to the Crown, especially by the Secretary for the Colonies, Lord Stanley. The press complained that public servants were being overlooked compared to navy and military officers. Their long and meritorious services also deserved the attention of the Queen's ministers.[177] The OB was previously restricted to the nobility, MPs, and distinguished military and navy officers, but Queen Victoria created a civil division to enlarge its rewards for the public merit of the professions of the state, including civil servants. 'Admission into this fellowship is the reward merely of public services. Titular dignities,

[172] Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, pp. xviii, 21, 85–95.
[173] Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p. 34.
[174] The title 'Bath' alluded to the disused medieval religious purificatory ritual of bathing which the knights underwent prior to being knighted by the king. A. Hanham, 'The Politics of Chivalry: Sir Robert Walpole, the Duke of Montagu and the Order of the Bath', *Parliamentary History*, 35/3 (2016), pp. 269–70.
[175] Hanham, 'The Politics of Chivalry', pp. 262–3.
[176] The Letters Patent of Queen Victoria of 1847 annulled, abrogated, and repealed the statutes of 23 May 1725. See 'The Order of the Bath', *TMP* (26 May 1847), p. 2.
[177] 'The Civil Servants and the Order of the Bath', *CSG* (26 February 1853), p. 136.

or ancestral fame, are not among the preliminary qualifications of a Knight of the Bath,' the *Evening Mail* remarked in 1847.[178]

The OB fostered conceptions of merit attuned to middle life in the Civil Service. While the Civil Service partly equated merit with examinations in youth, the OB rewarded the new administrative elite after two to three decades of distinguished service, a rise up the ladder in the Administrative Class, and favourable relationships with prime ministers. Once again, examinations were irrelevant to career structures and notions of merit in this middle stage of the new Civil Service career. The Crown and governments promoted an evaluation of public merit based on more subjective grounds than open competition. The negotiations between heads of department, prime ministers, and the Crown for the nomination of candidates explain why the OB was susceptible to patronage accusations.[179] Yet the OB extended not only conceptions of public merit in Victorian Britain but also created new distinctions of rank and professionalism in the Civil Service career. After 1847, the new code maintained the division into three classes elaborated in 1815, each one more prestigious than the former: at the bottom, the companions (CB); in the middle, the knight commanders (KCB); and at the very top, the knights grand cross (GCB). The OB created a small administrative elite of which Treasury clerks were part. Queen Victoria significantly expanded the OB in scope, but it remained an exclusive elite bearing in mind the several thousands of state officers in the mid-nineteenth century. From thirty-six knights in 1725, it grew to 952 knights in 1847: seventy-five GCB, 152 KCB, and 725 CB. Overall, the OB remained predominantly military. The statutes only reserved 375 knights for the civil division: twenty-five GCB, fifty KCB, and 300 CB.[180]

The renewal of the OB in the early twentieth century indicates the lingering importance of honorific rank in the British state and society. The dignity of the OB's classes was formally

[178] 'The Order of the Bath', *EM* (28 April 1847), p. 1.
[179] 'The Order of the Bath', *The Army and Navy Gazette* (4 January 1913), p. 4; Kilbracken, *Reminiscences of Lord*, pp. 202–3.
[180] 'The Order of the Bath', *The Dover Telegraph and Cinque Ports General Advertiser* (5 June 1847), p. 4.

indisputable: the knights only ranked below the peerage and baronets but above all the esquires of the realm. But the OB's social value changed over time due to the multiplication and democratization of its titles. The OB underwent a nostalgic renewal during the reign of Edward VII to counter this state of affairs as part of broader practices to strengthen the British monarchy's hold on the popular imagination, including cinema, tours, coronations, and other public ceremonies.[181] The re-inauguration of the Chapel of King Henry VII in 1913, in Westminster Abbey, as the official and spiritual home of the knighthood, was part of this project of renovating knightly orders aiming to restate the ordering and unifying role of the monarchy across the Empire *(Figure 3.8)*.[182] The re-inauguration also attempted to elevate the OB's medieval mysticism and prestige against the onslaught of industrialism and those attacks undermining the aristocracy.[183] The coverage of the re-inauguration testifies to the centrality of the OB in Edwardian Britain, its widely recognized prestige enjoyed by its members, and the role it played in the renovation of rank. In the 1920s, the historian of the OB considered the event the 'most brilliant spectacle witnessed by the metropolis with the exception of the two Coronations during the twentieth century.'[184]

Figure 3.8. The Knight Commanders of the Bath (KCB) entering Westminster Abbey at the re-inauguration of Henry VII's Chapel, 22 July 1913: Perkins, *The Most Honourable Order*, frontispiece.

[181] For a broader context, see Mckibbin, *Classes and Cultures*, p. 7.
[182] Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p. 85.
[183] D. Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the "Invention pf Tradition", c. 1820–1977' , in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 101–64.
[184] J. Perkins, *The Most Honourable Order of the Bath: A Descriptive and Historical Account* (London, 1920), pp. 121–4.

3.3.2. *The Order of the Bath in the Treasury*

Treasury clerks craved honours in middle life. Occasionally, family obligations took precedence over rewards or they became frustrated for not having received any of them. In 1854, Sir Charles Trevelyan (Assistant Secretary to the Treasury) told William Gladstone (Chancellor of the Exchequer) that Richard Bromley's longing for honours had cooled over time due to family pressures and other civil servants getting ahead of him in the honours list: 'At an earlier period of his career Mr B. thought only of winning honours; but disappointment has cooled this desire, and 4 sons depending upon him for a proper education have taught him the necessity of availing himself of every right means of increasing his Income.'[185] On other occasions, the 'sale of honours' diminished the public esteem of distinctions.[186] In the same letter, Trevelyan told Gladstone that honours should be separated from any form of remuneration or pecuniary exchange if they were to preserve their symbolic power: 'Honorary distinction has a peculiar, and if properly conferred, highly influential & useful, field of its own; but it will cost the State nothing, and ought not to be bestowed in satisfaction of claims which are ordinarily discharged in another way.'[187] At the turn of the century, the OB remained highly prized by Treasury clerks, even though the 'sale of honours' cast a shadow of disrepute on governments and rewards.[188] In 1909, when Gladstone promoted the former Treasury clerk, John Arrow (Comptroller of the Exchequer), from CB to KCB in recognition of his public services, John Bradbury (Principal Clerk in the Treasury) cheered for him and for the prospect of his own promotion into the OB: 'I derive a double pleasure from your promotion -first on your own account, and secondly as possibly creating the vacancy in the lower class for me. Please accept my warmest congratulations.'[189]

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[185] 'Charles Trevelyan to William Gladstone', 24 May 1854, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 1/33, pp. 273–4.
[186] West, *Private Diaries*, p. 52–4; Kilbracken, *Reminiscences of Lord*, p. 202–3.
[187] 'Charles Trevelyan to William Gladstone'.
[188] 'Our Private Wires', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* (22 April 1908), p. 6. For other honours, H. Hanham, 'The Sale of Honours in Late Victorian England', *VS*, 3/3 (1960), pp. 277–89.
[189] Kempe, *Reminiscences of an Old*, p. 222.

To uphold the status of the OB, its members provided proof of membership and required constant recognition by authorities. An anecdote in John Kempe's memoirs suggests how Treasury officials drilled the respect for rank among the clerical grades. Kempe recalled that Lord Beaconsfield had scolded Algernon Turnor for addressing Lady Anne Blunt as 'Mrs Blunt' in a letter written on his behalf. The blunder was so serious that Lord Beaconsfield had to handle it personally. 'The letter was published, as it stood, in *The Times*. Lord Beaconsfield wrote an apology to Lady Anne, and said nothing to Turnor but "Remember, my son, that a Private Secretary should look upon Debrett as his Bible".'[190] Things were not different for the administrative elite who were part of the OB. Former Treasury clerks who were themselves members insisted on the importance of asking for the social recognition of the honours bestowed upon them. In 1909, Lord Welby, a GCB himself, indicated to Kempe that receiving a knighthood from the OB indicated a new social and masculine status that everyone—starting with John Kempe himself—should recognize. 'Pray abide by your well-known official name, Sir John Aloysius, and don't be misled by any scruple as to your baptismal name.'[191]

More broadly, genealogies, newspapers, memoirs, and biographical sketches amplified the status that the new administrative elite derived from the OB. Obituaries contributed to recreating representations of a professional Civil Service by highlighting to their readers the public servants' devotion to the Crown. Similarly, they reinforced social hierarchies based on rank by underlining their family lineages. To some extent, obituaries illuminate how the family members of the late Treasury clerks tried to uphold their status and provide a sense of meaning to their lives. In Maurice Drummond's case, these sources further show that the OB turned into an identity marker for Treasury clerks. Drummond was promoted to a CB in 1888 in recognition of his services in the Treasury and the Metropolitan Police before dying in 1891. At his funeral, family, friends, and civil servants escorted him on his last journey to his burial service at Trinity Church, Finchley-

[190] Kempe, *Reminiscences of an Old*, pp. 401.
[191] Kempe, *Reminiscences of an Old*, p. 222.

road, and afterwards at Highgate Cemetery. 'The coffin, which was of oak, with the inscription, "Maurice Drummond, C.B. Died 18th May, 1891. Jesus Mercy," was completely covered with choice flowers, crosses and wreaths,' the *Hampstead and Highgate Express* recounted.[192] Drummond's coffin CB inscription reveals the significance of the OB for him and his family at a crucial moment in the life cycle. It shows that honours became identity symbols for Treasury clerks until their death together with their first name, family name, and faith.

Several aristocratic Treasury clerks were part of the OB alongside Maurice Drummond. From 1848 to 1914, the OB reinforced the ties between the aristocracy and the professions in the late nineteenth century. In 1848, Sir Charles Trevelyan (Assistant Secretary to the Treasury) was the first Treasury official to receive a knighthood of the OB for his services during the Irish Famine (1846–48).[193] In the next decades, Trevelyan's experience became more common for Principal Clerks, Permanent Secretaries, and former officials from the Treasury promoted to top positions in other public departments. From 1848 to 1914, eight Treasury clerks received CB, seventeen were promoted KCB, and four were elevated to GCB *(Appendix K)*. While these men came from aristocratic backgrounds and being part of the OB enhanced their sense of cohesion, this administrative elite was not homogenous. In fact, the OB also created new social distinctions among the Treasury Administrative Class, even though every class included distinguished men such as Sir George Murray (GCB), Sir Charles Fremantle (KCB), and Charles George Barrington (CB). In middle life, this new masculinity characterized by professionalism and public devotion to the Crown widened the gulf with the rest of the Treasury establishment. None of the Second-Division clerks, intermediate clerks, boy clerks, messengers, and female typists could ever dream of promotions in rank. This is significant because it shows that the OB added another layer to the existing social and administrative barriers within the Treasury.

[192] 'The Late Mr Maurice Drummond, C.B.,' *HHE* (23 May 1891), p. 3.
[193] 'Investiture of the Order of the Bath', *The Standard* (8 May 1848), p. 1.

Treasury clerks entered the OB at specific moments of their life cycle and careers. The administrative elite could only expect to receive the honorific rewards following favourable relationships with prime ministers, two or three decades of distinguished services, and a successful career in the Civil Service's higher ranks. Most Treasury clerks were promoted to CB after rising to principal clerkships in the department, but those who were elevated to KCB and GCB only secured these accolades after working in other high-ranking positions in the Treasury or its superintended departments. On average, Treasury clerks joined the order as CBs at the age of 56, although some achieved this a decade earlier or a decade later. Further promotion within the OB usually took an additional ten years, depending on Treasury clerks' connections, merit, and ability to stand out among competitors. The diaries of Sir Algernon West, private secretary to Gladstone (1892–94), suggest that the close relationships developed between prime ministers and their Treasury private secretaries increased the latter's chances of receiving honours at advanced stages of their careers.[194]

Overall, the study of the Treasury does not entirely substantiate the historical narrative that honours were being downgraded or democratized in the late nineteenth century.[195] According to contemporary standards, the aristocratic men who integrated into this administrative elite were capable men who distinguished themselves after succeeding in limited competitions, open competitions, and rising through the Administrative Class and the Civil Service's higher ranks. Sir George Murray, for example, shined as an industrious, intelligent, and talented Treasury official before receiving his GCB. After being appointed to successive Royal commissions in the 1880s, he became private secretary to Prime Minister William Gladstone (1892–94), a post he retained under Prime Minister Lord Rosebery (1894–96). Murray's professional career corresponds with his OB rewards. In 1897, he became Chairman of the Inland Revenue, before being transferred as secretary to the Post Office two years later. In 1899, he became a KCB. Four years later, he became

[194] West, *Private Diaries*, p. 291.
[195] Cf. Hanham, 'The Sale of Honours'.

joint Permanent Secretary to the Treasury—the highest position in the department and presumably the whole service—in conjunction with Sir Edward Hamilton. Murray held this position until 1909. A year earlier, he received his promotion to a GCB.[196]

Looking at the life course of Treasury clerks, therefore, challenges the focus on merit understood as solely comprising competitive examinations. In the Treasury, the OB rewarded long and distinguished public services, including heading departmental divisions, succeeding in special financial and revenue commissions at home and the Empire, and leading some of the most relevant public departments. In middle life, status and gradations among civil servants were reinforced by the distinctions of honorific orders such as the OB. The extension of the OB became a significant part of the expectations, experiences, and social identities of middle-aged Treasury clerks and high-ranking officials, as I already noted. In turn, the OB became one of the mechanisms for refashioning rank and forming an administrative elite in the nineteenth century. It developed a new social hierarchy that interconnected the Civil Service, the aristocracy, and the Crown. Before retiring from his last premiership, Gladstone dined with his old staff at Brook's Club with several Treasury clerks and high-ranking officials, many of them already members of the OB. Sir Reginald Welby, Edward Hamilton, Horace Seymour, George Murray, and Henry Primrose sat at the dinner table to listen to the Grand Old Man. With the few words he spoke after dinner, Gladstone communicated that he was proud to have witnessed under his watch the rise of an administrative elite devoted to the public service:

> No men have more richly and honestly deserved the honours and positions which have been bestowed upon them, and I never recommended any one for an honour which in my opinion he had not fully deserved, or for a position he was not fully capable of filling with credit to himself and the department, and the Civil Service is flooded with these men who occupy or have occupied with the greatest distinction the highest positions in the Service.[197]

[196] G. C. Peden, 'Murray, Sir George Herbert (1849–1936)', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/35160 (23 September 2004).
[197] West, *Private Diaries*, p. 291.

3.3.3. *Hereditary honours in the Treasury*

In addition to the OB, Treasury clerks received hereditary honours in middle life and old age. The British aristocracy consolidated its territorial power over the nineteenth century through change and adaptation, which involved marriages, land sales, businesses, investments, and the extension of hereditary honours.[198] By European standards, the size of the British nobility was small compared with its German and Russian counterparts.[199] At the turn of the century, it had enlarged and diversified partly as a result of party competition between Liberals and Conservatives, the rise of the Labour party, and the predominance of plutocratic wealth.[200] From 1886 to 1914, out of nearly 200 non-royal peerages, seventy derived from business, another third came from the professions, and only one-fourth came from the traditional sources of the nobility and the landed gentry.[201] Treasury clerks were part of this refashioning of the British aristocracy, although they represented a minor portion among the professionals. While many had family connections with peers and baronets, only a handful was raised to the peerage or granted baronetcies because most of those born between the 1830–90s were younger sons or lacked the required qualifications of land, wealth, or lineage.[202] Viewed from this perspective, the OB played a bigger role than hereditary honours in reinforcing the ties between the professions and the aristocracy.

Hereditary honours set the Treasury clerk's status in a wider context of family lineage. Here, occupational structures mattered little for understanding the administrative elite's place in the world. The lineage-family inhabited the Treasury clerks' material culture, lives, and emotions. Many lived in country houses at different stages of the life cycle or inherited them, such as William Gurdon.[203] Some opened their reminiscences and memoirs highlighting their aristocratic ancestors

198 Cannadine, *Aspects of Aristocracy*, pp. 29–30; Perkin, *Rise of Professional*, pp. 69–71.
199 See D. Lieven, *The Aristocracy in Europe, 1815–1914* (London, 1992), p. xiv.
200 Perkin, *Rise of Professional*, pp. 40–3, 69.
201 Perkin, *Rise of Professional*, p. 43.
202 For the qualifications, see Cannadine, *Aspects of Aristocracy*, pp. 29–30.
203 'William Brampton Gurdon', 1891, EWSC, RG12, P1474, fo. 97, p. 21.

and lineages.[204] Others came from families interested in the growing market of genealogies, buried together inside local churches, and hold an enduring place in Burke's *Peerage* and *Landed Gentry*.[205] The Treasury clerk John Martin Leake, who belonged to an 'ancient and highly respectable Essex family—the Martin Leakes of Thorpe Hall—would have been surprised to be merely classified as a clerk in middle life. As these examples illustrate, Treasury clerks and their kin were concerned about the reproduction of their aristocratic descent that stretched from the past into the future.

Sir Charles Trevelyan's baronetcy suggests that receiving a hereditary honour was a deeply emotional experience that changed the administrative elite's status, masculinity, and perspectives on the future. The upper echelons of the peerage despised the corruption and democratization of honours in the late nineteenth century.[206] Some even rejected further promotions into the peerage. But Treasury clerks were not as grand and wealthy as to refuse them. Trevelyan accepted the baronetcy offered to him in 1874, even though these honours were multiplying at an unprecedented rate.[207] 'It is impossible for me not to accept with gratitude the Baronetcy which Her Majesty is pleased to confer upon me in consideration of such humble services as I have been able to render,' he wrote to Prime Minister William Gladstone.[208] Gladstone proposed to reward Trevelyan with a baronetcy for his public services, adding that the latter's progeny would bear them worthily.[209] Trevelyan also believed that his ennoblement changed the family's status and perspectives on the future, especially those of his only son, George Otto: 'Your allusion to my son is particularly grateful to me. To train him for the public service and inspire him with a feeling of devotion to it has been the cherished object of my life.'[210]

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[204] See, for example, Kempe, *Reminiscences of an Old*, pp. 4–30.
[205] J. B. Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain & Ireland* (2 vols., London, 1894), Vol. II, p. 1159; 'The Leake Family', *Notes & Queries* (25 April 1895), p. 323; 'Death of J. M. Leake, Esq', *Berkshire Chronicle* (24 May 1862), p. 7.
[206] Cannadine, *Decline and Fall*, pp. 309–25.
[207] For the multiplication of baronetcies from the 1880s onwards, see Cannadine, *Decline and Fall*, p. 302.
[208] 'Charles Trevelyan to William Gladstone,' 18 February 1874, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 10/15, fo. 15/1.
[209] 'William Gladstone to Charles Trevelyan', 17 February 1874, NUSCA, MS Trevelyan 10/15, fo. 15/1.
[210] 'Charles Trevelyan to William Gladstone', 18 February 1874.

Three more Treasury clerks were ennobled for family and public reasons. Frederick Daly, 4th Baron Dunsandle and Clanconal, inherited the title from his unmarried uncle. Daly was not short of public service merits: he was assistant private secretary to the Earl of Beaconsfield (1874–80), private secretary to the Earl of Iddesleigh (1885–86) and the Marquess of Salisbury (1885–87), and Departmental Controller of the National Debt Office in 1888. Daly left no heir and was described by his Treasury friend, Sir John Kempe, as 'a delightful and amusing companion.'[211] By contrast, Sir Reginald Welby and Sir Ralph Lingen were raised to their baronies on account of their distinguished public services following their retirement as permanent secretaries to the Treasury.[212] They embodied the upper crust of the administrative elite. Welby enjoyed a great reputation as Principal Clerk of the Financial Division (1871–85) for almost two decades until he succeeded Lingen as the Permanent Secretary to the Treasury (1885–94), as Lord Kilbracken recalled:

> He was certainly one of the greatest Civil Servants of the nineteenth century, and no one in that line of public service has better earned his Peerage. His insight into abstruse financial questions, his wide knowledge of financial facts, his grip of sound principles and his power of applying them, were such as I have seldom seen surpassed.[213]

In 1894, before leaving the office of prime minister, William Gladstone managed to elevate Welby to the peerage as 1st Baron Welby of Allington in Lincolnshire.[214]

Our assessment of the conception of professional merit in the administrative elite underlines that it was inseparable from its social connections and ideals of gentlemanly masculinity in middle life. Welby, the grandson of William Earle Welby (1734–1815), 1st baronet, came from an old gentry family whose representatives had sat in Parliament for centuries.[215] Welby enjoyed a close friendship with Gladstone throughout his career, which involved Thursday dinners.[216] Although they were distantly related and enjoyed the Eton connection, Gladstone grew closer to

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[211] Kempe, *Reminiscences of an Old*, p. 43; 'Death of Lord Dunsandle', *Lakes Herald* (1 December 1911), p. 6.
[212] 'Death of Lord Lingen', *Birmingham Mail* (24 July 1905), p. 4.
[213] Kilbracken, *Reminiscences of Lord*, p. 94.
[214] 'Lord Welby', *South Wales Daily News* (12 April 1894), p. 3.
[215] 'Death of Lord Welby', *Framlingham Weekly News* (6 November 1915), p. 2.
[216] West, *Recollections*, p. 220.

Welby during his first premiership (1868–74).[217] The Grand Old Man (Gladstone) became instrumental to Welby's career in the Treasury and his promotion in rank. In 1874, he nominated him to a CB; in 1882, he promoted him to a KCB; in 1884, he appointed him Permanent Secretary to the Treasury; and in 1892, he made him a GCB.[218] Some obituaries claimed that Gladstone was his friend and his master.[219] Algernon West's private diaries chronicled Gladstone's last government (1892–94) as his private secretary. In them, we find repeated allusions to Welby's enduring friendship with Gladstone and the breath of his administrative power: 'There are some among those who know who say that Sir Reginald Welby is easily the most powerful man in the British Empire. If we exclude the power of initiative in matters of high policy, they are probably not far wrong.'[220] Welby's power derived not only from his professional expertise but also from his social connections and the polite masculinity developed throughout his career. To the end, Gladstone consulted him on matters of administration, fiscal policy, politics, and honours. They frequently dined at gentleman clubs, such as St James's and the Amphitryon.[221] Few doubted Welby's administrative career deserved a hereditary honour, even though his retrenchment policies could be unpopular. In 1894, before retiring, Gladstone nominated him to a barony with the support of another Eton friend, Sir Algernon West, with whom Welby travelled to Paris for holidays.[222]

The relationships between Treasury clerks and prime ministers were key for aspiring for a promotion in rank. But the former also had to meet some qualifications to receive hereditary honours. Lingen was a middle-class exception—born in Birmingham and educated at Bridgnorth Grammar School—but he graduated from Trinity College, Oxford, was friends with the likes of Robert Lowe, and lived in a Kensington mansion with his wife and five servants (*Figure 3.9*).[223]

[217] 'Death of Lord Welby', *Oxfordshire Weekly News* (3 November 1915), p. 8.
[218] 'Lord Welby', *Grantham Journal* (17 March 1900), p. 8.
[219] 'Lord Welby', p. 6.
[220] West, *Private Diaries*, p. 132.
[221] West, *Private Diaries* p. 40.
[222] Montague, *Some Records*, pp. 18–9; West, *Recollections,* p. 264.
[223] 'Death of Lord Lingen'; 'Ralph R. W. Lingen', 1901, EWSC, RG13, P36, fo. 37, p. 20.

After dying in 1905, his estate was valued at £50,832.[224] Although Lingen was neither a member of the gentry nor a landed gentleman or a plutocrat, he possessed a comfortable status and powerful connections that were useful to rise in the peerage.[225] By contrast, Trevelyan, Clay, and Welby came from aristocratic families. Trevelyan fitted into the more traditional qualifications required for a hereditary honour. He was the grandson of Sir John Trevelyan, 4th baronet, the fourth son of George Trevelyan (1764–1827), the archdeacon of Taunton, and his wife, Harriet Neave (1773–1854), third daughter of Sir Richard Neave, 1st baronet. Trevelyan's widowed mother was among five family members who received nearly £27,000 in compensation for their Grenada slaves.[226] His status further improved due to kin connections. When he was awarded his baronetcy in 1874, Trevelyan possessed no land except the promise of the 13,000-acre Wallington estate made by his cousin Sir Walter Trevelyan in 1852.[227] While Lingen and Welby led more urban lives as peers, Trevelyan settled in his life as a baronet after 1879, improving the Northumberland estate, shooting, and promoting local charity.[228]

Yet the Treasury clerk's elevations to hereditary titles depended on the life cycle as well. Apart from Clay, this upper echelon of the administrative elite received honours after retiring from the Treasury. Trevelyan became a baronet at the age of 67, whereas Welby and Lingen were made barons at 62 and 66 years old, respectively. Retirement signalled the culmination of a distinguished career for most Treasury clerks, but also change in their life cycle, masculinities, and status.

[224] 'Wills and Bequests', *West Somerset Free Press* (30 September 1905), p. 3.
[225] For the changing qualifications of the peerage, see Cannadine, *Decline and Fall*, p. 307.
[226] L. Trevelyan, *A Very British Family: The Trevelyans and their World* (London, 2006), p. 114.
[227] Trevelyan, *A Very British Family*, p. 53.
[228] Trevelyan, *A Very British Family*, p. 114.

Figure 3.9. Lord Lingen's former residence, 13 Wetherby Gardens, Kensington, in 1901: Photograph courtesy of Luis Gabriel Galán-Guerrero.

Conclusion

This chapter explored middle life in the Treasury department from 1848 to 1914. It argued that processes in bureaucratic promotions and honours systems enmeshed with familial networks to produce a new administrative elite in the reformed Civil Service. The study of this administrative elite illuminates some connections between the changing aristocracy and the professions in the late nineteenth century. This social group was shaped and brought together not only by excellence in public school and Oxbridge educations. This administrative elite also relied on other practices and systems of values. The reform of promotions and the clerical division between intellectual and mechanical labour throughout career structures, renewed ideas about professional merit and character validated by the state and society, intergenerational family support, social circles, and the imbrication of marriages and honours with the British state were central to its advancement.

By setting career structures and the professionalization of the Civil Service in the context of the life cycle and social relationships, this chapter has also offered a more complex view of class relations in the British state and society. Indeed, different social hierarchies (administrative

gradations, class, and rank) intersected and overlapped to structure the Civil Service. The interplay and tension between these different social hierarchies in middle life imbued status with new meanings and distinctions of wealth and power. At the heart of these negotiated practices featured the gendered expectations of individuals and family formations.

The study of middle life in the Treasury sheds new light on the lifestyles and masculine identities of civil servants in middle age. With few exceptions, high-ranking Treasury clerks differed from middle-class civil servants. Though not fully homogenous, the administrative elite was aristocratic, married and large families, enjoyed privileged social connections, lived in Mayfair and Kensington, and were awarded honorific and hereditary honours. In these various settings, new masculinities developed and overlapped, substantiating the findings of those historians that have challenged any idea of linear transition or hegemony.[229] By analysing the Treasury clerks' triad of work, home, and the public sphere, one sees multiple masculinities rather than a hegemonic one: from the intellectual, devoted, and polite masculinity devoted to the public service to different facets of muscular and homosocial manliness; from the barely married younger son of aristocratic lineage to the mature, meritorious, and chivalrous knight of the Bath. In practice, these ideals were often not met nor shared by everyone, but these cultural representations reproduced by families, the Treasury, and communities legitimated the status of administrative elite and the British state.

In the opening scene of this chapter, Sir Charles Fremantle longed to marry Sophia Smith. By the end of his successful career as a Treasury clerk and Deputy-master of the Royal Mint, he had other male and family expectations. At the age of 60, he retired from the Civil Service, but his life was far from over: he joined financial boards in the City of London, received his pension, promoted charitable activities, and attended garden parties with Sophia and his relatives. How did other former Treasury clerks experience old age and retirement? What role did Civil Service reform

[229] B. Griffin, 'Hegemonic Masculinity as Historical Problem', *G&H*, 30/2 (2018), pp. 377–400; K. Harvey and A. Shepard, 'What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500–1950', *JBS*, 44 (2005), pp. 278–80; N. W. Ellenberger, 'Constructing George Wyndham: Narratives of Aristocratic Masculinity in Fin-De-Siecle England', *JBS*, 39/4 (2000), pp. 490–517.

play in shaping these experiences and, conversely, how did the life cycle, family, and class shape the development of welfare practices in the British state?

PART THREE: OLD AGE

Chapter 4. Welfare and Retirement in the Treasury, c. 1848–1914

Introduction

At the age of 60, Sir Charles Fremantle, knight of the Order of the Bath and member of the Treasury's emergent administrative elite, voluntarily retired from the office of Deputy-Master of the Royal Mint (1870–94).[1] Following a successful career in the Civil Service, the retirement of this professional aristocrat was comfortable and family-oriented, though nonetheless saw changes. He lived his last years in 4 Lower Sloan Street, London, with his wife Sophia and eight servants. His offspring, now married men and women, had flown the nest and achieved financial independence, some of them merging their aristocratic backgrounds with careers in finance.[2] Despite illnesses, Fremantle's old age was productive rather than dependent. He used his professional and social connections to join the directorships of financial and industrial ventures. Similarly, he worked in different capacities in charities based in the localities and London instead of supporting the proposals for universal pensions in the late nineteenth century.[3] Fremantle also defied stereotypes of old age being an isolated and uneventful stage in the life cycle. He attended dinners, charitable events, family birthdays, and garden parties, like the one organized by his nephew, Lord Midleton, full of swings, punting expeditions upon the river, and cricket in front of the mansion in Peper Harow, Shackleford.[4] This vignette of Fremantle's old age provides a glimpse into the later life of Treasury clerks in general. How did superannuation reform shape old age, the Civil Service profession, and the experience of retirement? How did Treasury officials' families rely on the co-existence of private and public welfare? And what insights can the examination of old age in the

[1] 'Death of Hon Sir C. W. Fremantle', *BAFP* (10 October 1914), p. 5.
[2] Ronald, a stockbroker, was one of Fremantle's neighbours, living in 22 Sloan Court, London. See 'Ronald A. Fremantle', 1901, EWSC, RG13, P77, fo. 33, p. 57.
[3] 'The British Association', *SJG* (5 August 1892), p. 14; 'West of Ireland Children's Clothing Fund', *FJ* (11 December 1898), p. 6; 'Wills and Bequests', *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* (6 September 1888), p. 6.
[4] 'Peperharow', *West Surrey Times* (19 August 1893), p. 8.

Civil Service give us into the interconnections between class, family, and the professions in the late nineteenth century?

From 1848 to 1914, pensions reform substantially changed old age and retirement in the British Civil Service. The Superannuation Acts of 1857 and 1859, achieved due to the political mobilization of civil servants, laid the foundations which govern public pensions to date. The first abolished the former contributory deductions of the superannuation fund established in 1834. The second consolidated a new old-age grading at 60 years, changed pension increments from septennial to annual, defined who a permanent civil servant was, and aimed to make the Civil Service more efficient. The exclusion of the civil servants' widows and orphans from these pension schemes reinforced the interplay between public and private welfare provisioning in Victorian Britain until 1909, when the Superannuation Act of 1909 started to provide some relief to them. Focusing on old age thus uncovers how Treasury officials and other civil servants relied on voluntary associations and family practices (cohabitation, loans, annuities, inheritances) to counter economic and life-cycle insecurities. Moreover, it shows how these professionals experienced old age differently depending on their class and familial status.

This chapter examines old age in the Treasury department by focusing on welfare and retirement from 1848 to 1914. It analyses the reform of pensions and its impact on career structures, the interplay between private and public spheres, life-cycle expectations, and retirement. The chapter will argue that mid-nineteenth-century superannuation reform ensured that former Treasury officials were part of and benefited from broader welfare structures above and beyond pensions, as well as enjoying an active retirement. Studying the lives of retired officials illuminates the enduring interplay between the state and wider social structures in the late nineteenth century, including their interaction with voluntary associations, financial and industrial businesses, aristocratic connections, and familial networks.

Historians have made significant interventions in our understanding of old age in modern Britain. Some scholars dismiss 'golden age' mythologies and show that simple models of

dependency and ageing neglect various support systems of the elderly, such as kin, local communities, and informal sources of charity.[5] Other historians have focused on the contemporary representations of old age fostered by the processes of industrialization, urbanization, and Poor Laws.[6] Similarly, key works stress that notions and experiences of old age varied significantly due to gender, class, and work distinctions.[7] This scholarship, however, has focused on the elderly poor of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries rather than the upper and middle classes. Moreover, it has rarely ventured into the world of the Civil Service or the experiences of retired professionals in Victorian Britain.

On the other hand, recent scholarship on Victorian welfare emphasizes the gendered nature of the Poor Laws, its local and imperial variations, and the role of patronage networks and local authorities.[8] The parishes supported elderly people, but only a minority experienced this level of poverty. Historians have also turned their attention to the development of the welfare state with a focus on its intellectual, ideological, political, gendered, and English roots and implementation.[9] These state-centred narratives, however, are written often in isolation from other structures of welfare that remained vital until the early twentieth century, such as charities, churches, and voluntary associations.[10] Recent scholarship on philanthropy complements this landscape of Victorian welfare, but it is not fully comprehensive. Civil servants are missing from all these different strands of scholarship because they were not part of the elderly poor requiring parish relief, they are not considered among the intellectuals who wrote on the welfare state even though

[5] See, more recently, P. Thane, 'Old Age in European Cultures: A Significant Presence from Antiquity to the Present', *American Historical Review*, 125/2 (2020), pp. 385–95; S. R. Ottaway, *The Decline of Old Age in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2004).
[6] K. Chase, *The Victorians and Old Age* (Oxford, 2009).
[7] N. Tadmor, 'Degrees of Privilege', *JVC*, 16/1 (2011), pp. 118–23.
[8] B. Waddell, 'The Rise of the Parish Welfare State in England, c. 1600–1800', *P&P*, 253/1 (2021), pp. 151–94; P. Mandler, 'The Making of the New Poor Law Redivivus', *P&P*, 117/1 (1987), pp. 131–57.
[9] For key works: P. Thane, 'The Origins of the British Welfare State', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, L/3 (2020), pp. 427–433; M. Pugh, 'Working-Class Experience and State Social Welfare 1908–1914: Old Age Pensions Reconsidered', *HJ*, 45/4 (2002), pp. 775–796; J. Harris, 'Political Thought and the Welfare State 1870–1940: An Intellectual Framework for British Social Policy', *P&P*, 135/1 (1992), pp. 116–141; S. Pedersen, *Family Dependence, and the Origins of the Welfare State: Britain and France, 1914–1945* (Cambridge, 1993).
[10] See, among many, F. Prochaska, 'Charity and Social Democracy: An Anglo-American Historical Perspective', *Asia Pacific Journal of Social Work and Development*, 17/1 (2007), pp. 7–20.

they had connections therewith, and their superannuation was separate from the old-age pensions schemes developed in the early twentieth century. Moreover, these historiographies tend to neglect the role of family strategies for the security of the upper and middle classes.

By building on the historiographies of old age and welfare, this chapter makes two contributions to the history of the state and class in Victorian Britain. Firstly, it offers a more comprehensive picture of welfare in the Civil Service. Historians have extended our knowledge of the development of nineteenth-century pension schemes.[11] Yet, by focusing exclusively on pensions, they have neglected other meaningful forms of professional development, lifestyles, the role of voluntary associations, and familial practices. Retired Treasury clerks show that the family retained enormous agency to secure the welfare and security of their widows, unmarried daughters, and other relatives. Similarly, these men collaborated with the leading figures of Victorian welfare, wrote and gave lectures on philanthropy, and immersed themselves in local and imperial charity work. Some were part of the social reformers trying to solve the growing problem of poverty in a context of imperial competition with Germany, industrialization, social Darwinism, and discussions on universal old-age pensions advocated by the Liberal and Labour parties.[12] This chapter therefore shows that Treasury clerks favoured a conception of the state that privileged the coexistence of public and private welfare structures rather than one advocating for the encroachment of a central state guaranteeing universal pensions.

Secondly, this chapter offers a new dimension to the last stage of Treasury officials' careers and life cycles. The Superannuation act of 1859 lowered the boundaries of old age to 60-years old, enabling new activities and opportunities in retirement. The Treasury intermixed classical categories of 'peaceful rest' with more modern ideals of merited retirement following efficient spells in the Civil Service. Yet the aristocratic professionals from the department embraced other

[11] K. McIlvenna, "The Widows and Orphans of Servants Are Dying": The Conflict of Family in the Design and Application of Nineteenth Century Civil Servant Pensions', in C. Beardmore, C. Dobbing, and S. King (eds.)*, Family Life in Britain 1650–1910* (Cham, 2019), pp. 72–89; Marios Raphael, *Pensions and Public Servants: A Study of the Origins of the British System* (Paris, 1964).
[12] H. Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society: England since 1800* (London, 1996), pp. 53–61.

values and opportunities in material and spiritual life. Their retirement shows a sociable and active old age instead of one being entirely defined by ageing, isolation, unemployment, dependency, or death. Indeed, old age often marked a new starting point at the end of their public careers. Their professional expertise, religious affiliations, social connections, and family formations shaped diverse trajectories. Old age could be a new period full of family and work challenges, religious senses of purpose, and changing ideas of masculinity due to ageing and cultural expectations. The administrative elite used its professional expertise and social backgrounds to ensure a productive retirement as directors of financial and industrial boards, local authorities, and JPs, sometimes strengthening the ties between the aristocracy and finance, the central government and the localities, the metropole and the Empire.

The first section analyses how the superannuation reform shaped—and was shaped by—expectations about the life cycle, the profession, family, and class. It also analyses how these reforms reinforced prevailing conceptions about welfare, professionalism, and masculinity in the Treasury. The second section examines how retired Treasury clerks worked in banking, commerce, and local politics and government.

4.1. Superannuation reform and its impacts in the Treasury: Old age, professionalism, and welfare

The creation of the superannuation fund was a landmark moment in the history of British welfare. The Treasury Minute of 20 August 1803 caused the paradigm to shift from that of the individual officeholder providing for his predecessors personally, to a principle of collective responsibility where public servants made regular contributions to a superannuation fund.[13] This scheme, which altered eighteenth-century practices, emerged from a growing understanding that granting provisions for public servants was beneficial to the efficiency and standing of the service.[14] Pensions were granted to public officers for three main reasons: first, to reward their loyal service

[13] Wright, *Treasury Control*, p. 306.
[14] Raphael, *Pensions and Public*, p. 163.

and provide for their declining capacities; second, to safeguard the interests of the public service by retaining capable servants; third, to satisfy claims from candidates aiming to fill the posts of retiring officers. Historians claim that these reasons based on the life cycle, professional aspirations, and the efficiency of the service remained pretty much the same from 1700 to 1850.[15] In the early nineteenth century, the new superannuation fund created in 1803 changed from a contributory system—where the central state deducted a percentage from the salaries of public officers—to a non-contributory one in 1810 and 1824. The fund returned to a contributory scheme in 1821 and 1834 following the heavy cost that the non-contributory scheme had to the Exchequer and the drive to abolish 'Old Corruption'.[16] The following pages analyse one dimension of welfare and old age: the evolution of the Civil Service superannuation scheme from 1857 to 1914. They explore how reforms were formed by expectations about the profession, class, family, the life cycle through to 1914. In the process, the section assesses how Civil Service reforms impacted practices and existing conceptions about welfare, age, and professionalism in the Treasury and among its former officials.

4.1.1. *Superannuation reform from 1857 to 1914*

The Superannuation Act of 1834 was a major cause of grievance for the welfare of civil servants in the 1850s. While those who had entered the service before 1829 contributed nothing to the fund, deductions were made from the salaries of those who had entered the service after August 1829. In 1846, public servants formed for the first time an interdepartmental association chaired by Richard Bromley (Accountant-General of the Navy) to petition the government regarding the lack of pensions for their widows despite deductions from their salaries.[17] This began the ongoing discussions of elements of social policy central to later developments (pensions, insurance, and welfare) became a salient point of discussion in this period. As I suggested in Chapter 1,

[15] Raphael, *Pensions and Public*, p. 163.
[16] McIlvenna, 'Widows and Orphans', p. 76.
[17] Wright, *Treasury Control*, p. 307.

superannuation was the key topic of reform for civil servants in the 1850s, who mobilized through meetings, the press, and petitions. Their main complaints included the fact that the government was profiting from the deductions of their salaries, some newspapers estimating it between £581,795 and £700,000; it was claimed that that public officers died before spending twenty years in the service, the minimum period that entitled them to a pension; they pushed for the surplus to be used to provide for the public servants' widows and orphans; argued that calculations should shift from septennial to annual increments; and criticized that a 'superannuation tax' was levied on officers who were not entitled to a pension.[18] In 1856, the association created to petition the government on superannuation dissolved after the appointment of the Select Committee on Civil Service Superannuation. This commission provided Lord Palmerston's government (1855–58) with a diagnosis of the situation and desirable improvements to the Act of 1834. In summary, the commission's recommendations were: first, abolishing the deductions without the corresponding reduction of salaries; second, lowering the age of retirement from 65 to 60-years old; third, establishing a new scale of pensions; and fourth, extending superannuation provisions to officers of the new departments. For the commissioners, the fundamental argument behind the reform was the need to raise the efficiency of the public service by providing improved pension arrangements rather than attending to the civil servants' family claims.[19]

The Superannuation Act of 1857 reframed the landscape of Civil Service welfare in important ways. It triggered the creation of the General Committee of Civil Servants led by Sir Richard Bromley. Twenty-four departments enjoyed representation in the new committee with the object of passing a bill in Parliament to repeal the section of the Act of 1834 that imposed deductions—also known at that time as 'superannuation tax'—on civil servants' salaries.[20] Despite achieving the abolition of deductions to the contributory fund, many flaws in the Civil Service pension scheme remained according to civil servants. An actuarial report in 1858 proved that the

[18] 'A Peculiar Tax', *Express London* (30 April 1853), p. 281.
[19] McIlvenna, 'Widows and Orphans', pp. 78–9.
[20] Raphael, *Pensions and Public*, p. 151.

superannuation movement's basic claim was a fallacy: the deductions paid by civil servants did not cover the expenses of their pensions.[21] However, this discovery did not delegitimize other family and life-cycle claims which awaited resolution, such as the coverage of widows and orphans, the compulsory age of retirement, the introduction of annual increments, and lowering the ordinary pension rate to those who had worked at least ten years in the service.[22] Many civil servants celebrated the repeal of deductions but others lamented losing the contributions they had made over the past twenty years.[23] Unsatisfied, civil servants continued to mobilize in search of further improvements.

The Superannuation Act of 19 April 1859 marked another significant transformation in the landscape of welfare in the Civil Service. The Earl of Derby's second government (1858–59) redefined welfare and the Civil Service profession well into the twentieth century. In February 1859, Benjamin Disraeli (Chancellor of the Exchequer) and Stafford Northcote (Financial Secretary to the Treasury) introduced a bill to amend superannuation laws and other allowances to officers in the public service.[24] Civil servants' class and family claims were considered, though not necessarily to the extent many expected.[25] The Act of 1859 transformed the Civil Service welfare in five ways. First, it broadened the number of potential pensioners by including all persons who served in an established capacity in the permanent Civil Service and had been excluded by the Act of 1834. Second, civil servants were entitled to a pension after ten years of service. Third, the new statutory law changed from septennial to annual increments. The scale commenced with a minimum allowance of ten-sixtieths for ten years' service, progressing from one-sixtieth annually to the maximum of forty-sixtieths, without the deduction of one-fifth under the Treasury minute of 21 June 1831.[26] Fourth, the age of 60 became the recognized age of voluntary retirement instead

[21] Raphael, *Pensions and Public*, p. 158.
[22] 'Editorial', *CSG* (6 February 1858), p. 89; Raphael, *Pensions and Public*, p. 158.
[23] 'Civil Service Superannuation Bill: To the Editor of the Morning Post' (A.C.)', *TMP* (14 March 1859), p. 3.
[24] Raphael, *Pensions and Public*, p. 159.
[25] The Conservative bill embodied the recommendations on superannuation from the select committee of 1856 and the Royal commission of 1858. Raphael, *Pensions and Public*, p. 154–9.
[26] No addition would be made in respect of any service beyond forty years.

of 65-years old. Any permanent servant under 60 could not retire unless they presented a medical certificate to the satisfaction of the Treasury stating that he would be incapable from infirmity of mind or body to discharge his duties permanently. Finally, the Act of 1859 stipulated the maximum allowance at forty years of service rather than forty-five.[27]

In the 1850s, life-cycle expectations, family claims, and ideals of efficiency and fiscal retrenchment shaped the Acts of 1857 and 1859. These statutes were the result of long-standing public service grievances, the mid-nineteenth century drive to improve the efficiency of the administration, and existing demographic and life-cycle accidents affecting Victorian families. While civil servants were pressing the state to provide for their widows' and orphans' security, many MPs, Royal commissioners, and high-ranking officials believed that providing for the latter was soluble through the payment of private insurance rather than the state's finances.[28] These divergent conceptions of the welfare role of the state remained widespread in the higher ranks of the Civil Service until the early twentieth century, including the Treasury, to the detriment of those petitioners seeking to expand the scope of pensions. The revision of newspapers, Parliamentary papers, and semi-official correspondence suggest little reflection or intention to emulate foreign pension systems apart from a few rhetorical comparisons. Similarly, the legacy of the Crimean War (1853–56)—poverty, unemployment, human mobilization, and death—played a modest role in superannuation reforms in contrast with the impact that eighteenth-century warfare and the Napoleonic Wars had on the reform of 'Old Corruption'.[29]

More generally, the political mobilization of middle-aged and older civil servants agitating public opinion through meetings, petitions, and the press, drove the passing of the welfare reforms in 1857 and 1859. On occasions, these men united despite the divisions between them; at other times, they wrote individually to newspaper editors. In 1858, the *Civil Service Gazette* conceptualized the past ten years as the 'superannuation movement', which had included petitions, circulars,

[27] Raphael, *Pensions and Public*, p. 154–9.
[28] Raphael, *Pensions and Public*, p. 155.
[29] J. Innes, *Inferior Politics: Social Problems and Social Policies in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2009), p. 66.

pamphlets, and three public committees.[30] In 1857, civil servants mobilized in the national and provincial newspapers and secured the support of Liberal MPs, such as Sir Thomas Erskine (MP for Devonport) and John Roebuck (MP for Sheffield), who delivered speeches and presented their petitions to Parliament.[31] This campaigning gathered pace in other parts of Britain, which added further pressure to Parliament. 'A flood of petitions will be presented on the reassembling of Parliament, supported by the members who will take charge of them, and, it is expected, by a large majority of the House of Commons,' the *Caledonian Mercury* noted in January 1857.[32] A Scottish petition, signed by public officers in Inverness, Edinburgh, and Irvine, signalled to MPs that old age, infirmity, widowhood, and orphanage were not merely English problems.[33] In August 1857, the efforts to reform superannuation had come to fruition: the new bill abolished the deductions from civil servants' salaries.[34] In 1859, mobilization continued in the national and provincial press. Many postmasters and Post Office clerks from Sheffield, Dundee, Woolwich, and Stoke-upon-Trent petitioned Parliament for their inclusion in the bill.[35] Parliamentary select committees and Royal commissions further provided forums for formulating superannuation policy, some of it incorporated in the Acts of 1857 and 1859.

Deeper analyses of the evolution of superannuation reform in the 1850s thus decentres high politics approaches to the reform of the Civil Service, but also narratives which tend to solely reveal Sir Charles Trevelyan's, Robert Lowe's, and William Gladstone's leading role in the development of the British state. Conservative governments and MPs also played a prominent part in reform. The Act of 1859 was passed following the leadership of Conservative MPs in the House of Commons.[36] Parliamentary discussions were wide ranging: the limits of old age, state economy,

[30] 'Editorial', *CSG* (23 January 1858), p. 58.
[31] See, for example, 'Mr Roebuck, M.P., and the Civil Service Superannuation Fund', *Liverpool Albion* (26 January 1857), p. 11; 'Petition from Chatham', *South Eastern Gazette* (10 February 1857), p. 6.
[32] 'The Civil Service Superannuation Campaign', *Caledonian Mercury* (19 January 1857), p. 2.
[33] *Parliamentary Papers* (1857), v, Civil Service Superannuation Fund—For Alteration of Act, pp. 158, 205.
[34] Wright, *Treasury Control*, p. 308.
[35] 'Private Business: Petitions', *MA* (18 February 1859), p. 2.
[36] Wright, *Treasury Control*, p. 309.

family and class structures, and life-course accidents were all touched on.[37] Following Disraeli's inaugural statement in Parliament, some MPs supported the inclusion of all the civil servants in the bill.[38] Conservative leadership dominated both the proposals and discussions, even though the Act of 1859 incorporated Lord Palmerston's suggestion of lowering voluntary retirement to 60-years old.[39] While Northcote and Disraeli were key figures in one of the most crucial questions of the Civil Service's history, Gladstone opposed the Conservative bill on the grounds of economy.[40] The national press gave tribute to Disraeli, who became interested in the subject when the Treasury reduced a gentleman's pension who retired from infirmity. 'With the exception of Mr Disraeli, every successive Chancellor of the Exchequer has in turn opposed the just demands of the 16,000 civil servants of the Crown,' *The Morning Chronicle* noted with some exaggeration in 1859.[41]

Civil servants organized testimonials to those who had favoured their welfare cause, which highlights the bottom-up negotiated process of superannuation reform. The list included MPs and high-ranking and lower-grade civil servants from different counties. Bromley received several testimonials as a homage for his pivotal services in the repeal of deductions.[42] Other civil servants praised the services of Liberal politicians, such as Thomas Weguelin (MP for Southampton), who confronted James Wilson (Financial Secretary to the Treasury) in Parliament, proving that the Bank of England's clerks were treated better than the servants of the Crown.[43] In September 1859, dockyard workmen met at Temperance Hall to congratulate the Liberal MPs James Wilson (MP for Devonport), Sir Francis Baring (MP for Portsmouth), and Sir John Owen (MP for Pembroke) for bringing forth their claims to Parliament.[44] These testimonials suggest that local actors played a key role in passing the Act of 1859, even though Parliament remained the centre of legislative

[37] Stafford Northcote declared that officers paid out of the public funds would be included, but those paid out of local funds would not. 'Superannuation Allowance', *LES* (2 March 1859), p. 2.
[38] 'The Civil Service Superannuation Bill', *HI* (12 February 1859), p. 5.
[39] Raphael, *Pensions and Public*, p. 151.
[40] Raphael, *Pensions and Public*, p. 159.
[41] 'The Chancellor of the Exchequer's Civil Service Superannuation Bill', *TMC* (14 February 1859), p. 7.
[42] 'Shipping Intelligence', *TG* (25 April 1859), p. 3.
[43] 'Saturday, April 30, 1859', *HI* (30 April 1859), p. 4.
[44] 'Civil Service Superannuation Act', *Potter's Electric News* (7 September 1859), p. 3.

power. Similarly, the bill should not be attributed to Conservatives MPs alone; it was a joint effort with Liberals, a fact recognized even by Tory politicians.[45]

4.1.2. *The impact of superannuation reform on old age, professionalism, and conceptions of welfare*

By establishing age-grading pensions, Civil Service reform changed existing professional conceptions and markers of old age in Victorian Britain. The transition from eighteenth-century notions of old age to late nineteenth-century ones was not a uniform process. Elderly people (barely 10 per cent of the population) could not construct a uniform notion of old age because they were divided by class, generation, gender, and localities. Ageing men lacked the power, influence, and bodily faculties to impose their conceptions over younger generations and challenge their caricatures. In places of harsh labour conditions—where poverty, hard work, and reduced life expectancy persisted—physical decay still signalled when people became old.[46] These variations in conceptions of old age were reinforced by diverse practices, such as sermons, newspapers, family upbringing, and local customs. However, the Act of 1859 provided a standardized chronological demarcation of old age based on socio-professional attitudes to work, health, and career prospects. It defined 60-years old as the civil servants' age of voluntary retirement, the stage of life where it was assumed bodily and mental vigour began to decline. Given the diversity of offices, improvements in life expectancy, and various medical conditions, MPs believed that the threshold of 60-years old—previously 50—could be further extended to 70-years old.[47] The Order in Council of 15 of August 1891 fixed the compulsory retirement for every public servant at 65. Exceptionally, the Treasury, wielding the power of a public department, could extend any employment for a further period not exceeding five years if they considered that the retirement of

[45] 'A Reminder for Dockyardmen', *West Sussex Gazette*, 20 October 1859, p. 4.
[46] S. R. Ottaway, 'Providing for the Elderly in Eighteenth-Century England', *Continuity and Change*, 13/3 (1998), pp. 413.
[47] 'Civil Service Superannuation', *British Ensign* (13 April 1859), p. 7.

a civil servant would be detrimental to the service.[48] The reformed state thus associated old age with infirmity, incapacity to render good service, and resistance to innovations.[49] By contrast, the new age gradings opposed a middle life characterized by industry, health, and willingness to embrace change. These reforms were designed to improve the professional prospects of middle-aged officials and the efficiency of the service, facilitating the removal of servants of the Crown who, from age or infirmity, had become inefficient in their duties.[50]

The new age gradings enabled civil servants to reimagine their expectations of old age: they believed their vitality and experience could still be useful, as I will show in the next section. These expectations about the transition from middle life to old age changed over the life course. While attaining the age of 60 was an achievement for some, former Treasury clerks like Sir Stevenson Blackwood, aged 60, thought that dying at 65 was too early.[51] Blackwood wrote to one of his friends that he still hoped to achieve things in life beyond that age: 'Getting on for seventy now am I. Hurrah! Oh, that I may bring forth fruit in old age, that now when I am "old and grey-headed, I may show forth His strength to this generation," and thus, though at a great distance, tread in the steps of my loved and honoured old Marny.'[52] Newspaper obituaries, usually written by friends and family members, suggest that some did not conceive of becoming a pensioner as the end of their productive life. This was, among others, Lord Welby's case. 'When he retired he was in his 62nd year, but to a man of his temperament, unusually young and active for his age, resignation of office could only mean a change of occupation,' *The Mail* noted in 1915.[53] By contrast, pretentious of their own energies and knowledge, younger generations of civil servants reproduced the assumptions of the Act of 1859, finding old age useless in the practices of

[48] This measure encouraged public servants to claim the full amount of pensions forty years of service under the Act of 1859 if they entered the service at the age of twenty-five. 'Compulsory Retirement from the Civil Service', *Leeds Mercury* (3 January 1891), p. 11.
[49] Raphael, *Pensions and Public*, p. 160.
[50] Raphael, *Pensions and Public*, p. 156.
[51] S. H. Montague, *Some Records of the Life of Stevenson Arthur Blackwood K.C.B. Compiled by a Friend and Edited by his Widow* (London, 1896), p. 299.
[52] Montague, *Some Records*, p. 491.
[53] 'Lord Welby', *The Mail* (1 November 1915), p. 6.

government. In some cases, ironically, men connected to the Treasury lived long enough to disprove their youthful prejudices, as Lord Kilbracken recalled in his memoirs:

> It is curious that Mr Gladstone, who, from the force of circumstances, began his fourth administration when he was over eighty years of age, should, so far back as 1870, have expressed to me, in language almost violent, his aversion to old men lingering on the stage when the activity of their youthful energies had begun to decline.[54]

Superannuation reform also shaped the contours of the Civil Service profession. Attempting to define what made a 'civil servant' was a contested topic in the nineteenth century. Contemporaries provided different estimates depending on the nature of labour.[55] The Act of 1859 made a crucial intervention in defining who a civil servant was in two ways: first, as a person appointed directly by the Crown or admitted into the Civil Service with a certificate from the Civil Service Commissioners; and second, as any person already appointed to an office belonging to an administrative gradation entitled to a superannuation allowance.[56] Civil servants of the Crown were therefore known as 'established' or 'pensionable' officers until the early twentieth century.[57] Yet the significance of pensions for the processes of professionalizing the service went far beyond questions of definition. The permanent character of the Civil Service of the Crown, admired in the Americas where governments grappled with republican spoils systems, owed a great deal to the pension system. Newspapers treating the Civil Service as a 'profession' published articles about its enticing pensions prospects.[58] In 1903, Sir Francis Mowatt (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury) declared to the Royal Commission on Superannuation in the Civil Service that pensions acted as incentives making the service more attractive and encouraging the staff to remain in the profession in an increasingly competitive employment market.[59] Back then, Mowatt neglected the cultural and social motivations—growing prestige, Oxbridge education, social backgrounds,

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[54] A. West, *Recollections, 1832–1886* (London, 1900), p. 225.
[55] See, for example, 'Who are "Civil Servants?"', *Banffshire Journal and General Advertiser* (29 March 1859), p. 5.
[56] Wright, *Treasury Control*, p. 309.
[57] *Minutes of Evidence to the Report of the Royal Commission on the Superannuation in the Civil Service, together with Appendices and Index* (London, 1903), p. 2.
[58] 'Correspondence: Recruiting', *PMG* (26 May 1868), p. 3.
[59] *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 154.

adherence to the ethos of devotion to the public service—to remain in the profession, but he rightly pointed to the significance of pensions. He knew of instances where the higher ranks were being invited to leave the service for much better paid placements outside and he had no doubt, though he could not prove it, that it was the security of tenure and pension that mainly kept them in the service.[60] In his experience, the life cycle modified these professional expectations: young men cared little about pensions until the moment they started a family:

> When men join the Service, or when men have been in it for some time, it is the continual remark of men who come to me for places that they do not care twopence about the pension; they want the salary, and they want the place. As life goes on, and they marry, and have families the pension becomes very attractive and the salary less.[61]

Civil Service reform focused on welfare further reinforced professional values. As in other nineteenth-century European polities developing professional bureaucracies, the British administration increasingly placed the construction of the public service in opposition to individual interests.[62] These languages of diligence and public devotion were imposed in the Treasury with almost imperceptible variation over time. Each retirement was a moment to enshrine this ethos of service in the Treasury arrangement and appointment books and the certificates of efficiency required to claim a pension. Similarly, retiring Treasury clerks paid customary tributes to the diligence and character of members of staff and their private secretaries.[63] Small and daily gestures such as these gave cohesion to the cultural representations of the British state over time.

Two examples, among many, illuminate how this professional rhetoric nurtured not only the ideals of disinterested public service but also round off the model of the Civil Service career. In 1907, Sir Edward Hamilton retired at the age of 60 from the office of financial secretary to the Treasury after thirty-seven years in the department. A large part of his public career had been spent

[60] *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 146.
[61] *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 147.
[62] For France, see C. Lemercier, 'La construction d'un modèle français de service public avant 1914', *La Découverte*, 2/2 (2007), p. 49.
[63] 'Treasury Arrangement and Appointment Book, 1869–87', TNA, T 197/5, p. 276.

as private secretary to William Gladstone, as head of the financial branch of the department for twenty-two years, and as an active member of Royal commissions (Indian Expenditure 1895–1900 and Local Taxation 1894–1901). For the lords of the Treasury, Hamilton displayed qualities and values that made him a model civil servant: 'He has served the State with a great zeal, and unselfish devotion to duty, which has never failed or flagged, and My Lords desire to put on record their appreciation of the work which he has done and the example he has set.'[64] The central state justified pensions such as Hamilton's not only on age but also on the idea that civil servants had fulfilled the public trust entrusted to them. The Treasury's material culture further permeated the working space with symbols of professional values. Upon Hamilton's retirement, his friends and colleagues presented him with his portrait as a tribute to his public services. The painting circulated in private homes and public offices. Hamilton first lent it to his sister during his lifetime, to whom he wished it might return to the Treasury. In 1911, three years after his death, she fulfilled his brother's wishes: Hamilton's painting hung high over the heads of the clerks attached to the financial division—his former stronghold—as a symbol of the model Treasury man.[65]

These languages of state professionalism spread in newspapers, social clubs, family circles, and memoirs. The interplay between public and private spheres ensured the dissemination of the cultural representations of the state to a broader audience. Newspaper obituaries, such as Stephen Spring-Rice's, were key to reproducing locally and nationally the masculine and professional model of the British civil servant. In 1902, Spring-Rice (Auditor of the Civil List) died unexpectedly, leaving a widow behind, Julia Emma, daughter of Sir Peter Fitzgerald, 1st baronet, and Julia Fitzgerald (née Hussey), a member of the Irish landed gentry. Local newspapers highlighted Spring-Rice's devotion to the public and financial expertise. 'The death of Mr Stephen Spring Rice, C.B., of the Treasury, ends in its early prime a career that was in accord with the best tradition of British official life,' the *Islington Gazette* wrote in 1902.[66] The *Norwich Mercury*'s approach was more

[64] 'Treasury Arrangement and Appointment Book, 1907–14', TNA, T 197/7, p. 6–7.
[65] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1907–14', p. 84.
[66] 'About Men and Women', *Islington Gazette* (11 September 1902), p. 3.

pedagogical. By reprinting Lord Welby's eulogy—Spring-Rice's Treasury colleague and former permanent secretary (1885–94)—it explained to its readership why commemorating a British public servant was deemed worthy of an article in the context of imperial competition with German militarism. Lord Welby's speech was also significant because it is suggestive of how Treasury clerks' representations of the reformed state and their profession intermixed with religious values:

> It is good in this day, when Bismarckism is sweeping the younger generation, that there should be some evidence of that loftier Puritan spirit which thinks not only of what is expedient, or what is profitable, but of what is right. Spring Rice once said to Mr Bernard Holland that a civil servant ought to be like the servant in the Gospel who when he had given all his strength, felt that he had given nothing. It sounds like exaggeration, but I am convinced that in his case it was the expression of genuine conviction. At the close of his too brief career he might have said with the Psalmist, "The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up".[67]

The exclusion of widows and orphans from the Act of 1859 reinforced the existing belief of the Treasury and other contemporaries in the necessary role of voluntary associations, the Poor Laws, insurance companies, churches, and familial welfare in providing rather than any centralized system. As we know, life-cycle accidents, deaths, and illnesses experienced in the service informed these reflections, but, ultimately, widows and orphans were excluded until further reforms in the late nineteenth century.

These conceptions of the state emphasizing the interplay between public and private spheres were rooted in familial duties. In 1865, the death of George Arbuthnot (Auditor of the Civil List in the Treasury) was the occasion for George Hamilton (Assistant Secretary to the Treasury) to reflect upon this masculine and familial obligations in a letter to William Gladstone:

> The day of Arbuthnot's funeral, his brother in law, the Reverend R. Fielden, called me into the study, and said he thought it necessary to let me know that he was afraid it would turn out that poor Arbuthnot had made little or no provision for his family. He said that he was a man of no extravagance whatever, & moderate in every way, that he possessed a small estate in the West of Ireland, which had been a source of expense to him, and he had sold it last year. That his time & thoughts had been given up so entirely to the Public fled his affairs, he feared, had become deranged, and that the insurance he had effect on

[67] 'Literary Jottings', *Norwich Mercury*, 10 December 1902, p. 6.

> his life for his family would be absorbed by his debts. He had 3 sons & 2 daughters to educate.[68]

George Arbuthnot's death shows that even financial experts, professionals, and men from the landed gentry could not guarantee the future security of their families. Yet the situation of Arbuthnot's family did not spark a reflection on the role of the central state in welfare provision. Instead, Hamilton thought that Arbuthnot had neglected his private affairs. The latter's devotion to the public service was hard to question: rumours even suggested that he had declined the office of the manager of the Bank of England, and, therefore, the very large emoluments offered to him. While Arbuthnot was a model civil servant, the same could not be said of him as a father, according to Hamilton: 'I am persuaded his whole mind was in his duties as a Civil Servant, and it has ended in poverty.'[69] Hamilton gave his opinion confidentially to Gladstone, even though it was not his place to do so. By hoping that Lord Palmerston would use his power to grant Arbuthnot's family an exceptional pension, he was expressing not only the limitations of the Act of 1859, but also the common belief among Victorians that 'private affairs' were the duties of fathers rather than the state.[70]

Little had changed by the turn of the century. In a local and European context increasingly favourable to new forms of state centralization, Sir Francis Mowatt (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury) declared to the Royal Commission on Superannuation in the Civil Service that it was a man's duty to arrange for his family's insurance. Mowatt used gender norms and the life cycle rather than a particular ideology as his arguments against any general provision for widows and orphans. He first argued that it was an unjust burden for bachelors, even though he presumably knew they were a minority within the service: 'I have been a bachelor myself, and I should have objected to being caught.'[71] Secondly, Mowatt still believed that a man should insure his family

[68] 'George Hamilton to William Gladstone', 9 August 1865, TNA, MS Hamilton, T 168/2, p. 285.
[69] 'George Hamilton to William Gladstone', p. 286.
[70] 'From Wednesday, May 11, to Friday, May 13, 1859', *EM* (13 May 1859), p. 4.
[71] *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 152.

instead of leaving this duty in the state, though he was aware that the German state provided pensions to widows. The commissioners rebutted that many civil servants were unable to make provisions for their families. 'Yes, but my impression is that the man himself is the proper judge of how he shall conduct his domestic arrangements, and it is not fair to him to meddle with that,' Mowatt concluded.[72] As previous Treasury clerks, he remained entrenched in religious, familial, and masculine norms to argue that pensions should not be allocated to widows, and that the central state should not take these duties away from civil servants.

Civil Service reform further reinforced the existing ideas that certain classes were less likely to see the need for state welfare, having sufficient wealth and their own private strategies to provide for elderly family members. The interplay of public and private spheres was also rooted on class. On the death of husbands and fathers, aristocratic and middle-class families had devised an array of practices for the security of relatives and kin, including annuities, insurance, and inheritances.[73] In the 1850s, Sir Charles Trevelyan (Assistant Secretary to the Treasury) suggested these practices were central to their fatherly duties: 'The plan of life of every official person has been formed upon this supposition; and besides many other fixed outgoings which might be named, he generally insures his life for the benefit of his wife and children to the full extent of his available margin.'[74] Thus existing familial practices among those with the most influence in the Treasury discouraged the centralization of the state's activities and functions. Trevelyan argued that the aristocratic classes had more resources to deal with the insecurities of the life cycle than the lower classes:

> Those who live by the labour of their hands or their brain have a short and precarious tenure of their income, and have not only to maintain themselves and their families out of it, but also to save the means of providing for their families after their death; whereas landowners and fundholders can spend the whole of their income, and leave their property to their children.[75]

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[72] *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 152.
[73] J. Habakkuk, *Marriage, Debt, and the Estates System: English Landownership, 1650–1950* (Oxford, 1994), ch. 3; A. Owens, 'Property, Gender and the Life Course: Inheritance and Family Welfare Provision in Early Nineteenth-Century England', *SH*, 26/3 (2001), pp. 299–317.
[74] *Papers Originally Printed in 1850 Respecting the Emoluments of Persons in the Permanent Employment of the Government as Compared with those of Persons in the Employment of Joint Stock Companies, Bankers, Merchants, &c.: and Three Papers on the Superannuation Question* (London, 1856), p. 8.
[75] *Papers Originally*, p. 7.

The lower classes in the Civil Service were a different story altogether. Imbued with the spirit of charity and philanthropy characteristic of their social standing, Treasury clerks supported the role of voluntary associations, charities, and churches in providing welfare to these segments of the Civil Service, as I will show in the next section. The Act of 1859 further encouraged the growth of these welfare provisions as it did not offer protection to civil servants' widows and orphans. In the case of life insurance, a relatively unexplored theme in Victorian Britain, Treasury clerks like Stephen Martin Leake were shareholders of these companies and insured their families throughout the nineteenth century.[76] In 1903, Sir Francis Mowatt (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury) was aware that the pensions scheme could not guarantee the security of any family but ignored the scope and workings of voluntary funds for death and other contingencies within the service.[77] He opposed once again the idea of compulsory death insurance, even though lower-class clerks found it hard to make those provisions.[78]

Over the course of the nineteenth century, the influence of family and class claims remained central to those civil servants pressing for the reform of the Act of 1859. Successive select committees and Royal commissions of enquiry in 1887 and 1903 investigated how the system could be improved in scale and scope.[79] Debates on the spotlighted Civil Service superannuation and other branches of the state persisted to expand the scope of the central state's welfare activities, even though Civil servants, poor law officers, policemen, and colonial officials mobilized advocating their sectional interests rather than a universal pension system encompassing all of them.[80] Finance and international parallels provided points of reference to improve their present conditions.[81] The Superannuation Acts of 1887 and 1909 took steps towards the coverage

[76] T. Alborn, *Regulated Lives: Life Insurance and British Society, 1800–1914* (Toronto, 2009), pp. 14–5.
[77] *Minutes of Evidence*, pp. 27–8.
[78] *Minutes of Evidence*, pp. 151–3.
[79] McIlvenna, 'Widows and Orphans', p. 79–81.
[80] See, for example, 'The Proposed Police Superannuation Bill', *YPLI* (2 December 1887), p. 3
[81] In particular, the Bank of England and the German pensions scheme: *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 27.

of civil servants' widows and orphans in the Civil Service pension scheme.[82] The Act of 1887 under Lord Salisbury's government (1886–92) permitted the Treasury to grant gratuities and allowances to civil servants (or their relatives) in cases of permanent injury whilst on duty, inefficiency, death, or ineligibility to receive pensions.[83] The Superannuation Act of 1909 broadened the scope and conceptions of welfare by including a small provision for civil servants' family members.[84] Yet the coverage came late and was not satisfactory, subject to departmental and Treasury discretion. For most of our period under study, civil servants continued to complement their welfare provisions by joining voluntary associations and creating mutual improvement societies.

Civil servants resorted to different partnerships between public and private welfare in the late nineteenth century. In 1903, John Fitzgerald, a Post Office sorter and member of the Fawcett Association, claimed that most sorters bought insurance on their lives.[85] Other public servants joined the Civil Service Benevolent Fund (CSBF) or the Inland Revenue Benevolent Fund (IRBF). The government did not fund the CSBF but sometimes supported the IRBF and the Customs Annuity Benevolent Fund.[86] Other forms of partnership involved the boards of these associations. For example, the Directors of the Atlas Insurance Company were trustees of the IRBF. 'There was no capital fund to start with it. It was really a new society altogether, and directly afterwards the Board helped them. The main object of the society was to provide for widows and orphans,' C. M. Moir declared to the Royal commission in 1903.[87] Other voluntary associations included the Civil Service Insurance Society and Widow's Fund, the Equitable Life Assurance Society, and the Registry of Friendly Societies.[88] Competition between these associations did not turn sour as they specialized: some limited their coverage to some offices or departments, while others were open to the whole public service. The CSIF offered better terms for the most well-off civil servants at

[82] McIlvenna, 'Widows and Orphans', p. 79.
[83] 'The Superannuation Act 1887', *Western Morning News* (27 September 1887), p. 3.
[84] McIlvenna, 'Widows and Orphans', p. 87–9.
[85] *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 34.
[86] *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 27.
[87] Civil servants contributed 5% of their salaries to the fund: if they contributed £200, the widow received £10 per annum for her life; if she died, the annuity would revert to her orphans. See *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 28.
[88] *Minutes of Evidence*.

death, but the IRBF made better provisions for widows and orphans.[89] These public-private partnerships show a diverse world of voluntary associations seeking to address over the course century the shortcomings of the pension scheme of 1859.

4.1.3. *The practices of superannuation in the Treasury following Civil Service reform*

The Act of 1859 dictated welfare guidelines in the Civil Service for most of our period under study. Between 1831 and 1859, public officers had submitted their welfare claims for a pension to the Treasury. Two junior lords of the department, known as the 'superannuation committee', determined the merits of each case, and allocated a pension or refused it.[90] The committee followed precedents and sometimes consultations with chancellors of the Exchequer; in practice, its members were independent and flexible when assessing the candidates' age, illnesses, efficiency, special services, allowances, and duties.[91] The members of the committee did not remain long in their positions because they were MPs appointed by successive governments. The growing business of and frequent changes to the committee endangered the enforcement of Civil Service welfare according to the Treasury board. In this context, a Treasury clerk—known as 'clerk of the superannuation committee'—supported the assistant secretary to the Treasury, who had replaced one of the junior lords in the committee to ensure continuity and oversight.[92] The Act of 1859 simplified the committee's decision-making due to the increasing unification of standards.[93] Yet, the Treasury retained full power to grant pensions until the early twentieth century.[94] The correspondence of George Hamilton (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, 1859–69) with MPs and civil servants shows that the committee retained a degree of flexibility in granting allowances for special services and reducing the amount for demerit in individual cases.[95] During his tenure,

[89] *Minutes of Evidence*, pp. 25, 29.
[90] Wright, *Treasury Control*, p. 310.
[91] *Report from the Select Committee on Miscellaneous Expenditure; together with the Minutes of Evidence Taken before them* (London, 1848), pp. 80–1, 101–2.
[92] Wright, *Treasury Control*, p. 310; 'Treasury Arrangement', TNA, T 197/5, pp. 21, 252.
[93] 'Superannuation in the Civil Service', *APJ* (23 March 1859), p. 8.
[94] Raphael, *Pensions and Public*, p. 161.
[95] See several cases in TNA, MS Hamilton, T 168/3.

Ralph Lingen (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, 1869–85) took a personal interest in solving the difficulties arising from omissions and irregularities.[96] By the turn of the century, changes in the calculation of pensions still required the expertise of the Treasury because these varied depending on the period of service, age of retirement, pension rate, administrative gradation, and salary.[97]

After the passing of the Act of 1859, Treasury officials were awarded pensions mostly due to age, ill health, abolition of office, and deaths. To aspire to an allowance for a maximum of two-thirds salary after forty years' service, a civil servant had to spend at least ten years in the service, receive his salary from the Consolidated Fund, and demonstrate that he had served in a permanent capacity and efficiently.[98] These were flexible regulations, as I mentioned before. From a sample of eighty-three Treasury officials, *Table 4.1* shows that the most common claim for a pension was that the applicant had reached 60-years of age (40 per cent). Treasury officials also became pensioners by arguing ill health (30.1 per cent) before the age of 60. Other claims for pensions included deaths (7.2 per cent), though mostly left attended, and the abolition of offices (8.4 per cent) designed to improve the efficiency and economy of the service.

Table 4.1. Claims for pensions in the Treasury, 1848–1914

Cause for Retirement	**Treasury Officials**	**Percentage**
Age	34	40
Ill health	25	30.1
Unknown	10	12
Abolition of Office	7	8.4
Death	6	7.2
Misconduct	1	1.2

Sources: 'Treasury Arrangement and Appointment Book, 1846–57', TNA, T 197/3; 'Treasury Arrangement and Appointment Book, 1857–69', TNA, T 197/4; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1869–87'; 'Treasury Arrangement and Appointment Book, 1887–1907', TNA, T 197/6; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1907–14'.

[96] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1869–87', pp. 21, 353.
[97] 'Civil Service Pensions', *Weekly Telegraph* (2 October 1909), p. 6; *Minute of Evidence*, p. 1.
[98] Wright, *Treasury Control*, pp. 311–2.

In the 1850s, overwork and nervous breakdowns were becoming an increasing source of concern for the efficiency of the British Civil Service, which the provisions of the Act of 1859 attempted to remedy. Between 1846 and 1914, the Treasury granted twenty-five temporary leaves of absence requiring medical certificates (usually one to six months, though renewable), most of them between 1846–59.[99] In 1878, George William Hervey escaped the British winter and spent the next six months in the southern climate to recover from fatigue.[100] Breakdowns and overwork among Treasury clerks were part of a broader welfare problem in Victorian Britain that was becoming increasingly common among professionals, clerks in the service economy, and civil servants, who were affected by the changing rhythms of life caused by the Gospel of work, urbanization, industrialization, communication networks, and commercial expansion.[101] Professional men, such as Treasury officials, were apparently prone to modern diseases due to intellectual and physical work: sleep deprivation, heart attacks, and nervous crises.[102] As *Table 4.1* illustrates above, several Treasury officials under 60-years of age retired from the service after being unable to recuperate from their illnesses. The bachelor, Treasury clerk Thomas Courteney spent a year on leave before finally retiring in 1854. In 1861, he had moved to the more peaceful seaside location in Kenton, Devon, where he lived with one servant and a gardener.[103] The Treasury arrangement and appointment books reveal that a certificate from a medical doctor was required to qualify one for retirement. Once again, the central state relied on physicians to determine access to public positions or rewards.

The Act of 1859 enabled the retirement of sick civil servants beyond the Treasury. Post-Office officials had some of the worst health outcomes—rheumatism, poor eyesight, cramps, sleep

[99] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1846–57'; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1857–69'; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1869–87'; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1887–1907'; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1907–14'.
[100] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1869–87', p. 196.
[101] S. Shuttleworth, 'Fagged Out: Overwork and Sleeplessness in Victorian Professional Life', *Panel 3: Nineteenth-Century Perspectives on Sleep. Sleep and Stress: Past and Present*, Kohn Centre, Royal Society, 7 December 2018.
[102] 'Overworked Ministers', *PMG* (23 January 1871), p. 1 Even famous politicians such as John Bright, Benjamin Disraeli, and William Gladstone experienced these afflictions at some point in their lives. See Shuttleworth, 'Fagged Out'.
[103] 'Thomas P. Courteney', 1861, EWSC, RG09, P1392, fo. 87, p. 12.

deprivation—due to their long night shifts, irregular hours of work, dusty offices, and poorly lit sorting offices. Over the second half of the nineteenth century, it is estimated that 57 per cent of those retiring contended ill health or, at least, used it as a partial cause of retirement.[104] In 1903, the Royal commissioners for Civil Service Superannuation were stunned by the high rates of Post Office men retiring from ill health before 60-years old. Sir Francis Mowatt (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury) ascertained that in dozens of cases, their age of retirement barely reached 30-years old: 'It might interest the Commission to know that the other day I picked out 100 consecutive cases in the three classes you have been talking of, and, adding them up, I found that the average service before retirement was 27 years.'[105]

Sometimes illnesses led to Treasury officials' deaths. Most reached the voluntary age of retirement (60-years), but a few did not reach this threshold. In Victorian Britain, life expectancy improved for the general population, but unhealthy work conditions, household environments, disease, poverty, malnutrition, accidents, and overwork prevented many people from reaching old age.[106] Ill health took the life away of 7.2 per cent of middle-aged Treasury clerks retiring between 1848 and 1914, leaving their families in adverse circumstances. Edwin Crafer, aged 43, did not survive cholera in 1854. 'He expired on Saturday night late, fully aware of his danger, and resigned to death. A widow, and, we believe, eight young children, survive his irreparable domestic and public loss. We fear his family are ill-provided,' *The Daily News* reported.[107] Lord Aberdeen exceptionally granted his widow, Maria, a civil pension of £150 a year not only out of compassion for her and her children but also because Crafer enjoyed powerful connections after his tenure as private secretary to successive patronage secretaries to the Treasury.[108] These life-course accidents fuelled contemporary debates on pensions policy, as we saw earlier, but Treasury officials did not

[104] D. R. Green et al., 'Addressing Ill Health: Sickness and Retirement in the Victorian Post Office', *Social History of Medicine*, 33/2 (2018), p. 7.
[105] *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 154.
[106] M. Sanderson, 'The Emergence of the Modern Life Cycle in Britain', *SH*, 10/1 (1985), p. 65.
[107] 'Death of Mr Edwin T. Crafer', *TDN* (25 September 1854), p. 3.
[108] 'George Hamilton to William Gladstone'.

express a particular concern regarding the early death of staff. Another eight Treasury clerks died tragically in middle life, leaving behind widows and children without sparking debate about their provisioning. Such were the cases of Arthur Brook (aged 30), William Blain (aged 47), George Gleadowe (aged 46), Vernon Delves-Broughton (aged 51), Stephen Spring-Rice (aged 46), and Edmund Plunkett (aged 43).[109] The bachelor's death equally shocked society. 'Rarely, indeed, has so promising a career been curtailed more tragically', *The Daily News* noted about Theodore Llewellyn Davies's death, aged 34, after he drowned in a river in 1905.[110]

The Treasury also used the dispositions of the Act of 1859 to enhance the efficiency of the service. Clause 7 of this act granted powers to the Treasury to give a pension to any person voluntarily retiring from the public service in consequence of the abolition of his office or for facilitating improvements in the organization of the department, which they believed would lead to greater efficiency and economy.[111] The Treasury tried to prevent the retirement of efficient officers in the department and other public establishments, which is why it strove to ensure that those recommended for pensions were over 60. As *Table 4.1* shows above, the Treasury granted pensions for the loss of office to 8 per cent of the retiring workforce from 1848 to 1914. Treasury clerks, such as Roger Wilbraham and Frederick Fitzgerald, volunteered to retire to claim pensions based on the abolition of offices after spending thirty-three years in the public service.[112] More broadly, the Treasury tried to support proposals for the reorganization of the Admiralty and the War Office in the 1870s. A significant number of clerks in those departments, however, were reluctant to retire voluntarily, which forced the Treasury, in consultation with heads of departments, to enforce the removal of officers until the introduction of compulsory retirement (65-years) in 1891.[113]

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[109] 'Treasury Arrangement, 1887–1907', p. 18–9; 'Births, Marriages, Deaths', *YPLI* (12 May 1869), p. 4; 'Wills and Bequests', *TMP* (22 April 1871), p. 6; 'Births, Marriages, Deaths', *LES* (2 March 1886), p. 1; 'Mr. William Blain, C.B. A Great Lancastrian', *TDT* (1 January 1909), p. 7.
[110] 'Men and Movements', *The Daily News* (1 August 1905), p. 12.
[111] Wright, *Treasury Control*, p. 318.
[112] 'Treasury Arrangement', TNA, T 197/5, p. 38.
[113] Wright, *Treasury Control*, pp. 321–2.

Civil Service reform further crystallized the divergent career structures studied in Chapter 3 among the clerical grades and other officials, which translated into class differences and diverse experiences of old age. *Table 4.2* builds on a total of forty-seven superannuation cases encompassing the different administrative gradations in the Treasury.[114] At the end of their careers, Second-Division clerks had not managed to close the gap with Treasury clerks despite their salary increases (five to ten times more than the initial one) over the century.[115] Their salaries had improved, but those over £700 were the exception rather than the rule for Second-Division clerks. In the Treasury, only the Superintendent of the Registry Department—a promoted Second-Division clerk—could reach this kind of salary, the same as a First-Class Treasury clerk, as I showed in Chapter 3. *Table 4.2* reveals that the pension median of the permanent secretary and the auditor of the Civil List was sixty times higher than that of the charwomen, nineteen times higher than that of messengers, four times more than that of Second-Division clerks, and twice as much as that of Treasury clerks and solicitors. While Treasury clerks' pensions doubled those of Second-Division clerks, they were on a similar level to the solicitors of the department.

These administrative gradations deriving from pensions were not a Treasury phenomenon. Sir Francis Mowatt (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury) was aware of class inequalities within the clerical grades. The higher ranks of the department could aspire to pensions amounting to £1,000 if they had successful careers. Bridging the gaps within departments was as hard closing those between them. Each public department required a separate calculation; otherwise, one would suffer at the expense of another. In 1903, Mowatt discussed with the Royal commissioners whether these differences between administrative grades and establishments might be reduced, but he was aware of the complications it would bring to the administrative machinery: 'I think I can foresee

[114] Treasury superannuation varied due to differences in administrative gradations, salaries, periods of tenure, special services, and the flexibility in the superannuation committee's decision-making. I based my calculations on the information recorded in the Treasury arrangement and appointment books from 1848 to 1914. There are notable omissions, however. After 1887, these books stopped registering the amounts that Treasury officials received in pensions. At other times, they did not record their years of service or the salary on which their pension was calculated.
[115] *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 148.

some difficulty. A man might pass half his time in one class and get into another class, and pass the rest of his time there, and no doubt there would be some difficulty in bringing his case into line.'[116]

Table 4.2. Pension mean, median and range in the Treasury, 1848–1914

Grade	Number of Pensioners	Pension Mean	Pension Median	Pension Range
Permanent Secretary/Auditor of the Civil List	3	£1,288.66	£1200	£1,000-1666
Treasury clerks	22	£738.86	£660	£290-1100
Solicitors	3	£726.66	£580	£500-1100
Second-Division clerks	6	£331.33	£300	£225-458
Messengers	11	£82.54	£62	£32-210
Charwomen	2	£20	£20	£19-21

Sources: 'Treasury Arrangement and Appointment Book, 1846–57', TNA, T 197/3; 'Treasury Arrangement and Appointment Book, 1857–69', TNA, T 197/4; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1869–87'; 'Treasury Arrangement and Appointment Book, 1887–1907', TNA, T 197/6; 'Treasury Arrangement, 1907–14'.

4.2. Retiring from the Treasury: Occupations, charities, and familial welfare

In its modern form, retirement was the product of professionalism and the development of pensionable bureaucracies.[117] The word 'retirement' was absent from the 1830 edition of Samuel Johnson's dictionary.[118] In Victorian Britain, it was a relatively unknown concept for most of the population, except for the naval, military, and public officers who retired from service.[119] These professions provided parallels to rethink the last stage of the Civil Service career, as I showed in Chapter 1. By the 1850s, retirement was understood as stepping down from 'public life' into 'private life'.[120] Religious and philosophical notions associated this period with a virtuous, calm,

[116] *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 155.
[117] P. Johnson, 'Parallel Histories of Retirement in Modern Britain', in P. Johnson and P. Thane (eds.), *Old Age from Antiquity to Post-Modernity* (London, 2003), p. 211; Thane, 'Old Age in European', p. 391.
[118] Sanderson, 'The Emergence of the Modern', p. 70.
[119] Sanderson, 'The Emergence of the Modern', p. 85.
[120] Other conceptions included 'final retirement'. See 'Lord Macaulay at Cambridge -His Retirement into Private Life', *Elgin Courier* (1 May 1858), p. 4.

and independent existence. Retired Treasury clerks like Sir William Gurdon identified retirement with peaceful rest.[121] In their memoirs, retirement was depicted as a separate stage in the life cycle from their official career.[122] Other high-ranking civil servants aimed to enjoy a few years of peace and leisure before their deaths.[123]

Yet these men also experienced retirement as a moment of possibilities. These new avenues in life were enhanced by improvements in health, rising life expectations, the growth of the service economy, social connections, and professional expertise. Lifestyles, which included travel, leisure, and other activities, increasingly challenged dismissive stereotypes of old age.[124] In the late nineteenth century, the employment market became crowded with naval and military officers under the rules of compulsory retirement.[125] The Civil Service offered them employment in the Post Office, Customs, and the Inland Revenue but could not re-allocate retired civil servants in the public departments. If they had the vitality or inclination, these latter men worked in local charities and other activities, suggesting that their professional status and pensions were insufficient to cover family expenses and prevent them from being in positions of insecurity in old age.[126]

This section addresses what retirement meant for Treasury officials following nineteenth-century Civil Service reform. It provides new insights into how class and family formations shaped diverse experiences of old age and how professional expertise acquired in the department and by social connections opened new occupational opportunities. Former Treasury officials enjoyed a productive retirement, engaging in banking, finance, local government, and charitable work. In this process, Treasury officials supported the interplay between private and public spheres in welfare provision instead of centralization. The retirement of Treasury officials reveals that

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121 West, *Recollections*, p. 226.
122 J. A. Kempe, *Reminiscences of an Old Civil Servant 1846–1927* (London, 1928).
123 '(..) my health at that time was not very good; I did not expect a long life, and, like my great Master [William Gladstone], I was determined to have, if possible, a few years of peace and leisure before my final disappearance.' L. Kilbracken, *Reminiscences of Lord Kilbracken* (London, 1931), p. 232.
124 Thane, 'Old Age in European', p. 389.
125 'Editors', *Army and Navy Gazette* (26 January 1889), p. 1.
126 'Retired Officials and Civil Employment', *The Standard* (29 September 1909), p. 1.

professional status and pensions were inadequate to sustain their family's social standing. Undertaking work in additional occupations and familial practices for the security of kin—cohabitation, annuities, loans, inheritances—was a fundamental source of wealth and welfare for this social group that was not the recipient of either charity or poor relief.

4.2.1. *Retirement occupations*

Treasury clerks did not enjoy a retirement of pure leisure, dependency, or ill health. Many civil servants found it painful to age and say farewell to public life; others, by contrast, were relieved to leave them behind.[127] But they did not sit idle enjoying the idealized retreat into private life of classical philosophers.[128] This administrative elite transitioned to new forms of work, revenue, status, and social connections. Some wrote their autobiographies and economic treatises, gave lectures on financial topics, joined voluntary associations and private companies, and began new ventures in finance, industry, charity, and local government.[129] Treasury clerks enjoyed a productive old age with new cultural aspirations attuned to their life cycle, even though they also experienced insecurities, family obligations, and religious calls.

Retired Treasury clerks shifted to new functions on the basis of their administrative expertise and social backgrounds. As professional younger sons of the aristocracy, these men were not destined to a life of landed leisure even in old age. Retirement from the Civil Service confirmed their status as part of the professional segments of the aristocracy. In the service economy and occupational structures of Victorian Britain, retired Treasury clerks pursued a limited number of occupations. None became engineers, landed agents, architects, or part of the growing artistic professions, except for Quintin Twiss and Benjamin Stephenson.[130] Few former Treasury clerks,

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[127] Kilbracken, *Reminiscence of Lord*, pp. 233–4; West, *Recollections*, p. 319.
[128] For this Ciceronian ideal, see Chase, *Victorians and Old Age*, p. 7.
[129] Kempe, *Reminiscences of an Old*, p. 196.
[130] Quintin Twiss and Benjamin Stephenson became respectable actors and playwriters. See 'Death of Mr Quintin Twiss, The Canterbury Old Stager', *Whitstable Times and Herne Bay Herald* (11 August 1900), p. 2; 'Prominent People: B. C. Stephenson', *The Stage* (26 July 1894), p. 10.

such as Herbert Murray, took up posts in distant territories of the British Empire.[131] In reality, most worked as directors and board members of industrial and financial companies, as chairmen and subscribers of local and imperial charities, and as local authorities. While some, like Sir Herbert Murray, wished to retire to rest, many needed new revenues and occupations to fulfil their needs and obligations.[132] The old age of Treasury clerks is significant because it illustrates the societal changes in the composition and functions of the aristocracy inasmuch they meshed with different segments of the upper and upper-middle classes, such as the 'intellectual aristocracy' and 'plutocracy'.[133] This intermingling deepened when their offspring joined the new professions, finance, and industry or married into diverse social milieus, as I suggested in Chapter 3. Moreover, it is significant because it challenges contemporary stereotypical representations of permanent civil servants devoted to the public interest. In old age, Treasury clerks shifted to ventures in finance, industry, and local politics, where they made new connections.

The appointment of retired Treasury clerks as directors and board members of industrial businesses, banks, and insurance companies is instructive about how the state, industry, and finance interacted in the late nineteenth century. Recent scholarship has challenged antagonisms between the industrial and financial worlds by showing that the landed aristocracy was involved in port-building, coalmining, transport undertakings, and urban development.[134] Between 1896 and 1920, a growing number of peers (167 in 1896; 232 in 1910) became directors of industrial and financial companies, defying established values and behaviour patterns under new economic and cultural circumstances.[135] The focus on Treasury clerks shifts our attention to the professional segments of the aristocracy and improves our understanding of their role in integrating the British state, finance, and industry. Lord Welby, Sir Charles Fremantle, Algernon Turnor, or Sir Charles

[131] 'Sir Herbert Murray and Newfoundland', *APJ* (28 September 1895), p. 5.
[132] 'Sir Herbert Murray and Newfoundland'.
[133] D. Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (New York, 1999), pp. 392–3.
[134] See, for example, M. Daunton, *State and Market in Victorian Britain: War, Welfare and Capitalism* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 159–63.
[135] Cannadine, *Decline and Fall*, pp. 407–9; Perkin, *Rise of Professional*, p. 69; M. Rothery, 'The Reproductive Behaviour of the English Landed Gentry in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *JBS*, 48/3 (2009), p. 693.

Rivers Wilson may have joined financial directorships and boards due to debts and family obligations as other members of the aristocracy, but their professional expertise sets them apart the impoverished peers and landowners who landed into the City.[136] This administrative elite acquired financial expertise in the Treasury and the Civil Service that enabled them to connect industry and finance at a time when the service economy was crucial for the expansion of the British Empire.[137] Rivers Wilson became the president of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway and director of the Alliance Assurance Company; Fremantle was one of the directors of Parr's Bank, the Eagle Insurance Company, and the British Electric Traction Company; Sir Henry Primrose, aged 76, was director of the International Investment Trust and the Marine and General Mutual Life Assurance Society before committing suicide in 1923.[138]

Retired Treasury clerks were part of both the local and the imperial political economy of Britain, which they saw and experienced as thoroughly integrated with one another. Since the eighteenth century, members of the landed classes and the gentry had been shareholders and directors of canal and railway companies of local importance.[139] Some also had imperial interests connected with the slave-trade, India, and other parts of the British Empire. There were, therefore, precedents to intermixing the local and the imperial among the upper classes. Yet, in the late nineteenth century, retired Treasury clerks joined these bodies in particular ways and a different context characterized by the imperial competition between Germany and Britain, the British expansion in the Middle East, and the dominance of the service economy. Lord Welby, for example, combined his work in the London City Council with directorships of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway and the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada.[140] He was not alone because a successful career in the Treasury provided a privileged source of financial knowledge, administrative

[136] Cf. Cannadine, *Decline and Fall*, pp. 407–20.
[137] For this intermixing, see Daunton, *State and Market*, p. 177.
[138] 'Cremation and Anatomical Examination Ordered in Wills', *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* (26 July 1923), p. 2; 'B.E.T. Resignations', *Leeds Mercury* (21 December 1911), p. 2; 'A Railway Organiser', *Croydon's Weekly Standard* (30 October 1909), p. 3.
[139] Cannadine, *Decline and Fall*, p. 407.
[140] 'Lord Welby', p. 6.

experience, judgement, and connections. After a long and distinguished career, Treasury clerks had accumulated practical and financial expertise of the state valuable to imperial economic ventures. Sir Charles Fremantle, a member of the Council of the Suez Canal, combined his charity work in London with the directorship of the Egyptian Delta Light Railways.[141] Their financial expertise allowed them to move comfortably between local and imperial spheres in old age and shape outcomes at the highest level of the service and industrial economies.

Retired Treasury clerks' fiscal orthodoxy played a key role in the growth of 'gentlemanly capitalism' until the challenges of 1914. The City relied on these men and their links with the Treasury to spread London's influence across the globe.[142] Between the ages of 60 and 80, former Treasury clerks experienced senectitude, but some continued to be energetic, full of intellectual capacity, and accustomed to a busy life since youth. Old age was another productive stage in life, although understanding how these men perceived it subjectively and emotionally requires more research. The industry of youthful days was declining, but the patient fruits of judgement, maturity, and experience in old age contributed to the development of the City and the expansion of the service economy overseas. 'His wonderfully clear insight into the intricacies and the fallacies of finance made his services invaluable in great business matters; while his fund of humour and ready wit relieved the monotony of many a board table,' *The Mail* observed about Lord Welby's work in the City's financial directorships.[143] That he attained these positions was the product of professional expertise, social connections, manners, and the recognition from the business world of their policy-making influence in the Treasury and Liberal or Conservative governments. Lord Welby, Fremantle, and Sir Charles Rivers Wilson—old friends from Eton and the Treasury—reunited once again on the boards of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, the Standard Bank of South Africa, and the British Electric Traction Company.[144] They left a deep imprint in the formation of

[141] 'Death of Honourable Sir C. W. Fremantle', *BAFP* (10 October 1914), p. 5.
[142] P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, 'Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas II: New Imperialism, 1850–1945', *Economic History Review*, 40/1 (1987), p. 6.
[143] 'Lord Welby', p. 6.
[144] 'B.E.T. Resignations'.

'gentlemanly capitalism'. Fremantle's death was lamented in financial circles as he was 'for the last twenty years a well-known and popular personality in the City.'[145]

Retired Treasury clerks contributed with their new occupations to reinforce the interplay of private and public spheres in the late nineteenth century. Chartered gas and electric provisioning reveal the limits of state centralization.[146] Former Treasury clerks were some of the first entrepreneurs and councilmen to provide a new range of social services. The South London Electric Supply Corporation, directed by the former Treasury clerk, Algernon Turnor, delivered electricity to Lambeth.[147] The Ascot District Gas Company, of which the retired Sir Roger Wilbraham was a shareholder, supplied gas to increasing numbers of households in Ascot.[148]

Former Treasury clerks also contributed to regional, political, and social transformations of the late nineteenth century. Former Treasury clerks were some of the last aristocratic magistrates in the counties following the reform of municipal councils in 1888.[149] Instead of contesting local powers, they were integrated with them and operated within local exigencies and state structures. Many of their families were (or had been) involved in developing roads, church-building, schools, canals, welfare, and justice. These backgrounds facilitated the Treasury clerks' return to the localities. Indeed, some had been familiar since childhood with local values, connections, customs, and the duties of a gentleman. How they lived through the transformation of being permanent civil servants for several decades before turning into JPs, directors of land leagues or councilmen is an important matter that requires more investigation. But their good deeds were there to see on several fronts. In old age, Sir Charles Trevelyan helped to build two schools and improve the church at Cambo, Northumberland.[150] Sir Richard Mills, aged 74, recollected the subscriptions for re-metalling a footpath in Oxted, Surrey, while Algernon Turnor organized the Central Land

[145] 'Death of Honourable'.
[146] P. Harling, 'The Centrality of Locality: The Local State, Local Democracy, and Local Consciousness in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Britain', *JVC*, 9/2 (2004), pp. 218–24.
[147] 'South London Electric Supply Corporation', *SJG* (29 March 1897), p. 14.
[148] 'The Ascot District Gas Company. Half Yearly Meeting', *Reading Mercury* (21 February 1885), p. 2.
[149] For this reform, see P. Thane, 'Government and Society in England and Wales, 1750–1914', in F. M. L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750–1950* (3 vols, Cambridge, 1990), iii, pp. 23–4.
[150] L. Trevelyan, *A Very British Family: The Trevelyans and their World* (London, 2006), p. 116.

Association.[151] John Robinson, the son of Robert Robinson, a Deputy-lieutenant and magistrate for Gloucester, was remembered as a 'public benefactor' who contributed to the progress of Layston and Buntingford. He became JP, guardian, and district councillor following his retirement from the Treasury. Robinson planted a row of lime trees at the entrance of the town, but he was best remembered for his generosity and alleviating people in need.[152] These propertied positions were not incompatible with investments in land development and the provision of new public services. Sir Charles Lister Ryan, a magistrate for Windsor, later became one of the directors of the Wigan Coal and Iron Co. Limited.[153]

The retirement of Treasury clerks tells a more elastic story of class in old age. Rather than suggesting poverty or dependency, it reveals different degrees of privilege, independence, and political power. Newspaper obituaries expressed class in family, masculine, and county ties instead of binary or tripartite conceptions. Sir Roger Wilbraham, JP of Delamere House, Northwich, descended from an 'old and highly honoured Chesire family.' Obituaries underlined his Liberal Unionist affinities, family lineage, landed estate, chivalrous masculinity, wealth, and art collection —especially the fact that he was in possession of a Titian, which according to the painter Sir Frederick Leighton was 'the most marvellous Titian that he ever beheld.'[154] While the *Shrewsbury Chronicle* observed that Sir Roger was 'as exemplary a specimen of a chivalrous English gentleman as ever drew the breath of life', other newspapers depicted him as 'the typical country gentleman.'[155] Obituaries, usually the product of family members, made a sharp distinction between the values and practices of the Civil Service career and those of county positions. Treasury clerks and their families navigated both worlds: in old age, their status was defined by the coexistence of different social markers throughout the life cycle. Retired Treasury clerks experienced—and sometimes

[151] 'Parish Council', *Surrey Mirror* (28 October 1904), p. 6; 'Death of Mr Algernon Turnor, C.B.', *The Grantham Journal* (17 December 1921), p. 7.
[152] 'Funeral of Mr F. J. Robinson, J.P.', *Herts and Cambs Reporter* (14 August 1908), p. 8.
[153] 'Windsor County Petty Sessions', *Reading Mercury* (21 March 1903), p. 6; 'Wigan Coal and Iron Co. Limited', *Wigan Observer and District Advertiser* (22 September 1917), p. 6.
[154] 'Death of Mr Roger W. Wilbraham', *The Chesire Observer* (28 January 1897), p. 8; 'The late Mr Roger W. Wilbraham', *The Shrewsbury Chronicle* (29 January 1897), p. 6.
[155] 'The late Mr Roger'.

shaped—the social transformations of county life in the late nineteenth century, but as Wilbraham's obituary suggests, class in old age could be conceptualized through the lens of customary masculine norms, family lineages, and parochial belonging.

The limited evidence available suggests that Second-Division clerks were also involved in other occupations and voluntary associations after retiring from the Treasury. Thomas Wakefield, for instance, was a member of the town council of Richmond and an honorary secretary of the Technical Education Committee. Local newspapers recognized his contribution to the development of the parish and emphasized the connections he forged during his duties: 'A number of gentlemen who had been associated with Mr Wakefield during his public career as vestryman, councillor, etc., of the borough of Richmond, and in his professional capacity as an official of the Treasury, were present at the graveside.'[156]

4.2.2. *Charity and Philanthropy*

Poverty was one of the most pressing social problems in late-nineteenth-century Britain, requiring different enquiries and solutions. The British saw themselves as the greatest philanthropic nation in the world, with discussions of charitable work quite frequently cast in English and national terms. Yet the demand for more specialized social services both expanded the professions and also increasingly professionalized the state.[157] The growth of voluntary societies, missionary societies, and the anti-slavery campaigns of the early nineteenth century ensured that charity remained in public debate to relieve poverty and liberate society from dependency.[158] From middle life, Treasury clerks strove to be part of this solution. Christopher Puller, aged 26, was a member of the committee of the evangelizing and educational work of St Joseph's Society in 1866. He did his charity work of recovering the 'fallen', preventing infanticide, and relieving the destitute outside

[156] 'Funeral of Mr T. F. Wakefield', *Surrey Comet* (24 September 1898), p. 6.
[157] Perkin, *Rise of Professional*, p. xiv.
[158] F. Prochaska, *Christianity & Social Service in Modern Britain: The Disinherited Spirit* (Oxford, 2006); H. Cunningham, *The Reputation of Philanthropy since 1750: Britain and Beyond* (Manchester, 2020), p. 6.

office hours, especially in the evenings.[159] Puller attended a school twice-a-week, perhaps enjoying the boys' Irish songs, harp, and cornet. Charles Freemantle, aged 41, was a member of the committee for Holborn, London, in the Charity Organisation Society while being Deputy-master of the Royal Mint.[160] For Stevenson Blackwood, the evangelical millenarist follower of Lord Shaftesbury, charity and bible reading groups were a key part of his religious, official, and married life, as his diary conveys in 1859: 'Ten minutes ago I was so burdened with a heap of things: letters to be answered; children's tree to be got ready; tricks to be prepared; servants to be seen after; a ride, if possible, for half an hour; tracts; accounts; prayer-meeting, etc.'[161]

In retirement, Treasury clerks also engaged in charitable activities. It was a central aspect defining the status and religious life of the upper and middle classes of small provincial towns, regardless of their denomination.[162] Treasury clerks converged with politicians, the military, clergymen, civil servants, and women of social standing in the committees of voluntary associations.[163] Sir Charles Trevelyan, aged 66, enjoyed working in this mixed charitable environment in the 1870s, notably in the Charity Organisation Society in London: 'He had reaped a rich reward, for he had found that he was brought into association with ladies and gentlemen who were endeavouring to solve some of the most interesting problems of human life.'[164] These attitudes and level of engagement with voluntary associations indicate the reluctance of members of the professional classes of the aristocracy, once connected with the Treasury, to introduce universal pension schemes.

Retired Treasury clerks supported the interplay of public and private spheres to solve the social problem of poverty. In the late nineteenth century, idealist conceptions of social policy were influenced by an intellectual rebellion against mechanistic theories of the Poor-Law, the interest in

[159] 'Street Crossing Sweeper Brigade in Green Blouses', *TMP* (11 December 1866), p. 7.
[160] 'Report of the Administrative Committee', *COR* (20 January 1875), p. 9.
[161] Montague, *Some Records*, p. 207.
[162] L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (London, 2019), p. 247.
[163] 'The Annual Meeting', *COR*, 17 March 1875, p. 43.
[164] 'The Annual Meeting', *COR* (22 March 1875), p. 53.

continental idealism, and the search for a renewal of Christianity. This corporate vision of society, based on the organic interdependence of its members, was the foundation of the Charity Organisation Society, led by Helen and Bernard Bosanquet. They opposed public welfare provisioning, such as state old-age pensions, believing that the ultimate goal of social welfare was the promotion of independent citizenship.[165] Little is known about the interconnections between civil servants and the Charity Organisation Society. Yet some of its members were the former Treasury clerks Sir Charles Trevelyan, Sir Roger Wilbraham, and Sir Charles Fremantle.[166] While Trevelyan promoted the Treasury's growing control over public departments and centralizing aspects of administrative processes, he did not believe the central state should do the same with welfare provision. During the Irish Famine (1846-48), Trevelyan advocated for minimal intervention. Instead, he believed that short-term suffering, brought by a provident God, would be necessary for the moral and social improvement of Ireland. Nationally funded public relief was a mistake: the Irish should not depend on external assistance but rather on independent exertion as the only solution to such a disastrous moment.[167] Decades later, Trevelyan still supported the cooperation between voluntary associations and the Poor Law. In his *Four Letters to 'The Times' on Famine and Public Charities* (1873), he argued that the solution to poverty was to improve the cooperation between charities, the clergy, ladies, and district visitors rather than expanding the central state's activities.[168] In his *Metropolitan Medical Relief* (1877), he approached charitable work from religious feelings and conceptions, but also through the study of when and how the state should intervene to relieve poverty and sickness. By referring to practices in the United States, he believed that solutions to medical relief passed through institutional and financial decentralization,

[165] Harris, 'Political Thought', pp. 130–7.
[166] 'Proceedings of Council', *COR* (27 January 1875), p. 13; 'The Annual Meeting', *COR* (17 March 1875), p. 43.
[167] C. Hall, *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain* (New Haven, 2012), pp. 186–8.
[168] C. Trevelyan, *Four Letters to 'The Times' on Famine Fever and Public Charities* (London, 1873), p. 10.

such as implementing self-supporting hospitals in London for the upper and middle classes, reliant on individual payments and patronage networks.[169]

In 1892, as president of the Economic and Science Statistics Sections, Fremantle opposed Joseph Chamberlain's proposal of old-age state pensions arguing that that the poorest districts of London had benefited from the Poor Laws.[170] 'Finally the President claimed to have shown that for the promotion of the best interests of the aged poor there may be a more excellent way that a vast organization of State-aided pensions,' *The Daily News* reported.[171] As other members of the Charity Organisation Society, Fremantle supported the persistence of the Poor Laws because a universal old-age state pensions scheme would downgrade the morality and manhood of men.[172] From the evidence I have gathered, I have been unable to find members of this former administrative elite supporting this kind of welfare reform at the turn of the century, which may partly explain the enduring role of voluntary associations.

Retired Treasury clerks also engaged in welfare activities encouraged by a religious and social environment conducive to charity. Families remained crucial for instilling these emotions and duties of helping relatives, friends, and society, especially among the aristocracy.[173] Sir Charles Fremantle's family is a testament to the gentry's charitable activities involving male and female kin. This Buckinghamshire family collaborated on a wide range of charitable causes. Louisa, Fremantle's unmarried sister, was much loved in Swanbourne because 'all her life she took the keenest and most helpful interest in the welfare of all in the village.'[174] As other women of her status, Louisa played a prominent part in the Girls' Friendly Society dedicated to improving the education of working-class women and domestic servants in Oxford. Sir Thomas Fremantle, 1st Baron Cottesloe, further expands and diversifies the family's charitable activities. He left in his will

[169] 'Hospital for all classes', *COR* (24 March 1875), p. 51; 'Correspondence: Temperance and Medical Relief', *COR* (19 July 1877), p. 126.
[170] 'Old Age Pensions', *Glasgow Evening Post* (5 August 1892), p. 7.
[171] 'The British Association', *TDN* (5 August 1892), p. 5.
[172] 'The British Association', *SJG* (5 August 1892), p. 14.
[173] See, for example, Ottaway, 'Providing for the Elderly, pp. 400–2.
[174] 'Death and Funeral of the Honourable Louisa Frances Fremantle', *Buckingham Express* (27 March 1909), p. 8.

donations to Bucks Infirmary, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Church Missionary Society, and the London Bible and Domestic Female Mission.[175] Whether Anglican, denominational or non-sectarian, these societies shared a religious foundation for their work, including moral instruction, education, and poor relief. The Fremantle family—as reverends, MPs, civil servants, ladies, or members of the landed aristocracy—was committed to supporting different voluntary associations.

The retired Treasury clerks' involvement in charity depended on the interplay between their conceptions of charity, family precedents, social networks, individual inclination, and their social calendar (charity balls, garden parties, etc.).[176] These men had different ideas about channelling charity. Hence, they engaged with diverse welfare structures, including corporations, hospitals, nursing societies, educational associations, and churches.[177] Former Treasury clerks were neither drawn to a particular sphere of action nor limited to one form of charitable contribution. Some, like Trevelyan, were against almsgiving and soup-kitchens because they believed they fostered dependency and vagrancy.[178] Instead, they preferred donations to religious establishments and charitable organizations to improve the conditions of the poor and restore their habits of independence and self-improvement. Gerald Ponsonby further demonstrates that retired Treasury clerks subscribed to local, national, and imperial welfare institutions. He donated 10 shillings to the Naas District Nursing Association in Ireland, subscribed another 10 shillings to the West Ireland's Children's Clothing Fund, and left in his will £25 to the community of St John Evangelist, Cowley, and £50 to the mother superior of the Sisters of the Cross, London.[179] For these aristocratic men, there was no clear shift from spiritual beliefs to the quasi-secular inheritance

[175] 'Swanbourne', *BH* (7 February 1891), p. 7.
[176] For the intersection between charity and Society's social calendar, see L. Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Society, Etiquette and the Season* (London, 1973), pp. 55–65.
[177] See, for example, 'The Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation', *APJ* (27 August 1915), p. 5' 'Our Ladies' Column by One of Themselves', *The Wrexham Advertiser* (13 June 1896), p. 2.
[178] Trevelyan, *Four Letters*, p. 10.
[179] 'Nass District Nursing Association', *Kildare Observer and Easter Counties Advertiser* (10 December 1898), p. 5; 'West of Ireland'; 'Will of the Honourable Gerald Ponsonby', *Londonderry Sentinel*, 12 January 1909, p. 6.

practices of the growing middle classes.[180] John Robinson also left £150 to St Mary's Hospital, London, on the death of his wife, and additionally £200 to St George's Hospital, London, along with his volumes of comic prints for the use of convalescent patients.[181]

Retired Treasury clerks' successful careers and social standing determined their positions and functions in voluntary associations. Their role evolved throughout the life cycle. While a middle-aged Christopher Puller worked on the ground with local communities, former Treasury clerks performed more administrative and honorary functions that lacked the fatiguing and contaminating work with the poor considered degrading for some social circles. In 1915, Sir George William Hervey, aged 70, was appointed by royal warrant a member of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation.[182] His cousin, Sir Charles Fremantle, more fully illustrates the range of honorary functions that retired Treasury clerks could execute. In 1893, he was co-optative governor of the City Educational Charities.[183] Later, he worked as the president, chairman, treasurer, governor, and trustee of diverse voluntary associations, such as Montague House Boy's Orphanage, Kent, and Guy's Hospital, London.[184] Fremantle secured these positions through social networks alongside other high-ranking members of the Church of England, Parliament, public schools, local authorities, the Army, and the Royal household.[185] In many cases, the provincial press recognized their contribution to charitable causes, as in Sir Roger Wilbraham's case in Delamere, Chesire: 'By the decease of Mr Roger Wilbraham many aged and deserving poor in this parish, as in other places, have lost a generous friend, who dispensed his bounty irrespective of religious creed or politics.'[186]

4.2.3. *Familial lifestyles and welfare*

[180] Cf. R. J. Morris, *Men, Women and Property in England, 1780–1870: A Social and Economic History of Family Strategies amongst the Leeds Middle Classes* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 117, 381.
[181] 'Wills and Bequests', *Belfast Telegraph* (6 September 1908), p. 5.
[182] 'The Royal Patriotic'.
[183] 'City Educational Charities', *LES* (17 July 1893), p. 6.
[184] 'Montague House Boy's Orphanage', *Kentish Mercury* (27 March 1896), p. 2; 'Guy's Hospital', *BH* (27 June 1903), p. 5; 'Parochial Mission Women Fund', *Westminster Gazette* (15 July 1914), p. 4.
[185] 'Montague House'.
[186] 'Death of Mr Roger'.

In old age, the administrative elite's role in the localities raises further questions about their familial lifestyles and welfare. To begin with, migration had a ubiquitous and often dominant presence in modern Britain between the 1840s–1920s. Traditional migration accounts have focused on suburbanization, imperial emigration, and the movement of people to industrial and commercial centres.[187] Most studies have explained migration from the localities to cities as the result of individual decision-making, famines, enclosures, and the maximization of income in response to the forces of the labour market following free trade, the decline of agricultural productivity, and imperial expansion.[188] However, these frameworks of analysis usually applied to the working classes and agricultural labourers do not explain the reverse migration of aristocratic and upper-middle-class Treasury clerks from London back to the localities in their retirement.

In old age, Treasury clerks usually retired to the localities after inheriting family properties or searching for healthier and more peaceful residences. Since childhood, these men were familiar with mobility due to their educational and professional lives (private schooling, university education, Civil Service), sociability (holidays, continental tours, country house visits), illnesses, deaths, and family obligations.[189] The life cycle helps to explain why retired Treasury clerks moved from London to the suburbs and counties. These practices suggest that migration operated at a familial, not an individual level. Inheritances forced Sir Charles Trevelyan, aged 72, and Sir Roger Wilbraham, aged 67, to move from London back to the country to take charge of their family estates.[190] Other family motivations, such as emotional comfort, mutual care, lowering living costs, and being closer to their kin, pushed Treasury clerks to move back to the localities. This was presumably the case of Sir Richard Mills, who moved to Oxted, Surrey, to live in the same town

[187] D. Feldman, 'Migration', in M. Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, 1840–1950* (3 vols, Cambridge, 2008), iii, p. 185.
[188] Feldman, 'Migration', pp. 185–91.
[189] S. King, 'Configuring and Re-configuring Families in Nineteenth-Century England', in C. Beardmore, C. Dobbing, and S. King (eds.), *Family Life in Britain 1650–1910* (Cham, 2019), pp. 237–8.
[190] Trevelyan, *A Very British*, p. 112; 'Death of Mr Roger'.

as his brother-in-law, William Anderson.[191] Other Treasury clerks retired to the localities in search of healthier and more peaceful locations. 'The Borough of Lyme Regis possesses all the essentials for a life of quiet repose. The loveliness of its situation and surroundings is not surpassed by any seaside resort in the Kingdom,' Kempe recalled in his reminiscences.[192] William Gurdon travelled to Tenerife, Spain, for four months in search of health before returning to England to rest in peace.[193] Like Kempe and Gurdon, retired Second-Division clerks also moved to seaside localities presumably to improve their health and living standards. Thomas Durrant, for example, moved to Brighton and Hove, Sussex, sometime between his sixties and seventies, with his wife, one unmarried daughter, and a 16-year-old female servant.[194]

By moving to the localities and engaging in different occupations following their Civil Service career, retired Treasury clerks crossed not only institutional lines but also cultural boundaries. This movement was sometimes seasonal since many kept properties in London. Yet in several cases it was permanent. Their integration into new counties tells various stories of provincial integration, identity, power, and class in old age. John Kempe seems to have integrated well in Lyme Regis following his retirement after forty-four years in the public service. In his reminiscences, he recalled having a good deal of leisure, only three days of work in London in the committee on local taxation, and wrote for *The Times* on financial issues. Although he claimed to enjoy a quieter life, he remained active in old age and embraced Lyme Regis's historic past by sitting upon the board of guardians of the Axminster Union workhouse.[195] John Robinson, on the other hand, was credited with Buntingford's public recognition for his poor relief assistance despite not being originally from this locality.[196] Two inmates of the workhouse, who probably enjoyed his annual offering of sausages on New Year's Eve, attended his funeral 'and the genuine

[191] 'Death of Sir R. Mills', *Surrey Mirror* (14 December 1906), p. 5
[192] Kempe, *Reminiscences of an Old*, p. 251.
[193] 'Suffolk's Lord Lieutenant', *Framlingham Weekly News* (4 June 1910), p. 4.
[194] 'Thomas Durrant', 1911, EWSC, RG14, P5202, s. 16.
[195] Kempe, *Reminiscences of an Old*, pp. 247–54.
[196] 'Funeral of Mr F. J.'.

sorrow depicted on their countenances showed they had lost in him whom they mourned a sincere friend.'[197] Sir Richard Mill's death was also lamented in Oxted because it was claimed he had the greatest interest in the parish's charity, even though he had taken up residence four years earlier.[198] Contrarily, enjoying such a degree of local power and status was not Sir George William Hervey's experience, even though he was originally from Finchley. While he fulfilled the aspirations of a successful Civil Service career, the former Comptroller to the National Debt failed to meet the local newspapers' expectations. In 1915, his obituary in the *Hendon & Finchley Times* concluded that he 'had little or no interest in Finchley affairs, he was rarely seen in local life, and many hence inferred that he was taciturn and reserved.'[199]

There are reasons to believe that retired Treasury clerks may have been in a more comfortable financial situation than in middle life. They were liberated from some patriarchal and familial duties (education of their children), had received inheritances, disposed of their Civil Service pension, and found new sources of revenue from financial investments and occupations. John Robinson purchased the Manor House in Buntingford and rebuilt the adjacent property, which he had found in a very dilapidated state upon acquirement.[200] Yet financial concerns and debts did not disappear in old age. Rather, their focus shifted onto the need to ensure a comfortable retirement, as well as the security of their unmarried daughters, widows, and grandchildren, among others.

In retirement, the administrative elite's domesticity presented continuities and changes in comparison with their middle lives. Former Treasury clerks were a privileged minority within the Civil Service and the elderly British population. Many still enjoyed the comfort of being served by several domestic servants, including footmen, butlers, cooks, parlourmaids, and housemaids. But their domesticity had changed in old age. On average, they employed one servant less than in their

[197] 'Funeral of Mr F. J.'.
[198] 'Death of Sir R. Mills'.
[199] 'Death of Sir George Hervey', *Hendon & Finchley Times* (27 August 1915), p. 2.
[200] 'Funeral of Mr F. J.'.

middle life, bringing down the average number to three. Partly, this was the result of their male sons and married daughters becoming independent. Several retired Treasury clerks became widowers, ageing in the company of their unmarried daughters. However, they integrated new staff and kin members into their households. Most retired Treasury clerks lived long enough to meet their grandchildren, in contrast with the general experience of the eighteenth-century population.[201] Some over seventy, like Sir William Anderson and Sir Herbert Murray, employed nurses to look after their declining health.[202] Illnesses were a common reality at this stage of the life cycle. Sir Stevenson Blackwood, aged 61, wrote letters to his sister about his perception of old age as physically wearisome yet spiritually enlightening. He was full of gratitude to God for the company he had and the treasures of life: a gorgeous light-pine tree, the sunbeams, the birds, or his happy memories by the riverbank of the Tagus River in Portugal. 'What mercies I have! This is being ill in luxury indeed. Such kindness and attention from Lady Cairns and K. and Humphries. Certainly stronger,' he told to his sister, a year before dying.[203]

Despite illness and the natural processes of ageing, retired Treasury clerks seem to have enjoyed their sociability.[204] They were the object of gossip in the local newspapers under the sections of 'fashionable' and 'society' life. Their national reputations, achieved through their Civil Service careers and honours, interplayed with a new local dimension in old age. New class, power, and masculine distinctions took centre stage in the localities instead of Whitehall. Kempe, who used to dine in London with cabinet officials in middle life, settled into his retirement at Coram Court, Lyme, next to the property of Lord Lister. There, he befriended the leading councilmen of the locality.[205] These elderly Treasury clerks travelled occasionally to visit family members. Gerald Ponsonby, aged 78, spent his last autumn with his wife at Langford House, near Lechlade, in the

[201] Sanderson, 'The Emergence of the Modern', p. 75; Davidoff, *Best Circles*, p. 34.
[202] 'Herbert Murray', 1901, EWSC, RG13, P86, fo. 97, p. 10; 'William George Anderson', 1891, EWSC, RG12, P526, fo. 84, p. 18.
[203] Montague, *Some Records*, p. 502.
[204] Ill health in old age restricted their sociability. See B. Champneys, *The Honourable Adelaide Drummond: Retrospect and Memoir* (London ,1915), p. 4.
[205] Kempe, *Reminiscences of an Old*, pp. 247–54.

house of his nephew, Lord de Manley.[206] Other retired Treasury clerks had mobile and social lives, including family weddings, funerals, birthdays, and garden parties.[207] Before dying in 1914, Sir Charles Fremantle celebrated his eightieth birthday at The Old House, Swanbourne, with his siblings, even though the garden party he had planned for the following day was cancelled due to the gravity of national affairs.[208]

Figure 4.1. John Kempe's former house Coram Court in Lyme Regis, unknown date: Unknown photographer, https://lovelymeregis.co.uk/gallery/images/gallery/coram_court

Behind closed doors, Treasury officials' retirement shows that families were pivotal welfare providers in old age. Recent studies have demonstrated that only a limited portion of British society had access to poor relief, which meant that the role of family and kinship was paramount in welfare provision.[209] This situation was more pronounced in the rural world: the rigid distinctions between family and community made little sense as they were not separable entities.[210] In the late eighteenth century, over half of elderly individuals listed in the household censuses lived with their kin, notably with their children and grandchildren.[211] A century later, Victorian censuses revealed the

[206] 'Society's Votaries', *Clifton and Redland Free Press* (9 October 1908), p. 4.
[207] 'Fashionable Marriage To-Day', *Westminster Gazette* (23 January 1899), p. 8.
[208] 'Local and District Echoes', *BH* (15 August 1914), p. 6.
[209] B. Reay, 'Kinship and the Neighborhood in Nineteenth-Century Rural England: The Myth of the Autonomous Nuclear Family', *JFH*, 21/1 (1996), p. 98.
[210] Reay, 'Kinship and the Neighborhood', p. 95.
[211] Ottaway, *The Decline of Old*, p. 7.

enduring density of family lives in a society undergoing processes of modernization and bureaucratization. Only 3 per cent of the British population received Poor Law relief, and the majority of the elderly poor remained independent of state pensions until the Old-Age Pensions Act (1908).[212] In this context, familial networks offered care and economic security to widows and widowers, elderly men, sons, newly formed marriages, spinsters, and other relatives in moments of hardship, death, and migration.[213] Kin ties, inheritances, and cohabitation not only complemented the provisions of pensions but also offered emotional comfort, love, and companionship in retirement, albeit these may have fluctuated. For Treasury officials, the fluidity and re-configuration of their family formations was also a common experience in old age.

The retired professional aristocrats offered intergenerational support to their relatives in various ways. Duty to their relations seems to have been a central concern in old age. Treasury clerks offered shelter to single daughters and unmarried sisters, the most vulnerable population among the upper classes.[214] This assistance extended to widower relatives. In 1901, Sir William Gurdon, now 60-year-old Liberal MP for Suffolk and landowner, welcomed his widowed niece, Amy Ridley, to Assington Hall to live with him.[215] Gurdon offered to her niece not only a beautiful estate and a comfortable living—including a lady's maid—but also the possibility of sustaining her status by socializing in respectable ways after the loss of her husband.[216] Similarly, Treasury clerks provided emotional and material support to their relatives. Lord Welby, one of the greatest nineteenth-century civil servants and Treasury clerks, defied contemporary representations of bachelordom as lacking comfort and neglecting familial duties by spending his retirement in the company of his widower sister, Felicia, at 11 Stratton Street, St George Hanover Square.[217] Welby ensured she was comfortable under his roof: among the five servants working for him, one was a

[212] Harling, 'The Centrality of Locality', pp. 217–8.
[213] King, 'Configuration and Re-configuration', pp. 230–9; L. Davidoff, *Thicker than Water: Siblings and their Relations, 1780–1920* (Oxford, 2012), p. 3.
[214] See, among many, 'Joseph Francis Chance', 1911, EWSC, RG14, P 5199, s. 372. For the 'spinster problem', see Sanderson, 'The Emergence of the Modern, p. 82.
[215] 'William Brampton Gurdon', 1901, EWSC, RG13, P1742, fo. 5, p. 1.
[216] Spinsters usually had no place socially on their own, see Davidoff, *Best Circles*, p. 51.
[217] 'Reginald Earl Welby', EWSC, RG13, P82, fo. 6, p. 24.

lady's maid dedicated to Felicia. At the time of death, Treasury clerks usually left inheritances to their wives and offspring and sometimes to other relatives. From the information I have gathered from probate records—only a partial measure of wealth at death, as historians have pointed out—one may conclude that these aristocratic younger sons died rather modestly considering they were part of the upper classes. Sir Roger Wilbraham, whose personal estate was estimated at £18,992, bequeathed to his sons Herbert and Henry, £1,000 and £2,430 respectively, while he left all the residue of his property to his son, Captain Hugh Edward Wilbraham, of Massey Lodge, Northwich.[218]

Retired Treasury clerks also received different kinds of familial support. They were fortunate enough to live together with their siblings, enjoy visiting their relatives, and inherit familial properties. Upper-class sisters were important in youth by acting as carers and teachers of younger siblings, but they also provided companionship in old age.[219] Sir James Cole, the grandson of the 1st Earl of Enniskillen and nephew of the 1st Earl Belmore, reached the higher ranks of the Treasury whilst living with his four unmarried sisters in 66 Eaton Place, St George Hanover Square.[220] The eldest, Florence, remained the head of the household until she died in 1888. At 66 years of age, Cole inherited the property and other assets valued at £21,000 *(Figure 4.2)*.[221] Yet these kinds of familial support were not merely transactional; they included an emotional and affectionate dimension. Adelaide Drummond (née Lister) and Maurice Drummond enjoyed regular visits to Cousin Emma's house. Emma, an unmarried lady, was devoted to cats, gardening, organizing meetings with other cousins, and talking very pleasantly while she was sketching. The Drummonds seem to have loved her and felt her emotional support. 'Besides Maurice and me, Cousin Emma had some other guests, also cousins of hers:—we made great friends with them, and had a lively time together— rather too lively perhaps,' Mrs Drummond recalled.[222] The lives

[218] 'Wills and Bequests', *TMP* (2 January 1907), p. 7.
[219] Davidoff, *Thicker than Water*, pp. 69–70.
[220] 'James H. Cole', 1871, EWSC, RG10, P114, fo. 49, p. 6.
[221] 'Will of the Late Mr Roger Wilbraham', *Warrington Daily Guardian* (27 May 1897), p. 4.
[222] Champneys, *The Honourable Adelaide*, p. 234.

of unmarried women like Cousin Emma were emotionally significant for Treasury clerks and their families; it would be wrong to see them as a financial burden, though their security was a source of concern.

Figure 4.2. Sir James Cole's former residence, 66 Eaton Place, St George Hanover Square, in 1871: Photography courtesy of Luis Gabriel Galán-Guerrero.

Treasury Second-Division clerks and messengers also offered familial support to their relatives, as was expected amongst the British middle classes.[223] They lived in smaller and more modest houses than Treasury clerks.[224] Although the evidence is limited, Victorian censuses suggest that Second-Division clerks also offered material support (household, food, clothing) for their unmarried daughters and relatives. Thomas Begent, a Second-Division clerk, shows that this

[223] Davidoff, *Thicker than Water*, p. 53.
[224] 'Thomas Harrold', 1881, EWSC, RG11, P276, fo. 58, p. 8; 'Thomas Harrold', 1901, EWSC, RG13, P826, fo. 175, p. 21. Thomas Harrold lived without servants through middle age and retirement. Aged 61, he moved from Islington, London, to Ramsgate, Kent, with his wife and single daughter, just by the sea.

intergenerational support among the lower middle classes shifted over old age due to life course expectations, pressures, and financial circumstances. In 1891, Thomas Begent, aged 68, lived with his wife, married daughter, two grandsons—one commercial clerk and another a banking clerk—two granddaughters (one of them a draper's apprentice), and one servant.[225] Ten years later, his family formation re-configured into a conjugal nuclear family. Aged 78, Begent had moved from London to the seaside in Folkestone, Kent, where he lived with his wife, unmarried daughter, and a female servant until his death.[226] Despite having tighter means than clerical officials, Treasury messengers also offered familial support according to their economic circumstances and family customs. In 1891, Robert Maguire lodged one niece and two widowed sisters in his household on Vauxhall Bridge Road, London.[227]

The variety of Civil Service lives and family formations in old age is further illustrated by how Treasury families dealt with the death of their male breadwinner, especially because pensions did not cover widows and orphans. This situation opens a window to understanding broader processes of social mobility, family re-configuration, and class distinctions in Victorian Britain. Recent scholarship has cautioned against applying exclusively a material perspective to approaching downward social mobility among the middle classes. Respectability also rested on character, credit, and family relations, to which Victorian censuses can only give us an imperfect window.[228] The status of Treasury officials did not classify them as recipients of either charity or poor relief even though they faced hardship and even downward social mobility. Death shook everyone's social standing, especially mourning black-dressed widows, but not in the same way.[229]

Yet, while losing their husbands was a blow, recent scholarship has shown how resourceful women were in Victorian Britain.[230] Civil Service widows from the lower-middle classes advertised

[225] 'Thomas I. [sic]Begent', 1891, EWSC, RG12, P1334, fo. 4, p. 1.
[226] 'Thomas J. Begent', 1901, EWSC, RG13, P848, fo. 168, p. 35.
[227] 'Robert Hugh Maguire', 1891, EWSC, RG12, P72, fo. 145, p. 2.
[228] A. Popp, "But to cover her shame:" Respectability, Social Mobility, and the Middling Sort in Early Nineteenth-Century England', 18/4 (2021), *C&SH*, pp. 501–16.
[229] Davidoff, *Best Circles*, p. 54–5.
[230] Cf. Sanderson, 'The Emergence of the Modern', p. 87.

in the local press the rooms in their households for rent to make ends meet.[231] Treasury clerks' widows were neither passive, dependent, nor hopeless subjects, even though some of these images were part of the rhetoric of the superannuation movement in the 1850s. These aristocratic and upper-class ladies received annuities, inherited properties, and benefited from the support of their offspring and other relatives.[232] Sir Richard Mills left his house in Oxted, personal effects, and the residue of his property for life to his widow, Alice.[233] The census only offers a momentary image, but Alice was able to provide for her unmarried daughters and three servants.[234] Widows like her dealt with the challenges of economic insecurity and helped their families to rise in life in a respectable way. Their domesticity and family formations changed due to financial constraints and old age. Those widows who could afford to or perhaps felt it necessary employed nurses.[235] In contrast with middle life, Treasury clerks' older widows also experienced a reduction in the number of servants (two per household) employed at home compared to when their husband was alive (three per household), except for Lady Maria Ponsonby, the widow of Gerald Ponsonby, who lived with eight servants.[236] This reduction may reflect a decreasing trend in domestic service among the aristocratic classes in the late nineteenth century, but it may have also been the result of life-cycle processes or the household economy. More research is required to determine how these changes impacted the status and domesticity of Treasury families before we can conclude whether widows experienced these changes as downward mobility.

In the Second-Division clerks' cases, Victorian censuses suggest that offspring—including women—played a key role in safeguarding part of their widows' and unmarried daughters' status. George Skinner's widow, Ann, illuminates how some women sustained their standards of living following their husbands' death. Before Skinner passed away, the family lived in Camberwell,

[231] 'Apartments and Residences', *LES* (19 June 1894), p. 9.
[232] 'Will of the Honourable Gerald Ponsonby', *Londonderry Sentinel*, 12 January 1909, p. 6.
[233] 'Sir Richard Mills, K.C.B., K.C.V.O. of Lindridge', *TMP* (2 January 1907), p. 7.
[234] 'Alice Caroline Mills', 1911, EWSC, RG14, P3262, s. 79.
[235] 'Adelaide Drummond', 1911, EWSC, RG14, P592, s. 9.
[236] See, for example, 'Alice Caroline Mills'; 'Ms Lady Maria Ponsonby', 1911, EWSC, RG10, P95, fo. 77, p. 25.

Surrey, in a household composed of Arthur, a 19-year-old junior assistant of the South Kensington Insurance Office, five other offspring, one sister-in-law and one cousin, and a female servant.[237] In the next thirty years, the Skinners did not experience a conjugal nuclear family formation. Equally noteworthy is the family's mobility to different localities instead of remaining in one place. After Skinner's death, the family moved to Bromley, Kent, and re-configured. In 1891, Ann was the head of the household 'living on own means'. It is impossible to say if this meant that she had claimed a private annuity. The fact remains that Ann and her four unmarried daughters (ages eighteen to twenty-five) were supported by her sons. The incomes of Arthur and Sydney, who worked in the Civil Service Department of Science and taught physics, respectively, may have helped to pay for their sister Dora's education and the female servant working in the household.[238] By 1901, Ann and the family had experienced upward social mobility, though not necessarily individual independence. They stuck together and moved to Trumpington, Cambridgeshire. Ann, aged 66, shared the household with her three single daughters, Arthur's family (wife and daughter), a cook, and a housemaid. Sydney and another daughter had left the house, but the Skinners' domestic standards had improved presumably due to the professional advancement of her offspring staying at home. During this time, Arthur was promoted to assistant director of the Victoria and Albert Museum and Joyce, one of Ann's single daughters, became a private teacher.[239] As this family suggests, male and sometimes female offspring provided financial security, comfort, and company to Treasury, old-aged widows.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined old age in the Treasury department by focusing on welfare and retirement from 1848 to 1914. It has shown that mid-nineteenth-century superannuation reform ensured that old-aged Treasury officials were part of and benefited from broader welfare structures

[237] 'George E. Skinner', 1881, EWSC, RG11, P669, fo. 105, p. 10.
[238] 'Ann S. Skinner', 1891, EWSC, RG12, P628, fo. 41, p. 24.
[239] 'Ann S. Skinner', 1901, EWSC, RG13, P1527, fo. 56, p. 12.

than pensions and enjoyed an active retirement. Similarly, it has underlined the impact of Civil Service reform on career structures, the interplay between private and public spheres, life-cycle expectations, and retirement. The lives of retired Treasury officials shed new light on the enduring interaction between the state and social structures until the early twentieth century through voluntary associations, financial and industrial businesses, aristocratic connections, and familial networks.

This study offers a more comprehensive picture of welfare in the Civil Service beyond pensions. Retired Treasury clerks show that the family retained enormous agency to shape superannuation reform and secure the welfare of their widows, unmarried daughters, and other relatives. Moreover, these men cooperated with eminent figures of Victorian welfare and immersed themselves in various charities. Thus, this chapter proves that Treasury clerks embraced a conception of the state that privileged the coexistence of public and private welfare structures rooted in masculine and family obligations rather than privileging state centralization.

Finally, the preceding pages complete a more comprehensive picture of the last stage of Treasury officials' careers and life cycles. The Superannuation Act of 1859 lowered the boundaries of old age to 60 years old, enabling new ventures and aspirations in retirement. The retirement of the aristocratic professionals from the Treasury shows a sociable and active old age. For many, old age became a new starting point in life in which their professional expertise, religion, connections, and kin ties proved pivotal in shaping diverse trajectories. In contrast with their experience of other stages in the life cycle, the administrative elite and other Treasury officials encountered brand new family and working challenges, meanings of life, and masculine norms.

Conclusion

On 8 October 1914, Sir Charles Fremantle, KCB, passed away at 80-years of age following a short illness. As in the case of many of the Treasury officials we have encountered in this thesis, following the thread of Fremantle's life from youth to old age reveals great transformations in the nineteenth-century British state and the professional aristocratic classes. Between 1847 and 1914, Civil Service reform shaped the career of Fremantle, third son of the 1st Baron Cottesloe, who went to Eton, became a Treasury clerk, and went on to hold the roles of private secretary to successive patronage secretaries and deputy-master and comptroller of the Royal Mint for twenty-six years. Social life and connections were as pivotal as professional aptitude and structures to Fremantle's rise into the new administrative elite emergent in the Treasury. His aristocratic background, Conservative connections, and marriage to Sophia Smith of Woodhall Park, Hertfordshire, with whom he had four sons and one daughter, sustained his social standing and that of his family through inheritances, loans, and intertwining upper-class lineages. Old age offered opportunities to reinforce his social standing, recognition of his professional merit, and occupations in life. Fremantle was promoted to a KCB, joined financial boards and charities, and was a magistrate for Middlesex, London, and Westminster.[1] His life trajectory, full of twists and turns, provides a new perspective on the British Civil Service which contrasts with Sir William Harcourt's depiction of the Civil Service as an anonymous and permanent river that goes on forever, invoked in the introduction to this thesis.

Fremantle's funeral and memorial service at Holy Trinity Church, Swanbourne, evinced the interweaving of his professional career with his personal life. The church was filled with his relatives and friends. During the ceremony, the hymns were 'The King of Love my Shepherd Is'

[1] 'Death of Sir Charles Fremantle', *Lincolnshire Eco* (10 October 1914), p. 4; 'Death of Sir Charles Fremantle', *Alderley & Wilmslow Advertiser* (16 October 1914), p. 8.

and 'Let Saints on Earth in Concert Sing'; as his body was removed from the church the *Nunc Dimittis* was chanted. Fremantle's body was then conveyed on the wheel-bier and followed by the mourners along the road to the cemetery, where it was placed in a beautiful grave, lined by evergreens dotted with white blooms. The mourners reflected the connections he cultivated throughout his life course: his domestic servants at 4 Lower Sloan Street, London, representatives of several banks, members of the Invalid Children's Aid Association and the Whitechapel Committee of the Charity Organisation Society, and his Eton and Treasury friends Gerald Ponsonby, Sir Charles Rivers Wilson, and Lord Welby.[2] Lord Welby, perhaps his closest friend since childhood, wrote a memorial message underlining their relationship over a lifetime: 'Sir Charles Fremantle, in affectionate memory of the friendship of more than 60 years -Welby.'[3] Distant were now the days when they toured the continent as 20-year-olds or stepped onto Brighton's pebble beaches, yet these words remind us of the density of emotions and ties that developed among this administrative elite and its network of civil servants more broadly.[4]

Fremantle's life epitomizes the themes of the 'inner life of the state' I have explored throughout this thesis. By examining the reform of the British Civil Service focused on developments in the Treasury department between 1847 and 1914, my research has shown that this period marked significant changes in the appointment, promotion, and pension systems for British public office. It established a model of Civil Service employment and career structures common to clerks across the Civil Service, whether they were recruited from the aristocracy, middle classes, or working classes, who all participated in the same institutionalized model of professional merit. At the same time, my research reveals that these processes should be conceptualized in terms of reforming the public offices as a new profession, fitting with civil servants' shifting class and familial expectations during their life course. Indeed, this thesis demonstrates that reforms were developed in ways that reflected and were influenced by shifting

[2] 'Funeral of the Late Sir Charles W. Fremantle', *BAFP* (17 October 1914), p. 3.
[3] 'Standard Bank of South Africa', *Leamington Spa Courier* (23 January 1914), p. 7; 'Funeral of the Late', p. 3.
[4] 'Charles W. Fremantle', 1861, EWSC, RG09, P591, fo. 54, p. 18.

attitudes to the life cycle, administration, family, and class, as I charted in Chapter 1. Moreover, I demonstrate that that the professionalization of the British state took place across both private and public spheres, where family formations, intergenerational support, social connections, educational institutions, and voluntary associations interconnected with the Civil Service over the late nineteenth century. Reforms may have modified career structures, but these changes existed alongside the renewal of long-standing markers of class and kinship in the British state. My findings challenge the idea of a shift towards conceptions of merit based on examinations exclusively. Moreover, they underline the economic and familial insecurity experienced by Victorian professionals over their life course.

Civil Service youthful appointments were restructured over the nineteenth century. Patronage developed into a more bureaucratized set of practices subject to examinations, Treasury control, and CSC certificates. The coexistence of this 'professional patronage' with open competition illuminates a more complex picture of the British state. Although open competition was implemented in the young clerical grades, variations across and within departments downplay its mythical triumph. At the same time, Chapter 2 demonstrated that recruitment standards in the new Civil Service profession restructured the interplay between state and society. The ideal of merit became increasingly associated with examinations in youthful appointments. Furthermore, the central state deepened Victorian society's professionalization by cooperating with the medical profession and educational institutions. The growth of examinations led to new degrees of professionalization, including the spread of tutors, training colleges, and manuals for the use of applicants, parents, and guardians. These examinations also changed life-cycle expectations and the structures of day-to-day life, as Victorian families could no longer assist their offspring's entry into the Civil Service under open competition. These reforms impacted familial strategies and expectations of youth: career advancement and financial independence depended increasingly on boys' success in exams rather than the head of the family and social connections. Finally, the

reformed Treasury was transformed from an aristocratic bastion into a middle-class bastion for the 'intellectual aristocracy' at the early stage of the career.

The interconnections of Civil Service reform with broader social processes in Victorian Britain shaped the middle years of the new profession in novel ways. In the Treasury, promotions and honours systems interplayed with familial networks to produce a new administrative elite in the Civil Service. These aristocratic professionals enjoyed lifestyles and masculine identities which differed from those of middle-class civil servants, even though the former developed various ties—friendship, marriages, offspring's marital unions and careers—with the rising 'intellectual aristocracy', commercial and financial worlds, and the middle classes. The boundaries between these social groups could be porous and their linkages considerable, but, overall, this new administrative elite was aristocratic in background, married, had large families, enjoyed privileged social connections, lived in exclusive London neighbourhoods or country houses, and comprised recipients of honours. Promotions by merit and the clerical division between intellectual and mechanical labour renewed ideas about professional merit and character, which were legitimized by the British state and society. The rhetoric portraying a Civil Service which was disinterested, meritorious, and devoted to the public interest reproduced in newspapers, memoirs, and the Treasury books further consolidated the image of a neutral bureaucracy. As Chapter 3 has shown, however, intergenerational family support, social circles, and the imbrication of marriages and honours with the British state were also key to the administrative elite's professional advancement.

In old age, superannuation reform ensured that old-aged Treasury officials were part of and benefited from broader welfare structures than just pensions and enjoyed an active retirement. The lives of retired Treasury officials extend our knowledge of the persistent interplay between the state and social structures until the early twentieth century. Chapter 4 offered a more comprehensive picture of welfare in the Civil Service and Victorian Britain. Under the Superannuation Act of 1859, the family retained agency to secure the welfare of widows, unmarried daughters, and other relatives. Treasury clerks also got involved in various charities and embraced

conceptions of the state that privileged the coexistence of public and private welfare rooted in familial and masculine norms rather than state centralization. Additionally, Civil Service reform enabled new prospects and occupations in the twilight of life by lowering the chronological boundaries of old age to 60-years. Professional expertise and social backgrounds proved key to ensuring an active retirement. Members of the administrative elite became JPs, local authorities, and directors of financial boards, thus strengthening the ties between the metropole and the Empire, the aristocracy and finance, and the localities and the central state at the turn of the century.

The preceding chapters have depicted a new dimension to the British state and underlined the merits of adopting the life cycle, family and class as the analytical framework to study the reformed Civil Service. A new kind of state with professional attributes emerged following reforms, though it was one admittedly more reliant on a density of social ties, which the representations of neutrality and anonymity in the British Civil Service tend to conceal to this day. On an individual and familial level, social practices and relationships were central to the processes of professionalization of the Civil Service in a period of rising bureaucratic models, ideals, and structures.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Prosopographical data on mid-nineteenth century Civil Service reformers:

Ancell, Henry (?–?)
Father: Business cotton-mill.
Education: Private school in Croydon; apprentice to Dr. Wilson of Yoxford, Suffolk; Royal College of Surgeons.
Profession: Surgeon Western General Dispensary; lecturer at School of Medicine St George's Hospital.[5]

Jowett, Benjamin (1817–1893)
Father: Furrier and businessman.
Education: St Paul's School; Balliol College, Oxford.
Profession: Fellow and master of Balliol College, Oxford.[6]

Dawes, Richard (1795–1867)
Father: Chaplain to William III, Archbishop of York during Queen Anne's reign.
Education: Private school near Kendal; Trinity College, Cambridge.
Profession: Fellow and tutor of Downing College; Rector of King's Somborne, Hampshire; Dean of Hereford.[7]

Jeune, Francis (1806–1868)
Father: Miller.
Education: College of St Servan, Rennes, and Huguenot theological college, Saumur; Pembroke College, Oxford.
Profession: Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford; Master of King Edward's School, Birmingham; Canon at Gloucester Cathedral; Rector Taynton, Gloucestershire.[8]

Lowe, Robert (1811–1892)
Father: Rector of Southwell.
Education: Winchester; University College, Oxford.
Profession: Bar; MP for Kidderminster, politician; secretary to the Board of Control; chancellor of the Exchequer.[9]

Macaulay, Thomas (1800–1859)
Father: colonial governor, abolitionist.
Education: private school, Hertfordshire; Trinity College, Cambridge.
Profession: MP for Leeds; secretary to the Board of Control; law member of Council of India; MP for Edinburgh; secretary at War; paymaster-general; rector University of Glasgow.[10]

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[5] 'The Late Henry Ancell', *British Medical Journal*, 28 November 1863, pp. 588–9.
[6] E. Abbot and L. Campbell, *Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett, M. A., Master of Balliol College, Oxford* (2 vols, London, 1897), i, pp. 13-7.
[7] 'The Very Rev. Richard Dawes, DD.', *The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Review* (3 May 1867), pp. 674–5.
[8] J. H. C. Leach, 'Jeune, Francis (1806–1868)', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14806 (23 September 2004).
[9] J. Parry, 'Lowe, Robert, Viscount Sherbrooke (1811–1892)', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17088 (23 September 2004).
[10] C. Hall, *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain* (New Haven, 2012).

Ryan, Sir Edward (1793–1875)
Father: ?
Education: Trinity College, Cambridge.
Profession: Bar; Chief Justice of Bengal.[11]

Trevelyan, Charles (1807–1886)
Father: Archdeacon of Taunton.
Education: Charterhouse; East India College, Haileybury.
Profession: Writer in the East India Company Bengal Service; deputy-secretary to government in Bengal; Assistant Secretary to the Treasury; Governor of Madras.[12]

Wood, Charles (1800–1885)
Father: Sir Francis Lindley Wood, 2nd baronet of Hickleton Hall.
Education: Eton College; Oriel College, Oxford.
Profession: MP for Great Grimsby; chancellor of the Exchequer; president of the Board of Control; secretary of state for India.[13]

[11] K. Prior, 'Ryan, Sir Edward', *ODNB* (2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24385
[12] G. C. Boase, 'Trevelyan, Sir Charles Edward, First Baronet', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27716 (23 September 2004)
[13] D. Steele, 'Wood, Charles, First Viscount Halifax', *ODNB* (2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29865

APPENDIX B

Treasury clerks: Aristocratic patrilineal and matrilineal ties, 1848–70[14]

Treasury Clerks	Patrilineal Father's Branch	Patrilineal Mother's Branch	Matrilineal Father's Branch	Matrilineal Mother's Branch
Barrington, Charles George	Grandson 5th Viscount Barrington	-	Grandson of 2nd Earl Grey	-
Plunkett, Edmund Luke	Son 9th Earl of Fingall	-	-	Grandson 12th Viscount Gormanston
Spearman, Alexander Young	Son 1st Baronet	-	-	-
Ponsonby, Gerald	Son 4th Earl Bessborough	Grandson 1st Earl Spencer	Grandson 10th Earl Westmorland	-
Ryan, Charles Lister	-	?	?	?
Blackwood, Stevenson Arthur	-	-	Grandson 5th Viscount Torrington	-
Drummond, Maurice	-	-	Grandson 1st Earl Auckland	?
Murray, Herbert Harley	Great-grandson 3rd Duke of Atholl	-	Grandson 9th Early of Kinnoull	-
Freemantle, Charles William	Son 1st Baron Cottesloe	-	Grandson 1st Baronet	-
Mowatt, Francis	-	-	-	-
Somerset, Raglan	?(likely)	?	?	?
Wilson, Charles Rivers	-	-	-	-
Broughton, Vernon Delves	? (likely)	?	?	?
Welby, Reginald Earle	Grandson 1st Baronet	Grandson 6th Baronet	-	-
Clement, Richard	-	-	Grandson 2nd Baronet	-
Ryder, George Lisle	Great-grandson 1st Earl of Harrowby	?	?	?
Stephenson, Benjamin C.	-	-	-	-
Clay, Frederic E.	-	-	-	-
Bergne, Frederick A'Court	Gentry	-	-	-

[14] **Note on sources Appendices B–K**: I have used more than 100 local and national newspapers, profiles from the *ODNB*, and the Treasury Arrangement and Appointment Books, 1846–1914—most of them, if not all, have already been referenced throughout the thesis. Sometimes I have been unable to find any information. In those cases, I have used '?'.

Stronge, Charles. W.	Son 3rd Baronet	Great-grandson 1st Viscount Pery of Newton-Pery	-	Grandson 1st Viscount de Vesci of Abbey Leix
Gurdon, William Brampton	-	-	Grandson 1st Baron Colborne of West Harling	-
Puller, Christopher C.	-	-	-	-
Hervey, George William	Grandson 1st Marquess of Bristol	1st Baron Templetown	Grandson 1st Baronet	-
Christie, William Henry	-	-	-	-
Kempe, John Arrow	Gentry	-	-	-
Turnor, Algernon	-	-	Grandson 10th Earl of Wilchilsea	Grandson 3rd Duke of Montrose
Seymour, Horace A. D.	Grandson 1st Marquess of Hertford	Grandson 2nd Duke of Grafton	Grandson 1st Marquess of Bristol	1st Baron Templetown
Baillie- Hamilton, Charles R.	-	Grandson 9th Earl of Home	Grandson 1st Viscount Hamilton	Grandson 1st Baronet
Primrose, Henry William	Grandson 4th Earl of Rosebery	Great-grandson 1st Earl of Radnor	Grandson 1st Viscount Anson	Grandson 1st Earl of Leicester of Holkham

APPENDIX C

Treasury clerks: Aristocratic eldest sons and eldest offspring, 1848–70 (ordered by year of entry the department)

Treasury Clerks	Eldest Son	Younger Son
Barrington, Charles George	-	5th
Plunkett, Edmund Luke	-	3rd
Spearman, Alexander Young	1st	-
Ponsonby, Gerald H.	-	10th
Ryan, Charles Lister	-	10th
Blackwood, Stevenson Arthur	1st	-
Drummond, Maurice	-	3rd
Murray, Herbert Harley	-	4th
Freemantle, Charles William	-	3rd
Mowatt, Francis	1st	-
Somerset, Raglan	-	? (likely
Wilson, Charles Rivers	1st	-
Broughton, Vernon Delves	-	? (likely)
Welby, Reginald Earle	-	5th
Clement, Richard	1st	-
Ryder, George Lisle	-	? (likely)
Stephenson, Benjamin C.	1st	-
Clay, Frederic E.	-	4th
Bergne, Frederick A'Court	-	? (likely)
Stronge, Charles W.	-	3rd
Gurdon, William Brampton	-	4th
Puller, Christopher C.	-	3rd
Hervey, George William	-	3rd
Christie, William Henry	-	?
Kempe, John Arrow	-	?
Turnor, Algernon	-	4th
Seymour, H. A. D.	-	8th
Baillie- Hamilton, Charles R.	-	3rd
Primrose, Henry William	-	2nd

APPENDIX D

Treasury clerks: Father's socioeconomic occupations, 1848–70 (ordered by year of entry the department)

Treasury Clerks	Father's Occupation 1	Father's Occupation 2	Father's Occupation 3	Father's Occupation 4
Barrington, Charles George	Navy	Whig MP	Landowner	-
Plunkett, Edmund Luke	Irish Peer	Landowner	-	-
Spearman, Alexander Young	Public Officer	Slaveowner	Tory MP	British Peer
Ponsonby, Gerald	British Peer	Whig MP	Lord Lieutenant	Landowner
Ryan, Charles Lister	Magistrate	Civil Servant	MP	Barrister
Blackwood, Stevenson Arthur	Groom of Privy Chancellor	Public Officer Colonial Office	-	-
Drummond, Maurice	Banker	-	-	-
Murray, Herbert Haley	Reverend	Bishop	-	-
Freemantle, Charles William	British Peer	Landowner	Chairman of the Customs	Tory MP
Mowatt, Francis	Radical MP	-	-	-
Somerset, Raglan	?	?	?	?
Wilson, Charles Rivers	Merchant	-	-	-
Broughton, Vernon Delves	?	?	?	?
Welby, Reginald Earle	Rector	JP	-	-
Clement, Richard	West Indies Proprietor	Fundholder	Landowner	-
Ryder, George Lisle	Bishop	-	-	
Stephenson, Benjamin C.	Civil Servant	-	-	-
Clay, Frederic E.	Liberal MP	-	-	-
Bergne, Frederick A'Court	Merchant	Horticulturalist	-	-
Stronge, Charles W.	MP	JP	High Sheriff	Deputy Lieutenant
Gurdon, William Brampton	Liberal MP	JP	High Sheriff	Deputy Lieutenant
Puller, Christopher C.	Bar	Liberal MP	-	-
Hervey, George William	Public Officer	Diplomatic Service	-	-
Christie, William Henry	Bar	Diplomat	Civil Servant	-
Kempe, John Arrow	Vicar	Rector	-	-
Turnor, Algernon	Landowner	-	-	-
Seymour, H. A. D.	Navy	-	-	-
Baillie-Hamilton, Charles R.	Navy	Public Officer	-	-
Primrose, Henry William	Landowner	Public Officer	-	-

APPENDIX E

Treasury clerks: Public schools, 1848–70 (ordered by year of entry the department)

Treasury Clerks	Public Schools
Barrington, Charles George	Chaterhouse
Plunkett, Edmund Luke	-
Spearman, Alexander Young	Eton College
Ponsonby, Gerald H. B.	?
Ryan, Charles Lister	Eton College
Blackwood, Stevenson Arthur	Eton College
Drummond, Maurice	?
Murray, Herbert Harley	Eton College
Freemantle, Charles William	Eton College
Mowatt, Francis	Winchester
Somerset, Raglan	Eton College
Wilson, Charles Rivers	Eton College
Broughton, Vernon Delves	?
Welby, Reginald Earle	Eton College
Clement, Richard	Rugby
Ryder, George Lisle	?
Stephenson, Benjamin C.	Charterhouse
Clay, Frederic E.	-
Bergne, Frederick A'Court	?
Stronge, Charles W.	?
Gurdon, William Brampton	Eton College
Puller, Christopher C.	Eton College
Hervey, George William	?
Christie, William Henry	?
Kempe, John Arrow	St. Paul's
Turnor, Algernon	Eton College
Seymour, H. A. D.	Malborough
Baillie- Hamilton, Charles R.	Repton School
Primrose, Henry William	Trinity College, Glenalmond

APPENDIX F

Treasury clerks: Universities, 1848–70 (ordered by year of entry the department)

Treasury Clerks	Oxford	College	Cambridge	College
Barrington, Charles George	-	-	X	Trinity
Plunkett, Edmund Luke	?	?	?	?
Spearman, Alexander Young	?	?	?	?
Ponsonby, Gerald	?	?	?	?
Ryan, Charles Lister	?	?	?	?
Blackwood, Stevenson Arthur	-	-	X	Trinity
Drummond, Maurice	-	-	-	-
Murray, Herbert Harley	X	Christ Church	-	-
Freemantle, Charles William	X	-	-	-
Somerset, Raglan	?	?	?	?
Wilson, Charles Rivers	X	Balliol	-	-
Broughton, Vernon Delves	?	?	?	?
Mowatt, Francis	X	St John's	-	-
Welby, Reginald Earle	-	-	X	Trinity
Clement, Richard	X	University	-	-
Ryder, George Lisle	?	?	?	?
Stephenson, Benjamin C.	-	-	-	-
Clay, Frederic E.	-	-	-	-
Bergne, Frederick A'Court	?	?	?	?
Stronge, Charles W.	-	-	-	-
Gurdon, William Brampton	-	-	X	Trinity
Puller, Christopher C.	X	Balliol	-	-
Hervey, George William	?	?	?	?
Christie, William Henry	-	-	X	Trinity
Kempe, John Arrow	-	-	X	Trinity
Turnor, Algernon	X	Christ Church	-	-
Seymour, Horace A. D.	-	-	X	Trinity
Primrose, Henry William	X	Balliol		
Baillie- Hamilton, Charles R.	?	?	?	?
Hamilton, Edward W.	X	Christ Church	-	-

APPENDIX G

Kin ties within the Treasury, 1840–1914

1) Multigenerational families within the Treasury

- The Crafers: Charles (brother), Edwin (brother), Thomas (brother), father (unknown name)
- The Spearmans: Sir Alexander (father), Alexander Young (son)
- The Martin Leakes: Stephen (father), John (son)
- The Stephensons: Sir William (father), Benjamin (son)
- The Fremantles: Sir Thomas (father), Charles (son), George Alexander Hervey-Fremantle (nephew/cousin)
- The Murrays: Herbert Murray (uncle), George Murray (nephew)
- The Chances: George Chance (father), Joseph (son)
- The Arbuthnots: Charles (cousin), George Arbuthnot (cousin).

2) Blood ties same generation

- The Stephenson–Rivers Wilson connection: William Stephenson (cousin), Charles Rivers Wilson (cousin), Benjamin Stephenson (cousin-nephew)
- The Llewellyn Davies: Charles (brother), Theodore (brother)
- The Herveys–Fremantle connection: Charles Fremantle (cousin), George William Hervey (cousin)

3) Kin ties through marriages

- Macaulay–Trevelyan: Sir Charles Trevelyan (uncle-in-law), George Henry Macaulay (nephew)
- Fremantle–Parry: William Henry Fremantle (brother of Charles Fremantle), Frederick Sydney Parry (nephew-in-law)
- Drummond–Lister: See Appendix J
- Shelley–Martin Leake: See Appendix J
- Mills–Anderson: See Appendix J
- Waterfield–Siepmann: See Appendix J
- Broughton–Arbuthnot: See Appendix J
- Murray–Arbuthnot: See Appendix J

APPENDIX H

Treasury clerks from aristocratic backgrounds, 1870–1914 (ordered by year of appointment)

- Edward W. Hamilton (1870)
- James F. Daly (1873)
- William Dalrymple-Hay (1874)
- Charles J. Maude (1874)
- Stephen E. Spring-Rice (1878)
- George H. Murray (1880)
- Bernard Mallet
- Frederick Sydney Parry (1885)
- William Henry David Boyle (1888)
- Arthur George Villiers Peel (1892)
- Charles Augustus Phillimore Fortescue (1896)
- Malcolm G. Ramsay (1897)
- Richard Assheton Cross
- Frederick Leith-Ross (1909)

Treasury clerks from upper-middle and middle-class backgrounds, 1870–1914 (ordered by year of appointment)

- H. E. F. Comyn (1875)
- Herbert Maxwell Warne (1878)
- George Edward Yorke Gleadowe (1880)
- George Augustus Stephenson (1880)
- Arthur Brook (1881)
- Robert Chalmers (1882)
- Thomas Little Heath (1882)
- Charles Llewelyn Davies (1888)
- Laurence N. Guillemard
- James Miller Dodds (1888)
- John Westerman Cawston (1889)
- Edward George Harman (1889)
- Henry Babington Smith (1892)
- William Blain (1894)
- Theodore Llewelyn Davies
- Louis John Hewby (1895)
- Roland Wilkins (1895)
- John Swanwick Bradbury (1897)
- George Lewis Barstow (1898)
- Maurice F. Headlam (1899)
- Sir Roderick Sinclair Meiklejohn (1902)
- Leonard C. Bromley (1902)

- Sidney Armitage-Smith (1902)
- Edric William Hoyer Millar (1903)
- Gilbert Charles Upcott (1903)
- Ralph G. Hawtrey (1904)
- Basil Phillott Blackett (1904)
- Otto Ernst Niemeyer (1906)
- Sir Frederick Phillips (1908)
- Sigismund D. Schloss (1910)
- Andrew McFadyean (1910)
- Samuel Henry (1910)
- Gerald Hume Pinsent (1911)
- Alexander P. Waterfield (1911)
- H. A. Siepmann, (1912)
- Sydney-Turner Saxon (1912)

Treasury clerks from lower-middle class backgrounds, 1870–1914

- Henry Higgs (1899)

APPENDIX I

Treasury clerks forming the administrative elite, 1848–1914

Reginald Welby (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury)
Ralph Lingen (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury)
Charles Trevelyan (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury)
Francis Mowatt (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury)
Algernon Turnor (Financial Secretary to the Post Office)
George Murray (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury)
Stevenson Blackwood (Secretary to the Post Office)
John Kempe (Deputy-chairman of the Customs)
James Daly (Departmental Controller of the National Debt Office)
Horace Seymour (Deputy-master of the Royal Mint)
Charles Fremantle (Deputy-master of the Royal Mint)
William George Anderson (Auditor of the Civil List, Treasury)
Herbert Murray (Chairman of the Customs)
Henry Babington Smith (Secretary to the Post Office)
George William Hervey (Comptroller to the National Debt Office)
Charles Rivers Wilson (Secretary to the National Debt Office)
Richard Mills (Auditor and Comptroller General)
John Bradbury (Principal Clerk to the Financial Division of the Treasury)
Henry Primrose (Chairman of the Inland Revenue)
Charles Lister Ryan (Auditor and Comptroller General)
George Lisle Ryder (Chairman of the Customs)
Edward Hamilton (Joint-Permanent Secretary to the Treasury)
Thomas Heath (Auditor of the Civil List/Comptroller General of the National Debt Office)
Robert Chalmers (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury/Chairman Inland Revenue)
Charles Barrington (Principal Clerk to the Treasury)
Maurice Drummond (Head of the Metropolitan Police)
William Blain (Assistant Secretary to the Treasury/Auditor of the Civil List)
John Cawston (Deputy-master and Comptroller of the Royal Mint)

APPENDIX J

Treasury Intermarriages, 1843–1914

Treasury Clerk	**Wife**	**Female Connection to the Treasury**
Vernon-Delves Broughton	Augusta Arbuthnot	Daughter of Charles Arbuthnot
Sir Richard Mills	Alice Caroline Anderson	Daughter of Sir William George Anderson
Spencer Shelley	Susanna Martin Leake	Daughter Stephen Martin Leake
Maurice Drummond	Adelaide Lister	Cousin to George Lister Ryan
Sir Herbert Murray	Charlotte Arbuthnot	Daughter of George Arbuthnot
Alexander Percival Waterfield	Doris Waterfield	Daughter of Otto Siepmann

APPENDIX K

Treasury clerks recipient of the Order of the Bath, 1848–1914

GCB

Reginald Welby
Ralph Lingen
Francis Mowatt
George Murray

KCK

Charles Lister Ryan
Henry Primrose
Stevenson Blackwood
John Kempe
Charles Fremantle
Charles Trevelyan
William George Anderson
Herbert Murray
Henry Babington Smith
Richard Mills
John Bradbury
Edward Hamilton
Thomas Heath
Robert Chalmers
George William Hervey
Charles Rivers Wilson
Horace Seymour

CB

Charles Barrington
Maurice Drummond
George Lisle Ryder
William Blain
Charles Stronge
Algernon Turnor
Horace Seymour
Stephen Spring-Rice

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