The School Magazine in Victorian England

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| ABSTRACT

This thesis is the first detailed study of a neglected source: the school magazine. Most studies of secondary schools argue that the ideals and lifestyles of adult editors, teachers and parents defined a new cohesive middle class in nineteenth-century England, seeing pupils in terms of their conformity or rebellion to adult society. Yet this study traces middle-class ideals back to secondary schools which nurtured rich and lively youth cultures. School magazine production boomed from the mid nineteenth century, with hundreds of school magazines established across England, which remains a rich yet untapped body of periodical material. This thesis uses the archives of four secondary schools, containing an astonishing seventy-two magazines in total — alongside other pupil writings, and associational and institutional documents — to gain an insider's view of social, cultural and educational developments in the lives of middle-class English youths. It analyses new ideals of youth and collective identity which were negotiated in magazines written and produced in schools and then circulated to create expansive educational networks across England, Britain, and the British Empire. The analysis reveals conformity and rebellion as too stark to account for a new youth-driven dynamic which was shaping middle-class ideals and lifestyles long before the turbulent youth cultures of the 1960s. In addition, the thesis argues that the school magazine was shaped by youths' denominational, gendered, classed, local, and ethnic identities, complicating the picture of a cohesive middle class. By uncovering these youth-driven currents of social and cultural change, this thesis makes a substantial contribution to histories of print culture, education, and youth in the nineteenth century. It also challenges assumptions that all youths were passive witnesses or recipients of adult ideals by uncovering middle-class English teenagers as key beneficiaries and proponents of broader changes to culture, class, and imperialism.

| LONG ABSTRACT

This thesis is the first detailed study of a neglected source: the school magazine. Most studies of secondary schools argue that the ideals and lifestyles of adult editors, teachers and parents defined a new cohesive middle class in nineteenth-century England, seeing pupils in terms of their conformity or rebellion to adult society. The school news and public spirit of the school magazine is often seen through the lens of this broader narrative of elite formation, as a byproduct of a dominant and alluring public school ethos and the anti-intellectual conformity of a reformed school life defined by team sports, rote-learning, and adult supervision. However, this historical narrative generalises outward from a small circle of elite public schools, at a time when the majority of English teenagers experienced secondary education at schools shaped by the cultures and ideals of very different middle-class communities. The school magazine was not synonymous with the public school, as the boom in school magazine production was instead part of the rich and lively youth cultures in hundreds of secondary schools across England.

This thesis contributes to a rich body of scholarship approaching children's cultures — that is, children's active role as consumers, participants in public events and associational life, and activists for a range of social causes — as a constituent part of the wider social and cultural developments in the nineteenth century. Considering the school magazine as an aspect of these influential children's cultures offers a new perspective on the socialisation of children and youths into middle-class ideals, practices, and aspirations. It also sheds new light on the development of middle-class education, the boom in periodical production, and the new ideals and experiences of childhood and youth, which characterised the nineteenth century. These developments show the study of the school magazine to have implications beyond the school itself, adding new insights to the broader field of Victorian studies.

This thesis uses the archives of four secondary schools which, while lesser-known, contain an astonishing seventy-two magazines in total — alongside other pupil writings, and associational and institutional documents — to gain an insider's view of social, cultural and educational developments in the lives of middle-class English youths. However, the aim here is not to claim for these schools a place in a pre-existing narrative of the development of a public school system. Instead, this study shows how the school magazine as a genre was part of far broader patterns of social and cultural change in which a growing number of secondary schools were active and influential participants. Nor does this thesis aim to merely complete or complicate the existing picture of the Victorian idealisation of childhood and youth. Instead, I argue that the school magazine epitomised a new youth-driven form of cultural agency which characterised the schools, periodicals, and middle-class communities of the Victorian period, long before the turbulent youth cultures of the 1960s. This youth-driven force generated new ideals of youth and collective identity which were negotiated in the magazines written and produced in schools, and then circulated to create expansive educational networks across England, Britain, and the British Empire.

The school magazine started out as the contribution of a small number of elite public schools to the literary periodicals appearing from the eighteenth century onwards. However, by the nineteenth-century, the school magazine had generic content and material features which made it a highly conventional and unremarkable publication appearing in hundreds of schools across England. This thesis explores this shift from an elevated literary periodical to a magazine packed with the minutiae of everyday school life, a genre which was so ubiquitous and unremarkable it has gained little sustained historical attention. The thesis addresses the surprising silence surrounding the nineteenth-century school magazine by identifying the characteristics which set it apart from its literary predecessors in the eighteenth century, and made its content and appearance instantly recognisable to us today.

The first chapter examines how the school magazine constructed and popularised an increasingly dominant ideal of the youth writer as a rational observer of the material world. The shift from literary to descriptive writing was shaped by the increased prominence of object lessons in nineteenth-century literacy education. The new ideal of the youth writer is outlined in relation to writings produced at the Croydon Friends' School, a small Quaker boarding school for boys and girls with a curricular emphasis on reading and writing in English. While a Quaker school may seem largely shaped by denominational educational practices, in fact this case study of the Croydon Friends' School has a wider resonance, as it demonstrates the broader practices of education beyond the classically-focused public schools. Thus, while each chapter explores a theme largely in relation to a particular school, comparisons will be made with the other schools in this study to highlight commonalities and differences in youth cultures. Nor will this thesis confine analysis to the school. The first chapter shows youth writing fit with middle-class ideals of education at home or through informal practices such as rational recreation and factual and instructive children's literature. I argue that descriptive writing in the school magazine normalised a youth-driven educational process centred on the observations and reasoning of the young writers themselves.

The second chapter explores collective identity as another defining characteristic of the school magazine. School magazine content idealised a prized and privileged corporate identity for each school, an ideal bolstered by school magazine production which emphasised contribution and production as a measure of corporate pride and loyalty. This theme is explored in relation to the magazine of the recently-established Oxford High School for Girls in order to uncover how pupils new to secondary education redrew middle-class identities in a way that included themselves. Comparison with other schools' magazines shows overarching commonalities in school cultures and ideals which cannot simply by traced back to the elite public schools. At the same time, the silences and suppressions of teacher-edited

magazines and the variety of postures and representations of school life in pupil-led ventures bring to light the constant presence of other gendered, denominational, and ethnic identities in English schools.

The focus of the third chapter is magazine production. The school magazine was not just written at the school: it was also largely made there. Pupils worked as editors, contributors, printers, illustrators, readers, critics, and salespeople. Their active involvement in production shows a sophisticated awareness of the social meaning conveyed by all aspects of a periodical. The archive of Stonyhurst College reveals an extraordinary variety of content, formats, publication methods, and circulation methods, which further complicates the picture of a homogenous school culture. Moreover, comparisons illuminate how magazine production varied from one school to another, as particular communities prioritised relationships to periodical culture which aligned with desirable aspects of their community's identity.

The final chapter situates the school magazine in expanding circles of influence. It uncovers how a fascinating and widespread practice of exchanging copies of school magazines free of charge enabled schools to create informal and expansive networks across England, Britain, and the Empire. The chapter focuses on the impressive network created by Manchester Grammar School's *Ulula* to uncover how the ideals and values of the English school magazines in this study were not constructed in isolation but through constant patterns of interactions with other publications. The network shows pupils confidently operating within local print and associational networks in the city of Manchester, debating the values and practices of school life with other teenagers across Britain, and forming collective youth identities through the constant exchange of magazines with schools in white settler colonies of the British Empire. School magazines reveal the complex social and cultural networks of

middle-class communities, and how English teenagers used their magazine production and circulation to claim a place in nineteenth-century networks of power and privilege.

Through detailed reconstructions of magazine production in individual schools and attention to the overarching commonalities and enduring differences, this thesis seeks to build a more complex picture of how middle-class youths carved out a place for themselves in the changing social and cultural landscape of Victorian England. The thesis argues that the school magazine was shaped by youths' denominational, gendered, classed, locational, and ethnic identities, complicating the picture of a cohesive middle class. By uncovering these youth-driven currents of social and cultural change, this thesis makes a substantial contribution to histories of print culture, education, and youth in the nineteenth century. It also challenges assumptions of that all youths were passive witnesses or recipients of adult ideals by uncovering middle-class English teenagers as key beneficiaries and proponents of broader changes to culture, class, and imperialism.

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| ABBREVIATIONS

ERO	Chelmsford, Essex Record Office, Friends' School Saffron Walden collection
SC	Clitheroe, Stonyhurst College archives
OBL	Oxford, Bodleian Library
OHS	Oxford, Oxford High School for Girls archives
MGS	Manchester, Manchester Grammar School archives
MHS	Manchester, Manchester High School for Girls archives
WC	Winchester, Winchester College archives

s	shilling
d	pence

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| INTRODUCTION

The school magazine became an everyday feature of the secondary school in Victorian England. This boom in school magazine production gives a compelling insider's view on how middle-class teenagers negotiated the shifting landscapes of middle-class education and culture at this time. This thesis identifies a dynamic of youth appealing to other youth which began to shape social and cultural activities in the mid-nineteenth century, the most prominent example of which was the school magazine. The impact this youth-driven dynamic had on middle-class education and culture is the focus of this thesis. I begin with one poetic appeal to other youths which characterises the school magazine as a whole and captures the central themes in this thesis.

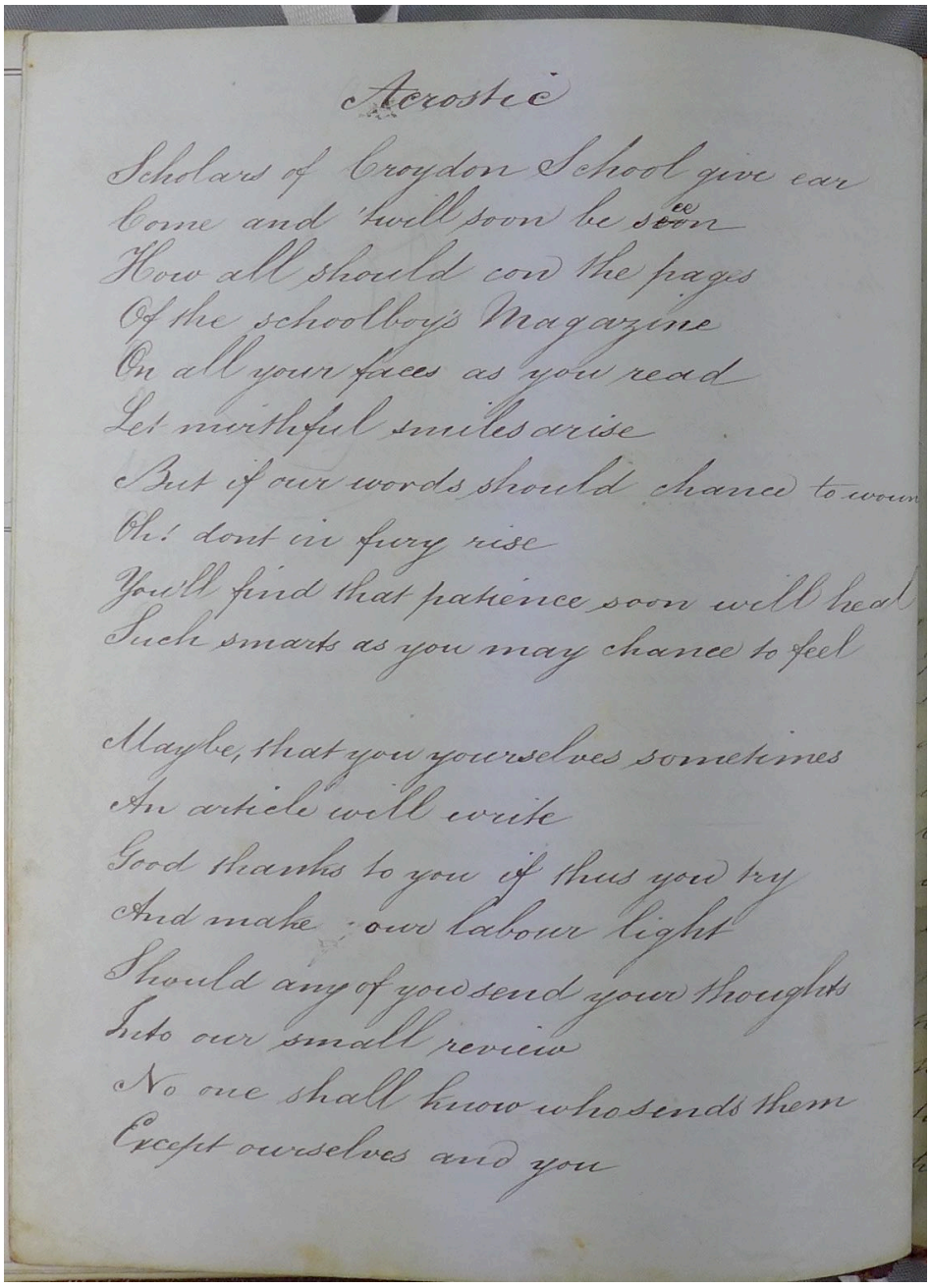
In 1851, a manuscript magazine, the *School-Boy's Magazine*, appealed directly to the 'Scholars of Croydon School' with the following poem:

> Scholars of Croydon School give ear
> Come and 'twill soon by seen
> Here all should con the pages
> Of the schoolboy's (sic) Magazine
> On all your faces as you read
> Let mirthful smiles arise
> But if our words should chance to wound
> Oh! Don't in fury rise
> You'll find that patience soon will heal
> Such smarts as you may chance to feel
>
> Maybe, that you yourselves sometimes
> An article will write
> Good thanks to you if this you try
> And make our labour light
> Should any of you send your thoughts
> Into our small review
> No one shall know who sends them
> Except ourselves and you[1]

[1] Chelmsford, Essex Record Office, Friends' School Saffron Walden (ERO), D/Q 49/C1/a4: 'Acrostic', *School-Boy's Magazine* 2/2 (1851).

INTRODUCTION

'Croydon School' refers to the Croydon Friends' School, a small boarding school for Quaker boys and girls south of London, and one of the four schools analysed in detail in this thesis. The poem constructed an empowering vision of the school magazine as a collective youthful venture, relying entirely on pupils to 'con the pages' of the current issue and 'send [their] thoughts' to bulk out the next issue.



Acrostic

Scholars of Croydon School give ear
Come and 'twill soon be soon
How all should con the pages
Of the schoolboys Magazine
On all your faces as you read
Let mirthful smiles arise
But if our words should chance to wound
Oh! dont in fury rise
You'll find that patience soon will heal
Such smarts as you may chance to feel

Maybe, that you yourselves sometimes
An article will write
Good thanks to you if thus you try
And make our labour light
Should any of you send your thoughts
Into our small review
No one shall know who sends them
Except ourselves and you

Figure 1: Image of an 'Acrostic' poem from the School-Boy's Magazine. Note the careful arrangement and how the first letter of each line spells out 'School Boys Magasine' (sic). 'Acrostic', School-Boy's Magazine 2/2 (1851).

INTRODUCTION

Reading the copies of the *School-Boy's Magazine* held at the Essex Record Office, it becomes quickly apparent that this youth-driven ideal was grounded in material practices. Issue and series numbers can serve as a measure of a magazine's success: a first series overseen by a thirteen-year-old editor appeared in 1850 (no longer extant); and the poem appeared in issue two of a second (extant) series when the magazine was taken over by two other thirteen-year-olds in 1851. The physical state of the copies are further testament to the youth-driven dynamic of school magazines. As a manuscript magazine, a single hand-written copy of each issue circulated from pupil to pupil at a halfpenny a read, and the dirty battered state of the archived copies shows for certain that it was circulated and read. Finally, the poem's content as well as its acrostic format — with the first letters of each line spelling out the title 'Schoolboys Magasine' (sic) — draw attention to pupils' control over every aspect of the magazine's production, from selecting and editing contributions, to transcribing the manuscript copy in their best handwriting and fashioning its attractive layout, to circulating it to readers and soliciting further contributions (Figure 1).

The *School-Boy's Magazine*'s poem epitomises the youth-driven social and cultural practices of the Victorian secondary school. The school magazines in this study brim with similar appeals: a book of drafts for the 1854 *Stonyhurst Journal* included a poem 'Wanted Composers, or, Wanted a Name'; the Manchester Grammar School magazine *Ulula* urged contributors to step forward in 1892 with a 'Proclamation by the Owl', a school mascot; while pupil Muriel Underhill wrote a poem about 'Our School Magazine' in the *Oxford High School Magazine* in 1894.[2] Despite the differences of gender, denomination, location, and

[2] Clitheroe, Stonyhurst College Archives (SC), 'Wanted Composers, or, Wanted a Name', *Stonyhurst Journal* [1854]; Oxford, Bodleian Library (OBL), Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Proclamation by the Owl', *Ulula* (February 1892), p. 2; OBL, Per. G.A. Oxon 8° 612: "M. M. U.", 'Our School Magazine', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1894), pp. 629-30.

social status between these schools, pupils used their magazines to place themselves centre-stage in a common practice of school magazine production in this period.

Briefly examining the school magazines collected by the Bodleian Library Oxford in the nineteenth century reveals the magazines in this study to be part of a far more widespread practice among English teenagers. The Bodleian collection includes examples from ancient foundations like the *Eton College Magazine* (1832), *Harrovian* (1828) and *Rugbaean* (1850). These are alongside magazines from newly-established public schools, such as the *Marlburian* (1850) and *Lancing College Magazine* (1877), and from grammar schools like the *Leodiensian* (1827), *Norvicensian* (1873) and *Bristol Grammar School Chronicle* (1887). The collection includes over one hundred examples from the nineteenth century which show the genre was not confined to the Anglican public and grammar schools: the *Bromley Magazine* (1845), which the subtitle explained was 'conducted by the boys of Mr Rawes' Academy', a private boarding school; the *Cave House School Monthly Miscellany* (1845) which came from a private commercial school in Uxbridge; and the *Brucian* (1856) from the experimental Bruce Castle School. The collection also crosses denominational boundaries: the *Downside Magazine and Monthly Miscellany* (1845) from the Benedictine monastery school is archived alongside the *Queenwood Reporter* (1848) from a private Quaker boarding school. Later in the century, there are examples from girls' schools: the *Cheltenham Ladies' College Magazine* (1880); and the *Wimbledon House School News*, later renamed *Roedean School Magazine* (1895). At times, the Bodleian's school magazines are the sole archival material remaining from the numerous small schools which characterised middle-class education. It includes the *Sunny Bank Magazine* (1886) from Sunny Bank Ladies' School in Wilmslow, a school which left few other archival documents. The school magazine warrants attention not because it was exceptional, but precisely because by the mid-nineteenth century it had become a ubiquitous feature of middle-class school life.

INTRODUCTION

Studies of English secondary education largely focus on an elite public school 'system' argued to have developed by the beginning of the twentieth century.[3] The school magazine serves as a valuable corrective to this top-down model of educational change, providing insight into middle-class cultural practices and habits that were far too widespread and varied to be neatly traced back to a small circle of elite public schools. Magazine production in different secondary schools — as well as the genre's mix of school news, extra-curricular activities, and literary writings and essays — can help to understand these varied experiences. With the absence of centralised and mandated state secondary schooling meaning educational experiences were shaped by what families could afford and access, most of the Victorian teenagers in this study experienced a 'mixed economy' of education.[4] This could include home education by parents and siblings or tutors and governesses, school education at local day, charity, elementary or grammar schools, small or larger private boarding schools or public schools, followed by further education or apprenticeship. Moreover, the wealth of literary essays, poetry, stories and general interest articles written for school magazines in pupils' leisure time are a reminder that education was a far broader process than school attendance in a period where self-help and mutual improvement continued to form a key part

[3] Mapping 'a system, an articulated and coherent set of schools' is the aim of J. Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe: The Development of the Victorian Public School* (London, 1977), especially pp. 385-395; see also Thomas Bamford, *Rise of the Public School* (London, 1967) pp. 17-38; pp. 164-91. W. B. Stephens argues the public schools had a 'positive influence' as its liberal curriculum trickled down to state education. See *Education in Britain, 1750-1914* (London, 1998), pp. 98-105. While studying a more diverse group of schools and noting them as far from 'homogenous', the development of a public school 'system' still remains central to studies such as R. McLain, 'The Evolution and Expansion of the Victorian English Public Schools, A Comparative Case Study of Blundell's, Clifton, Eton, Lancing and The Leys' (PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2003), pp. 9-13. Even broader studies of secondary education accept the centrality of the public schools, such as Brian Simon's declaration that the public schools were a 'recognisable "system"' by 1900, see B. Simon, *Education and the Labour Movement, 1870-1918* (London, 1965), pp. 97-112.

[4] For discussion of the 'mixed economy' in relation to gentry boys, see H. French and M. Rothery, *Man's Estate*: *Landed Gentry Masculinities, c.1660-c.1900* (Oxford, 2012), p. 40; the enduring attraction of home education is discussed in C. de Bellaigue (ed.), *Home Education in Historical Perspective* ed. by (Abingdon and New York, 2016). On the 'piecemeal' and uneven reforms, Roach, *Secondary Education in England, 1800-1870*, p. 303; on education which was 'educationally, socially and geographically patchy', see Stephens, *Education in Britain,* p. 99.

of middle-class family life.[5] The range of youthful vantage points on education offered by a single issue of a school magazine, and multiplied across the magazines of different schools, better captures the shifting nature of middle-class education in a period where family, denomination, gender, social status and location had more impact than the state.

The rise of the school magazine was noticed in the nineteenth century. The Bodleian collection was deliberately assembled in the nineteenth century by E. W. Nicholson (Bodleian Librarian 1881–1912), who sent a circular to boys' Anglican grammar and public schools requesting back and future copies of their magazines.[6] Moreover, many of the schools in this study feature in the *Waterloo Directory of Victorian Periodicals 1800-1900*: there are the *Croydon School Monthly Magazine*, *Oxford High School Magazine*, *Stonyhurst Magazine*, Manchester Grammar School's *Ulula*, and the *Manchester High School Magazine*, alongside magazines from more than one hundred other schools. This again reflects their nineteenth-century visibility, as the Waterloo Directory sourced titles from contemporary press directories such as Layton's *Handy Newspaper List* (1895).[7]

Pupils and teachers, of course, knew they were joining a longer school magazine tradition. Take for instance the title of the *New Microcosm*, a print magazine produced in 1839 by pupils at another of the schools in this study, the northern day school the Manchester Grammar School. The *New Microcosm* apologised for pupils' seeming precocity but humbly appealed to readers that 'Lest our attempt should appear too bold, let it be remembered that our predecessor, the *Microcosm*, [was] written by youths of our own age, at Eton.'[8] The first

[5] For the broader education in middle-class families, see M. Cohen, 'The pedagogy of conversation in the home: "familiar conversation" as a pedagogical tool in eighteenth and nineteenth-century England', *Oxford Review of Education* 41/4 (2015), pp. 447-63; K. Gleadle, 'Magazine culture, girlhood communities, and educational reform in late Victorian Britain', *English Historical Review* (forthcoming); C. de Bellaigue, 'Great Expectations? Childhood, Family, and Middle-Class Social Mobility in Nineteenth-Century England', *Cultural and Social History*, published online 9 February 2019, pp. 1-18. For strategies of self improvement which involved middle-class as well as working-class families, see J. Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven, 2001), pp. 58-91.

[6] OBL, Per. Lancashire 2.243: *Ulula* 1 (1874-3). Interleaved letter from James Cowan, Manchester Grammar School to the Bodleian Librarian (14 May 1886).

[7] Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800-1900 <http://www.victorianperiodicals.com/series3/index.asp> (29 November 2018).

[8] OBL, Per. 2705 e.580: 'To Our Readers', *New Microcosm* (June 1839), p. 1.

INTRODUCTION

Microcosm (1786-87) was a periodical of literary and critical essays by youths at the elite public school Eton College, who emphasised their youth with the choice of "microcosm" for their title, meaning "little world". Of all school magazines, it is Eton College's *Microcosm* which has achieved the greatest recognition by the Victorian press and today's literary scholars alike, 'obtain[ing]', as Manchester Grammar School's *New Microcosm* explained, 'a station with the *Spectator*, *Rambler*, *Mirror*, &c.'[9] These comments reveal the nineteenth-century school magazine to be shaped by celebrated traditions of writing among youths as much as by mainstream literary periodicals like Addison's *Spectator*.

The "little world" was an analogy drawn by generations of the pupils who feature in this study, such as Stonyhurst's *Our World* (1877), produced at the Jesuit Stonyhurst College, which wished to capture 'the little incidents and weaknesses of our Microcosm'.[10] The opening editorials for the Croydon Friends' School's manuscript magazine the *Monthly Gleaner* (1855) and the print *Stonyhurst Magazine* (1881) each courted their own 'little world.'[11] Nor did these magazines simply seek to emulate the elite youths at Eton College; rather, pupils boasted of their own school's unique traditions of publication. The *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* explained its appearance in 1861 with the remark that 'many of our readers will be acquainted with the history of the struggles between rival papers for the exclusive possession of their alma mater', and Croydon's *School-Boy's Magazine* included a 'Sketch of the Magazines' describing other Croydon titles discovered in the school library in 1851.[12]

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[9] OBL, Per. 2705 e.580: 'To Our Readers', *New Microcosm* (June 1839), p. 1. The Eton College *Microcosm* is discussed in J. E. Gage, 'My Schoolfellows, My Patrons, My Public: English Schoolboy Authorship 1786-1798' (PhD thesis, Queen Mary University, 1991), pp. 49-97; and its later influence is mentioned in W. Weaver, '"A School-Boy's Story": Writing the Victorian Public Schoolboy Subject', *Victorian Studies*, 46/3 (2004), pp. 455-87.

[10] SC: 'Introduction,' *Our World* (19 May 1877), p. 1. Magazines in SC are without enumeration, but it is supplied where possible.

[11] ERO, D/Q 49/G1/a5: 'To my Readers', *Monthly Gleaner* (October 1855), p. 1; SC: *Stonyhurst Magazine* (May 1881), p. 9.

[12] SC: *The Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* [no issue number](1861); ERO, D/Q 49/C1/a4: 'Sketch of the Magazines', *School-Boy's Magazine* 2/3 (1851).

INTRODUCTION

While hundreds of school magazines are held in collections such as the Bodleian Library Oxford and the British Library, this study of the school magazine has at times required working with the 'archival fragments, objects, and ghosts' more typical of histories of childhood and youth.[13] National collections contain more official print magazines; in school archives, however, the official magazine is surrounded by a penumbra of competitors, with many single copy manuscript magazines and partial or incomplete runs of more short-lived titles. As the irregular footnotes to this thesis demonstrate, school magazines as a whole are far from a consistent and coherent source, with missing issues — like the vanished first series of the *School-Boy's Magazine* — and missing or torn pages, sporadic attention paid by their original writers to adding page and issue numbers or dates, and inconsistent enumeration practices in school archives. Yet what is more notable than the fragmented state of the archive today is the nineteenth-century dedication to preserving school magazines. Copies of more short-lived magazines were bound and preserved at the school or later remembered in brief histories of magazine production like the 'Sketch of the Magazines' mentioned above. This thesis is often indebted to the care and attention bestowed on preserving and writing about school magazines by nineteenth-century pupil archivists and historians, which position the more recognisable print school magazines within a more varied landscape of school publication.

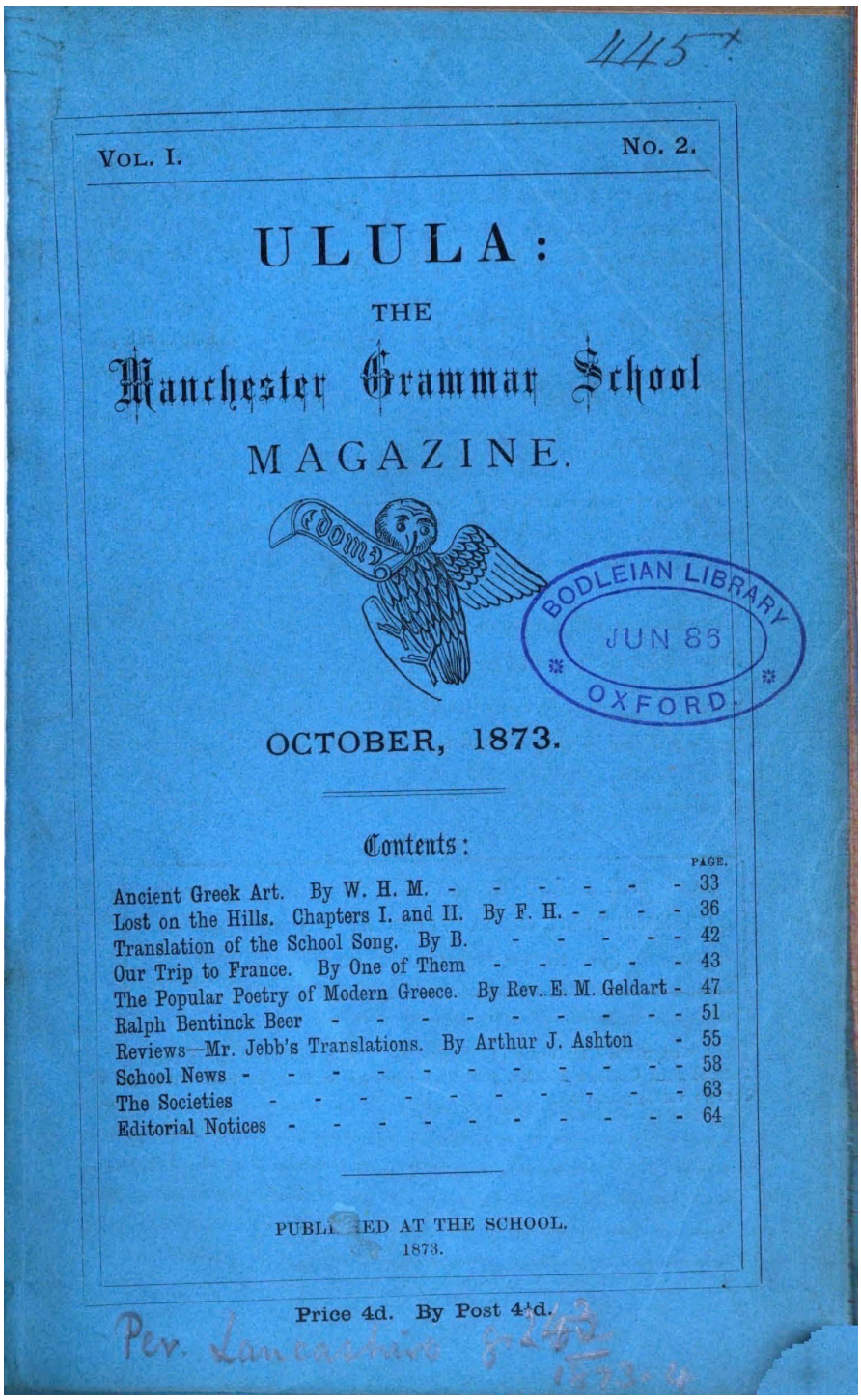
This thesis uses school magazines, alongside school archival material, and the self-conscious reflections on making magazines like the 'Acrostic' above, to reconstruct the little world of the nineteenth-century school magazine. This reconstruction offers new insights into the social and cultural practices of middle-class communities. The genre gives a "real time" view of broader social and cultural changes as they unfolded, from the insider's perspective

[13] Methodologies for dealing with juvenile archival materials are discussed in S. Mills, 'Cultural-historical geographies of the archive: fragments, objects and ghosts', *Geography Compass,* 7/10 (2013), p. 702; and K. Sánchez-Eppler, 'In the Archives of Childhood' in A. M. Duane (ed.), *The Children's Table: Childhood Studies and the New Humanities* (Athens, 2013), pp. 213–37.

of the youths themselves. Considered at an individual level, many of the magazines under discussion have disappeared from view, held in school archives or existing in name only, their pupil and teacher editors and writers complete unknowns, whose forays into publication seem awkward, fleeting, and unremarkable, and whose schools feature little — if at all — in broader historical studies of secondary education. In aggregate, however, the hundreds of school magazines produced in the Victorian era reveal the role played by innumerable unknown pupils and teachers in producing and circulating the new ideals and practices of secondary school life.

THE SCHOOL MAGAZINE

Despite the dearth of historical studies, the Victorian school magazine is still an instantly recognisable genre today. Take the cover page of *Ulula*, first published in 1873 (Figure 2). It was printed in a small periodical format with a blue wrapper. The title *Ulula: The Manchester Grammar School Magazine* made clear this was a schoolboy venture. "Ulula" (Latin for "hoot") alluded to the school's emblem of an owl which was emblazoned on the cover, bearing the legend "-dom" in reference to the coat of arms of the school's sixteenth-century benefactor Hugh Oldham ("Owl-dom"). The cover page had a table of contents promising literary essays, general interest articles, poems, and school news, and a copy cost four pence at the school and local booksellers, or four and a half pence by post. The cover page of *Ulula* is still recognisable as a school magazine today, and it is much like the other print magazines in this study. This familiarity is worthy of serious consideration as evidence of how youths' extraordinary role in cultural production became an ordinary part of middle-class life by the end of the nineteenth century.



VOL. I. No. 2.

ULULA:

THE

Manchester Grammar School

MAGAZINE.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY
JUN 85
OXFORD

OCTOBER, 1873.

Contents:

PAGE.
Ancient Greek Art. By W. H. M. - - - - - - - 33
Lost on the Hills. Chapters I. and II. By F. H. - - - - 36
Translation of the School Song. By B. - - - - - - 42
Our Trip to France. By One of Them - - - - - - 43
The Popular Poetry of Modern Greece. By Rev. E. M. Geldart - 47
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Reviews—Mr. Jebb's Translations. By Arthur J. Ashton - 55
School News - - - - - - - - - - - - - 58
The Societies - - - - - - - - - - - - 63
Editorial Notices - - - - - - - - - - - 64

PUBLISHED AT THE SCHOOL.
1873.

Price 4d. By Post 4½d.

Per. Lancashire 8° 243
1873-4

Figure 2. Image of the cover page of *Ulula* with the school emblem of an owl with the legend '-dom', from the coat of arms of Hugh Oldham ("Owl-dom"). Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: *Ulula* (October 1873).

School magazines were just one genre within a wider enthusiasm for writing about school life at the time. Historians benefit from the copious governmental overviews of Victorian

secondary education: the Charity Commission into charitable endowments, including public and grammar schools (1819); the Clarendon Commission into nine public schools (1864); and the Schools Inquiry Commission (1868) into a range of middle-class boys' and girls' secondary schools.[14] The reports gathered rich and detailed testimony from teachers, headteachers, former pupils, and governing body members, which reached a wider audience through debates on educational reform in the newspapers.[15] At the same time, Thomas Hughes's *Tom Brown's School Days* was simply the most famous example of the public school novels which sold in great numbers from the mid-nineteenth century, with girls' school novels peaking slightly later,[16] while shorter school stories became a staple of boys' and girls' periodicals.[17] Observation and commentary on schooling was not the preserve of governmental commissioners: stories, newspaper articles and correspondence delighted in imagining and debating the peculiar rituals, myths and traditions of individual schools, while there was an 'upsurge' in in-house school histories, registers of pupil and teacher names, and recollections of school days by former pupils.[18] Such writings presented the secondary school as a 'sociological resource', Jenny Holt argues in relation to public school fiction, by opening

[14] On the Charity Commissions, see Simon, *Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870,* pp. 94-109; Roach, *A History of Secondary Education in England, 1800-1870*, pp. 86-99. On the Clarendon Commission, see C. Shrosbree, *Public schools and Private Education: the Clarendon Commission, 1861-64, and the Public Schools Acts* (Manchester, 1988); Roach, *A History of Secondary Education in England, 1800-1870*, pp. 228-42; B. Simon, *Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870,* pp. 299-366. On the Schools Inquiry Commission, see J. Roach, *A History of Secondary Education in England, 1870-1902* (London and New York, 1991), pp. 3-13; C. Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up in Victorian and Edwardian England* (London, Boston and Henley, 1981), pp. 40-78.

[15] For newspaper discussions early in the 1800s, see E. C. Mack, *Public Schools and British Opinion, 1780 to 1860* (London, 1939), pp. 143-91; on press reaction to the Clarendon Commission, see E. C. Mack, *Public Schools and British Opinion since 1860* (New York, 1973), pp. 42-49.

[16] For recent overviews of the broad development of school stories, see B. Lyon Clark, *Regendering the School Story: Sassy Sissies and Tattling Tomboys* (New York and London, 1996); and J. Holt, *Public School Literature, Civic Education and the Politics of Male Adolescence* (Abingdon and New York, 2008). On the rise of the girls' school novel in the early twentieth century, with authors such as Angela Brazil and Elinor Brent-Dyer, see N. G. Rosoff and S. Spencer, *British and American School Stories, 1910-1960* (Cham, Switzerland, 2019), pp. 3-28.

[17] On school stories in boys' periodicals, see K. Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855–1940* (Basingstoke, 2003), especially pp. 73-82; in girls' periodicals, B. Rodgers, *Adolescent Girlhood and Literary Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (Basingstoke, 2016), pp. 79-115.

[18] J. Holt, *Public School Literature, Civic Education and the Politics of Male Adolescence* (Abingdon, Oxon and New York, 2008), quote p. 2. For examples of newspaper discussions of rituals, see the discussions of "tunding", a particular form of corporal punishment at Winchester College. For example, "M.A. Oxon.",

it up to social and cultural analysis by a wide range of contemporary readers.[19] Victorian writing about school still plays this role, as government reports, fiction and memoirs on public schools continue to be used interchangeably as sources for historical study,[20] while literature has been more specifically analysed for its role in constructing an English masculine identity that filtered down to a growing population of middle-class and working-class readers.[21] While working-class, lower-middle-class, and girl readers often feature as passive consumers of 'a vicarious substitute for Public School experience' from which they were excluded,[22] in practice the proliferation of school magazines is evidence of a far wider preoccupation with reading and writing about life in the many day, grammar, high, and denominational schools which catered to the English middle classes.

In contrast with the detailed histories of writing about schools, there are few studies of the layered publication practices in schools. Schools fostered rich but little known publication practices. From the eighteenth century, schoolboy speeches were printed as souvenirs for friends and family,[23] and publishers issued school pieces — blank sheets of paper with pretty borders for pupils to preserve a copy of their best handwriting.[24] At the same time, schools bulk bought books specially suited for young readers,[25] and created a new market for

'Winchester Discipline', *Times* (15 November 1872), p. 7. See also published volumes of Winchester slang or "notions", for example W. H. Lawson and J. F. Hope, *Winchester College Notions* (Winchester, 1901).

[19] J. Holt, *Public School Literature,* p. 3. This accords with the use of literature in studies of child psychology and psychiatry. See S. Shuttleworth, *The Mind of the Child: Child Development in Literature, Science, and Medicine, 1840-1900* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 1-14.

[20] Stories are incorporated into the analysis in Mack, *The Public Schools and British Opinion Since 1860*, pp. 134-52; pp. 186-208; see also J. Chandos, *Boys Together* (London, Melbourne, etc, 1984), on *Eric, or Little by Little*, pp. 278-83; and on *Tom Brown's School Days*, pp. 45-46; Bamford, *Rise of the Public School* described *Tom Brown's School Days* as 'based on fact', p. 68; and Butler's *The Way of All Flesh* as 'semi-autobiographical', p. 144.

[21] Holt, *Public School Literature*; and on the impact on working-class boys more specifically, see Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper*, pp. 12-17.

[22] J. Holt, 'The Textual Formations of Adolescence in Turn-of-the-Century Youth Periodicals: The Boy's Own Paper and Eton College Ephemeral Magazines', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 35/1 (2002), p. 68.

[23] Gage, 'My Schoolfellows, My Patrons, My Public', p. 36.

[24] J. Shefrin, 'Flourish'd Pieces, for School-Boys to Write in', John Johnson Collection: Now and Then blog (13 December 2017) <https://blogs.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/jjcoll/2017/12/13/flourishd-pieces-for-school-boys-to-write-in-guest-post-jill-shefrin/> (6 November 2018).

[25] M. Grenby, *The Child Reader, 1700-1840* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 142-49; M. Branagh-Miscampbell, 'The School Library and Childhood Reading in Lowland Scotland, 1750-1850' in M. Hammond and J. Rose (eds), *The Edinburgh History of Reading: A World Survey from Antiquity to Present* (forthcoming, 2019).

textbooks adapted for use in middle-class schools.[26] Indeed, some of the schools in this study financed these new resources. The *Owens College Junior Course of Practical Chemistry* (1872) stated on its title page that its author Francis Jones was 'Chemical Master at the Grammar School, Manchester', and the *Croydon School Monthly Magazine* advertised 'Price One Shilling, compiled and printed in the Institution, the Croydon School Biographical Game' in 1847.[27] A more formal relationship was established between another Friends' school and children's publishers Darton and Harvey, who published an 1790 *Spelling Book* for 'the Use of Ackworth School', issuing twenty-six editions of the text by 1852.[28] Schools like Croydon and Manchester are rarely factored into studies of print culture, but nevertheless had the financial resources and wider community to nurture their own publication practices.

The study of English school magazines is even more fragmented. Jill Gage's comprehensive study of schoolboy authorship in eighteenth-century England connects the first school magazines to elite schoolboys' desire to participate in the thriving metropolitan and provincial literary cultures of the time.[29] The nineteenth-century boom has received relatively little attention, with no comprehensive bibliographies — in contrast to the bibliographical work on American high school magazines[30] — besides an argument in favour of public school magazines as a source in James Mangan's *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School* (1981), and brief articles by John Roach (1986), Stephanie Spencer

[26] For instance, on the new market for books on English composition, see L. Schultz, *The Young Composers: Composition's Beginnings in Nineteenth-Century Schools* (Carbondale, 1999), pp. 34-55.
[27] F. Jones, *Owens College Junior Course of Practical Chemistry* (London, 1872); ERO, D/Q 49/F1/a3: *Croydon School Monthly Magazine* (February 1847).
[28] *A Spelling Book for Use in Ackworth School* (London, 1790); for discussion of the relationship between school and publisher, see Grenby, *The Child Reader*, p. 142.
[29] Gage, 'My Schoolfellows, My Patrons, My Public', p. 33; See also L. Langbauer, *The Juvenile Tradition: Young Writers and Prolepsis, 1750-1835* (Oxford, 2016), p. 135.
[30] B. E. Konkle, 'A Preliminary Overview of the Early History of High School Journalism in the U.S.: circa 1775-1925'
(unpublished paper, delivered August 2013, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Summer Conference, Washington DC) <https://quillandscroll.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/A-Preliminary-Overview-of-the-Early-History-of-High-School-Journalism-in-the-U.S.-1775-1925-.pdf> (7 December 2018).

(2000), Jenny Holt (2002) and William Weaver (2004).[31] For scholars of the public schools, James Mangan suggests, the school magazine provides 'a fund of vocabularies of motive, enthusiasm and nostalgia', while John Roach argues magazines can also provide an 'interesting' insight into private and proprietary schools.[32] More often, however, school magazines feature as a useful resource for detail on nineteenth-century education, and they have rarely been taken seriously in themselves.[33] When the boom in magazine production is noticed, it is considered as part of the rise of the public school, although playing a passive role as, Mangan argues, the genre 'has always perpetuated established values rather than challenged them.'[34]

While school magazine content is generally seen as passively mirroring school life and reproducing its values, recent literary studies have ascribed a more productive role to literature aimed at children and youths. Beverly Lyon Clark's study of the school story and Matthew Grenby's study of children's reading note how children's literature served to 'mediate conflicting codes and ideologies' about childhood and education among middle-class parents and teachers.[35] Studies of university magazines note their equally productive role, as students internalised, interpreted, or rejected the ideologies of parents and university authorities, and used magazines to reshape values and habits to make sense of a changing and expanding educational landscape. As greater numbers of middle-class men, women, and black or minority ethnic youths entered Oxford and Cambridge, Paul Deslandes argues, elite

[31] J. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School* (Abingdon and New York NY, 2000), p. 244-46; J. Roach, 'Boys and girls at school, 1800-70', *History of Education*, 15/3 (1986), pp. 147-59; S. Spencer, 'Advice and ambition in a girls' public day school: the case of Sutton high school, 1884–1924', *Women's History Review*, 9/1 (2000), pp. 75-94; Weaver, 'A School-Boy's Story'; J. Holt, 'The Textual Formations of Adolescence'.
[32] Mangan, *Athleticism*, p. 244; Roach, 'Boys and girls at school', p. 152.
[33] See for instance, the Eton, Rugby, and Harrow school magazines listed in Chandos, 'Bibliography' in *Boys Together*, pp. 370-90; Honey's use of the Public School Magazine, which excerpted school magazines in *Tom Brown's Universe*, pp. 266-72.
[34] Mangan, *Athleticism*, p. 244; see also Roach, 'Boys and girls at school', p. 152. A similar interpretation of boys' periodicals as 'elite ideas repackaged for a youthful audience' is discussed in Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper,* quote p. 2; pp. 2-4. On similar concerns regarding whether in-house school histories are

white male students created magazines which 'negotiated, in often contradictory and conflicting ways, the changes of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries'.[36] At the same time, first-generation university students could use magazines to redraw the classed and gendered boundaries of education in a way that included themselves. Jill Lamberton on college women's magazines, and William Whyte on magazines from redbrick universities, both demonstrate students' writing to be intertwined in the construction of alternative educational identities to the Oxbridge man.[37]

These studies make clear the inadequacy of assuming the school magazine solely reflected and reproduced the values and practices of a powerful and coherent public school system. Indeed, a brief case study has already noted as much. William Weaver has demonstrated that Rugby schoolboy magazines in the 1830s did not simply reproduce the ideals of reforming headteacher Thomas Arnold, but provided pupils with a space to negotiate these ideals amongst themselves. Furthermore, Weaver notes the undercurrents of difference within an overarching Victorian schoolboy identity, as Rugby schoolboys differentiated their values and habits from those in Eton College magazines.[38] Other brief studies have confirmed a far more complex role for the school magazine in negotiating identities and values among teenagers.[39] This thesis aims to provide the first broad study of the nineteenth-century English school magazine, and how its widespread production and

'valid' sources for feminist history, due to their conservatism, see Spencer, 'Advice and ambition in a girls' public day school', p. 80.

[35] Clark, Regendering the School Story, p. 2; Grenby, *The Child Reader*, p. 30.

[36] P. Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850-1920* (Bloomington, 2005), p. 7.

[37] J. Lamberton, '"A Revelation and a Delight": Nineteenth-Century Cambridge Women, Academic Collaboration, and the Cultural Work of Extracurricular Writing' *College Composition and Communication* 65/4 (2014), pp. 560-87; W. Whyte, *Redbrick: A Social and Architectural History of Britain's Civic Universities* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 145-70.

[38] Weaver, 'A School-Boy's Story'.

[39] F. Wade, 'Frances Mary Buss, Sophie Bryant, North London Collegiate School and the movement for women's education: An assessment of the founder's ideology and legacy 1850-1918' (MSt. dissertation, University of Oxford, 2013); H. Sever, '"Manners Makyth Man?" The Masculinities of a Public School in Imperial Britain' (MSt. dissertation, University of Oxford, 2018).

circulation enabled new populations of schoolgirls and schoolboys to make sense of the values and habits of secondary education.

It is studies of education in British colonies which have modelled more nuanced readings of the school magazine. Most notably, Jane Griffith presents the Indian boarding school magazine in late nineteenth-century Canada as a 'relational site' inscribed with conflicting and inconsistent meanings by the white settler authority figures and indigenous pupils involved in its composition and printing.[40] Other studies confirm the school magazine as a textual space where the ideal middle-class English schoolgirl or schoolboy fused with the more variable experiences of colonial youth. Charlotte Bennett on Irish and New Zealand adolescents' recasting of First World War masculinities; Sneha Krishnan on conflicting constructions of the 'Indian college girl' by white staff, Indian staff and Indian students in women's colleges in Chennai; and Helen Roche on the fraught exchange of ideals between Nazi elite schools and English public schools in the 1930s: all demonstrate the imperial and global reach of English educational values, and the constant rewriting and recirculation of these values by particular communities of youths.[41] The English school magazine features in this story as a point of departure: Elizabeth Buettner briefly notes how British-Indian pupils sent to England for their education adapted the school magazine in order to celebrate and affirm their social and cultural ties to India.[42] What is missing, however, is the story of the English school magazine itself. This thesis explores the English school magazine not as a

[40] J. Griffith, 'News from School: Language, Time, and Place in the Newspapers of 1890s Indian Boarding Schools in Canada' (PhD thesis, University of York, Toronto, 2015), p. 7.

[41] C. Bennett, 'For God, Country, and Empire? New Zealand and Irish boys in elite secondary education. 1914-1918' (PhD. thesis, University of Oxford, 2018); S. Krishnan, 'Anxious Notes on College Life: The Gossipy Journals of Eleanor McDougall', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 27/4 (2017), pp. 575-89; H. Roche, 'Zwischen Freundschaft und Feindschaft: Exploring relationships between pupils at the Napolas and British public schoolboys' in *Angermion: Yearbook for Anglo-German Literary Criticism, Intellectual History and Cultural Transfers / Jahrbuch für britisch-deutsche Kulturbeziehungen* 6 (2013), pp. 101-26. In a fascinating study of childhood and American colonialism, Joy Schulz traces the collaboration and solidarity between the Hawaiian-born children of American missionaries — who went on to overthrow the Hawaiian monarchy — back to their schooling together at Punahou, captured in their collaborative production of school magazines. J. Schulz, *Hawaiian by Birth: Missionary Children, Bicultural Identity, and US Colonialism in the Pacific* (Lincoln NE and London, 2017).

stable cultural centre, but as a similarly contested site, where ideas of youth and collective identity did not trickle down from above, but were constantly negotiated and adapted by different middle-class communities across the whole processes of production and circulation.

BEYOND THE PUBLIC SCHOOL

Examining the school magazine not only reveals pupils as active in social and cultural change, it also sheds light on developments beyond the iconic and mythologised public school. Educated youths in public schools have attracted sustained historical attention. Studies focus on public schools between the 1830s and 1900s for their perceived role in creating and spreading the social, economic, and imperial aspirations of a rising upper middle class.[43] These studies reproduce the approach of the 1864 Clarendon Report, which presented nine schools for 'the wealthier classes' — namely the schools at Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, St Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, Rugby and Shrewsbury — as the 'acknowledged types' and 'principal centres' of middle-class education, from which values and practices trickled down to 'younger institutions of a like character'.[44] This emphasis reflects the dramatic increase in the number of public schools in the Victorian period — although figures vary depending on which schools are counted as public schools —

[42] E. Buettner, *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 151-80.
[43] See for example M. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 11; F. M. L. Thompson, *Gentrification and the enterprise culture: Britain, 1780-1980* (Oxford, 2001), p. 125-26; W. B. Stephens, *Education in Britain,* p. 191; and W. Rubinstein, 'Education and the social origins of British elites 1880-1970', *Past and Present*, (1986), pp. 163-207. For the influence on upper middle-class masculinity, see J. Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven, 1999), pp. 117-18.
[44] *Parliamentary Papers* (1864) Royal Commission on the Public Schools Vol. I, p. 3. Honey argues education expanded as 'new schools were founded in imitation of them' or 'remodelled… to resemble the original public schools'. Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe,* p. 1. Bamford argues that the Clarendon schools were a 'club' where 'from time to time others were added to the fold.' Bamford, *Rise of the Public School*, p. 188. This is common also in studies of middle-class education beyond the public school, such as Simon's declaration that the public schools became a 'recognisable "system"' by 1900, see Simon, *Education and the Labour Movement,* pp. 97-112; and Roach's study of private, grammar, and public secondary schooling which declares the public school ethos as 'an ideology triumphant' by 1870. Roach, *A History of Secondary Education in England, 1800-1870*, pp. 259-70.

with Honey conservatively estimating growth from the nine Clarendon schools in 1860 to between sixty and 100 schools by 1902.[45]

Historical understandings of secondary education in England have generally been understood through the fate of boys' public schools. Public schools had waned in popularity in the early nineteenth century, due to debates about living conditions, educational standards, and the lack of adult supervision.[46] This debate is typically attributed to dominant new middle-class masculinities, where the value of a serious and domestic Christian manliness brought home-like private schools into greater repute.[47] Thus, the restoration of public schools' reputation at mid-century is frequently traced to Arnold's successful introduction of this Christian manliness to Rugby school in the 1830s,[48] followed by a shift towards an active and less intellectual "muscular Christianity" by the 1860s.[49] The success of the reformed public school is understood as its success at shifting from aristocratic to middle-class values: participation in rational and improving hobbies was encouraged; leisure was channelled into structured and disciplined group activities; and chapels and communal prayers became a feature of daily life.[50] The appearance of the Clarendon report in 1864 cemented the public perception that reforms to the public schools were both desirable and successful.[51] The Clarendon report is seen as accelerating school relocation and rebuilding on the reformed

[45] Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe,* p. 144.
[46] On the impact on public opinion, see Mack, *Public Schools and British Opinion, 1780 to 1860*; and *Public Schools and British Opinion since 1860.* On the 'fierce attacks' on public schools, see Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe*, pp. 1-46. On public opinion and the Clarendon Commission, see Shrosbree, *Public Schools and Private Education*, p. 2.
[47] S. Woodley, '"Oh miserable and most ruinous measure!": The Debate Between Private and Public Education in Britain, 1760-1800' in J. Shefrin and M. Hilton (eds), *Educating the Child in Enlightenment Britain: Beliefs, Cultures, Practices* (Farnham, 2009), pp. 21-39.
[48] See Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe*, pp. 1-46. Chandos, *Boys Together,* pp. 247-83; and David Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning* (London, 1961), pp. 28-91. For examples of Arnold's ideals at this time, see T. Arnold, *The Christian Life: Its Hopes, Its Fears and Its Close* (Philadelphia, 1856), pp. 59-64.
[49] E. Norman, *The Victorian Christian Socialists* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 80-97; D. Hall, *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, 2006).
[50] On changes to leisure, see Bamford, *Rise of the Public School*, pp. 59-68; Chandos on 'The New Order' in the 1860s, Chandos, *Boys Together*, pp. 320-51; and the new social and cultural changes in Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe*, pp. 104-41.
[51] For discussion of the positive impact of the Clarendon report, see Roach, *A History of Secondary Education in England, 1800-1870*, pp. 243-71; Chandos, *Boys Together*, pp. 320-51.

public school model, where boarding schools relocated to rural or suburban locations created inward-looking communities.[52] Public schools' geographical detachment from local towns and communities furthered a process of class consolidation and educational homogenisation which meant that by the end of the Victorian era the universities of Oxford and Cambridge and elite public schools such as Eton, Harrow and Winchester are presented as forming a coherent 'core' of elite education in the south-east.[53]

The historiographical focus on systemisation, in particular the supposed middle-class preference for public schools by the early twentieth century, has obscured the enduring variations in secondary education in the nineteenth century. More recent studies, such as those of Christopher Stray and William Whyte, point out that resistance to systemisation and state oversight resulted in uneven developments even within public schooling.[54] The idea of an ordered and ideologically coherent education system becomes even more untenable when other secondary schools are included. Public boarding schools may dominate the historiography, but of the 89,000 schoolboys traced by the Schools' Inquiry Commission into provision outside the elite public schools, only 9,000 boys were definitely boarders, the vast majority experiencing day rather than boarding education.[55] Historians of girls' education emphasise that at least half of all middle-class girls experienced some form of schooling by mid-century, usually at a private school.[56] There is a rich historiography addressing girls' schooling independently, which will be discussed below, but what prompted and shaped the rapid expansion across both boys' and girls' schools, and across schools of different type, remains a far less familiar terrain to historians. John Roach and Brian Simon suggest far more

[52] On rebuilding, see W. Whyte, 'Building a Public School Community, 1860–1910', *History of Education,* 32/6 (2003), pp. 601-626; and S. Gamsu, 'Moving up and moving out: The re-location of elite and middle-class schools from central London to the suburbs', *Urban Studies*,53/14 (2016), pp. 2921-38.
[53] Bamford discusses this 'core' in *Rise of the Public Schools,* p. 166.
[54] Whyte, 'Building a public school community', p. 605; C. Stray, *Classics Transformed: Schools, Universities, and Society in England, 1830-1960* (Oxford, 1998), p. 37.
[55] *Parliamentary Papers* (1868), Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. 1, p. 434.
[56] C. de Bellaigue, *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France, 1800-1867* (Oxford, 2007), p. 14.

complex patterns of development than governmental directives and elite formation. In their broader surveys of Victorian education compiled in the 1970s and 1980s, Roach and Simon argue middle-class educational reforms could respond to various influences like market competition, public opinion, and mass protest.[57] This could lead to variations in educational provision: for instance, while secondary schooling in the north of England receives little attention, it appears to have developed differently, as middle-class commercial and industrial communities became vocal advocates of modernising the curriculum of boys' schools.[58]

School magazines certainly shared a sense of the mid-nineteenth century as a period of educational reform and rebuilding. In 1880, another of the magazines in this study, the *Oxford High School Magazine*, boasted about its new school buildings in 'Topics of the Term'.[59] In studies focused on the public schools, high schools like the Oxford High School — much like grammar schools, commercial schools, private schools and proprietary schools — are dismissed as 'very marginal' imitators.[60] School magazines, however, reveal these supposed imitators as active in school-building at the same time as the ancient foundations: the Quaker print inter-school magazine the *Natural History Journal* described the Croydon Friends' School's new buildings after its relocation to Saffron Walden in Essex in 1875, and like the *Oxford High School Magazine*, both the *Stonyhurst Magazine* and Manchester Grammar School's *Ulula* tracked the progress of their own new buildings in the 1880s.[61] School magazines are a useful reminder that the Victorian public school was not always a

[57] On the impact of competition and parental expectations, see Roach, *A History of Secondary Education in England, 1800-1870*, pp. 86-99; pp. 103-119. Highlighting public opinion, see Mack, *Public Schools and British Opinion, 1780 to 1860.* pp. 132-79. On mass protest, see Simon, *Education and the Labour Movement,* pp. 72-118.
[58] For example, see the protests about modernising the Leeds Grammar School in Simon, *Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870,* pp.105-7.
[59] OBL, Per. G.A. Oxon 8° 612: 'Topics of the Term', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1880), pp. 190-1.
[60] For a list of schools which many historians consider 'marginal', see Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe*, p. 269.
[61] OBL, Per. 1996 e. 154: "G. F. L.", 'The Removal of Croydon School', *Natural History Journal* (15 February 1877), p. 13; 'Through the new buildings', *Ulula* (October 1880), pp. 5-10; 'Notes on Current Events', *Stonyhurst Magazine* (May 1881), p. 9; 'Topics of the Term', *Oxford High School Magazine*, (December 1880), pp. 190-91.

forerunner of educational developments, and remains an inadequate proxy for studying middle-class secondary schools in their totality. According to the reckoning of the 1868 Schools Inquiry (Taunton) Commission, out of the quarter of a million middle-class boys judged in need of a secondary education, only about 89,000 could be accounted for — 37,000 at grammar schools, and 52,000 at private schools — leaving 80% 'educated in private schools, or at home, or not at all'.[62] Indeed, 'schools, or at home, or not at all' could sum up current historical knowledge of the educational experiences of the vast majority of middle-class young people in this period.

Little attempt has been made to the map the broader social and cultural dynamics which shaped English secondary education. However, schools for particular denominations have inspired some important studies. Studies of dissenting academies have examined the education of youths excluded from Anglican public and grammar schools, and Oxford and Cambridge Universities; the education of English Catholics has its own story of relocation from continental colleges to England as restrictions on Catholic institutions were lifted in the late eighteenth century; and Quaker educational history highlights a unique belief in centralised and subsidised secondary education, with a network of Friends' schools forming across Britain and Ireland in the early nineteenth century.[63] Besides denominational traditions, other studies note neglected developments such as regional education initiatives for commercial and farming communities, the small private schools catering for boys and girls from business and trading families, and the experimentation in nineteenth-century 'progressive' schools.[64] These schools are usually studied separately, yet reading the studies

[62] *Parliamentary Papers* (1868), Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. 1, p. 434.
[63] M. Burden, 'Academical Learning in the Dissenters' Private Academies, 1660-1720', (PhD thesis, Queen Mary University, 2012), pp. 144-202; M. Whitehead, *English Jesuit Education: Expulsion, Suppression, Survival and Restoration, 1762-1803* (Farnham, 2013); W. A. C. Stewart, *Quakers and Education as Seen in their Schools in England* (London, 1953).
[64] On rural provision, see D. Allsobrook, *Schools for the Shires: The Reform of Middle-Class Education in Mid-Victorian England* (Manchester, 1986), pp. 28-94; On innovation in private schooling, see Roach, *A History of Secondary Education in England, 1800-1870*, pp. 120-34 and de Bellaigue, *Educating Women,* p. 111; on

together gives an impression of far less coherent developments overall, with educational experiences inflected differently according to location, denomination and social status.

Girls' and boys' schools are frequently approached as following separate paths of development. Narratives of class formation have often drawn primarily upon the classic studies of public schooling by John Honey and Thomas Bamford, which implicitly reinforces masculinity as fundamental in middle-class identities.[65] Since the 1980s, feminist historians have questioned the absence of girls from these narratives of class formation, particularly in a period when domesticity was a dominant marker of middle-class identity. Indeed, its dominance made the expansion of girls' education a matter of public controversy, social control, and feminist activism.[66] While focusing on developments particular to girls' education, scholars repeatedly note in passing the ongoing interplay between girls' and boys' education. Carol Dyhouse points to men as active in the establishment and governance up girls' schools; Sheila Fletcher examines the feminist activists forced into negotiations with government officials; and Joyce Pedersen compelling argues that girls' education included a small number of women into the elite, consolidating rather than dismantling pre-existing structures of power and privilege.[67] Moreover, Christina de Bellaigue and Joyce Pedersen expertly demonstrate that girls' schools could lead the way, for instance pioneering the broader and more modern curricula later adopted by boys' public schools.[68] Feminist studies criticise the classic studies of boys' education for ignoring these cross-currents: as Jane

progressive education, see W. A. C. Stewart and W. P. McCann, *The Educational Innovators, 1750-1880* (London, 1967). On middle-class education, see pp. 98-123, pp. 136-79, pp. 310-6.

[65] Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe* and Bamford, *Rise of the Public School.*

[66] For an overview of early feminist scholarship on girls' education, see J. Pedersen, *The Reform of Girls' Secondary and Higher Education in Victorian England: A Study of Elites and Educational Change* (New York, 1987), i-vi. On opposition to women's education see J. Bursyn, *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood* (London, 1980). On feminist political activism for government provision for education, see S. Fletcher, *Feminists and Bureaucrats: A Study in the Development of Girls' Education in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1980).

[67] Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up in Victorian and Edwardian England,* pp. 40-78; Fletcher, *Feminists and Bureaucrats*; Pedersen, *The Reform of Girls' Secondary and Higher Education in Victorian England.*

[68] De Bellaigue, *Educating Women,* pp. 177-79; on plans to 'rivitalise' Oxford by trialling a more modern education at the women's colleges first, see J. Pedersen, *The Reform of Girls' Secondary and Higher Education*

Martin and Joyce Goodman observe, the male pupil continues to be seen as the norm, and the female pupil the 'Other'.[69] Yet they still tend to examine girls' education as a separate development. This thesis expands upon the insights of feminist scholarship by focusing on these cross-currents, and thus approaching both boys' and girls' secondary schooling in a single study. It thus uncovers how some middle-class boys and girls constructed an educational identity which afforded both sexes a position of relative power and privilege in the world.

Moreover, the tendency to look to public schools for evidence of a system, while containing other types of school in isolated studies, has obscured more complex patterns of influence and co-operation which did not always involve the public schools. In relation to university education, William Whyte argues a 'single-minded' focus on Oxbridge has obscured the development of distinctive practices and ideals in the new civic universities in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, while Tamson Pietsch also de-centres Oxbridge to uncover patterns of mutual influence between redbrick and colonial universities.[70] In a briefer study, Whyte has spotted a similar patterns of influence among secondary schools, with many characteristics commonly associated with the public schools — such as sports uniforms, songs, and colours — actually originating in their newly-built nineteenth-century rivals.[71] Moreover, the classical curriculum continues to be taken as standard, despite Hillary Steedman demonstrating that provincial grammar schools offered both a classical and a modern side as a necessary strategy to maintain pupil numbers.[72] The school magazine too,

in Victorian England, pp. 67-70; p. 87. On girls' schools impact on pedagogical change, see P. Hirsch and M. Hilton, *Practical Visionaries: Women, Education and Social Progress, 1790-1930*. (London, 2014), p. 2

[69] J. Martin and J. Goodman, *Women and Education, 1800-1980* (Basingstoke, 2003), p. 2.

[70] Whyte, *Redbrick,* pp. 1-20; quote p. 8; T. Pietsch, *Empire of Scholars: Universities, Networks and the British Academic World, 1850-1939* (Manchester, 2013).

[71] W. Whyte, 'Building a Public School Community', p. 603.

[72] H. Steedman, 'Defining Institutions: The Endowed Grammar Schools and the Systematisation of English Secondary Schooling', in D. K. Müller, F. Ringer, et al (eds), *Rise of the Modern Educational System: Structural Change and Social Reproduction, 1870–1920* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 111-34.

by default, has been seen as a vehicle of public school reform.[73] Anglican public schools continue to play a key role in imaginings of English education, but by deliberately placing them in the background, this study brings other cross-currents into view. It draws together and contributes to a wide range of studies contesting the centrality of the public school by examining the magazines of four different types of secondary school in England at the time. In so doing, I uncover broader developments common across these school types, including the school magazine itself, as well as the magazines' role in articulating and sustaining more local educational traditions.

BEYOND THE HEADTEACHER

The school magazine not only drew upon in a broader influences than public school literature or the public schools, it was shaped by composition, production, and circulation which lay largely in the hands of pupils and teachers and not the iconic and mythologised headteachers of Victorian schools. Public school histories have rightly come under criticism for a "great man" model of educational change. In particular, Rugby's headteacher Thomas Arnold has been portrayed as the single-handed initiator of reforms to secondary education.[74] As noted above, historical reassessments have highlighted the role played by other dynamics such as family finances, market competition, public opinion and mass protest. What has not been subject to reassessment, however, is the power the "great man" is assumed to have had over his pupils, despite calls for more learner-centred histories of education.[75] By categorising

[73] See for instance J. A. Mangan, *Athleticism*; W. Weaver, 'A School-Boy's Story'.
[74] See for example, Honey's conclusion that Arnold was 'certainly a seminal influence'. Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe*, pp. 1-2. Roach attributes the success of schools to the 'high ability and strong powers of leadership of many of the headmasters' in *A history of secondary education in England: 1800-1870*, p. 243. For a summary of criticisms of this approach, see H. Ellis, 'Thomas Arnold, Christian Manliness and the Problem of Boyhood', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 19/4 (2014), pp. 425-41 and W. Weaver, 'A School-Boy's Story', p. 456.
[75] For a discussion of the dearth of studies on learners, see G. McCulloch & T. Woodin, 'Towards a social history of learners and learning', *Oxford Review of Education*, 36/2 (2010), pp. 133-40.

pupils as children, historians tend to see them through a modern lens which idealises childhood as an innocent, dependent, and thus disempowered state.[76] This disempowering ideal of the child are informed by European educational philosophies stretching back to the Enlightenment. Rousseau's exhortation for parents to 'form an enclosure around your child's soul' thus 'securing it from the impact of human opinions' represented the child as natural and pure, while Locke advised scrupulous parental control to the social and cultural influences at home, idealising the "tabula rasa" or blank slate of the child mind.[77]

These Enlightenment tropes of childhood tend to be reinforced by historians of education by assuming the pupil was unknowing of wider social and cultural conventions, or was a "tabula rasa" inscribed with the words and ideals of their reforming headteacher. For instance, Roach and Simon conclude that the team games and group activities of reformed public schools were introduced by school authorities as a strategy to bring pupils into line with adult ideals, leading to the anarchic freedom of the early nineteenth-century school being replaced by a 'rigid' or 'deadening' conformity by mid-century.[78] Even the most privileged Victorian youths are presented as operating entirely according to adult ideals, with James Mangan concluding that 'whereas before 1850 hardship in the school was largely a product of indifference, after this date it was mostly the product of adult calculation.'[79] Pupils' activities and values are inevitably rationalised and understood through the agendas and social conventions of the adults around them. The relative lack of sources by pupils leads

[76] On Victorian childhood, see H. Hendrick, *Children, Childhood and English Society*, *1880-1990* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 9-12; for a recent discussions of modern childhood and power, see also P. S. Fass, 'Introduction' in P. S. Fass (ed.) *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World* (Abingdon and New York, 2013), pp. 1-13.

[77] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile, or On Education* (New York, 1979), p. 5; p. 162. For recent discussions of Rousseau, see Woodley, 'Oh miserable and most ruinous measure!', pp. 21-39; and A. Stott, 'Evangelicalism and Enlightenment: The Educational Agenda of Hannah More' in J. Shefrin and M. Hilton (eds), *Educating the Child in Enlightenment Britain: Beliefs, Cultures, Practices* (Farnham, 2009), pp. 41-55.

[78] On the 'deadening' conformity by team games, see Roach, *Secondary Education in England, 1870-1902,* p. 153. Simon sees 'rigid conformity' in public schools. Simon, *Education and the Labour Movement, 1870-1920*, p. 109. See also Mack, *Public Schools and British Opinion Since 1860*, pp. 124-26.

to a greater emphasis on the pamphlets, press and periodicals, public school novels, and government and school records written by teachers, commissioners, and parents. Abstractions such as ideas and values are seen as implicitly adult, so that even where pupil-authored sources are consulted, it is their relative innocence, inexperience, and freedom from social convention which are valued more highly than their conformity or investment in wider social and cultural practices.

That these ideals shape responses to the school magazine is a nineteenth-century inheritance. Enlightenment ideals had an increasing impact on responses to child writing in the nineteenth century, with Alix Bunyan noting of magazines produced by families that 'more and more adult worship surrounded the "natural" child, purportedly writing spontaneously from his or her own mind.'[80] While attempts to find children's voices in the archive can set out to separate children's agency and social participation from adult ideals, child-made material is often judged "authentic" inasmuch as it shows innocence and incompetence.[81] This exacting standard of childishness and authenticity works to exclude the vast majority of sources from historical analyses of childhood and youth, with Mary-Jo Maynes for instance recognising that 'so few of the sources speak directly from their experiences.'[82] The school magazine, with its society reports couched in formal language and awkward attempts at complex literary genres, has been dismissed as insufficiently childlike. The genre was excluded as 'children writing as adults' from one bibliography of child writing, and described as 'clever boys trying to emulate what they regarded as the best

[79] J. Mangan, 'Social Darwinism and Upper-Class Education in Late Victorian and Edwardian England', *International Journal for the History of Sport* 27/1-2, (2010), pp. 78-97; A. Fletcher, *Growing up in England: The Experience of Childhood* (New York and London, 2008), p. 197.
[80] A. Bunyan, 'The Children's Progress: Late-Nineteenth-century Children's Culture, the Stephen Juvenilia, and Virginia Woolf's Argument with her Past' (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 2001), p. 136.
[81] For an overview of anthropological and sociological reactions to the concept of 'children's voices' and the implications for historians, see M. Gleason, 'Avoiding the agency trap: caveats for historians of children, youth, and education', *History of Education*, 45/4 (2016), pp. 446-59; for a summary of the influence of childhood ideals on adult constructions of the child voice, see A. James, 'Giving Voice to Children's Voices: Practices and Problems, Pitfalls and Potentials', *American Anthropologist* 109/2 (2007), pp. 261–72.

literary forms of the day' with 'stilted and somewhat artificial' results by John Roach.[83]The presence of institutional agendas and dominant values is automatically read as evidence of the headteacher's 'censorship'.[84]

These discourses of childhood incompetence and innocence have resulted in a disproportionate historical preoccupation with rebellion as the "authentic" voice of youth. Indeed, the school magazine was largely the product of youths rather than children, with producers — pupils as well as teachers — typically ranging from ten years old into their mid-twenties. Adolescence as a category became a subject of discussion and theorisation from the mid-nineteenth century.[85] In middle-class communities at the time, youth was becoming an increasingly drawn-out stage between childhood and marriage.[86] Historians of youth have noted that adult agendas are insufficient to understand the perspectives and actions of these youths who were beginning to differentiate themselves from their early social and cultural environment. Schoolgirls, schoolboys and students journeyed independently to and from educational institutions, friends hung out in public spaces or travelled together on day trips and holidays, apprentices lived in other towns or cities, and young workers lived in lodgings.[87] Rebellion has proved a useful historical tool in capturing this process of differentiation, with working-class gangs providing a clear example of autonomous youthful activities and behaviour which provoked panic and incomprehension in the adults around

[82] M. J. Maynes, 'Age as a category of historical analysis: history, agency, and narratives of childhood', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1/1 (2008), p. 117.
[83] T. Kupferberg and S. Topp, *Children as Authors: A Big Bibliography* (New York, 1959), p. 3; Roach, 'Boys and girls at school', p. 152.
[84] Mangan, *Athleticism*, pp. 243-5.
[85] B. Rodgers, *Adolescent Girlhood*; S. Bilston, *The Awkward Age in Women's Popular Fiction, 1850-1900: Girls and the Transition to Womanhood* (Oxford, 2004).
[86] M. Anderson, 'The emergence of the modern life cycle in Britain', *Social History*, 10/1 (1985), pp. 69-87; C. G. Pooley and J. Turnbull, 'Leaving home: the experience of migration from the parental home in Britain since c. 1770', *Journal of Family History,* 22/4 (1997), pp. 390-424.
[87] One of the earlier studies about youth as a distinct category is J. R. Gillis, *Youth and History: Tradition and Change in European Age Relations, 1770–Present* (San Diego and London, 1981).

them.[88] For middle-class youths, it is the expansion of education which has enabled historians to distinguish the distinctive ideals and motives of youths from the adults around them, like the riots and rebellions in elite public schools in the early nineteenth century.[89] Yet the decrease in school rebellions has lead historians to the conclusion that educational reform eroded middle-class youths' agency, with rebellions characterised as an increasingly marginal and ineffectual resistance to the ideals of reforming headteachers. Two studies uncovering instances of ineffectual resistance are Fabrice Neddam's depiction of 'an 'unofficial parallel kind of society' of boys at Rugby School who rebelled against Arnold's reforms, and Mangan's praise for 'a small coterie of intellectuals battling heroically' against mass conformism at Eton College.[90] Paradoxically, this historical emphasis placed on rebellion can end up holding youth to the same exacting standards of "authenticity" which govern responses to child writing. It suggests an underlying scepticism that youths could contribute to wider social and cultural practices on their own account. In the absence of clearly oppositional behaviour to social norms, youths' words and actions are attributed to adult instruction, discipline or manipulation.

This thesis shifts the discussion of youth writing beyond rebellion. It is tempting to consider pupil-edited magazines as more "authentic" than magazines produced by teachers and pupils working in collaboration. However, this division is too stark to understand the spectrum of magazines in this study, some of which had teacher editors, teacher and pupil co-editors, or an editorial team, while others had a pupil as editor, pupil co-editors, or were produced in secret. Pupils cannot easily be categorised as conformists or rebels. Croydon pupil Joseph Stevens may have edited the *School-Boy's Magazine* as an independent pupil

[88] S. Humphries, *Hooligans Or Rebels?: An Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth* (Oxford, 1981); A. Davies, *The Gangs of Manchester* (Preston, 2008).
[89] J. Chandos, *Boys Together*, especially 'The Habit of Rebellion' pp. 167-95. Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe*. On rebellions, see pp. 5-6; and on disobedience at Rugby School pp. 24-26. On the relationship between youth as a stage and the development of education, see Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*.

venture, but we cannot simply cast him in the role of rebel, as he continued to work with staff to produce reports and accounts for school societies.[91] Like innocence and incompetence, rebellion is an exacting measure of historical children and youths' writings. If taken as the standard of youthful agency, Mona Gleason observes, it means 'ignoring or marginalising agentic expression that might involve children's compliance with mainstream cultural traditions or adult priorities.'[92] Such critiques have drawn new attention to the contextual nature of children's and youths' agency, depending on their class, gender, race, and environment.[93] The critiques also raise critical awareness of how childhood dependency and youth rebellion continue to be valorised as ahistorical parts of a universal human condition. It is the more contextual understandings of children's and youths' agency which have yielded the most innovative and rich responses to their writings, attentive to the sense of status and privilege youths gained from sharing the values and ideals of their wider community.[94] 'Cooperation with adults', Susan Miller argues, 'provided them [youths] with the best way to exercise their own agency.'[95]

This is a promising approach for studying social and cultural practices in middle-class secondary schools. The schools in this study had complex and varying power relationships due to hierarchies of headteachers, teachers and pupils operating within the norms and conventions provided by their shared class, gender, and religious identities. Victorian headteachers may have gained status and reputation, but the power dynamics in schools at the

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[90] F. Neddam, 'Constructing Masculinities under Thomas Arnold of Rugby (1828–1842): Gender, Educational Policy and School Life in an early-Victorian Public School', *Gender and Education,* 16/3 (2004), p. 311. Mangan, *Athleticism*, xxxv.

[91] See remarks on Joseph Stevens (or Steevens) in ERO, D/Q 49/F1/a3: *Minutes of the Juvenile Literary Society, 1851-1870*, Vol. III (2 February 1852, 7 June 1852).

[92] Gleason, 'Avoiding the agency trap', p. 446. For a critique of this scepticism, see L. Dodd, 'Children's citizenly participation in the National Revolution: the instrumentalization of children in Vichy France', *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire* 24/5 (2017), pp. 759-63.

[93] On the importance of 'contextual' understandings of children's agency, see A. James, 'Giving Voice to Children's Voices'.

[94] L. Dodd, 'Children's citizenly participation in the National Revolution'; K. Gleadle, 'Magazine culture, girlhood communities, and educational reform'; and S. Miller, 'Assent as Agency in the Early Years of the Children of the American Revolution', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 9/1 (2016), p. 49.

time were often shaped more by the rapid growth of their pupil populations — for instance, the Oxford High School grew from about twenty pupils in 1875 to two hundred by 1881.[96] A pupil teacher system was not particular to elementary schooling, as the secondary schools in this study relied on trainee teachers to step in to meet the growing demand for staff, and who shared characteristics of youth with their pupils like unmarried status and residence in lodgings.[97] For instance, when thirteen-year-old pupil Joseph Stevens edited the *School-Boy's Magazine* in 1851, his autonomy as an editor is less surprising when we consider that the school's 120 pupils were overseen by nine staff members, five of whom were former pupils working as teenage apprentices and living at the school.[98] Binaries such as adult and child, teacher and pupil, conformity and rebellion are too blunt to interpret the Victorian schools in this study, which were inhabited by teachers, trainees, and pupils who might collaborate out of a sense of shared youth, or divide according to their different positions in a school's hierarchy. To understand the school magazine requires understanding youth culture in context, from the hierarchies of pupil, prefect, trainee and teacher adopted in schools of different denomination, gender, and class, to the different patterns of interaction in spaces such as classrooms, dining spaces, dormitories, gyms and playing fields.

Most studies on the development of middle-class education acknowledge the emergence of more youth-directed dynamics, such as the increasing prominence of self-government as a Victorian educational concept.[99] Self-government is seen as a defining characteristic of the reformed nineteenth-century public school, with Rugby School headteacher Thomas Arnold

[95] S. Miller, 'Assent as Agency in the Early Years of the Children of the American Revolution', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 9/1 (2016), p. 49.
[96] For the figure of two hundred pupils, see 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1881), p. 191.
[97] On defining youth, see M. Anderson, 'The emergence of the modern life cycle in Britain' *Social History*, 10/1 (1985), pp. 69-87; K. Gleadle, 'Masculinity, Age and Life Cycle in the Age of Reform', *Parliamentary History*, 36/1 (2017), pp. 38-42; Pooley and Turnbull, 'Leaving home'.
[98] ERO, D/Q 49/A6/b1: 'Croydon School Report 1851', *Annual Reports and Accounts* (1851).
[99] On prefecting as a characteristic of reformed public schools, see Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe,* pp. 120-26; on discipline including prefects, see Bamford, *The Rise of the Public School*, pp. 65-71; Chandos, *Boys Together:* on unreformed prefect traditions pp. 86-109; on scandals relating to prefect discipline pp. 239-46; on Arnoldian reforms to prefecting, pp. 266-67; wider reforms to prefecting, pp. 320-51.

credited as popularising a system whereby teachers oversaw behaviour in the classroom, but remained more aloof in leisure hours, leaving supervision largely up to prefects.[100] Practices of self-government were nothing new. Arnold's reforms at Rugby School merely sanctioned and regulated the authority of older pupils traditionally had over their younger schoolmates as a deliberate strategy to reform behaviour without increasing adult supervision.[101] The 1864 Clarendon report valorised self-government for the 'public spirit', 'vigour and manliness of character' and 'strong but not slavish respect for public opinion' which had reformed the public schools, thus placing pupils at the heart of educational reforms.[102] Yet youths' loyalty towards one another and mutual interests were just as important beyond the public school, with most of the magazines in this study presenting collective identity as central to idea of the secondary school. Rather than examining the influence of the iconic Victorian headteacher, my study presents youth collective identities and self-government as central to the content, production and circulation of the school magazine.

Primarily, it is the wider impact of this youth-driven dynamic that this thesis sets out to explore. A youth culture which impacted on the development of society and culture as a whole is more often seen as initiating in the turbulence of the 1960s; however, studies do note the nineteenth-century as what Jon Savage terms the 'pre-history' of the teenager.[103] Yet even in the absence of highly celebrated youth cultures, children and youths need to be considered, as sociologist William Corsaro explains, 'as worthy of study in their own right and as essential components in cultural reproduction more generally.'[104] While equating rebellion with agency can push most children and youths to the margins of history, public concern about youth rebellion suggests adults' anxiety as they ceded cultural authority to younger

[100] On Arnoldian prefect systems, see Chandos, *Boys Together,* pp. 266-67.
[101] On Winchester College, see P. Gwyn, 'The "Tunding Row": George Ridding and Belief in "Boy-Government"' in R. Custance (ed.), *Winchester College: Sixth-centenary Essays* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 431-77.
[102] *Parliamentary Papers* (1864) Royal Commission on the Public Schools Vol. 1, p. 56.
[103] J. Savage, *Teenage: The Creation of Youth Culture* (London, 2007), pp. 3-15; quote xvi; see also 'Before the Youth Culture', J. Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, pp. 453-55.

generations, such as the suspicion and moral panic which has attached to everything from the rock music and video games of the 1980s to YouTube and Instagram today.[105]

Adult anxieties in the nineteenth century suggest there were emerging and influential nineteenth-century youth cultures with 'distinct generational differences', Kristine Moruzi notes.[106] Children and youths became knowledgable and confident about hobbies, modern subjects and genres of books and periodicals that had simply not existed during their parents' youth. Teenage readers displayed their cultural authority and confidence by making manuscript magazines, Kathryn Gleadle argues, which circulated from one contributor to the next via post creating 'unilateral, youth-centred networks of cultural exchange'.[107] Secondary schools accelerated the formation of independent youth cultures, but the nature of Victorian schooling meant these cultures involved shifting and varied practices, as pupils were divided into age-segregated forms, worked in smaller groups as members of teams and societies, or split off into peer groups with distinctive subcultures and interests. While the independent peer cultures of nineteenth-century pupils have occasionally been noted,[108] the smaller peer-group magazines which competed with their more official print counterparts uncover a youth culture characterised by an overarching schoolboy or schoolgirl identity which continually overlapped and competed with more intimate peer cultures.

Children's and youths' role in shaping the cultural practices of their communities remains a less familiar aspect of nineteenth-century British history. Yet small-scale and intriguing studies reveal that nineteenth-century observers conceptualised young people as a driving force behind social and cultural movements. Missionary circles recognised children as

[104] W. Corsaro, *Sociology of Childhood* (London etc, 2015), p. 120.
[105] S. Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* (London and New York, 2002), vi-xxxvv.
[106] K. Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood through the Periodical Press, 1850–1915* (Aldershot, 2012), p. 10. 'Girls were undergoing experiences their mothers knew little about,' Sally Mitchell argues in S. Mitchell, *The New Girl: Girls' Culture in England, 1880-1915* (New York, 2005), p. 9.
[107] K. Gleadle, 'Magazine culture, girlhood communities, and educational reform in late Victorian Britain', *English Historical Review* (forthcoming).

important fund-raisers, and used coral insects to conceptualise the 'synergy' of the young, Michelle Elleray explains, whose tiny actions could as a whole ensure the success of missionary activities.[109] Other case studies reveal a variety of nineteenth-century concepts of juvenile agency. Children's affective role in the family was deliberately mobilised to recruit family members into the temperance movement, while children's play and public pageantry was appreciated by onlookers as enjoyable articulations of patriotism.[110] The fragility, innocence and incompetence of middle-class childhood was a powerful discourse, but it was not the only discourse in circulation. In fact, it often attached to empowered and privileged middle-class children who were expected to consolidate and even transcend the social and cultural status of their families and communities. In this period, children were 'the carriers of adult aspiration', Christina de Bellaigue notes, and the rise of the middle class ultimately relied upon children making sense of parental aspirations and converting new untested opportunities into lived realities.[111]

Historians are only beginning to uncover how nineteenth-century children and youths themselves understood and navigated growing up at a time when the process became weighted with expectations of the social and cultural transformation of their families, communities and nation. Kathryn Gleadle argues that girls have been overlooked as the principal actors in educational reform, required 'to take new, sometimes daunting steps' into the first girls' schools and women's colleges.[112] The school magazine as a genre articulated

[108] F. Neddam, 'Constructing Masculinities'; I have discussed this elsewhere, see C. Sloan, '"Periodicals of an objectionable character": Peers and Periodicals at Croydon Friends' School, 1826–1875', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 50/4 (2017), pp. 769-86.
[109] M. Elleray, 'Little Builders: Coral Insects, Missionary Culture, and the Victorian Child', *Victorian Literature and Culture,* 39/1 (2011), p. 229.
[110] On children in the temperance movement, see A. McAllister, 'Onward: How a Regional Temperance Magazine for Children Survived and Flourished in the Victorian Marketplace', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 48/1 (2015), pp. 42-66; K. Gleadle, 'Playing at Soldiers: British Loyalism and Juvenile Identities during the Napoleonic Wars', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 38/3 (2015), pp. 335-348; in hospital fund-raising, see K. Moruzi, '"Donations need not be large to be acceptable": Children, Charity, and the Great Ormond Street Hospital in Aunt Judy's Magazine, 1868–1885', *Victorian Periodicals Review,* 50/1 (2017), pp. 190-213.
[111] de Bellaigue, 'Great Expectations?'
[112] K. Gleadle, 'Magazine culture, girlhood communities, and educational reform'.

the visibility of schoolgirls and schoolboys, contemporary attempts to conceptualise their collective agency by teachers as well as the pupils themselves, and their growing sense of playing a prominent role in the social and cultural developments affecting themselves, their families, their communities, and the nation.

BEYOND PRINT

The print magazine was intertwined with the power dynamics of nineteenth-century youth culture. Since Sally Mitchell's *The New Girl* (1995), a field of scholarship has demonstrated the pivotal role played by girls' and boys' periodicals in nurturing lively and varied nineteenth-century youth cultures.[113] The school magazine was part of a wider boom in the periodical press from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Children were part of the intended readership of the family magazines popular between the 1840s and 1870s, publications intended to please family members of all ages.[114] By the 1860s and 1870s, the family magazine was superseded by a growing number of niche-market periodicals, many aimed at children, boys, or girls.[115] Studies of gender and print culture emphasise the freedom and empowerment offered to new readerships by the 'fluid and dynamic' periodical with 'its multiple and mostly anonymous authorship, its imperative of diversity'.[116] Middle-class girls in particular benefitted from this ever-changing array of titles competing for readers, meaning, Kristine Moruzi argues, they 'could begin to choose models of femininity that most closely reflected their lives and interests'.[117] Youth culture shifted the dynamics of

[113] Mitchell, *The New Girl.*
[114] J. Phegley, 'Family Magazines' in A. King, A. Easley, and J. Morton (eds), *Nineteenth-Century Newspapers and Periodicals*, p. 276.
[115] K. Moruzi, 'Children's Periodicals' in A. King, A. Easley and J. Morton (eds), *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century Periodicals and Newspapers* (Abingdon and New York, 2016).
[116] In relation to women writers and readers, see H. Fraser, J. Johnston, and S. Green, *Gender and the Victorian Periodical* (Cambridge, 2003), quote p. 44.
[117] Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood*, p. 12.

magazines: whereas editors early in the nineteenth century had posed as teachers or parents, by the mid-nineteenth century they played to readers' enthusiasms and interests by taking on a more companionable and equitable stance as an uncle, older sibling, or friend.[118] Rather than editors imposing didactic and moral lessons upon their juvenile readers, magazines used titles like *Chums* and *Pals* to promise the youthful dynamic of friendship and shared interests.

Scholarship has noted how readers could agree with and accommodate editorial agendas, particularly when magazines catered for tightly-knit communities, such as the High Anglican and Tractarian circles which were the predominant readership of Charlotte Yonge's *Monthly Packet*.[119] Yet sharing some values and habits with adults did not prevent young readers from using magazines to talk back to adult editors on other matters, or simply talk amongst themselves about age-specific interests or literary preferences.[120] Indeed, the fluid and dynamic periodical marketplace had always provided ample opportunity for young writers to gain cultural ground, with Laurie Langbauer noting how, in the Romantic period, young writers with uncertain claims to literary belonging could gain a foothold in the 'motley materials of the new periodical market'.[121] By the late nineteenth century, editors recognised the collective power of youths in periodical culture, often addressing their readership 'in terms of communal peer identity', Beth Rodgers notes.[122]

There is now a wealth of scholarship on the impact this lively cultural and intellectual ferment had on the periodical format by the late nineteenth century, as adult-edited print periodicals were taken over by children's pages, correspondence, exchange columns,

[118] On editors as "Uncles" see S. Pooley, 'Children's Writing and the Popular Press in England 1876–1914', *History Workshop Journal*, 80/1, p. 79; on editors declaring themselves friends, see See D. Dixon, 'From Instruction to Amusement: Attitudes of Authority in Children's Periodicals Before 1914', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 19/2 (1986), p. 66-67.
[119] For example, see S. Walton, '"Spinning the webs": Education and Distance Learning through Charlotte Yonge's Monthly Packet', *Victorian Periodicals Review,* 49/2 (2016), pp. 278-304; J. Courtney, 'The Barnacle: A Manuscript Magazine of the 1860s' in C. Nelson, *The Girl's Own: Cultural Histories of the Anglo-American Girl, 1830–1915* (1994), pp. 71-97.
[120] Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood,* p. 13; Rodgers, 'Competing Girlhoods'.
[121] Langbauer, *The Juvenile Tradition,* p. 90.
[122] B. Rodgers, 'Competing Girlhoods'.

competitions and prizes, as well as clubs and associations for natural history, philanthropy and other interests.[123] Most notably, Susan Miller demonstrates that while adults could encourage child contributors to write upon approved themes, they could neither elicit nor command contributions which lined up perfectly with their values. Instead, contributors unexpectedly wove in 'plot lines from less exalted forms of children's culture'.[124] Similarly, late nineteenth-century periodicals could include values and habits which may have gained approval from teachers, parents, and the community, but young readers could also use the participatory format to cultivate peer cultures which provoked anxiety and uncertainty in the adults around them.

A school magazine was a logical departure for the Victorian secondary school, as a self-governing community whose time was dedicated to reading and writing. Contemporary observers accepted this logic: when the Manchester Grammar School's *Ulula* was first published in 1873, local newspaper the *Manchester Guardian* approvingly remarked it could 'offer to the young student a field properly his own, a field in which he may of right claim to test his growing strength.'[125] Self-government, youth culture, and participatory publications overlapped to inform this consensus that pupils should 'of right' have their own cultural spaces. However, youth cultures, including the ideals and interests of smaller peer groups, are generally studied to assess the impact on the pupils themselves,[126] with fewer studies exploring the wider impact of youth culture on schools, families, or middle-class communities. In one such study, William Weaver suggests that the reform of school life was made acceptable in the magazines produced at Rugby School in the 1830s, as young writers made Arnold's ideals palatable by blending them with pupils' cultures. It was pupils' amended ideals, he argues, that were carried forward into the wider patterns of reform in the

[123] On competitions, see B. Rodgers, 'Competing Girlhoods'; On charity, see K. Moruzi, 'Donations need not be large to be acceptable'. This extended to print newspapers. See S. Pooley, 'Children's Writing'.
[124] Miller, 'Assent as Agency', p. 59.
[125] 'The Manchester Grammar School Magazine', *Manchester Guardian* (23 July 1873), p. 8.

1850s and 1860s.[127] This thesis extends Weaver's approach to examine how pupils rewrote familial and community ideals in their magazines before circulating them to their wider middle-class communities.

While many studies to date focus on adult-edited mainstream periodicals, the school magazine was part of a nineteenth-century print culture where mainstream titles interacted with provincial and private print. Small-scale print flourished in the Victorian period as taxes and duties reduced from the 1830s onwards.[128] Reading experiences were not solely shaped by metropolitan, London-based titles with a national circulation, but also by a growing array of small-scale publications like provincial newspapers, parish magazines, and special interest magazines.[129] These publications' small localised readerships, precarious finances, and short runs mean they are often overshadowed in studies of print culture; however, Andrew Hobbs emphasises that the aggregate sales of the provincial press remained far greater than the metropolitan press in the nineteenth century.[130] This vast provincial print culture has been studied as central to the emergence of the Victorian middle classes, particularly in relation to the thriving print culture of the north of England, as publications circulated across religious and political divides to create communities of interest.[131]

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[126] Neddam, 'Constructing Masculinities'.
[127] Weaver, 'A School-Boy's Story', p. 457.
[128] G. Law, 'Distribution', in A. King, A. Easley and J. Morton (eds), *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century Periodicals and Newspapers*, pp. 42-59.
[129] On provincial publications see A. Hobbs, 'Reading the local paper: Social and cultural functions of the local press in Preston, Lancashire, 1855-1900' (PhD thesis, University of Central Lancashire, 2010); A. Hobbs, 'Provincial Periodicals', in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century Periodicals and Newspapers*, pp. 221-33. On parish magazines, see J. Platt, *Subscribing to Faith? The Anglican Parish Magazine, 1859-1929* (Basingstoke, 2015). On special interest publications, see M. Powell and T. Wyke, 'Manchester Men and Manchester Magazines: Publishing Periodicals in the Provinces in the Nineteenth Century', in C. Armstrong, M. Day, et al. (eds), *Periodicals and Publishers: The Newspaper and Journal Trade, 1750-1914* (London, 2009) pp. 161-84. On the later evolution of sociability and the press in Manchester, see M. Beetham, '"Healthy Reading": The Periodical Press in Late Victorian Manchester', in A. J. Kidd and K. W. Roberts (eds), *City, Class and Culture: Studies in Cultural Production and Social Policy in Victorian Manchester* (Manchester, 1985), p. 186.
[130] Hobbs, 'Reading the local paper', p. 1.
[131] M. J. Turner, 'The Making of a Middle Class Liberalism in Manchester, C.1815-32: A Study in Politics and the Press' (PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 1991), ii; and M. Hewitt, *The Emergence of Stability in the Industrial City: Manchester, 1832-67* (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 70-76.

INTRODUCTION

This study situates the school magazine in a nineteenth-century periodical culture which, instead of being guided from above by bestsellers, was shaped from below by a lively throng of smaller titles. Small-scale publishing was 'particularly suited' to schoolchildren, Jill Gage argues in a study of the eighteenth-century school magazine.[132] The small runs and cheap impressions of local printers and schools' ready-made and educated readership of pupils made the school magazine an affordable and financially viable form of publication. Many of the school magazines in this study were published by local printers, and the context of provincial publication throws into relief the scale of school magazine publication in the nineteenth century. Some schools' outputs equalling those of small towns: the town of Preston published fifty titles across the nineteenth century,[133] while Manchester Grammar School produced twenty-eight magazines, the Croydon Friends' School twenty-six, and Stonyhurst seventeen. Moreover, more official print school magazines outlasted the mainstream publications pupils enjoyed. The *Girls' Own Paper*, *Little Folks*, *Punch*, and *Vanity Fair* no longer exist, but the *Oxford High School Magazine* ran from 1875 until 1932, Manchester Grammar School's *Ulula* has survived in various forms from 1873 to the present, and the *Stonyhurst Magazine* has also appeared uninterrupted since 1881. The context of provincial publication makes clear that school magazines should be considered as extraordinarily successful forays into print culture.

A study of the school magazine necessitates an understanding of practices of magazine production and circulation which extended beyond mainstream metropolitan publishing — and beyond print. An emphasis on technological development means that histories of nineteenth-century periodicals remain predominantly focused on print.[134] Yet since the 1990s, early modern scholars have highlighted the enduring viability of manuscript publication for smaller literary circles, as manuscript's reliance on pen and paper alone

[132] Gage, 'My Schoolfellows, My Patrons, My Public', p. 36.
[133] A. Hobbs, 'Reading the local paper', p. 1.

'permitted and encouraged participation in literary life of groups of people whom print technology effectively isolated and alienated.'[135] Early modern scholars have long questioned the implied hierarchy of technological advancements, and presented each mode of print, manuscript, and oral publication as choices suited to the producers' 'tactical and literary ends'.[136] However, studies of manuscript generally tail off in the eighteenth century,[137] and manuscript still connotes cultural marginality in nineteenth-century studies, particularly in analyses of children's writing, where both child and manuscript are seen as cherished and protected 'relics' of more primitive times.[138] Yet Kathryn Gleadle argues that the manuscript magazines circulated via post offered the intellectual and social support girls needed to enter the first women's colleges, a practice of 'social circulation' which Jill Lamberton suggests these young women continued to benefit from when they entered further education.[139] Manuscript was not in essence disempowering, but in the nineteenth century was still creating the 'thriving, amateur, social literary culture' identified by Margaret Ezell in the eighteenth century.[140] Studies of nineteenth-century periodical culture are yet to explore the more complex interactions of print, private print, and manuscript in which the school magazine was intertwined.

My study uses the school magazine to investigate the vitality of other publication formats in middle-class youth culture. The rising tide of nineteenth-century print was accompanied by, and indeed dependent on, a corresponding rise in manuscript production, with drafts, letters and other hand-written communications integral to the publication process until the

[134] Print remains the focus of *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century Periodicals and Newspapers.*
[135] M. Ezell, *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore and London, 1999), p. 17.
[136] Z. Tenger and P. Trolander, 'From Print versus Manuscript to Sociable Authorship and Mixed Media: A Review of Trends in the Scholarship of Early Modern Publication', *Literature Compass*, 7/11 (2010), p. 1045.
[137] For the overall timeline of such studies, see Tenger and Trolander, 'From Print versus Manuscript to Sociable Authorship and Mixed Media'.
[138] Langbauer, *The Juvenile Tradition*, p. 108.
[139] K. Gleadle, 'Magazine culture, girlhood communities, and educational reform'; J. Lamberton, '"A Revelation and a Delight": Nineteenth-Century Cambridge Women, Academic Collaboration, and the Cultural Work of Extracurricular Writing', *College Composition and Communication* 65/4 (2014), p. 571.
[140] Ezell, *Social Authorship*, p. 25.

invention of the typewriter.[141] With the emergence of participatory periodicals in the late nineteenth century, print culture became even more dependent on a steady flow of manuscript from readers. This use of manuscript was assertive rather than residual, as young people used handwritten letters, competition entries, and contributions to demand entry into the world of print. Few contributions survive in the archive, but Beth Rodgers has used sensitive readings of girls' periodicals to reconstruct the vast reserves of manuscript which led up to each printed issue of a participatory periodical.[142] At the same time, periodicals were surrounded by a vast yet largely unarchived culture of manuscript production like the *School-Boy's Magazine*, as well as round robins, family newsletters, and other circulated writings.[143] In regards to famous literary figures, there is a rich historiography of juvenilia, such as the home-made magazines by the Brontë and Stephens families.[144] Yet it was not a practice peculiar to literary figures: Kathryn Gleadle points to the hundreds of notices about manuscript magazines in mainstream periodicals as evidence of widespread enthusiasm for writing and publishing among middle-class young people, particularly girls.[145] Among wealthier young people, this enthusiasm could extend to the process of printing, with Charles Dickens' children operating their own small printing press.[146] Emerging scholarship on American amateur journalism at this time emphasises how youths used small presses to set up magazines or imitate mainstream periodicals.[147] Reintegrating manuscript and amateur

[141] Tenger and Trolander, 'From Print versus Manuscript to Sociable Authorship and Mixed Media', p. 1040.
[142] Reconstructing girls' manuscript from editorial commentary, see B. Rodgers, 'Competing Girlhoods'.
[143] On round robins and family letters, see M. Yamaguchi, *Daughters of the Anglican Clergy: Religion, Gender and Identity in Victorian England* (Basingstoke, 2014), pp. 116-20. On related families, see N. Hetherington, 'New Woman, New Boots": Amy Levy as child journalist', in C. Alexander and J. McMaster (eds), *The Child Writer from Austen to Woolf* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 258.
[144] On sibling groups such as the Brontës see E. Butcher, 'Napoleonic Periodicals and the Childhood Imagination: The Influence of War Commentary on Charlotte and Branwell Brontë's Glass Town and Angria', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 48/4 (2015), pp. 469-486; C. Alexander, 'Play and apprenticeship: the culture of family magazines' in *The Child Writer from Austen to Woolf*, pp. 31-50. A. Bunyan, 'The children's progress'.
[145] K. Gleadle, 'Magazine culture, girlhood communities, and educational reform'.
[146] C. Alexander, 'Playful "Assumption": Dickens's Early Performative Creativity and its Influence on his Sons' Family Newspaper, the Gad's Hill Gazette' in P. Merchant and C. Waters (eds), *Dickens and the Imagined Child* (Farnham and Burlington, 2015), pp. 183-206.
[147] D. M. Smith, 'Print Networks and Youth Information Culture: Young People, Amateur Publishing, and Children's Periodicals, 1867-1890' (PhD thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2017).

print back into our picture of print culture recovers the active participation of middle-class youths in the more accessible, ephemeral formats previously seen as residual or marginal. By studying amateur print and manuscript school magazines alongside those printed locally or by large metropolitan printers and moving beyond implicit hierarchies of technological production, this study of the school magazine seeks to provide a more comprehensive picture of youths' active role in the processes of cultural production across the Victorian period.

Moving beyond mainstream books and print publications also enables us to move beyond juvenilia as a category of analysis for the school magazine. Studies of juvenilia are still largely concerned with the early writings of a small number of literary figures.[148] Magazines by Rudyard Kipling, Lewis Carroll, and the Brontës are presented as a stage of 'apprenticeship' in adult authorial development.[149] This focus on juvenilia inevitably sidelines non-literary writings like the many anonymous and pseudonymous records of sports matches, school events, and the often awkward stories and poems which constitute the vast majority of school magazine content. The lens of juvenilia places a premium on originality which automatically critiques young writers, Karen Sánchez-Eppler observes, for creating 'conservative and derivative' works or inheriting 'older cultural forms relinquished by adults'.[150] Yet the bulk of Victorian cultural experiences came from reading material we might judge unliterary or derivative, such as the abridged chapbooks central to working-class children's encounters with classic English novels and writers.[151] Children's and youths' penmanship, classwork, and ritual diary-keeping needs a similar reassessment as essential cultural work which affirmed and shaped common norms and values.[152] In one such

[148] For an overview of scholarship on juvenilia, see Sánchez-Eppler, 'In the Archives of Childhood'.
[149] On Kipling's school magazines as 'preparation' for his literary career, see C. Alexander, 'Nineteenth-century Juvenilia: A Survey' in *The Child Writer from Austen to Woolf*, pp. 11-30; on Carroll and the Bronte magazines as 'apprenticeship', see C. Alexander, 'Play and apprenticeship'.
[150] K. Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States: The Child's Part in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Chicago, 2005), xvii.
[151] Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes,* pp. 105-7.
[152] This method is detailed in Sánchez-Eppler, 'In the Archives of Childhood'; Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States.*

reassessment, Siân Pooley has established children's writing practices as transformative, as elementary education made writing a 'mundane' yet enjoyable and meaningful part of everyday working-class lives.[153] This thesis similarly turns towards the repetitive and ordinary practices of writing, production and circulation as central to the school magazine's meaning, by drawing large numbers of middle-class pupils into transformative and empowering positions in cultural production.

To date, the school magazine has been analysed as a part of "trickle down" dynamic in middle-class society and culture: from elite public schools to the vast array of lesser schools; from adult headteachers to child pupils; from famous metropolitan titles and well-known figures to the many unknown participants in provincial, manuscript, and amateur publications. This thesis outlines an alternative approach to Victorian social and cultural dynamics. It will examine the school magazine as the product of interactions and exchanges between schools of different type, status and denomination, between institutional members of different and constantly shifting age and status, between school communities and peer groups, and between different modes of manuscript and print publication. In doing so, I will explore an under-researched dynamic in schools, periodicals, and middle-class communities in the youth-driven social and cultural activities of nineteenth-century teenagers. This study explores how, across the Victorian era, the school magazine made youth cultural production the ordinary and conventional phenomenon it is today.

APPROACH AND STRUCTURE

This thesis charts the rise in school magazine production in secondary schools between the 1830s and early 1900s. This period was marked by cultural transformations, as the school magazine's rise was connected to the cheap and wide availability of print from the 1830s, and

[153] Pooley, 'Children's Writing', p. 84.

the Victorian reforms and rebuilding of middle-class secondary schools between the 1840s and the first state interventions in secondary education after the 1902 Education Act. This context meant the school magazine underwent key shifts: the conceptual separation of youth writing from adult writing as new composition pedagogies were popularised between the 1830s and 1870s; the emphasis on collective identity which fuelled a more generic form of school magazine from the 1870s onwards; the experimentation and freedom made possible by the wide availability of provincial and amateur print from the late nineteenth-century onwards; and the genre's subsequent role in negotiating shared schoolgirl and schoolboy identities across the British Empire in the late nineteenth century. Over the period, the school magazine developed the features which make the genre recognisable to us today. While the genre became more generic, this thesis will also be attentive to the constant negotiations and variations which characterised middle-class education and culture at a local level.

The research process has involved reading hundreds of school magazines, a disorienting experience as they abound in deliberately cryptic references to school events, customs, people, places and slang. Even simple terms such as headteacher varied from one educational tradition to another. The variations in terminology are a reminder that Victorian secondary schooling was a patchwork rather than a system, and the continued value each school attached to its own peculiar traditions. For clarity, this thesis adopts the more general terms headteacher, teacher, pupil, top and bottom form, schoolmate, and prefect; however, terms with particular local significance will be retained and explained.

Each chapter in this thesis sets out a defining characteristic which set the school magazine apart from other periodicals and transformed it into an instantly recognisable genre. In the first chapter, I will explore how the contributors' youth came to be a defining yet controversial aspect of the school magazine, due to pedagogies of written development which were popularised in middle-class secondary schools between the 1830s and 1870s. Collective identity is the subject of the second chapter. A more generic school magazine emerged in the 1870s and 1880s as a vehicle to introduce families new to secondary education to the norms and values of school life. Thirdly, this thesis argues that these schoolgirl and schoolboy identities did not only vary from one school magazine to another, they were also continually

renegotiated in production. The school magazine was unique in that the majority of its production took place at the school. By building a detailed picture of production — from establishing the magazine to consuming it at school — the third chapter shows how pupils used this various process to experiment with very different youth identities. The extraordinary practice of sending school magazines overseas via post forms the focus of the final chapter. By outlining their local, national, and transnational circulation, this thesis will explore how school magazines opened up youth-driven channels of communication between middle-class communities across England, Britain, and the British Empire.

Each chapter explores its theme in relation to one of four English secondary schools. While this is a small number, it has allowed the targeted archival research needed to uncover the scale of magazine production in this period. The four schools collectively produced an astonishing seventy-two magazines over the period. The thesis includes a diverse group of secondary schools: the Croydon Friends' School, Oxford High School for Girls, Stonyhurst College, and the Manchester Grammar School. This selection deliberately sets its focus beyond the Anglican public school to give insight into patterns of mutual recognition and difference which characterised Victorian secondary education more broadly. The Croydon Friends' School (later Saffron Walden school in Essex, closed 2017) was part of a growing network of Quaker boarding schools which provided a subsidised education in English literacy and arithmetic to lower-middle-class boys and girls between the ages of seven and fourteen. The Oxford High School for Girls was one of the day schools established by the Girls' Public Day School Trust to address widespread criticism of middle-class girls' schooling, and by the 1880s it was a large day school of about two hundred middle and upper-middle class girls. Stonyhurst College, in contrast, was modelled in part on the elite Anglican public schools, but as a Jesuit college and noviciate for Catholic boys, it was also influenced by French educational traditions. The Manchester Grammar School also diverged from the Anglican public and grammar school model by providing a classical education as just one option alongside scientific and modern streams, as part of a non-denominational day school education adapted to the priorities of the northern industrial and commercial middle classes. This diverse selection enables this thesis to shift beyond discussion of the public

school, and explore some of the paths of influence between these very different middle-class school types.

This thesis is not intended as a comprehensive overview of Victorian secondary education, but investigates the patterns of mutual recognition and difference by detailed case studies of four lesser-studied schools. While each school in this study has published an in-house history, the purpose of such histories is inward-looking, commemorating and celebrating the school and its former pupils.[154] Otherwise, the schools have only featured in denomination- or gender-specific studies,[155] and remain absent from broader studies of secondary education. Each chapter in this thesis provides a detailed reconstruction of a single school as a new vantage point on middle-class education, and how these individual schools impacted on wider developments. The school magazine lies at the heart of educational developments: each magazine was a concerted attempt to construct a schoolgirl or schoolboy identity for a particular school or group within the school; and the magazines were part of an over-arching genre negotiating values and practices shared by English teenagers in different schools. While each chapter explores its theme in relation to one school, it will draw in comparisons with the other schools in this study to explore how each aspect played out differently due to denomination, gender, status, and location. Occasionally, other school magazines will briefly feature: those produced at the elite public school Winchester College enable comparison with developments in the Anglican public schools; and further examples will be drawn from magazines from the Manchester High School for Girls, King's College School London, the Friends' School at Ackworth, and other Quaker schools.

One of the research challenges has been the lack of systematic cataloguing of children's and youths' writing. The research process has revealed a nineteenth-century enthusiasm for

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[154] D. W. Bolam, *Unbroken Community: the Story of the Friends' School Saffron Walden, 1702-1952* (Cambridge, 1952) and H. Halter, *The School on the Hill* (Saffron Walden Essex, 2002); V. E. Stack, *Oxford High School: Girls' Public Day School Trust, 1875-1960* (Abingdon Berkshire, 1963); T. E. Muir, *Stonyhurst College, 1593-1993* (London, 1992); J.A. Graham and B.A. Phythian, *The Manchester Grammar School, 1515-1965* (Manchester, 1965). For an analysis of school histories as a genre, see S. Delamont, 'Distant dangers and forgotten standards: pollution control strategies in the British girls' school, 1860-1920', *Women's History Review*, 2/2 (1993), pp. 233-251.

[155] On denominational schools, see Stewart, *Quakers and Education*; and M. Whitehead, *English Jesuit Education: Expulsion, Supression, Survival and Restoration, 1762-1803* (Farnham Surrey, 2013). On girls'

preserving and archiving school magazines which has not endured, and much of my research is thanks to the efforts of nineteenth-century schoolchildren and teachers, and the often voluntary work of dedicated school librarians and archivists today. I have drawn upon the rich magazine archives of secondary schools, liaising with archivists and librarians at the schools themselves (the Oxford High School library, the Stonyhurst College archive, the Manchester Grammar School archive, Winchester College archives, and the Manchester High School for Girls archive),[156] or occasionally in larger archives (the Saffron Walden archive held at Essex Record Office, the Friends' Library in London, and the Bodleian Library, Oxford). The research process has involved handling an astonishing range of manuscript, print and amateur print school magazines, and reading thousands of pages of frustrated editorials, humdrum school news, and awkward attempts at essays and poems. In addition, I have traced the journeys of school magazines via post with the support of school archivists and librarians working in schools in New Zealand and Australia.[157] Despite the lack of infrastructure and investment in archiving juvenile material, this research process has shown the school magazine as a rich, ubiquitous, and untapped source on the nineteenth century.

Decoding the school magazines necessitates drawing upon a wide range of other sources in school archives, with holdings varying considerably from school to school. Overall, school archives provide rich evidence that the school magazine was part of wider practices of reading and writing at school, including classwork, minutes from school societies and sports clubs, and school libraries and museums. Histories of education have traditionally relied on the perspectives of a small number of pupils and educators who left memoirs or autobiographies, or the perspectives offered by institutional and governmental documents. However, the breadth of archived material is evidence that secondary schooling created a rich and complex social and cultural environment. The variety of contributions to the school

schooling, see J. Kamm, *Indicative Past: A Hundred Years of the Girls' Public Day School Trust* (London, 2013).

[156] Thanks to Suzanne Foster of Winchester College archives; Chris Joy of Manchester High School archives; Mary Ann Davison and Rachel Kneale at the Manchester Grammar School archives; Frances Stott at the Oxford High School library; and David Knight at Stonyhurst College archives.

[157] Thanks to Frances Gibbons at Wanganui Collegiate archives; and Luisa Moscato at Melbourne Grammar School archives.

magazines is a reminder of the unique impact of schooling on nineteenth-century youth, as a place of education, youth cultures, and peer cultures, all of which broadened many pupils' horizons.

Another strength of the school magazine as a source is the insight it provides into the perspectives of thousands of pupil and teacher writers who otherwise left few archival traces. While many school magazine articles were anonymous or pseudonymous, this thesis follows recent studies of mainstream periodicals in tracing named readers and correspondents through school administrative and admissions records, as well as through genealogical databases with searchable census returns and birth, marriage and death certificates. Historians' innovative use of searchable census records have revealed the astonishing participation in periodicals, challenging the assumption that named correspondents and readers were figments of the editorial imagination.[158] This biographical approach shows editorial agendas and literary authorship are an inadequate substitute for periodical participation as a whole. Participants inserted themselves into mainstream print using a variety of strategies, from writing letters or notices and entering competitions, to signing up for a periodical's spin-off reading or special interest clubs, or subscribing to charitable causes. This study uses similar biographical strategies to confirm the youth-driven dynamic in the school magazine by tracing the more ordinary youths who acted as editors, printers, subscribers, correspondents, contributors, reporters, and treasurers, or got their names into print as members of school societies or teams, competition entrants, attendees at school events, or as recipients of a school honour or prize.

Biographical research also shows the wider social and cultural worlds of school magazine contributors. While the concept of the little world means the school and its magazine is often

[158] On the debates over whether contributors were "real", see Moruzi, 'Children's Periodicals', p. 303. For examples of scholarship tracing the identities of child contributors, see Pooley, 'Children's Writing', p. 84; and Moruzi, 'Donations need not be large to be acceptable'.

seen as 'introspective',[159] pupils' educational experiences were rarely defined by a single school. As Kathryn Gleadle observes of girls in this period, their education was shaped by 'a nexus of overlapping cultural activities', including letters, diaries, essay societies, and contribution to print and manuscript magazines.[160] For many of the pupils in this study, a mixed economy of cultural activities complemented the mixed economy of their education. By uncovering a pupil's life — their age, school form, home address, previous education, and family members and their occupations — this thesis also seeks to uncover their activity in a range of complementary writing and publishing activities at home, at school, and in mainstream periodicals. Family archives, where available, show some pupils participated in manuscript family magazines, while searchable periodical databases such as *19th Century UK Periodicals* show an impressive number of pupils as successful contributors to mainstream youth periodicals as well as newspapers and periodicals for general readerships. This was a period when youths became highly visible as cultural producers and consumers. Situating schooling as part of the broader cultural activities of English teenagers enables us to explore the impact of the school magazine as part of the broader developments in middle-class family life and periodical culture.

[159] Mangan, *Athleticism*, p. 243.
[160] K. Gleadle, 'Magazine culture, girlhood communities, and educational reform'.

1 | YOUTH

The first issue of the magazine the *Monthly Gleaner* in October 1855 might not, at first glance, offer up a clear definition of youth writing. There are articles on visits, real and imagined, to see the giant globe at Leicester Square and to 'peep' at the dinosaurs and plants of the 'primeval world'.[1] Two volumes each of the *Monthly Gleaner* (1855-57) and its successor the *Echo* (1862-69) were produced at the Croydon Friends' School (later Saffron Walden School in Essex), a small Quaker boarding school near London. They were teacher-edited magazines, but across the hundreds of pages in each volume the majority of content was written by pupils, and a single manuscript copy of each issue was passed around the school from reader to reader at a halfpenny or penny a read.

The title *Monthly Gleaner* depicted youths as gatherers of knowledge about the material world, with the definition of 'glean' in the Oxford English Dictionary including 'to gather or pick up in small quantities'. This contrasts with the title of Eton College's *Microcosm* (1786-87), which presented youth writing as an elegant miniature of the eighteenth-century literary periodical, complete with classical allusions and literary language. It was descriptive rather than literary writing that proliferated across the first issue of the *Monthly Gleaner*. It had 'Foreign Intelligence' on the French Exhibition and the submarine telegraph, 'Local Intelligence' of the pupils' walks and gardens, announcements about the prizes won for drawings of landscapes or animals, and accounts of pupils' model-making, painting and printing. Descriptive writing like this came to the fore with the expansion of education in the nineteenth century. Lucille Schultz argues that in this educational context, descriptive youth writing has 'its own history, a different history, an alterity' from literary writing.[2] While Schultz's study traces this history unfold in American and British school textbooks, the rich

[1] ERO, D/Q 49/G1/a5: *Monthly Gleaner* 1/1 (October 1855). Hereafter simply *Monthly Gleaner* 1.

archive of the Croydon Friends' School gives new insight into the part played by young people in this shift towards descriptive writing in the mid-nineteenth century. It was a shift which was pivotal in setting the school magazine apart as a distinct genre.

Descriptive youth writing was intertwined with notable shifts in the conceptualisation and experiences of youth. Into the twentieth century, historians conceptualise youth as an imprecise and shifting life stage including young workers from seven or eight years old up to unmarried workers in their mid-to-late twenties.[3] The shifting nature of youth has been taken as evidence of the impact of changes to the labour market and living conditions brought about by industrialisation.[4] Its instability was observed in the nineteenth century when objections to educational expansion were often framed as concerns that extended schooling would put youth lifestyles out of step with their "natural" pace of development, leading to precocity and "overpressure".[5] Accelerated youth development can be numbered among the fears of 'mistiming or disorder' which Katie Barclay et al identify as forming everyday understandings of social change, as individuals realise life events are no longer falling into the predictable pattern of previous generations.[6] There is an extensive historiography on interventions to modernise and stabilise the life cycle, such as child labour laws and elementary education acts, the establishment of a voting age, and studies of child and adolescent development.[7] Stephen Lassonde points to nineteenth-century mass education in particular as a strategy to control national development by specifying the ages at which

[2] Schultz, *The Young Composers*, p. 4.
[3] The range is discussed in Gillis, *Youth and History,* p. 4 . See also: M. Anderson, 'The emergence of the modern life cycle in Britain'; and Pooley and Turnbull, 'Leaving home'.
[4] J. Gillis, *Youth and History,* pp. 37-95.
[5] Shuttleworth, *The Mind of the Child*, pp. 131-50; J. Middleton, 'The Overpressure Epidemic of 1884 and the Culture of Nineteenth-Century Schooling', *History of Education*, 33/4 (2004), pp. 419-35.
[6] K. Barclay, R. Carr, R. Elliot and A. Hughes, 'Introduction: Gender and Generations: Women and Life Cycles', *Women's History Review,* 20/2 (2011), pp. 179-80.
[7] J. Humphries, *Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 1-11; on education see D. Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750-1914* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 53-94; Gleadle, 'Masculinity, Age and Life Cycle in the Age of Reform', pp. 38-42; on the study of development see Shuttleworth, *The Mind of the Child*.

individuals ought to reach certain milestones.[8] Youth may have included a shifting and diverse demographic, but it was increasingly conceptualised as controlled and clearly bounded.

In these interconnected attempts to structure youth, writing was a minor yet important theme in itself. This has received little attention, despite the centrality of childhood in defining a separate field of literary scholarship: juvenilia studies. Juvenilia is a 'slippery' category, Lesley Peterson and Leslie Robinson note.[9] Age is in fact a relatively unimportant factor in juvenilia studies, which often use "child" and "childhood" to describe writers aged eighteen, twenty, or twenty one, 'with some leeway beyond.'[10] From the standpoint of authorial development, Christine Alexander explains,'"youth" is a relative concept, and some writers reach what we term "maturity" before others'.[11]

However, the transformation of youth writing was intertwined with perceptions and interventions in social and cultural change. Karen Sánchez-Eppler argues that literacy as a national system did not emerge until the end of the nineteenth century in America, with the meaning attached to reading and writing 'in flux' in earlier periods.[12] In England, too, there were nascent national frameworks of literacy. Elementary schooling saw access to literacy carefully phased in at a national level from 1870 onwards, with writing introduced more cautiously than reading as a means to control working-class social advancement. The

[8] S. Lassonde, 'Age, Schooling, and Development' in P. Fass, *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World* (Abingdon and New York, 2013), pp. 211-28.
[9] L. Peterson and L. Robinson, 'An annotated bibliography of nineteenth-century juvenilia' in *The Child Writer from Austen to Woolf.* p. 270.
[10] Up to age eighteen, see T. Kupferberg and S. Topp, *Children as Authors: A Big Bibliography* (New York, 1959); up to twenty, see J. Stallworthy (ed.) *First Lines: Poems Written in Youth, from Herbert to Heaney* (Manchester,1987); twenty-one in C. Alexander and J. McMaster, 'Defining and Representing Literary Juvenilia' in *The Child Writer from Austen to Woolf* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 72; and J. Wilson, *Children's Writings: A Bibliography of Works in English* (Jefferson, 1982); suggesting 'leeway' into the writer's twenties, C. Alexander and J. McMaster 'Introduction' in C. Alexander and J. McMaster (eds), *The Child Writer from Austen to Woolf* (Cambridge, 2005), quote p. 3.
[11] Alexander, 'Defining and Representing Literary Juvenilia', p. 72.
[12] Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States,* p. 6.

relationship between age and literacy was weighed with political meaning, and its control was proposed as a way to control the expansion of the franchise.[13]

Secondary schools were envisaged as 'mediators' for ordering social change across a religiously and politically divided middle class. Hillary Steedman argues literacy was adapted to pupils' age and class as a way of 'maintaining or improving status between one generation and the succeeding one.'[14] Steedman identifies the role of the 1868 Schools Inquiry Commission in envisaging separate paths of written development for different social strata within the middle classes. The more elite public schools aside, the report proposed three paths for middle-class teenagers: a first grade of school providing an education up to nineteen in Greek and Latin, with access to university and the professions; a second grade providing an education up to sixteen or seventeen in Latin and more modern subjects such as languages and mathematics, with access to minor professions and the civil service; and a third grade providing an education up to fourteen or fifteen in reading and writing in English alongside arithmetic and other subjects, for entry into offices and business.[15] While varied yet socially coherent paths were idealised in this report, these attempts to structure youth at a national level were consistently undermined by the patchwork nature of secondary education, as fee-paying schools responded first and foremost to the varying life cycle expectations and aspirations of middle-class communities. In contrast with the imprecise definitions of youth in juvenilia scholarship, this chapter proposes that understanding the meaning of writing in the school magazine requires exploring an emerging desire to transform yet control youth written development in a period where learning to read and write still varied from one community to another in practice.

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[13] On the political resonances of literacy, see Gleadle, 'Masculinity, Age and Life Cycle in the Age of Reform'; Holt, *Public School Literature,* pp. 1-15; on civic education in elementary schools, for working-class children, see S. Heathorn, *For Home, Country, and Race: Constructing Gender, Class, and Englishness in Elementary School, 1880-1914* (Toronto, 2000), pp. 24-55.

[14] H. Steedman, 'Defining Institutions', p. 112; p. 113.

[15] The three grades are described in Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. 1, p. 20.

As the Croydon Friends' School archives demonstrate, Quaker educators were active in conceptualising written development, despite the alleged insularity of the Religious Society of Friends. These ideas were deployed through educational initiatives such as the charitable British and Foreign Schools Society, and the little-researched Friends' Educational Society (1837-'57) — a group of Quaker educational reformers who conducted research by gathering teachers' testimony on the pedagogical approaches in their community's schools.[16] Writing was a frequent topic of discussion in its annual reports, and it set up subcommittees to write reports on 'The Employment of Leisure Time in Girls' Schools' (1838), 'Effects Produced on the Minds of School Girls, by the Reading of Tale Books and Books Partly Fictitious' (1839), 'Labour in Connexion with Intellectual Education' (1841) and 'English Composition' (1843).[17] Croydon Friends' School magazines like *Monthly Gleaner* point to description as fundamental to how Quaker educationalists' views of writing played out in everyday practice. As in the *Monthly Gleaner*, a descriptive tone is hinted at in many titles of long-disappeared magazines from the Croydon Friends' School such as the *Gooseberry Bush* (ca. 1848), the *Mulberry Tree* (1850), and the *Rain-Bow* (1850), some of the twenty-six magazines mentioned in school records over the period 1826 and 1881 (see Table 1). The Croydon Friends' School archive sheds light on a rich tradition of youth writing — deliberately positioned as an alternative to a classical public school tradition — that took off due to middle-class educational expansion, with seven extant series of magazines and manuscript collections of pupil essays in the Saffron Walden collection at Essex Record Office. The archive gives insight into how teachers and pupils in one school connected their essays and magazines to emerging ideals of youth writing, as part of a broader pattern of similar

[16] The first meeting was attended by a range of prominent Quaker community members and educational activists, including Samuel Tuke, Joseph Rowntree, and James Cadbury, among others. The foundation of the Friends' Educational Society is recorded in *First Annual Report of the Friends' Educational Society* (York, 1846).

connections which helped to modernise and consolidate the broad appeal of the school magazine.

[17] *Two Reports from the Committee of Women Friends* (London and York, 1842); *Report of the Committee on Labour in Connexion with Intellectual Education* (London and York, 1841); *Report of the Committee on English Composition* (York and London, 1843).

MAGAZINES AT THE CROYDON FRIENDS' SCHOOL

* *Miscellaneous Instructor*. 14 issues (1826-1846)

* *Monthly Packet*. 1 issue (1830)

Critical Gleaner (c1830s?)

Miscellaneous Reporter (1842-3)

*†*Croydon School Monthly Magazine.* 12 issues (1846-7)

Literary Gleaner (c1846)

Excitement (c1847)

Novelty (c1847)

Standard of Liberty (c1847)

Exciting Punch (c1847)

Gooseberry Bush (c1848)

School Boy's Magazine (1850)

New Shoot of the Gooseberry Bush (1850)

Mulberry Tree (1850)

Literary Reporter (1850)

Rain-bow (1850)

Grapevine (1850)

**School Boy's Magazine.* New series (1851)

Phoenix (c1851)

Free Gazette (c1851)

Record (1854)

* *Monthly Gleaner* (1855)

* *Monthly Gleaner*. New series (1856)

* *Echo* (1863-8)

Illustrated Miscellany (1866)

* *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* (1875)

Echo. Third series (1875-6)

Tatler (c1881)

* Extant copy † Printed

Table 1. Magazines at Croydon Friends' School.

YOUTH

This chapter relates Croydon magazines like the *Monthly Gleaner* and their descriptive writings to the 'good plain English Education' offered by the network of schools established by the Religious Society of Friends across Britain and Ireland in the early nineteenth century.[18] Friends' schools provided the education seen as suiting its pupils' denomination, age and class. They deliberately distanced themselves from the education of Anglican public and grammar schools such as Eton College, where classics provided a route to Oxford and Cambridge or a career in the established church.[19] Quaker pupils could start as early as seven years old although newcomers were typically nine or ten, and they could stay up to fourteen — the age of apprenticeship to their family's or another Quaker business. The leaving age reflected the intake of children 'whose parents are not in affluent circumstances,' school regulations explained, mostly lower-middle-class Quaker families who benefitted from the reduced fees subsidised by the Religious Society of Friends.[20] As a result, classroom activities were largely devoted to acquiring the skills in reading and writing in English, arithmetic and Scripture which were deemed appropriate for this age range and background by the school's religious and institutional authorities.

While this chapter explores the connections between descriptive writing and the particular educational traditions of the Religious Society of Friends, the Croydon Friends' School was in many ways typical of lower-middle-class secondary education. Indeed, its vernacular focus and leaving age meant the Croydon Friends' School was not an outlier, but numbered among the third-grade schools 'for boys who go into offices and business in their 14th-15th years' in the Schools Inquiry Commission's 1868 report.[21] While lower-middle-class schools were

[18] Quote from *Report on the Range of Studies in Friends' Schools* (York and London, 1846), p. 7.
[19] On Quakers and the classics, see E. O'Donnell, 'Quakers and Education' in S. Angell and P. Dandelion (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies* (Oxford, 2015), p. 408.
[20] London, Friends' Archive, Friends' House, Box 112 7/50242: *Rules and General Regulations for the Government of Croydon School*, (London, 1870). On the history of the Croydon Friends' School, see D. W. Bolam, *Unbroken Community: the Story of the Friends' School Saffron Walden, 1702-1952* (Cambridge, 1952); H. Halter, *The School on the Hill* (Saffron Walden, 2002).
[21] Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. 1, p. 349.

common enough to comprise an entire grade in themselves, they are generally overlooked due to the dominant narrative of cultural practices "trickling down" from the elite public schools. The archive of the Croydon Friends' School calls this narrative into question, as the essay books and magazines produced from the 1820s onwards highlight broader practices of youth writing across schools for more modest middle-class families. Descriptive writing practices paved the way for the widespread appearance of a more generic type of school magazine and culture in the 1870s and 1880s. Through brief comparisons with magazines and writings from the other schools in this study, this chapter will therefore work to illustrate this broader trend and highlight how young writers' attitudes towards descriptive writing varied according to social class, denomination, and gender.

The Croydon Friends' School archive gives access to a wider writing culture shaped by "common sense" ideas of youth development, which could be used to justify the content and indeed the existence of the school magazine. While the magazines from the Croydon Friends' School were all by male pupils, Friends' schools were usually overseen by a married couple, with the husband acting as headteacher of the whole school, and his wife responsible for a girls' side.[22] The Croydon Friends' School was fairly typical in providing a 'parallel education' with separate classrooms, teachers, playgrounds, accommodation, libraries and mutual improvement societies for boys and girls.[23] In stark contrast to the opposition to state provision of education in England, the Religious Society of Friends' religious structure of a national Yearly Meeting in London — underpinned by more regular provincial and local Meetings — facilitated centralised and systematic educational provision for the community's

[22] The headteachers were Edward and Elizabeth Brady (1838), Elizabeth Brady (1838-1842), John and Hannah Sharp (1842-1853), Charles and Sarah Fryer (1853-1854), Sarah Fryer (1854-1856), Sarah Fryer (superintendent) and William Robinson on boys' side (1856-1860), William and Mary Ann Robinson, (1860-1869), George and Lucy Linney (1869-1890). For the complete list, see Halter, *The School on the Hill*, p. 11.
[23] On gender and the 'parallel education' see K. Allen and A. Mackinnon, '"Allowed and expected to be educated and intelligent": the education of Quaker girls in nineteenth century England', *History of Education*,27/4 (1998), p. 393.

children, including girls.[24] This 'parallel education' shows the tension between the spiritual equality of the sexes and wider and prevailing notions of gendered difference in the Quaker community, with the allowance of female ministry and the active involvement of women in the Meetings co-existing with distinctions of gender and class in middle-class education.[25]

The 'parallel education' at the Croydon Friends' School thus provides an intriguing case study on gender in middle-class education and the overlaps and divergences in girls' and boys' schooling. Boys dominated magazine production; however, the boys' magazines are part of a wider school archive, including essay books and society minutes from both boys' *and* girls' juvenile societies, alongside a wealth of other material such as teaching and admissions records, circulars addressed to the community, and governing body minutes and accounts. All of these give extraordinary insight into the workings of lower-middle-class education for both girls and boys. Historians note that women continued to work in small businesses and trades,[26] suggesting that many lower middle-class girls — like boys — were expected to have literacy and numeracy. While writings by girls are rarer, the archive provides valuable if fragmented evidence of a flourishing writing culture among lower middle-class girls, with two extant essay books (1837-41, 1855) and essay titles in minutes for the Girls' Juvenile Society (1859-71). While gendered ideas of girlhood and boyhood undoubtedly shaped education, the Croydon Friends' School archive also reveals how the school magazine was underpinned by emerging ideals of youth written development which could transcend gender.

[24] O'Donnell, 'Quakers and Education', p. 409.
[25] On educational and spiritual equality, see Camilla Leach, 'Religion and rationality: Quaker women and science education 1790–1850', *History of Education*, 35/1 (2006): p. 70; O'Donnell, 'Quakers and Education', p. 407. For analysis of the lack of gendered equality in the curriculum of Friends' schools, see K. Allen and A. Mackinnon, 'Allowed and expected to be educated and intelligent', p. 402.
[26] E. Gordon and G. Nair, *Public Lives: Women, Family, and Society in Victorian Britain* (New Haven, 2003); L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (London and New York, 2002).

This chapter explores how the school magazine created a clear ideal of the youth writer by the mid-nineteenth century by normalising a connection between descriptive writing and the young mind and by engaging with pedagogies which emphasised the gradual development of writing abilities. The chapter explores this ideal in operation at school, but also how pupils' writing was shaped by the interplay between schools, books and periodicals, societies, and homes. I argue that descriptive writing popularised the school magazine as a vehicle for youth-driven agency, as some young people were accepted by adults as rational, observant and equal participants in conversation, and constructed themselves as figures of authority and status.

THE YOUTHFUL MIND

The classics dominate analyses of writing from Victorian secondary schools.[27] 'Shakespeare kept wisely to the vernacular & never attempted to versify in a dead language,' a contributor to the manuscript *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* mused in 1861, as he watched a schoolmate at the classical public school Stonyhurst College 'breaking his head over those unbearable Greek hexameters.'[28] Writing verse in Greek and Latin had long been a key part of the public school curriculum. Male pupils were expected to acquire classical languages by rote-learning rules from textbooks and reciting classical speeches by heart, and they honed their writing skills by producing verses modelled on examples in extract books or recycled from the schoolwork of previous generations of pupils.[29] As classical teaching

[27] Gage 'My Schoolfellows, My Patrons', pp. 16-21; for the slow displacement of classics in public school identity, see Mangan, *Athleticism*, pp. 111-3; C. Stray on classics in school magazines in *Classics Transformed,* xi.
[28] SC: *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/4 (1 February 1861).
[29] On classical pedagogy, see Gage, 'My Schoolfellows, My Patrons', pp. 16-21. On classical oratory, see M. McCormack, *The Independent Man: Citizenship and Gender Politics in Georgian England* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 32-44; on classics more generally, see M. L. Clarke, *Classical Education in Britain 1500–1900* (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 74-84.

endured across generations of boys, Michèle Cohen argues, it was seen as a reliable and tested 'method' of controlling youth written development.[30]

By the mid-nineteenth century, criticism of the exclusively classical curriculum in public schools made translation into English more popular with educators like Thomas Arnold than versification, as a practice which would boost the fluency and elegance of pupils' written English.[31] However, translation shared characteristics of versification, in that both approaches framed imitation as the best way for youths to learn, and used formulas and templates to produce error-free writing.[32] Instruction in English was to be indirectly picked up through the classics, and even works on English composition, such as David Irving's *Elements of English Composition* (1834), recommended imitation of extracts from the 'distinguished authors' such as Joseph Addison, which were often classical in theme and style.[33] The elegant miniature implied by the title of Eton College's *Microcosm* linked the school magazine to this imitative pedagogy of public schools. Yet the writers of the *Microcosm* were aware that imitation was not always so elevated in practice, but in fact a mundane ritual enacted daily in Anglican public and grammar schools. 'The archives of our State are filled with the first efforts of expanding genius', an essay remarked wryly, each river 'ornamented with Naids', and each tree with a 'brace of Dryads'.[34]

In contrast, the October 1855 issue of the *Monthly Gleaner* contained a column of 'Questions for Solution' asking 'During the revolution of the mandril of the Lathe, is any part of it stationary?'[35] The question prompted pupils to investigate the lathe in the workroom at the Croydon Friends' School and put their observations into words. The *Monthly Gleaner*

[30] M. Cohen, '"To think, to compare, to combine, to methodise": Notes towards rethinking girls' education in the eighteenth century' in S. Knott and B. Taylor (eds) *Women, Gender and Enlightenment* (London, 2005), pp. 224-242.
[31] On Arnold's approach, see Clarke, *Classical Education in Britain*, p. 80. Quote from H. Ellis, 'Thomas Arnold, Christian Manliness and the Problem of Boyhood', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 19/4, pp. 425-441.
[32] Schultz, *The Young Composers*, p. 5.
[33] See for example the classical theme of 'Critical Examination of a Passage in the Writings of Addison' in D. Irving, *Elements of English Composition* (London, 1809), p. 248.
[34] OBL, Per. 2705 e.580: *Microcosm* (28 May 1787), p. 322.

was a teacher-edited magazine with most contributions from pupils, and this rich collection of pupil writing reveals the interplay of youth and writing in practice at the school. Not only did this column prioritise description over the classical fare of the *Microcosm*, it was also shaped by a pedagogy where pupils' observations and sensory experiences of the world formed the starting point for learning to write. The column was similar to a textbook 'much recommended' by Quaker teachers and in use at the Croydon Friends' School, William and Robert Chambers' *Introduction to English Composition* (1842). Here the teacher was advised to 'place fifteen or twenty familiar objects on a desk or table before the class, and request the pupils to comply with the direction in the first lesson, by writing on the spot the names of the articles.'[36]

This was an object lesson: the most prominent pedagogy in the developing field of literacy in the nineteenth century.[37] Its prominence fuelled its own branch of publication, in textbooks like Chambers' and Charles and Elizabeth Mayo's best-selling *Lessons on Objects* (1831). It also gave new life to the eighteenth-century object or animal biographies which transformed from adult satire and social commentary to a factual and instructive genre of children's book or periodical story. This ultimately helped to make objects integral to the classroom, with Kew Gardens, for instance, sending plant specimens to schools for this purpose from the 1870s onwards.[38] Object lessons are evidence of the enduring influence of

[35] 'Questions for Solution', *Monthly Gleaner* 1/1 (October 1855), p. 16.
[36] For its popularity among Quaker teachers, see *Report on English Composition*, quote p. 9. London, British Library, General Reference Collection 012211.a.1/29: W. and R. Chambers, *Introduction to English Composition* (London, Dublin and Edinburgh, 1842), p. 7.
[37] S. Carter, *Object Lessons: How Nineteenth-Century Americans Learned to Make Sense of the Material World* (Oxford, 2018); Schultz, *The Young Composers*, p. 4; for a case study of object lessons in practice, see P. Elliott and S. Daniels. 'Pestalozzianism, natural history and scientific education in nineteenth-century England: the Pestalozzian institution at Worksop, Nottinghamshire', *History of Education* 34/3 (2005), pp. 295-313.
[38] L. Festa, 'The Moral Ends of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Object Narratives' in M. Blackwell (ed.), *Secret Life of Things: Animals, Objects, and It-Narratives in Eighteenth-Century England* (Lewisburg PA, 2007), pp. 309-28; L. Price, *How to do Things With Books in Victorian Britain* (Princeton, 2012); H. Minns, '"I knew a Duck": Reading and Learning in Derby's Poor Schools', in M. Hinton, M. Styles and V. Watson (eds), *Opening the Nursery Door* (London and New York, 1997), pp. 180-198; L. Newman and F. Driver, 'School Museums in the History of Science and Education: Learning from Kew' (forthcoming 2019); L. Newman, '"To obtain the stock we now possess has been a work of much labour": collecting, crafting, and curating the school

eighteenth-century pedagogies, as they had been promoted by educational philosophers such as Johann Pestalozzi (1746-1827), whose technique of instruction 'by means of real objects' was cited as an influence by nineteenth-century English textbook writers such as the Mayos.[39] The Mayos' *Lessons on Objects* (1831) depicted pupils handling pieces of glass, india rubber and sugar loaf, and writing down descriptions, prompted by the teacher's questions about their appearance or texture. Scholarship on the development of literacy teaching highlights how such books made the recognition of words and their connection to the observable world a starting point for learning to read and write. Description co-existed and competed with a more abstract phonic method which led children from saying the names of the letters, to joining them into syllables, words, and then finally sentences.[40] The Mayos' book was so popular that the Friends' Educational Society explained 'most teachers have heard of *Lessons on Objects*' in their 1843 report on English composition.[41] These approaches were shared by Quaker educational reformers and campaigners for elementary education, so that the Friends' Educational Society adapted their advice from the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge's recommendations for teaching writing in elementary schools.[42]

The inner workings of nineteenth-century classrooms can be hard to uncover, with the *Monthly Gleaner* giving exceptional access to the object lesson in action at the Croydon Friends' School. After the question about the lathe, 'Questions for Solution' inquired about rose-wood, hyacinths, and the copy of the Rosetta Stone which the pupils had seen at the Crystal Palace in nearby Sydenham.[43] The Croydon archive gives evidence of wide

museum in England, c. 1850-1895' (unpublished paper, delivered 9 November 2018, History of Education Society Annual Conference, Mary Immaculate College, Limerick).

[39] C. and E. Mayo, *Lessons on Objects* (London, 1853), ix; S. Carter, *Object Lessons.*

[40] On pedagogies, see G. B. Thompson, 'The Teaching of Reading' in V. Edwards and P. Corson (eds), *Encyclopedia of Language and Education: Literacy* (Dordrect, Boston and London, 1997), pp. 10-2; Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture,* pp. 53-94; Grenby, *The Child Reader,* p. 195.

[41] *Report on English Composition*, p. 30.

[42] *Quarterly Journal of Education*, 8 (April-October 1834), p. 129.

[43] 'Questions for Solution', *Monthly Gleaner* (October 1855), p. 16.

familiarity with object lessons among pupils: similar questions appeared in the *Echo* in the 1860s, and the *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* in the 1870s.[44] The archive suggests this pedagogy was less gendered than the tradition of classical teaching. Archived girls' writings show members of the Girls' Juvenile Society were often set similar questions, such as the unnamed member asked in 1860 to research the enigma 'Do stones grow?'[45]

Object lessons were celebrated as bringing writing into tune with pupils' development. In an anonymous 1856 poem 'Thoughts suggested on reading the Croydon *Gleaner*', the harm posed by classical writing was contrasted with the benefits of descriptive writing:

> When Croydon school-boys write a theme,
> Let it not be an empty dream,
> But something sterling sound, and good
> And plainly to be understood.
> That pure instruction it may find
> Adapted to the youthful mind.
> And if some boys who write in verse,
> A poet's lay they may rehearse,
> Oh! then avoid a lofty flight
> Lest when disclosed and brought to light
> It may not bear the test of truth
> And disappoint the favoured youth[46]

The warnings against the 'empty dream' and the 'lofty flight' of literature reflected wider Quaker attitudes that classical and literary writings could cause harm by encouraging pupils to write 'on subjects', as the Friends' Educational Society warned, 'of which they have no experience.'[47] It was information 'sterling, sound and good, And plainly to be understood' which best promoted habits of observation and description particularly 'adapted to the youthful mind.'

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[44] ERO, D/Q 49/G1/a7(ii): 'Correspondence', *Echo* 2/1 (1 February 1866), p. 24. Hereafter simply *Echo* 2. ERO, D/Q 49/G1/a8: 'Answers to Questions', *The Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* 2/1 (10 April 1875), p. 176. Hereafter simply *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine*.
[45] ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c3: *Minutes of the Juvenile Society (Girls) 1859-1871* (3 December 1860).
[46] "By a Non-resident correspondent", 'Thoughts suggested on reading The Croydon *Gleaner*', *Monthly Gleaner* 1/5 (12 February 1856).
[47] *Report on English Composition*, p. 24.

In Quaker circles, mental development was weighted with religious significance, as accuracy and truthful observation were required to observe 'the God within' or the 'Inner Light.'[48] It prompted a denominational ideal of a guarded education, where parents and teachers were tasked with creating an informative environment for the developing mind as well as carefully excluding worldly or corrupting influences and experiences.[49] Quaker educators and writers found a theoretical justification in Locke's vision of the child mind as a "tabula rasa," susceptible to the social and cultural influences in the surrounding environment.[50] In some respects, this accords with the prevailing picture of nineteenth-century concepts of childhood as the opposite of rational selfhood: dependent, susceptible to the values and ideas of others, and requiring protection. Indeed, fairy tales and nursery rhymes fell into disrepute for their tendency — as the Friends' Educational Society put it — to 'mislead the young mind as to what are facts and what is fiction.'[51] Yet this did not mean the child stood outside rational Enlightened constructs of selfhood, as the object lesson implied the child's capacity to reason and express her own ideas by participating in the rational and improving recreation of many middle-class communities. Indeed, the supposed benefit of the object lesson was that it brought writing into line with the child's understanding, and avoided the 'empty and unmeaning essays' seen as a purposeless form of education by the Friends' Educational Society.[52]

Scholars present object lessons as a child-centred pedagogy which freed the young writer to articulate their own perspectives and observations rather than confining them to the reproduction of adult literary genres.[53] Yet this pedagogy could limit as well as free the

[48] On Quaker early education, see C. Leach, 'Religion and rationality', quote p. 80; C. Leach, 'Advice for Parents and Books for Children: Quaker Women and Educational Texts for the Home, 1798-1850' *History of Education Researcher*, 69 (2002), pp. 49-58.
[49] Defined in E. A. O'Donnell, 'Quakers and Education', p. 405-11.
[50] On Quaker educational thought and the influence of Locke, see Leach, 'Religion and rationality,' pp. 69-90.
[51] *Two Reports from the Committee of Women Friends*, p. 14.
[52] *Report on English Composition*, p. 24.
[53] C. Leach, 'Advice for Parents and Books for Children', quote p. 52; see also S. Carter, *Object Lessons.*

young writer by surrounding them with a carefully controlled educational environment which would elicit forms of writing which satisfied a new social construct of natural development. In this period, control of education was 'key', Jane McDermid argues, 'to an ordered society', a control which intensified in the case of working-class girl pupils.[54] Thus, object lessons were promoted by middle-class campaigners for elementary education as confining writing to the language and experience of working-class children about whom the Mayos claimed 'Nature was the only book with which they were conversant.'[55] When the varied forms of working-class schooling began to join into a more formal elementary school system in Britain from the 1870s onwards, the curriculum was designed around the assumption that working-class children's written development ought to reflect their limited social and cultural experiences. The result was that free composition was only taught in elementary schools to the small number of twelve- or thirteen-year-old pupils who reached the top form.[56]

Parents and children did not necessarily see their practices of descriptive writing as social control. In fact, Croydon Friends' School's *Echo* (1862-69), a successor to the *Monthly Gleaner*, declared the opposite. 'The present race of school-boys have advantages greater than those who have preceded them' an *Echo* editorial exclaimed, and, numbering the magazine among these advantages, urged all pupils to write and 'take care that we are not using in vain our more than golden opportunities.'[57] This promise of social advancement is more typically associated with classical writing in histories of middle-class secondary education.[58] Yet many middle-class families sought advancement with schools which historians would categorise as working-class. Croydon's admissions register shows some

[54] J. McDermid, *The Schooling of Girls in Britain and Ireland, 1800-1900* (New York, 2013), p. 32.
[55] C. and E. Mayo, 'Introduction' in *Lessons on Objects*, viii; S. Shapin and B. Barnes, 'Head and hand: Rhetorical resources in British pedagogical writing, 1770-1850' *Oxford Review of Education*, 2/3 (1976), pp. 231-54; J. Rose, *The Case of Peter Pan* (London and Basingstoke, 1984), pp. 116-43.
[56] S. Pooley, 'Children's Writing', p. 84. Hilary Minns, 'I knew a Duck', pp. 180-198.
[57] 'The Echo', *Echo* 2/4 (12 October 1867), p. 148.
[58] Mack, *Public Schools and British Opinion since 1860,* p. 150; J. Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe,* p. 132.

pupils had formerly attended Lancasterian schools, national schools, and British schools.[59] Indeed, the educational inspector Matthew Arnold saw an elementary school education as well suited to higher strata. In one report, he offered extracts of pupils' writings to praise the 'stamp of plainness' on elementary pupils' writing in contrast with the high style in privately schooled pupils' writing. Arnold extracted a letter from a lower-middle-class boy to highlight the unnatural declarations of 'hospitable love' and 'filial sentiments' to his parents.[60] Sources like the *Echo*, with its vision of 'golden opportunities' and 'greater advantages', suggest that far from being a barrier, descriptive writing could be a vehicle for middle-class desires for social advancement.

Manuscript production at the Croydon Friends' School coincided with a time of increasing prosperity for the Quaker community, when the conservative religious authorities of the Friends' schools began to relax restrictions on dress, singing, and drama.[61] Traditionally, Friends' schools had emphasised the dignity of labour and service to the community, with literacy and learning tempered with more humble housework such as laying tables, pumping water, and cleaning.[62] By the mid-nineteenth-century, the Friends' Educational Society was criticising this 'attempt to bring up children so as to be fit for nothing but labourers' given their pupils' 'sphere of life,' and one report recommended that 'literary instruction should take *precedence* of labour.'[63] "Literary instruction" here refers to the growing demand for good vernacular reading and writing skills amongst lower-middle-class Quaker families, who no longer wished their children to devote time to physical labour at school. Pupils used magazines to join these protests against manual labour. 'We must

[59] ERO, D/Q 49/E2/a1: *Examination of classes, 1814-1882.*
[60] M. Arnold, *Reports on the Elementary Schools 1852-1882* (London, 1889), pp.131-3.
[61] On attitudes to the arts, see E. O'Donnell, 'Quakers and Education', p. 408; at Croydon Friends' School, see D. Bolam, *Unbroken Community*, p. 79.
[62] E. O'Donnell, 'Quakers and Education', p. 409. Allen and Mackinnon. 'Allowed and expected to be educated and intelligent', p. 396. Manual labour was also used to offset the effects of literacy in training workhouse schoolmasters. See C. Bischof, 'Masculinity, Social Mobility, and the Plan to End Pauperism in Mid-Victorian England: Kneller Hall Teacher's Training College,' *Journal of Social History*, 46/4 (2013), pp. 1039-1059.
[63] *Fifth Annual Report of the Friends' Educational Society* (York, 1846), pp. 14-5.

pump pump pump, Till our very hands feel sore,' a pupil complained about the daily chore of pumping water in a poem in the *School-Boy's Magazine* in 1851.[64] In particular, a new value was placed by the Quaker community on the writing skills necessary for clerical work or the minor professions. The results can be seen by 1875, when the contributors to the *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* left school for apprenticeships which required good literacy, becoming chemists, teachers, and clerks.[65]

Croydon's archive provides compelling evidence that school manuscript production played a pivotal role in drawing youths towards descriptive writing. However, neither descriptive writing nor youth were static categories. As well as the direct 'Questions for Solution' above, the *Monthly Gleaner* embraced a range of descriptive genres. One appeal for content for a special New Year's issue offered prizes of sixpence, fourpence and twopence for descriptive pieces such as 'The playground Elm', biographies such as 'Autobiographies of watch, jewels, pebble &c.', 'Private life of an anthill' or 'Journal of a wasp', as well as more complex 'Historical sketches' or reflections on the theme 'All is not Gold that glitters'.[66] The range of genres reveals a detailed and nuanced conceptualisation of written development which was attuned to the age, form, and gender of the writer.

Other magazines in this study like the *Oxford High School Magazine* suggest genre was associated with age in other middle-class communities. The editor encouraged most girls that they could write school news as 'it does not require much effort'.[67] However, it was former pupils in their late teens and early twenties who were tasked with writing essays on topics such as 'Novel-writing during the reign of Queen Victoria' which required extensive reading. Pupils in the lower forms, meanwhile, had the freedom to write 'the best story or the best

[64] ERO, D/Q 49/C1/a4: 'Song of the pumper', *School-Boy's Magazine*, 2/5 (1851). Hereafter simply *School-Boy's Magazine*.
[65] Contributor Bedford Piece, for example, was apprenticed as a chemist. See 'Dr. Bedford Pierce', *Times* (12 July 1932), p. 16.
[66] 'The New Year's Number', *Monthly Gleaner* 1/3, (December 1855).
[67] 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1881), p. 242;

paper on any subject they like'.[68] While the *Oxford High School Magazine* promoted the literary essay writing often part of the advancement of upper-middle-class girls' education, yet these prizes followed Croydon Friends' School magazines in associating more complex genres with older pupils.

The Friends' Educational Society's 'Report on English composition' (1843) is fascinating, as its clear and gradated path of written development draws upon both Quaker teachers' testimony on composition lessons alongside more conventional sources such as textbooks and educational periodicals. The report recommended that pupils in the lowest form handle objects and write their names and, prompted by questions, describe the objects 'according to the five senses'.[69] Pupils in higher forms proceeded to using 'the powers of research' in the school library in order to discover the origins, uses, and purposes of objects, indirectly acquiring knowledge of natural history, science, or arts and manufactures, and ultimately writing more extended pieces in a short description or as a dialogue on the object.[70] Then, the Friends' Educational Society explained, 'from Description we proceed to Narrative,' as pupils would write about 'a walk, an excursion, a short journey, with objects of interest seen, the observations dropped by the way; and, in due time, with historical or other recollections.'[71]

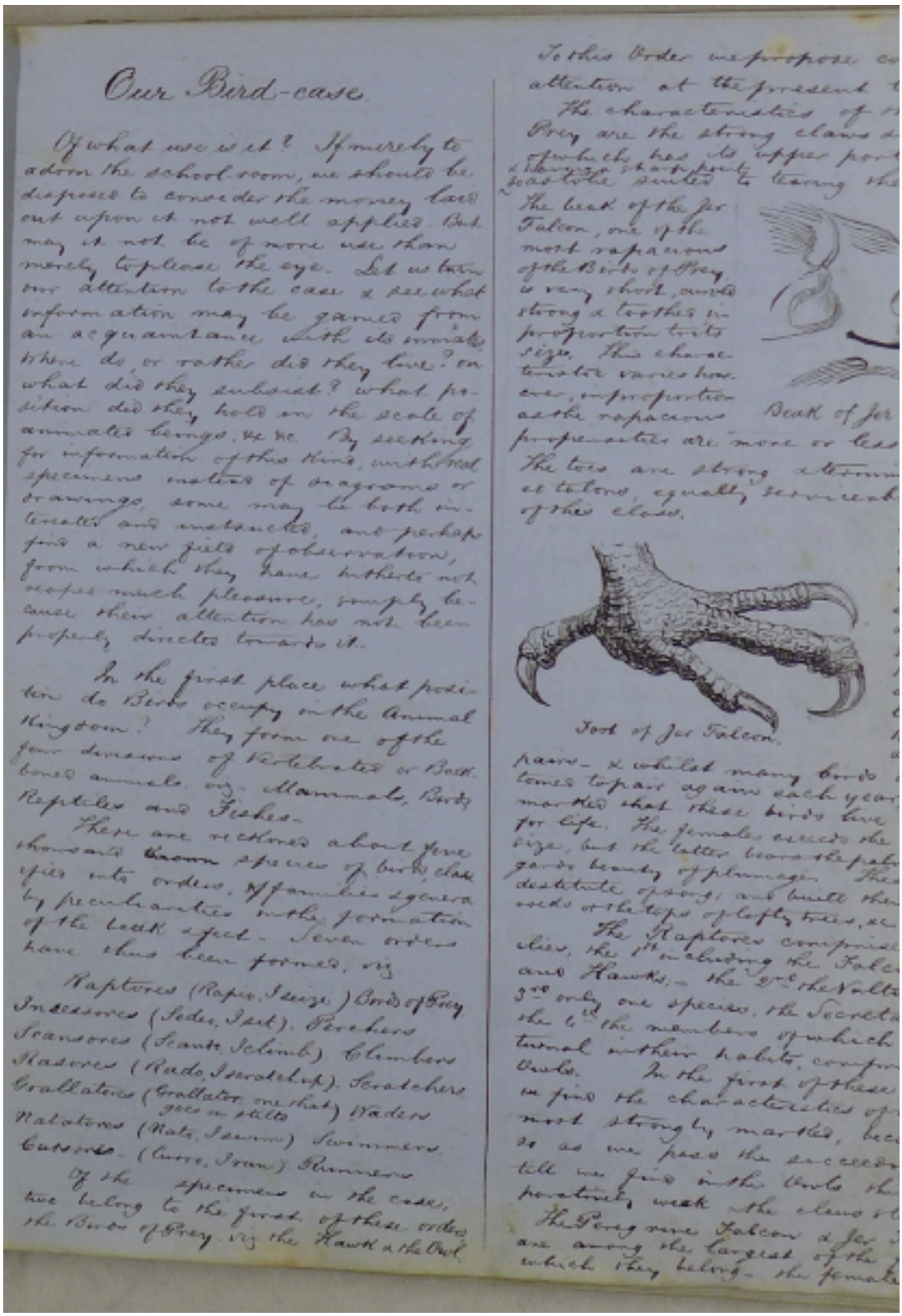
Only a small number of boys would proceed to the final step: essay writing. As essay writing went beyond 'external nature' to writing of 'pain and pleasure, affections, virtues, and mental operations', the report recommended essay writing only 'if the mental growth will sustain the attempt', warning that 'youths below seventeen or eighteen years of age, will seldom be able to cope with subjects of this abstract and exalted character.'[72] Written

[68] 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1887), p. 1071; 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1881), p. 289; 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine (*July 1882), p. 385.
[69] *Report on English Composition*, p. 7.
[70] *Report on English Composition*, p. 31.
[71] *Report on English Composition*, p. 32.
[72] *Report on English Composition*, p. 32.

development at school involved ascending methodically through a trajectory of genres from naming objects to abstract moral and historical essays in order to reflect the fact, the report explained, that 'expression grows with intellect.'[73]

For adult observers and teacher editors, school magazines and essay books took on a new significance as a means of controlling youth development by drawing out and observing pupils' progress along this written trajectory. The wealth of contributions to the *Monthly Gleaner*'s New Year's appeal makes clear many pupils had the skills to respond promptly and appropriately. The January 1855 issue had an illustrated piece on the school's bird cage, autobiographies of a halfpenny, tabby cat, and hedgehog, and descriptions of trips to the Downs, Margate, and the House of Commons, resulting in, the editors boasted, 'a superior number of the *Gleaner*' (Figure 3).[74] The school then advertised its success at guiding pupils' written development. In 1856 and 1857 annual reports sent out to community members by the boys' Juvenile Literary Society announced that around thirty boys had contributed to the *Monthly Gleaner* each year out of eighty in the school.[75] The school magazine had constructed a lens for its own evaluation, tracking its own success at drawing pupils into and guiding them through the careful and orderly trajectory of their written development.

[73] *Report on English Composition*, p. 9.
[74] *Monthly Gleaner* 1/4 (January, 1856).
[75] ERO, Essex Record Office. D/Q 49/F1/c1: *Annual Reports (Printed) of the Juvenile Literary Society of the Boys' School Croydon, 1850-1887* (June 1856; June 1857).



Our Bird-case.

Of what use is it? If merely to adorn the school room, we should be disposed to consider the money laid out upon it not well applied. But may it not be of more use than merely to please the eye. Let us turn our attention to the case & see what information may be gained from an acquaintance with its inmates. Where do, or rather did they live? on what did they subsist? what position did they hold in the scale of animated beings, &c &c. By seeking for information of this kind, with real specimens instead of diagrams or drawings, some may be both interested and instructed, and perhaps find a new field of observation, from which they have hitherto not reaped much pleasure, simply because their attention has not been properly directed towards it.

In the first place what position do Birds occupy in the Animal kingdom? They form one of the four divisions of Vertebrated or Boned animals, viz. Mammals, Birds, Reptiles and Fishes.

There are reckoned about seven thousand known species of birds, classified into orders, families & genera by peculiarities in the formation of the beak & feet. Seven orders have thus been formed, viz

Raptores (Rapio, I seize) Birds of Prey
Insessores (Sedeo, I sit). Perchers
Scansores (Scando, I climb). Climbers
Rasores (Rado, I scratch up). Scratchers
Grallatores (Grallator, one that goes on stilts) Waders
Natatores (Nato, I swim) Swimmers
Cursores. (Curro, I run) Runners

Of the specimens in the case, five belong to the first of these orders the Birds of Prey viz the Hawk & the Owl

To this Order we propose [illegible] attention at the present [illegible]

The characteristics of the Birds of Prey are the strong claws & [illegible] of which has its upper part [illegible] for the purpose of tearing the [illegible]

The beak of the Jer Falcon, one of the most rapacious of the Birds of Prey is very short, curved strong & toothed in proportion to its size. This characteristic varies however, in proportion as the rapacious propensities are more or less

Beak of Jer

The toes are strong & [illegible] & talons, equally [illegible] of this class.

Foot of Jer Falcon.

pairs - & whilst many birds [illegible] comes to pair again each year, [illegible] marked that these birds live [illegible] for life. The females exceed the [illegible] size, but the latter bears the palm [illegible] gards beauty of plumage. The [illegible] destitute of song; and build their [illegible] nests on the tops of lofty trees, &c

The Raptores comprise [illegible] ties, the 1st including the Falcons and Hawks, - the 2nd the Vultures 3rd only one species, the Secretary the 4th the members of which [illegible] turnal in their habits, comprising Owls. In the first of these we find the characteristics of [illegible] most strongly marked, becoming so as we pass the successive [illegible] till we find in the Owls the [illegible] powerful, weak the claws [illegible]

The Peregrine Falcon & Jer [illegible] are among the largest of the [illegible] which they belong - the female

Figure 3. Image of a page from the *Monthly Gleaner* of the Croydon Friends' School. 'Our Bird Cage', *Monthly Gleaner* 1/4 (January, 1856).

SCHOOL

School magazines can seem to have little to say about the 'average pupil.'[76] While the *Monthly Gleaner* successfully attracted a large proportion of pupils at the Croydon Friends' School to writing, if we take the archive as a whole, manuscript production was a more exclusive affair. For instance, far fewer pupils contributed to another teacher-edited magazine, the *Echo* (1862-69). The articles with pupil signatures in Spring 1863 were by thirteen-year-old Ernest Grimshaw, twelve-year-old Walter Ward and fourteen-year-old pupil Joseph Cheal.[77] In a school with a leaving age of fourteen, these were top form pupils. The same age range dominates other Croydon Friends' School magazines such as the *School-Boy's Magazine* (1851), the *Echo* (1862-'69), and the *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* (1875), and a girls' essay book (1837-'42).[78] Across generations of pupils at the school manuscript writing was associated with a clearly defined age group of twelve- to fourteen-year-olds from the top form. This exceptionally precise definition of youth reappears in writings from other Friends' schools, such as the print magazine the *Ackworth Recorder* (1890), whose pupil contributors were also twelve to fourteen years old.[79]

Documents such as admissions registers can reveal the role institutions played in constructing a tightly-bounded age-related idea of literacy. When newcomer Charles Butler arrived at the Croydon Friends' School in 1873, his age (nine) was recorded in the register along with notes on his education to date (Figure 4). Census returns reveal Charles was the

[76] This is noted by W. Weaver, 'A School-Boy's Story', p. 482.
[77] ERO, D/Q/49/G1/a7(i): "W. W. W." [Walter W. Ward], 'Coral Insects and their Works', *Echo* 1(March 1863), pp.73-5. Hereafter simply *Echo* 1.
[78] Editors of the *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* were Frank Farrington (thirteen), Frank Bunting (thirteen), Bedford Pierce (thirteen), and Arthur Dawes (twelve). Editors of the *School-Boy's Magazine* were Joseph Stevens, Edmund Lawrence, and John Thomson, all thirteen. Details on pupils can be found in *List of Croydon Scholars from 1825 to 1879* (London, 1882). For girls, named pupil contributors to *The Girls' Juvenile Society for the Improvement of the Mind, 1837-1842* include Mary Ashford (fourteen), Gulielma Deane (eleven), Louisa Scholefield (fourteen), and Harriet Rous (twelve).
[79] London, Friends' Library, Friends' House, PERS/ACK/4: *Ackworth Recorder* (1 March 1890), p. 1. Editor Edmund Gilpin (fourteen), sub-editor William Edward Fearnsides (left 1981, approx. thirteen), also M. Whitlow (left 1890, approximately fourteen).

son of Philip John and Mary Butler, who ran a small watchmaking business.[80] His 'poor' spelling and grammar was noted in the admissions register, as well as his knowledge of 'simple' arithmetic, and his scripture was deemed 'pretty good for age'. His reading as 'poor' because at nine years old, he had only managed to read according to the '2nd standard', the second-to-lowest group for elementary school pupils, typically around seven years old. He was asked to sign his name in ink to demonstrate his penmanship, which he did with some uncertainty, writing such an enormous sprawling 'Charles' that the teacher had to add his surname 'Butler' below the line. This assessment led the teacher to place him in the lowest (fifth) form in the Croydon Friends' School.[81]

This admissions process reveals how Quaker teachers made use of a national framework for writing and age: that of elementary schooling. The "payment by results" scheme introduced to state-funded schools from 1862 depended on specific and measurable "standards" for age-groups to achieve by the end of a year.[82] The admissions process enabled the teacher to place nine-year-old Charles in the bottom of five forms. He could reasonably expect to ascend this hierarchy by the age of fourteen as his brother James had done ten years earlier, rising from a nine-year-old newcomer to sub-editor of the *Echo* in 1869, shortly before leaving at fifteen.[83] While the register is partly down to denominational practices — as careful record-keeping, accounts and archiving was required in schools accountable to the Religious Society of Friends — it nonetheless gives detailed insight into how pupils and teachers constructed and negotiated a new widespread ideal of written development at a more everyday level.

[80] 1881 England Census, Class: RG11; Piece: 293; Folio: 103; Page: 8. www.ancestry.co.uk (1 October 2017).
[81] ERO, D/Q 49/E2/a1: *Examination of classes, 1814-1882* (10 January 1873).
[82] D. Gillard, 'Us and Them: a history of pupil grouping policies in England's schools' (2008) www.educationengland.org.uk/articles/27grouping.html (12 June 2017).

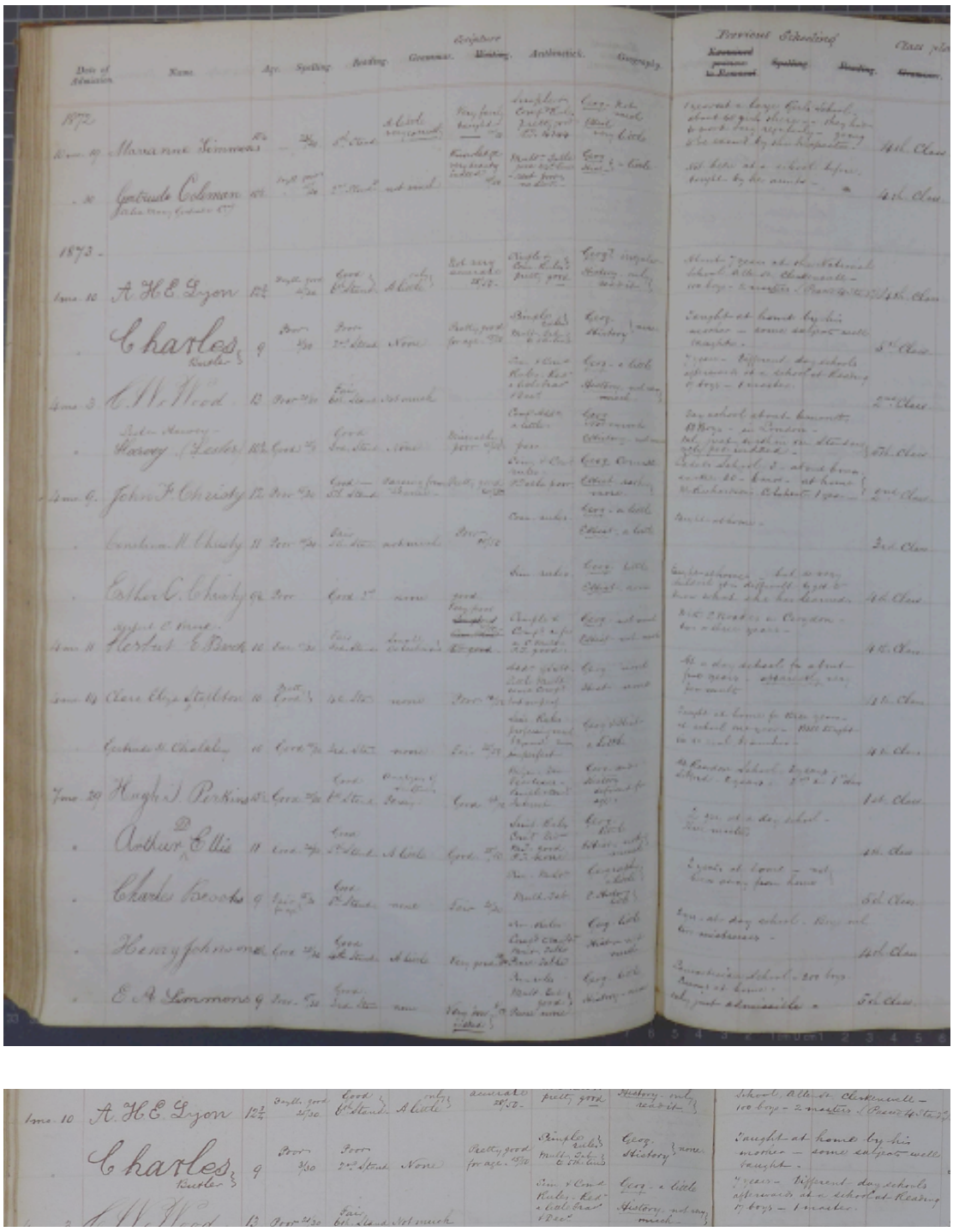


Figure 4. Image of the admissions record for the Croydon Friends' School. ERO, D/Q 49/E2/a1: *Examination of classes, 1814-1882* (10 January 1873).

Figure 5. Detail of Charles Butler's signature and records of his admissions marks. ERO, D/Q 49/E2/a1: *Examination of classes, 1814-1882* (10 January 1873).

[83] On James Butler, see *Examination of classes, 1814-1882* (28 August 1863); [front cover], Echo 2/7 (15 September 1869).

While there are few archives relating to lower-middle-class schooling, this admissions register shines an extraordinary light on the efforts made by schools to fit individual pupils into the emerging developmental model. Traditionally, even in larger English public and grammar schools, pupils had been taught in a single room, the 'School', sitting on separate benches or 'forms', but by the mid-Victorian period separate classrooms for age-segregated groups were becoming more common.[84] The expansion of middle-class education and the creation of larger and more formally organised schools meant separating children into different forms and classrooms based on their literacy and age became a practical necessity.[85] Schools in this study began to exclude younger or older newcomers by creating admissions policies: Charles was like the 'large proportion' of Quaker pupils who, according to the Friends' Educational Society, 'receive all their school learning after the age of nine or ten, in our public schools'; at Winchester College in 1872, there were proposals to limit admission to pupils between eleven and fifteen, with a leaving age of nineteen; at the Manchester Grammar School, pupils ranged from nine to nineteen; and the Oxford High School took pupils aged ten to nineteen, with younger children sent to a kindergarten adjacent to the school.[86] Thus, while Friends' schools are often seen as educational outliers,[87] their network provides an early example of the impacts more formal organised schooling could have on constructing ideals of youth childhood at a national level. In so doing, teachers at the Friends' School were part of a wider consensus about the need for precise relationships between ages, forms, and curriculum. The Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations boards, for example,

[84] On the shift to individual classrooms, see Whyte, 'Building a public school community 1860–1910', p. 609.
[85] On the increasing importance of forms in American schools, see S. Miller, 'Assent as Agency', p. 55; Lassonde, 'Age, Schooling, and Development'. On age in public schools, see Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe*, p. 127.
[86] *Report on the Range of Studies* (York and London, 1846), p. 6. On Winchester College proposals to change admissions policies, see WC, D2/73: *Letter from the Head Master of Winchester to the Secretary to the Governing Body of Winchester School* (8 July 1872). For Manchester Grammar School, see *Manchester Grammar School, founded A. D. 1515. Copy of the Scheme for the Management Thereof* (Manchester, 1894), pp. 14-5. Ages are set out in OHS: *Girls' Public Day School Company Limited Prospectus. The Oxford High School* (1875).

introduced national examinations for middle-class pupils from the 1860s, with junior exams for under fifteens, senior exams initially restricted to under eighteens, and higher examinations for women over eighteen.[88]

Age-related ideals of writing could shape access to teacher-edited magazines. The *Echo*'s essays were an advanced form of description. For example, thirteen-year-old Ernest Grimshaw contributed an essay 'The Proteus' on a species of aquatic salamander, which he had synthesised from the *Penny Cyclopedia* (1841) and Gosse's *Zoology for Schools* (1851).[89] The *Monthly Gleaner* made clear that although it was attracting younger writers, it was also steering them towards simpler and more age-appropriate genres. A review at the end of its first series provided statistic to show descriptions of trips and travels to be the most popular genre, while autobiographies of objects and animals came in second.[90] It was only thirteen-year-olds like Ernest who proceeded to essay writing in the *Echo*. This lined up with the Friends' Educational Society's observation that in Friends' schools only 'the first or highest class write distinct essays.' Even when essays were permitted, the report reassured the community that like Ernest's essay they were largely descriptive. It cited statistics on essay-writing provided by teachers at the Croydon Friends' School to show 'arts and manufactures' and 'science and natural history' were far more popular subjects than the abstract 'mental philosophy.'[91] Therefore, the purpose of these teacher-edited magazines was not indiscriminate engagement, but encouraging pupils towards forms of writing deemed appropriate for their stage of development.

[87] Quaker education is literally reduced to a footnote in the classic studies by Bamford and Honey. See Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe*, p. 288, footnote; Bamford, *Rise of the Public Schools*, p. 18, footnote.
[88] On the introduction of examinations, see J. Roach, 'The Oxford and Cambridge Locals and National Examinations', in *Public Examinations in England 1850-1900* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 75-188.
[89] Ernest Grimshaw, 'The Proteus', *Echo* 1/2 (March 1863), pp. 73-75; see P. Gosse, *A Text-Book of Zoology for Schools* (London, 1851), p. 284.
[90] 'Review of the Monthly Gleaner', *Monthly Gleaner* 1/6 (1856).
[91] *Report on English Composition,* p. 13.

Tracing pupils through the Croydon archive shows this development playing out at an individual level. Pupil Frank Farrington signed the admissions register at age nine in 1871, then at age twelve he assumed a role in the boys' Juvenile Literary Society as curator of botany in 1874, writing his first essay for the society a year later.[92] He may have been one of the pupils who 'set on foot' a third series of the *Echo* in 1875 (no longer extant), and was trusted to help write the annual print report of the Juvenile Literary Society in 1876.[93] In other schools too, as pupils ascended the school, their claims on the school magazine solidified. In the *Oxford High School Magazine*, Ruth Mayhew first published at age fourteen in 1880 before joining the Editing Committee at fifteen in 1881, and she continued to contribute as an old girl.[94]

Younger pupils had restricted access to magazine and manuscript writing, but another prominent group had access to these privileges: teachers. Take, for example, a poem by Thomas Frederick Ball in the *Monthly Gleaner*, where eighteen-year-old Thomas proudly declared 'all hail the *Gleaner* long may it live'.[95] Thomas had been a pupil at the Croydon Friends' School until age fourteen, and was immediately apprenticed as a trainee teacher at his former school.[96] While there is a lack of systematic research into Victorian school staff beyond the more iconic public school teachers and headteachers, the rapid expansion of English education was made possible by trainees like Thomas, who addressed the spike in demand for new staff.[97] It is hard to see eighteen-year-old Thomas as the imperious adult

[92] ERO, D/Q 49/F1/a4, *Minutes of the Juvenile Literary Society, 1870-1895*. Vol. 4 (5 February 1874; 4 February 1875; 8 April 1875). ERO, D/Q 49/F1/b6, Frank Farrington, 'Khosru', *Juvenile Literary Society Essays, Poems and Botany reports (*1872-74), pp.147-53.
[93] Frank is listed as curator in ERO, D/Q 49/F1/c1: *Annual Reports (Printed) of the Juvenile Literary Society, 1850-1887* (June 1876). On his participation in writing the annual report, see ERO, D/Q 49/F1/a4: *Minutes of the Juvenile Literary Society, 1870-1895* 4 (1 May 1875).
[94] Mayhew's first article appeared in OBL, Per. G.A. Oxon 8° 612: 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1880), p. 49; her membership of the Editing Committee in 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1881), p. 154.
[95] T. F. Ball, 'The Old Year's Farewell Banquet', *Monthly Gleaner* 1/4 (January 1855).
[96] *List of Croydon Scholars*.
[97] On pupil teachers, see W. Robinson, *Pupil Teachers and their Professional Training in Pupil-Teacher Centres in England and Wales, 1870-1914* (Virginia, 2003), pp. 1-18. The minimum age was thirteen or

editor envisaged in studies of mainstream print periodicals and public school magazines. He was teaching his former schoolmates, and still shared many markers of youth, such as unmarried status and residence at the school rather than in his own household.[98] School magazines were not characterised by overt differences in power and status, but instead, as the *Saturday Review* observed in 1877, produced by pupils in collaboration with 'Junior Assistant masters, who criticise and are criticised as frankly in the columns of the school journal as at the meetings of the School Debating Society.'[99]

The Croydon Friends' School's *Echo* was initially edited by headteacher William Robinson, but even his editorial powers were shaped by the magazine's trajectory of written development. We can glimpse nineteen-year-old William at the school in the 1851 census when, after time as a pupil at another Friends' school and at a Quaker teacher training centre, he was employed at the Croydon Friends' School by headteachers John Sharp (39) and Hannah Sharp (36) as part of a teaching staff that ranged from age twenty-three down to fifteen-year-old Joseph Radley.[100] Several magazines were produced at Croydon around this time, and William carried on the tradition by launching the *Echo* about a decade later, when he was thirty, and had become headteacher with his wife Mary (31), and was overseeing other young staff members such as the *Echo*'s next editor Joseph Radley (now 26). Teachers not only shared similar backgrounds and education to their pupils, they were simply a few steps further down a shared trajectory of written development. The *Oxford High School Magazine* is another example of a magazine with a teacher editor who not only collaborated

fourteen years old, p. 31; Also D. Copelman, *London's Women Teachers: Gender, Class and Feminism, 1870-1930* (Abingdon, 2013), pp. 70-72.

[98] On characteristics of youth, see Anderson, 'The emergence of the modern life cycle in Britain'; Gleadle, 'Masculinity, Age and Life Cycle in the Age of Reform'; Pooley and Turnbull, 'Leaving Home'.

[99] 'Public School Magazines', *Saturday Review* (7 April 1877), pp. 417-18.

[100] On William Robinson, see *The Annual Monitor 1909* (London, 1908), pp. 118-9. Census records show in 1851, the staff members were: Anne Gardner (23), Charlott Newson (21), Lucy Binn (20), Martha Smith (17), Mary Sutton (17), Henry Smith (21), William Robinson (19), William Pierce (17), Joseph Radley (15). 1851, England Census, Class: HO107; Piece: 1601; Folio: 393; Page: 16 www.ancestry.com (12 October 2016). On Quaker teacher training centres such as the Flounders Institute, see S. Angell and C. Brown, 'Quakers and

with current pupils and former pupils mostly in their late teens, but was also young herself: in 1880 it was twenty-three-year old teacher Sophia Huckwell, who had taken the job at eighteen.[101] Unsurprisingly, magazines sometimes showed an easy familiarity with young teachers, such as the Manchester Grammar School pupils who used their magazine the *Scientist* to poke fun at art teacher Frederick Garnett who also taught evening classes for young women and, the pupils claimed, 'basked in their smiles, & seemed to enjoy himself hugely'.[102] Frederick Garnett was eighteen, the same age as the *Scientist*'s editors, and had finished his education at sixteen before immediately becoming an art teacher at the school.[103]

Indeed, many of the teacher editors in this study had been active in school magazines as pupils. Manuscript production was a cultural practice carried forward from childhood, rather than imposed down from adulthood. *Oxford High School Magazine* contributor Ruth Mayhew went on to become a teacher at her old school. and the teacher editor of her old school magazine.[104] Likewise, a teacher contributed to Manchester Grammar School's *Ulula* as "Little Alexander" because it had been his pseudonym when a pupil contributor to the *Peterite* at St Peter's, York.[105] The youth writer constructed by teacher-edited school magazines was often envisaged as carefully ordered and controlled series of steps of written development which was informed by institutional structures but brought to life through the active engagement of the pupils themselves.

The Croydon magazines expose the ways in which youth writing continued to intertwine with highly localised life cycle expectations and aspirations, as well as engaging with emergent national frames such as elementary school "standards". While historical studies of

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Education' in S. Angell and P. Dandelion (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Quakerism* (Cambridge, 2018), p. 135.

[101] OBL, Per. G.A. Oxon 8° 612: 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1880), p. 50; OHS: *Oxford High School Register, 1875-1935* (Oxford, 1935).

[102] MGS, MGS COOUR 44/0001: 'School News', *Scientist* 4 (October 1896).

[103] *A Biographical Register of Old Mancunians, 1888-1951* (Manchester, 1965).

[104] Mayhew is listed as a teacher in OHS: *Oxford High School Register*.

[105] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Occasional Notes', *Ulula* (October 1894), pp. 140-41; OBL, Per. G.A. Yorks 8° 432: "Little Alexander" [J. H. Piggin *also* Fowler], 'Oxford Aestheticism', *Peterite* (April 1881), pp. 33-34.

the life cycle emphasise that a more regular duration of youth did not emerge until into the twentieth century,[106] this chapter has already demonstrated that Croydon magazines and essay books were incredibly precise. Here, manuscript production nurtured youths' development until the traditional age of apprenticeship into business or trade at fourteen or fifteen. For instance, shortly after contributing to the *Echo*, pupils Ernest Grimshaw and Joseph Cheal were apprenticed to their family businesses.[107] The tendency to assume the trajectory of Anglican public schooling up to eighteen or nineteen as the norm has obscured the varied but equally precise trajectories of youth development in other English secondary schooling traditions. Magazines at Stonyhurst College for instance involved youths in their twenties who were attending Stonyhurst College for further education, as the institution's 'Philosophy' provided elite Catholic pupils with an alternative to Oxford and Cambridge.[108]

Youth writing at Croydon Friends' School and Stonyhurst College was also markedly different from the patterns of contribution discernible in the Manchester Grammar School's archive. The *Scientist* (1896) was by a group of sixteen- to nineteen-year old boys, with nineteen being the leaving age of the school. The writers filled their manuscript magazine with reports from their society, the Philosophical Society and mock scientific articles.[109] The same age-group also dominated *Ulula* in the 1890s, with *Scientist* contributor Beresford Ingram, for instance, also serving as Philosophical Society reporter to *Ulula.*[110] Many school magazines in this study engaged with a modern ideal of youth writing, but it was far from homogenous, instead refashioned in each archive to fit with local lifestyles, gendered expectations, and educational traditions.

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[106] M. Anderson, 'The emergence of the modern life cycle in Britain'; Pooley and Turnbull, 'Leaving Home'.
[107] On Ernest's apprenticeship, see ERO, D/Q 49/A1/a23: *School Committee minutes 11th month 1861 to 5th month 1865* (13 April 1864). Joseph Cheal worked as an assistant to father a nurseryman. 1871, England Census, Class: RG10; Piece: 1059; Folio: 91; Page: 11 www.ancestry.com (12 October 2016).
[108] H. J. A. Sire, *Gentlemen Philosopers: Catholic Higher Education at Liege and Stonyhurst, 1774-1916* (Worthing and Folkestone, Kent, 1988), pp. 5-13.
[109] MGS: MGS COOUR 44/0001: 'Science notes', *Scientist* 4 (October 1896).
[110] (OBL), Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'The Officers of the Philosophical Society', *Ulula* (July 1895), p. 166.

LIBRARIES, SOCIETIES AND HOMES

The reference in Manchester Grammar School's *Scientist* to a Philosophical Society brings to mind Manchester's famous Literary and Philosophical Society. The pupils' choice of this name for a school society highlights another way age intersected with writing in the cultural activities of home and city associational life. 'Remember that youth is the season for improvement,' a *Monthly Gleaner* editorial began in November 1855, and pointing to the dearth of leisure activities in the winter months, promised 'much gain may accrue to those who make due use of the columns of the *Monthly Gleaner*.'[111] Karen Sánchez-Eppler has challenged the historiographical tendency to separate literacy work from reading and writing for pleasure.[112] Literature and literacy was not neatly separated in Croydon essay books and magazines, which extolled writing as an improving and pleasurable form of leisure for youths. A collection of writings by girls in 1837 was motivated by a 'd[esire] to promote the improvement of their minds', and a new issue of the boys' magazine the *Echo* exclaimed in November 1866 'what opportunities of self-improvement are offered to us!'[113] The constant references to self-improvement included the school magazine in the numerous and often overlapping cultural activities available to middle-class youths in this period, with the object lessons of the classroom constantly reinforced in reading during leisure, mutual improvement societies, and the broader practices of home education.

School rules at the Croydon Friends' School reflect a denominational preoccupation with protecting pupils from the perceived inaccuracies and confusion of fiction. Teachers were reminded 'to be watchful that no improper books, pamphlets, or papers, be introduced among

[111] 'To our Readers' , *Monthly Gleaner* (November 1855), p. 17.
[112] Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States*, pp. 3-40.
[113] ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c1: *The Girls' Juvenile Society for the Improvement of the Mind, 1837-1842* (10 December 1837); 'The Echo', *Echo* (November 1866), p. 130.

the children', fiction was banned, and all books brought from home carefully inspected, and library acquisitions subject to 'the sanction of the Committee.'[114] Prescriptions like these dominate our understanding of the child reader, and while there are surprisingly few studies of reading in English schools, case studies in Scotland and France suggest a wider desire to police reading by providing pupils with a relatively small and carefully selected collection of books.[115] While authorities at the Croydon Friends' School sought to restrict the books brought into the school by individual pupils, the manuscript magazines and essay books show that restrictions alone are an inadequate picture of reading practices. For instance, in a 'Conversation' written by two pseudonymous Croydon schoolgirls around 1840, the characters told the admirable story of 'a dog named Dash' who 'for 3 days after his master's death… continued stretched out on his grave.'[116] The anecdote had been lifted from Joseph Taylor's *General Character of the Dog* (1804), a book from Quaker children's publishers Darton and Harvey. This suggests that girls had access to the book at school, and moreover they had read it and enjoyed it enough to copy their favourite extract out to recirculate to schoolmates in the manuscript essay book.

Despite restrictions on which books made it into the Croydon Friends' School, what was even more noticeable was the excellent library provision: the Boys' Juvenile Library went from about 500 volumes in 1850 to 700 in 1868 (with an extant catalogue from 1858); and even the more modest Girls' Juvenile Library reported 467 volumes by 1861.[117] The libraries of the other schools in this study pale in comparison: the *Oxford High School Magazine* recorded the haphazard acquisition of high-brow donations from the upper-middle-class

[114] London, Friends' Archive, Friends' House, Box 112 7/50242: *Rules and General Regulations for the Government of Croydon School*, pp. 33-34.
[115] C. de Bellaigue, '"Only what is pure and exquisite": girls' reading at school in France, 1800–70,' *French History*, 27/2 (2013), pp. 211-12; Branagh-Miscampbell, 'The School Library and Childhood Reading in Lowland Scotland'. On juvenile libraries more generally, and Quaker investment more particularly, see Grenby, *The Child Reader*, pp. 148-49.
[116] ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c1: "Alexandrina and Victoria Montague" [pseud.], 'A Conversation', *The Girls' Juvenile Society for the Improvement of the Mind, 1837-1842*, p. 151.

families who attended the school, such as a copy of *Lectures on the Science of Language* and *Stratification of Language* donated by Friedrich Max Müller, and Matthew Arnold's *Prose Selections* donated by his niece and pupil Ethel Arnold in 1881.[118] Books like these, directed at adult readers, were far less common at the Croydon Friends' School. There is ample detail on library contents, as a catalogue was printed for the Boys' Juvenile Library in 1858, and minutes of the Girls' Juvenile Society carefully recording new acquisitions for their own library.[119] It is clear the libraries were packed with the children's books whose production had boomed since the early nineteenth century, featuring volumes by Quaker authors like Maria Hack and Priscilla Wakefield, and by authors such as Maria Edgeworth and her *Harry and Lucy* books (1801-'25).[120] These books mirrored the approaches of classroom textbooks, such as Priscilla Wakefield's *Domestic Recreation, or, Dialogues Illustrative of Natural or Scientific Subjects* (1805) which idealised the education of children 'accustomed to observe with attention the objects around them'.[121] Matthew Grenby notes Friends' schools as influential purchasers of children's books,[122] and indeed they ensured the success of works like Darton and Harvey's *Spelling Book* produced 'the Use of Ackworth School' (1790), which ran to twenty-six editions by 1852.[123] Croydon's libraries are a reminder of the transformative effect schooling could have on pupils' experiences of reading and writing by giving them access to a supply of children's books far greater than they may have had at home.

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[117] ERO, Essex Record Office. D/Q 49/F1/c1: *Annual Reports of the Juvenile Literary Society* (June 1868); ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c3: *Minutes of the Juvenile Society (Girls) 1859-1871* (4 November 1861).
[118] OBL, Per. G.A. Oxon 8° 612: 'Topics of the Term', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1881), p. 238.
[119] ERO, D/Q 49/F1/d1: *Catalogue of the Library of the Boys' Juvenile Literary Society* (London, 1858); ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c3: *Minutes of the Juvenile Society (Girls) 1859-1871*.
[120] ERO, D/Q 49/F1/d1: *Catalogue of the Library of the Boys' Juvenile Literary Society*.
[121] Priscilla Wakefield, *Domestic Recreation, or, Dialogues Illustrative of Natural or Scientific Subjects* (London, 1805), vi; On Wakefield and Hack's pedagogical approaches, see C. Leach, 'Religion and Rationality'; Leach, 'Advice for Parents and Books for Children'.
[122] Grenby, *The Child Reader,* p. 142.
[123] *A Spelling Book for Use in Ackworth School* (London, 1790).

Magazines and essay books demonstrate the impact of school libraries on some pupils' writing. A contributor "L. H. M." copied the 'Sagacity of Dogs' from Jesse's *Gleanings of Natural History* (1832) into the *Monthly Gleaner*, while an anonymous girl shared details from Maria Hack's *Geological Sketches* in her essay on 'Paestum' read aloud at a meeting of the Girls' Juvenile Society.[124] These were books available in the school libraries.[125] This was not constrained to teacher-edited magazines. An issue of the pupil-edited *School-Boy's Magazine* (1851) contained an informative anecdote on the 'Origins of the name of John Bull' copied from Elizabeth Penrose's best-selling Mrs Markham's *History of England* (1826).[126] Pupil-edited magazines provide evidence of aspects of reading otherwise elusive: clearly, some nineteenth-century pupils did indeed enjoy the factual and instructive fare of their school libraries enough to share them with their friends. Moreover, the writings provide evidence of continuities in reading practices. Although children's and youth literature shifted from descriptive and instructive texts towards fiction by the mid-nineteenth century, scholars have pointed out that older texts did not fall out of use but reappeared in cheaper editions for families and working-class adults, and were recycled in textbooks for elementary school pupils.[127] At school, they were also recycled in the more customisable format of the school magazine where favourite passages were extracted and bundled together, thus renewing descriptive youth writing across successive generations of pupils.

School societies at the Croydon Friends' School also played a prominent role in promoting and controlling pupils' written development. A footnote to Ernest Grimshaw's essay on 'The Proteus' in the *Echo* explained he had not simply used natural history books

[124] "L. H. M.", 'Sagacity of Dogs', *Monthly Gleaner* 1/2 (November 1855). ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c2: 'Paestum', *Girls' Essays and Poems written for the Juvenile Society about 1855* (1855).
[125] *Catalogue of the Library of the Boys' Juvenile Literary Society* (London, 1858); ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c3: *Minutes of the Juvenile Society (Girls) 1859-1871* (23 June 1864).
[126] 'Origins of the name of John Bull', *School Boy's Magazine* 2/3 (1851).
[127] A. Fyfe, 'How the squirrel became a squgg: The long history of a children's book' *Paradigm* 27 (1999), pp. 25–37 http://faculty.ed.uiuc.edu/westbury/paradigm/fyfe2.html http://hdl.handle.net/10023/5383 (21 August 2018).

from the library for his essay, but had also examined a proteus brought from Italy to England by Quaker banker and amateur natural historian Samuel Gurney, who had invited members of the boys' Juvenile Literary Society to his house to see the specimen.[128] These more mundane transactions of school societies feature little in studies of youth writing. However, Ernest's essay demonstrates how societies encouraged pupils to observe and describe the world around them by creating natural history collections and materials for sketching, the latter particularly common among girls. Other activities included appointing pupils as society curators in fields such as meteorology and botany, setting research questions and essay topics, and meeting for live readings, and staging a regular 'exhibition of juvenile skill and industry' with pupils' shells, eggs, butterflies, plants, paintings and sketches.[129]

While a voluntary leisure activity, societies did not promote writing indiscriminately as membership was refused to pupils in the lowest forms or, in the case of two girl applicants, because 'their position in the order class being too low.'[130] Many pupils at Croydon were members of the Juvenile Literary Society but only top form pupils could take more active roles such as setting questions to research, taking minutes, writing curators' reports, overseeing membership, and writing essays for the *Echo*.[131] In other schools too, societies strengthened the association between top form pupils and writing: at Manchester Grammar School, both the classical Debating Society and its rival, the more scientific Philosophical Society, were restricted to teachers and pupils in the top (sixth) forms, and the Oxford High School Guild of Charity restricted membership to girls over the age of fourteen.[132] However, even the most passive society members were drawn into contact with descriptive writing in

[128] Ernest Grimshaw, 'The Proteus', *Echo* 1/2 (March 1863), pp.73-5. ERO, D/Q 49/F1/a3: *Minutes of the Juvenile Literary Society, 1851-1870* Vol. 3 (29 May 1863).
[129] "Septimus Silverstick", 'Our Exhibition', *Monthly Gleaner* 1/3 (December 1855).
[130] ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c3: *Minutes of the Juvenile Society (Girls) 1859-1871* (9 January 1860).
[131] ERO, D/Q 49/F1/a3: 'Rules of the J. L. Society, 1867', *Minutes of the Juvenile Literary Society, 1851-1870*, Vol. 3.
[132] OHS: *The Oxford High School. Guild of Charity* (18 January 1884).

the constant stream of minutes, reports, questions, and essays read aloud and discussed at the meetings.

Libraries and societies were complemented by the rational and improving recreation of many middle-class homes. While school magazines have been described as 'introspective',[133] connections between home and school naturally emerged in the 'Conversation' about Dash the dog mentioned above. It was child characters Maria, Emily and William who asked their Mamma to 'let us sit with thee and work while thee related some interesting stories to us?'[134] For these schoolgirl writers, the values and practices of improving familial conversation appear to have been an easy fit with school life.

This continuity goes against the prevailing picture of schools and homes as complete opposites. Some scholars identify independence from domesticity as one of the main reasons for sending sons to a public school, with the result that, John Tosh argues, 'home and school [were] always experienced in polarised terms.'[135] Girls' boarding schools are the most obvious exception, as many marketed themselves as 'home-like', with a sheltered social and cultural environment to protect girls' status and privacy.[136] Yet the polarity fits uneasily with experiences of schooling more broadly. Henry French and Mark Rothery reveal that even public schoolboys started education at home or in a small private school, and when at public school their families continued to exert influence via letter.[137] As Joyce Pedersen, educational developments were far from linear, and as nineteenth-century schooling continued to be shaped by educational practices long shared by boys and girls, which were part revived by

[133] Mangan, *Athleticism*, p. 243.
[134] ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c1:"Alexandrina and Victoria Montague" [pseud.], 'A Conversation', *The Girls' Juvenile Society for the Improvement of the Mind, 1837-1842*, p. 151.
[135] Tosh, *A Man's Place,* pp. 117-18.
[136] de Bellaigue, *Educating Women,* p. 20; Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*, p. 71. Girls' boarding school relationships are discussed as an example of a distinctively intimate sociability on C. Smith-Rosenberg, 'The female world of love and ritual: Relations between women in nineteenth-century America', *Signs*, 1/1 (1975), pp. 1-29.
[137] French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, p. 48.

modern schooling.[138] Moreover, the dominant form of secondary schooling, day schooling, also struck a balance between home and school. Girls' day schools like the Oxford High School typically restricted attendance to between 9am and 1pm, leaving each day framed by the home; and while many day school boys had a longer day, parents deliberately chose schools that fit within home life. The modest middle-class families attending the Manchester Grammar School thought 'home rather than school ought to be the centre of a boy's life,' a teacher complained in an 1874 issue of the school magazine *Ulula*, with another article in 1877 complaining of an 'unequal antagonism' between home and school.[139]

Pupils themselves could express strong home loyalties. In a school debate, Manchester pupils defended day schooling 'on the grounds,' *Ulula* reported, 'that the loss of home life, rendered necessary by a boarding school education, was a material disadvantage, and that the mind was narrowed by contact with none but a similar or inferior intellect.'[140] For many pupils in this study, home and school were complementary influences, with the records of school authorities at Croydon habitually calling the school 'the family'.[141] There are traces of these complementary influences in the archive. Father Philip Butler supported school activities so eagerly we can surmise his sons James and Charles experienced an instructive home environment: Philip donated books to the boys' library, such as a copy of the *Catalogue of the Exhibition of 1862*; he gave gifts of a flying fish and amber specimens; and took pupils on an excursion to the Scientific Apparatus Museum.[142] At the Oxford High School, pupils' active involvement in school societies often mirrored their parents' active involvement in the school: former pupil Mary Max Müller was active as President of the

[138] Pedersen, *Reform of Girls' Secondary and Higher Education*, ii.
[139] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: "N.B.", 'Town Schools', *Ulula*, (April 1874), pp. 161-67; 'Home Truths', *Ulula* (November 1877), pp. 261-64.
[140] (OBL), Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'The Debating Society', *Ulula*, (March 1884), p. 90.
[141] ERO, D/Q 49/A1/a23: *School Committee minutes 11th month 1861 to 5th month 1865* (8 November 1861), p. 1.
[142] ERO, D/Q 49/F1/c1: *Annual Reports (Printed) of the Juvenile Literary Society of the Boys' School Croydon, 1850-1887* (June 1861), (June 1864).

Debating Society, while her father, Friedrich, a professor in the University, was a school shareholder, and her mother Georgina served on the school's Local Council; and it was parents who established the school's Games Club.[143] As a result, writings like the 'Conversation' about Dash the dog easily shifted between overlapping cultures of improvement at home and school. Croydon pupils were active in constructing school and home as similar spaces, with a 'Description of Croydon School and some of the people there' by twelve-year-old Harriet Rous describing headteacher Elizabeth Brady as 'a dear friend… The head of this great family.'[144]

Individual educational trajectories also bridged home and school. When Charles Butler arrived at the Croydon Friends' School in 1873, the teacher assessed his skills, and recorded that Charles had gained them from being 'taught at home by his mother'.[145] Schooling was just another step in the education of middle-class children like Charles, who started reading and writing in English under the guidance of parents or siblings at home.[146] Overemphasising schooling not only sidelines widespread practices of home education, it also obscures the origins of these educational philosophies, classroom pedagogies, children's books and textbooks in domestic pedagogies.[147] The object lesson as envisaged by early theorists like Pestalozzi and one of his former collaborators Friedrich Fröebel was intended to transform school education by replacing rote-learning with the practical and meaningful lessons imparted by mothers to their children at home.[148] Indeed, a Friends' Educational Society report recommended the teaching of writing at school ought to follow on from the work of

[143] OHS: *List of Shareholders*; OHS: *Oxford High School Register, 1875-1935* (Oxford, 1935); on the Games Club, see Stack, *Oxford High School* (Abingdon, 1963), p. 51.
[144] ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c1: "Deborah the Poetess" [Harriet Rous], 'Description of Croydon School and some of the people there', *The Girls' Juvenile Society for the Improvement of the Mind,1837-1842*, p. 162.
[145] ERO, D/Q 49/E2/a1: *Examination of classes, 1814-1882* (10 January 1873).
[146] Grenby, *Child Reader*, pp. 37-46; Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes,* pp.149-197. On working-class children's similar experiences, see D. Vincent, 'The Domestic and the Official Curriculum in Nineteenth-Century England' in *Opening the Nursery Door*, pp. 141-79.
[147] de Bellaigue (ed.), *Home Education in Historical Perspective*.
[148] S. Carter, *Object Lessons,* pp. 16-17.

the 'parental instructor' and 'infant pupil'.[149] Croydon's school libraries contained numerous texts developed for home education, such as the books by Maria Hack, Priscilla Wakefield, and Maria Edgeworth, with textbooks like Gosse's *Zoology for Schools* (1851) far less prominent. These ageing texts for home education remained in high demand, suggesting a degree of continuity between eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century educational practices which endured, despite the controversies, demands for reform, and overarching developments in secondary education.

Manuscript production, too, was familiar to many pupils due to its role in home education. Alix Bunyan notes that some late nineteenth-century parents embraced manuscript magazines as a means to control and observe their children's development.[150] Indeed, a growing body of research into the material culture of home education highlights that parents could hardly avoid engaging with the material aspects of their children's grappling with pen and paper. Scholars such as Matthew Grenby have pointed out that the material process of 'book use' is more appropriate for children than the more conceptual sounding 'reading',[151] but what remains under-explored is the connections between these hands-on approaches and object lessons, which were saturated in references to the material world and sensory experience as the starting point of education. Historians have drawn attention to the variety of ways in which home education was a material as well as mental process, as some parents left small holes in books by pointing at each word with a pin as their child read, while others hand-made educational aids such as alphabet books and times tables.[152]

[149] *Report on English Composition*, p. 7.
[150] Bunyan, 'The Children's Progress', p.136.
[151] Grenby, *The Child Reader,* p. 194.
[152] Grenby, *The Child Reader,* pp. 195-6; V. Watson, 'Jane Johnson: A Very Pretty Story to Tell Children', in *Opening the Nursery Door* (London and New York, 1997), pp. 31-46; M. Boharski, 'A spotlight on our home-made books', Scotland's Early Literature for Children Initiative blog (16 February 2018) https://www.blogs.hss.ed.ac.uk/selcie/2018/02/16/822/ (16 December 2018); L. Stevens, D. Howarth and M. Boharski, 'Whispers of children in the archives' (unpublished paper delivered 29 June 2018 at Colloquium on Children's Traces, Centre for the History of Childhood, University of Oxford).

We still know relatively little about the materiality of home-made magazines, as studies tend to draw attention to their function as sophisticated literary miniatures, such as the tiny versions of *Blackwood's Magazine* made by the Brontë siblings.[153] Yet manuscript production could be an educational as well as literary process. Writer and editor Charlotte Yonge advised girls to 'keep your Evelines and Ediths to be darlings and queens of your own imaginations and copy-books' and not 'rush into print', as manuscript provided the sheltered social and cultural environment required for written development.[154] Recent studies have emphasised the connection of manuscript to home education: home-educated girls used manuscript magazines circulated via post to further their own education; and working-class siblings wrote letters together to children's columns in the newspapers to further their literacy beyond the narrow remit of the elementary school syllabus.[155] Youth writing was transformed at home as well as at school.

There are no archival traces of writing from the families connected to the Croydon Friends' School, but some pupils arrived at the Oxford High School with experience of making manuscript magazines: Mabel Bradley, for instance, witnessed her older siblings Arthur, Emily, and Margaret producing a family magazine the *Miscellany* (1867).[156] More Oxford High School pupils featured among the many children and youths who sent manuscript letters, competition entries, and unsolicited contributions to the editors of children's periodicals. Mary Max Müller contributed 'About our dog Waldmann' to the popular children's periodical *Little Folks* at the age of ten; and several other Oxford High School pupils also contributed pieces to the same periodical before starting school.[157] That

[153] Butcher, 'Napoleonic Periodicals and the Childhood Imagination'.
[154] Quoted in S. Walton, 'Spinning the webs', p. 283.
[155] Gleadle, 'Magazine Culture, Girlhood Communities and Social Change'; Pooley, 'Children's Writing'.
[156] OBL, Bradley Papers, MS Don d.: 'The Miscellany' (1867). With thanks to Kathryn Gleadle for drawing my attention to the magazine.
[157] Mary Max Müller, 'About our dog Waldmann', *Little Folks* [Date Unknown]; p. 143; Violet A. Bonner, 'The Scornful Monkey', *Little Folks* (1 February 1877), p. 125; Violet A. Bonner, 'Mrs Mouse's Party', *Little Folks* (1 July 1877), p. 60. Contributing to *Little Folks* is referred to in Margaret Fletcher, *O Call Back Yesterday*

this was part of their home education is suggested by accompanying notes that the work had been 'certified' as their own by their governesses. Mainstream periodicals provided an exciting outlet for home-educated children's burgeoning literacy, as well as an extension to the skills acquired at school. Indeed, the *Oxford High School Magazine* was at times used in the same way: while the school's kindergarten rarely contributed, in 1887, kindergarten pupils Ethel and Frank Sidgwick contributed stories to the same issue of the magazine, as had their sister Rose a few years earlier, suggesting that this was an activity encouraged at home.[158]

The expansion of the periodical press predated the new educational opportunities from the expansion of schooling, and periodicals in turn benefitted from educational expansion, with literate youths becoming numerous to constitute a target readership in themselves. For girls like Mabel Bradley and Mary Max Müller, the *Oxford High School Magazine* was a logical extension to, rather than a radical departure from, the writing practices fostered at home. Nor did the school magazine displace writing at home in pupils' affections: Louey (Sarah Louise) Eagleston was a contributor to the *Oxford High School Magazine* between 1879 and 1884, but at the same time contributed to the *Girl's Own Paper;* followed by Rose and Ethel Sidgwick ten years later.[159] The influence of home education pedagogies and texts at the Croydon Friends' School may have made manuscript publication a fitting choice as the format commonly used by many families in encouraging and observing their children's written development.

(Oxford, 1939), p. 44; Muriel Margaret Underhill is listed as a winner in 'Awards of Prizes in the 1892 Special Competitions', *Little Folks* (1892), p. 69.

[158] OBL, Per. G.A. Oxon 8° 612: Ethel Sidgwick, 'The Fairy Bells', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1887), p. 1108; Frank Sidgwick, 'The Cousin's Birthday', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1887), p. 1108.

[159] Louey Eagleston, 'The First Prize Essay', *Girl's Own Paper* (4 June 1881), p. 574; Rose Sidgwick, 'Prospectus Puzzle Poem: "Our New Volume"', *Girl's Own Paper,* (26 January 1895); Ethel Sidgwick, 'Our Puzzle Poem - Examiner's Report', *Girl's Own Paper* (30 December 1893), p. 206.

CONVERSATION

Pedagogies, school libraries, societies, and families' practices of home education overlapped to create new ideals and practices for structuring and controlling youth development in the school magazine. At the same time, this model of youth writing radically altered the means of control. Returning to the Croydon Friends' School piece on Dash the dog, the character Mamma decided 'I shall allow you to choose your own subjects', and it was her daughter Maria who instantly requested 'I should prefer Natural History… The dog if you please Mamma'.[160] With the title 'A Conversation', the girl writers linked their manuscript production to the give-and-take dynamic of family conversation. This conversational dynamic also underpinned the object lesson and became integral to school magazines by the end of the century.

A conversational dynamic was familiar to pupils like these two girls as it characterised many of the books in the juvenile libraries: the text on 'Paestum' in the girls' essay book was adapted from Maria Hack's *Geological Sketches* in the Girls' Juvenile Library; and a text extracted in the *School-Boy's Magazine*, Elizabeth Penrose's *History Of England*, included 'conversations at the end of each chapter' between character "Mrs Markham" and her children, from the series of "Mrs Markham" books in the Boys' Juvenile Library.[161] The format of these books differed from didactic question-and-answer books like the catechism, which depicted a child character asking questions in order to receive religious doctrine, largely undisputed, from an adult authority figure.[162] Many early textbooks for working-class children were in the catechism format, which was amenable to being read aloud and rote-

[160] ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c1: "Alexandrina and Victoria Montague", 'A Conversation', *The Girls' Juvenile Society for the Improvement of the Mind*, *1837-1842*, p. 151.
[161] Elizabeth Penrose, *History of England* (London, 1829). The acquisition is of *Geological Sketches* is referenced in ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c3, *Minutes of the Juvenile Society (Girls) 1859-1871* (23 June 1864).
[162] Contrasting catechism and the familiar format, see Cohen, 'The pedagogy of conversation in the home', pp. 447-63.

learnt, often in charity and Sunday schools.[163] Books by Penrose and Hack, in contrast, made rational discussion of the world rather than religious indoctrination the principal dynamic of education.[164] In these books, Michèle Cohen explains, curious and articulate child characters were 'presented as agents', who decided the topic of conversation, volunteered further information, and frequently interrupted or interrogated the adults around them.[165] Descriptive writing reinforced this dynamic as children's alleged affinity with nature meant the conversations could be framed as guided less by educators, writers or parents than by the interests and needs of the young mind.

Nor was this focus on development necessarily weighted with the biological determinism which emerged later in the century, when the reasoning and values of male youths in particular were seen as entirely subject to developmental urges and impulses.[166] Indeed, understandings of Victorian secondary schooling are often seen through a dark developmental lens, such as John Tosh's conclusion that public schoolboys, left to themselves, were governed by 'the rule of the jungle.'[167] Rather than seeing children being driven by their development, the conversational format implied the reverse: that children's observations and conversations were an essential driver of development. Children's conversation and writing could be seen as the source of community as well as individual advancement, Kathryn Gleadle argues, as some families raised children 'to question and critique their own positions, their family's politics, and the world around them', thus creating a politically radical and enlightened future.[168] The conversational format extended Enlightened constructions of selfhood, emphasising the capacity to think independently and

[163] Heathorn, *For Home, Country, and Race,* p. 8.
[164] For more on this shift, see Grenby, *The Child Reader,* p. 85.
[165] Quote in Cohen, 'The pedagogy of conversation in the home', p. 454. A. Janowitz, 'Amiable and Radical Sociability: Anna Barbauld's '"Free Familiar Conversation"' in by G. Russell and C. Tuite (eds), *Romantic Sociability* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 62-81.
[166] J. A. Mangan, 'Social Darwinism and Upper-Class Education in Late Victorian and Edwardian England', *International Journal for the History of Sport* 27/1-2, (2010), 78-97.
[167] Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p. 119.

reason, to include children. Descriptive books made children a vocal part of their own education, such as the child characters in the 'Conversation' above who eagerly guided Mamma towards their interests. The dynamic in this 'Conversation' was down to its schoolgirl writers, as Taylor's the *General Character of the Dog* was a linear narrative, which they reformatted into the livelier conversational format which was clearly familiar to them. The Croydon archive shows widespread familiarity with this type of book, as the girls' essay book preserved other conversations on the beaver and spring flowers, and the *Monthly Gleaner* started its first issue with 'A Dialogue' where pupil character Harry inquired 'The *Gleaner*? What's that?' receiving the surprised response from Joe: 'Hast not thou heard of the paper that is to circulate among us during the winter?'[169]

Pupils' interest was presented as the key driver of written development at the Croydon Friends' School. Another 'Conversation' in the Girls' Juvenile Society essay book (1837-42) featured pupils Emily, Ellen and Louisa appealing to Teacher, 'Please, wilt thou be so kind as to sit down with us & relate some historical anecdotes?'[170] Scholar Anne Janowitz suggests that the conversation format was the product of school as well as home education, tracing the 'familiar conversation' of Anna Barbauld's popular children's books to the discussions promoted by her father John Aikin, a teacher at Warrington Dissenting Academy.[171] Direct instruction was criticised by Charles and Elizabeth Mayo's *Lessons on Objects* (1831) as 'telling too much' so that 'the pupils' minds remain almost passive'.[172] Object lessons promoted written development, Mayo suggested, because 'each individual in the class is called upon to exercise his own powers on the object presented; the subsequent questions of

[168] K. Gleadle, 'The Juvenile Enlightenment: British Children and Youth During the French Revolution', *Past and Present* 223 (2017), p. 144.
[169] ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c1: "Alexandrina and Victoria Montague", 'Conversation on Natural History continued', *Girls' Juvenile Society for the Improvement of the Mind, 1837-1842*, p. 155; "Louisa and Jane", 'A Conversation', *Girls' Juvenile Society for the Improvement of the Mind,* p. 183; 'A Dialogue', *Monthly Gleaner* 1/1 (October 1855), p. 10.
[170] ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c1: "Mentor", 'A Conversation', *The Girls' Juvenile Society for the Improvement of the Mind*, *1837-1842*, pp. 141-45.
[171] Janowitz, 'Amiable and Radical Sociability'.

the teacher tend only to draw out the ideas of the children, which he corrects if wrong'.[173] Rather than the absorption and imitation of text, reading and writing were reimagined as part of a companionable back-and-forth between teachers and their pupils. In the 'Conversation' between Teacher and Emily, Ellen and Louisa, after the historical anecdote the Teacher revealed she had adapted it from 'a book in very common use among them - viz. *The Introduction to the English Reader*.'[174] Conversation was clearly the most central dynamic of Croydon's manuscript production as yet again writers at the school adapted a narrative text, on this occasion taken from Lindley Murray's textbook, into a format where pupils' interests and active engagement were prioritised.

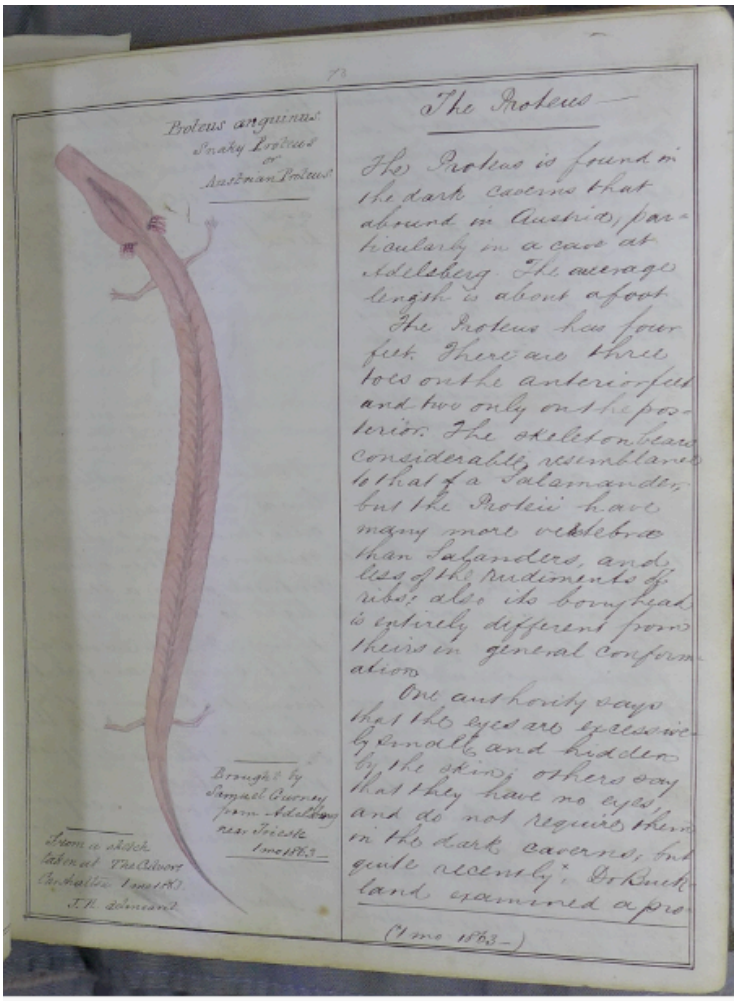
This 'Conversation' was superior to any of those offered by Hack, Penrose, and other authors, however: pencilled-in surnames in the margins of the manuscript essay book revealed the girl characters to be current pupils Emily and Ellen Watson, and Louisa Scholfield, creating a version of the conversational format specially adapted to provoke the delight and possible consternation of its original audience. As the school magazine was unable to continue without attracting some interest from pupils, as either readers or contributors, the appearance of new pieces and issues month after month provided satisfyingly material evidence of the success of this conversational dynamic in nurturing pupils' written development.

This conversational dynamic promoted more sensitive and indirect editing of pupil manuscript at the Croydon Friends' School. While the *Echo* was transcribed by teacher Joseph Radley, he drew special attention to pupil Ernest Grimshaw's own ideas in his essay on 'The Proteus'. The cave-dwelling species was notable for its residual eyes covered by a membrane. However, when examining Samuel Gurney's specimen, Ernest had not seen a

[172] C. and E. Mayo, *Lessons on Objects*, p. 5.
[173] C. and E. Mayo, *Lessons on Objects*, p. 5.
[174] ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c1: "Mentor", 'A Conversation', *The Girls' Juvenile Society for the Improvement of the Mind*, 1837-1842, pp. 141-45.

membrane and concluded in his essay 'I think that perhaps that skin was thrown off when it came to England and wanted to use its eyes (!).'[175] The exclamation was likely put in parenthesis to make clear it was not added by Ernest, but was scribe and teacher Joseph Radley's reaction to the essay's rather unexpected conclusion that the specimen had cast the membrane from its eyes to enjoy the sights of England (Figure 6).

[175] Ernest Grimshaw, 'The Proteus', *Echo* 1/3 (March 1863), pp. 73-75.



The Proteus

The Proteus is found in the dark caverns that abound in Austria, particularly in a cave at Adelsberg. The average length is about a foot.

The Proteus has four feet. There are three toes on the anterior feet and two only on the posterior. The skeleton bears considerable resemblance to that of a Salamander, but the Proteii have many more vertebræ than Salanders, and less of the rudiments of ribs: also its bony head is entirely different from theirs in general conformation.

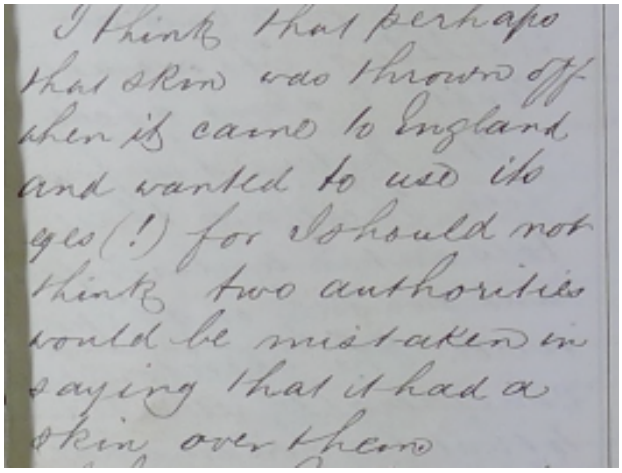
One authority says that the eyes are expressive & small and hidden by the skin; others say that they have no eyes, and do not require them in the dark caverns, but quite recently Dr Buckland examined a pro

(1 mo 1863.)

Proteus anguinus
Snaky Proteus
or
Austrian Proteus

Brought by Samuel Gurney from Adelsberg near Trieste 1 mo 1863

From a sketch taken at The Citadel Carlisle 1 mo 1863. J.R. Edmund



I think that perhaps that skin was thrown off when it came to England and wanted to use its eyes (!) for I should not think two authorities would be mistaken in saying that it had a skin over them

Figure 6. Image from the *Echo* of the first page of Ernest Grimshaw's essay 'The Proteus' transcribed by teacher Joseph Radley. ERO, D/Q 49/G1/a7(i): Ernest Grimshaw, 'The Proteus', *Echo* 1/3 (March 1863), p. 73.

Figure 7. Detail from Ernest's Grimhaw's 'The Proteus': 'I think that perhaps that skin was thrown off when it came to England and wanted to use its eyes (!)'. ERO, D/Q 49/G1/a7(i): Ernest Grimshaw, 'The Proteus', *Echo* 1/3 (March 1863), p. 74.

Unlike the 'punitive' stance of some editors in mainstream periodicals towards their young contributors' grammar, literary standards, and accuracy,[176] Joseph Radley preserved Ernest's observations, and inserted an exclamation which subtly drew delighted attention to the workings of the young mind. This suggests that Quaker teachers like Joseph Radley took seriously the advice from the Friends' Educational Society and other educational theorists that they ought to assess pupil writing through a developmental lens. 'A pupil, while a child, will only speak and think and understand as a child,' the Friends' Educational Society explained, 'but still anticipating, that if the child be trained to the correct expression of child-like thoughts and feelings, it may be led, by judicious cultivation, to the maturing of both thought and language in riper years.'[177] This applied the conversational format to pupils' writing, placing the teachers' skill in the ability to elicit pupils' observations, adjust their expectations to pupils' development, and shy away from overtly direct instruction or intervention. Instead, the teacher's role involved 'watching the budding of those powers, and training, and pruning, and facilitating their growth'.[178] What teachers might previously have been punished as mistakes, they were now encouraged to read as evidence of the developing mind writing sincerely and truthfully from its own observations, embracing awkward language and reasoning. 'We might almost say,' the report concluded, 'we can scarcely tell how far a boy at school has made the knowledge imparted by a teacher really his own, till he comes to put it down in his own language.'[179] The report was aware that allowing free writing could leave teachers feeling 'discouraged' by the faulty efforts, but framed it as a part of

[176] B. Rodgers, 'Competing Girlhoods', p. 283. See also Mangan, *Athleticism*, pp. 243-45.
[177] *Report on English Composition*, pp. 7-8.
[178] *Report on English Composition*, p. 7.
[179] *Report on English Composition*, p. 10.

written development that beginners would produce 'scraps' of text which might appear 'defective.'[180]

The *Echo* provides evidence of the influence of this conversational dynamic on teacher-led manuscript production. Joseph Radley was at pains to emphasise he did not amend pupil contributions as he transcribed them into the *Echo*, but 'the productions are taken and inserted all but literally', and only when *verb[ati]m et lit[erati]m* would not convey the mind of the writer the care & skill of the Editor have been applied tho' but very rarely.'[181] Developmental understandings of writing shaped teachers' desire to preserve youth writing *verbatim et literatim* (Latin for "word for word and letter for letter"), such as a prize-winning story by pupil Nelly Cohen which was 'printed exactly as it was sent in, and without alteration of spelling or punctuation' in the *Manchester High School Magazine*.[182] The role of the teacher editor was transformed because the school magazine's purpose was to make space for the developing writer, and some teacher editors delighted in language and observations which pointed to a youthful rather than adult perspective. An *Oxford High School Magazine* contribution from Rose Sidgwick, a pupil in the kindergarten attached to the school, described their singing 'O vee voll'. Rose's spelling was not corrected by the editor but a footnote explained this was the German song 'O wie wold.'[183] The conversational dynamic in Croydon Friends' School manuscript writings in the 1830s was part of an ideal of youth written development which had become dominant by the 1870s, and indeed a defining characteristic of generic print school magazines like the *Oxford High School Magazine.*

[180] *Report on the Range of Studies, in Friends' Schools*, pp. 15-16.
[181] 'The Echo, Croydon, 10 of 11th mo 1865', *Echo* 1/5 (November 1865), p. 328.
[182] MHS: 'The Prize Story', *Manchester High School Magazine* (July 1883), pp. 76-7.
[183] OBL, Per. G.A. Oxon 8° 612: 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1884), p. 630.

AUTHORITY

From the pupils' perspective, ascending this trajectory of written development could give a sense of status and authority within the school. An anonymous school story 'Edgar Barclay' in the *Monthly Gleaner* described a new and inexperienced pupil Edgar arriving in the schoolyard of the Croydon Friends' School and gaining the passing notice of the 'the first two boys in the school' who were 'holding no. 5 of *The Playground Magazine*, a manuscript publication of which they are joint editors.'[184] In this description of an imaginary magazine, the written development of newcomers like Edgar was attributed to the guidance and example top form pupils, even in teacher-led magazines like the *Monthly Gleaner*.

Youth writers communicate a clear sense of authority and status in their writing, such as twelve-year-old pupil Harriet Rous who wrote a poem commanding her 'Dear schoolfellows, all let us strive to attain, All the knowledge we now have the powers to gain.'[185] The Girls' Juvenile Society essay books and the *Monthly Gleaner* were teacher-edited, but they idealised pupils as driving one another's written development. Self-government was a widespread ideal as well as practical strategy for middle-class secondary schools, whereby supervision and discipline in playspaces, dormitories, and dining spaces was the responsibility of pupils rather than paid staff. Written development was fundamental to gaining this authority: it was typically pupils who ascended to the top form who became prefects, presidents of school societies, or editors of school magazines. Siân Pooley argues many pupils were proud of achieving status within their school, pointing to working-class child contributors to provincial newspapers who proudly signed letters with their school form as well as their age.[186] The

[184] "Nemo", 'Edgar Barclay, or School boy life. Chapter III', *Monthly Gleaner* 2/2 (November 1856).
[185] ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c1: "Deborah the Poetess" [Harriet Rous], 'Description of Croydon School and some of the people there', *The Girls' Juvenile Society for the Improvement of the Mind, 1837-1842,* p. 162.
[186] Pooley, 'Children's Writing', p. 85.

Croydon archive shows writing for the school magazine was a part of the authority of top form pupils, and pupils like Harriet often used their writing to bolster their authority and status. School records show Harriet was a figure of some authority, as minutes for the Girls' Juvenile Society praised her 'instructive and very interesting essays', 'willingness to assist in the discipline of the society' and confidence in expressing 'her sentiments on any subjects.'[187] The archiving of the minutes, as well as the careful handwriting in the version of Harriet's poem copied into the essay book, is material evidence that girls' social and cultural authority could be treasured and prized (Figure 7).

[187] ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c1: *The Girls' Juvenile Society for the Improvement of the Mind, 1837-1842* (21 March 1840), p. 62.

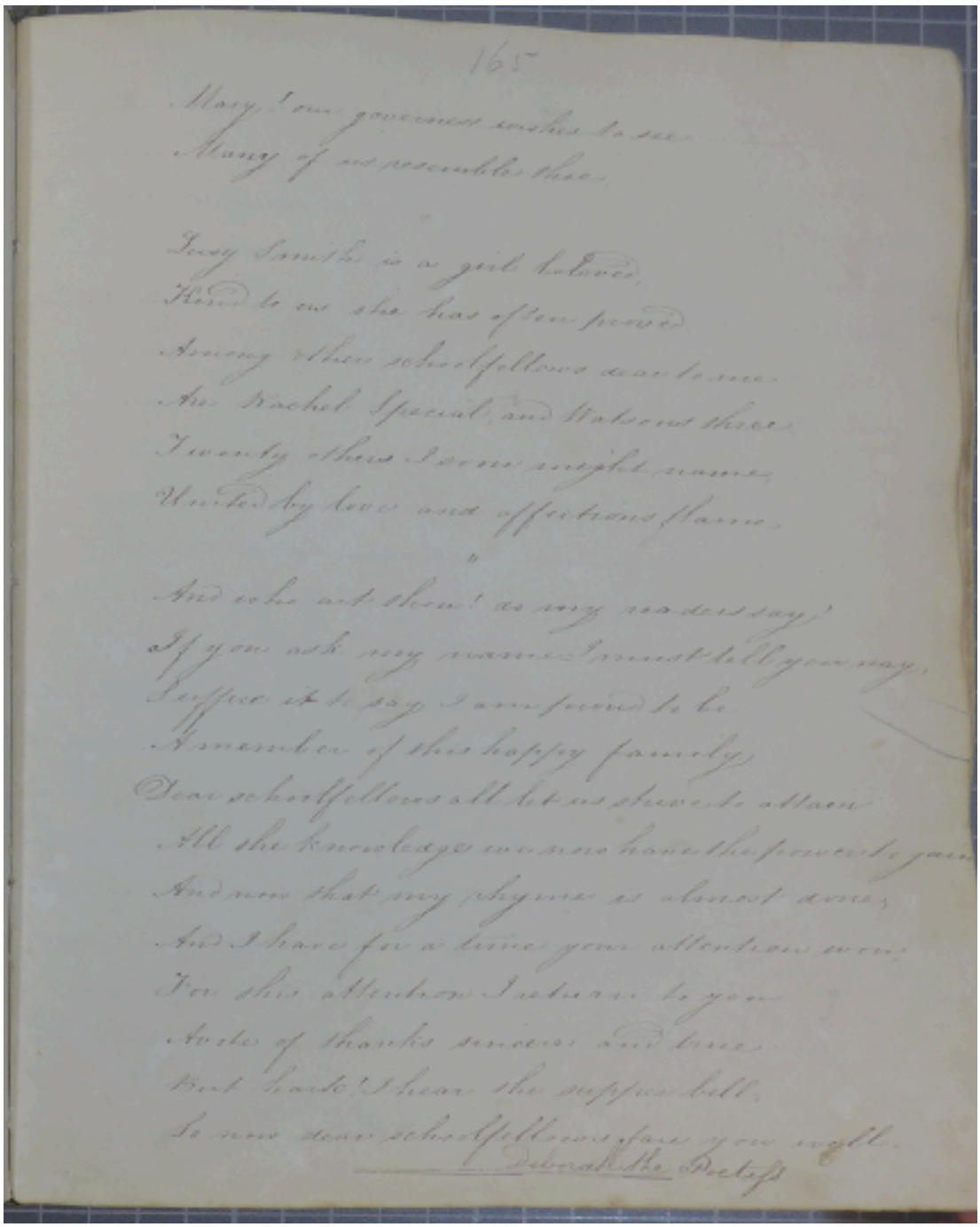


Figure 7. Image of page with poem from the Girls' Juvenile Society essay book signed "Deborah the Poetess". ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c1: "Deborah the Poetess" [Harriet Rous], 'Description of Croydon School and some of the people there', *The Girls' Juvenile Society for the Improvement of the Mind, 1837-1842,* p. 162.

These assertions of authority were not confined to teacher-edited manuscript. The pupil-edited *School-Boy's Magazine* (1851) included a poem 'Dedicated (without permission) TO CLASS FOUR', where its top form pupil editors reprovingly demanded why pupils in the bottom form 'idle about the livelong day, And every one annoy?'[188] The editors of the *School-Boy's Magazine* were 'No 1 & 2, 1st Class', and their withering poem associated membership of the top form (first class) with the cultural authority of the editorial role.[189] Other school magazines took a stance of youthful authority and status, such the 'Nonsense Rhymes' in the *Oxford High School Magazine* which complained of 'Some few girls in the Form III Remove, Of whose conduct can no proper person approve'.[190] The school magazine articulated a combination of youth and writing which claimed for its producers a privileged position within the middle-class school.

School magazines anchored this authority in secondary school pupils' growing mastery of writing itself. The pupil-edited *4B Outlet* (1901) from Manchester Grammar School included an 'Essy on Kats' by a fictional pupil J. Muggins, who described 'kats' as 'funny things with pins sticking out of their tose'.[191] The spelling errors did not reflect the skills of the *4B Outlet* producers, who after several issues rated their own efforts with the comment 'we find the spellings good, and the punctuation excellent for such small boys.'[192] It was not just teacher editors like Joseph Radley who were attentive to written development: in fact, Karen Sánchez-Eppler observes, learning to write in the nineteenth century constantly reinforced ideals of written development, as the young diarists in her study were encouraged to correct

[188] 'Dedicated (without permission) TO CLASS FOUR', *School Boy's Magazine* 1 (1851).
[189] Identified in 'Interesting Intelligence', *School Boy's Magazine* 1 (1851). Until the 1850s members of the Croydon Friends' School called each pupil by number rather than name, so that 'No 1 & 2' made clear these were boys at the top of the school. D. Bolam, *Unbroken Community*, p. 115.
[190] 'O. H. S. Nonsense Rhymes', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1889), pp. 162-64.
[191] MGS: "J. Muggins", 'Essy on Kats,' *4B Outlet* 5 (25 November 1901).
[192] MGS: 'Occasional Notes', *4B Outlet* 3 (7 November 1901).

their earlier entries.[193] While classical and literary writing is often seen as the basis of middle-class power and prestige, these Manchester Grammar School pupils were in a modern form which included languages and mathematics as well as Latin,[194] and they created the fictional younger pupil J. Muggins to reinforce the authority and status they were gaining from their more modern written development. The *Sneezer* of King's College School in London was also edited by youths experiencing a modern education, and created fictional pupil Bluebottle's diary, with his entry for 'Wensdy (that's a beastly word to spell, got it right this time though)' accompanied with the note that Bluebottle was 'only a little boy, so please excuse his English, & his spelling. Ed.'[195] Ideals of written development made middle-class youth an empowering identity performed by lower-middle-class and middle-class youths through contributing to their magazine, without the requirement of a classical education.

As with J. Muggins and Bluebottle, the middle-class youth writer was often constructed through exclusions, as young writers imagined and depicted other young people as inferior candidates for contributing to their school magazine. Croydon's *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* (1875) imagined a fictional working-class correspondent who wrote under the name the Stage Boy to 'Mr hedditer' ("Mr Editor"), asking him to 'xcuse mi badd spellin has i av nevvir bene too scool' ("excuse my bad spelling as I have never been to school").[196] The *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* was a weekly pupil-edited magazine, twelve issues of which were produced by editors Frank Farrington, Frank Bunting and Bedford Pierce (all thirteen years old) and contributor Arthur Dawes (12). The Stage Boy was one of a number of fictional juvenile correspondents in the magazine which enabled its contributors to imagine

[193] OBL, Per. G.A. Oxon 8° 612: Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States*, p. 11.
[194] Manchester Grammar School named classes as 4A and 4B (modern fourth forms), and 4 alpha and 4 beta (classical fourth forms).
[195] London, King's College London Archives, King's College School, K/SER113: 'My Diary', *Sneezer*, 5 (March 1885), p. 3.
[196] "thee stage boi", 'Mr hedditer', *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* 2/1(10 April 1875), pp. 170-71.

the education provided by the Croydon Friends' School as claiming for them a privileged position in the world beyond school.

The school magazine was empowering for its young producers, but their sense of their own written development was constructed around the often pointed exclusion of others like the working-class Stage Boy. Object lessons were child-centred in the sense they centred and empowered a rational and observant youth; however, they rested on a rational nineteenth-century selfhood which was implicitly middle-class, white, and male, thus constructed around the exclusion of other classes, gendered identities, and races.[197] The supposed incapacity of working-class children to form ideas and observations to write about was a constant theme of educators, governmental commissioners, and a host of other elite and middle-class observers.[198] Often a middle-class identity as rational and improving was bolstered by reading periodicals which depicted working-class writing like the Stage Boy letters, such as the 'Inelegant Extracts' in *All the Year Round* in 1871.[199] Many Quaker families may have been content with elementary schools, but pupils at Croydon used their school magazines to emphasise the benefits of their more extended secondary school education. The *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* exaggerated the Stage Boy's struggles at putting the production of copper into writing: he wrote that the miners 'gette thee tinn hand coppur oute… tha taake thisse 2 Lundunne hand Burmyngam hand tha maake hit hin2 kandlelstics &c' ("get the tin and copper out… they take this to London and Birmingham and they make it into candlesticks &c")(Figure 8).[200] This working-class character's attempts contrasted with the descriptive pieces executed with comparative ease in the *Monthly Gleaner* and the *Echo*. The superiority of secondary education was also expressed by a correspondent to Manchester Grammar School's *Ulula*, another school with a lower-middle-class intake, who complained

[197] For discussion of the historical constructions of liberal selfhood around the denial of the agency of others, particularly enslaved people, see W. Johnson, 'On Agency', *Journal of Social History* 37/1 (2003), pp.113-124.
[198] Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England,* pp. 73-90.
[199] 'Inelegant Extracts', *All the Year Round* (22 July 1871), pp. 175-9.

that the lack of a distinctive school cap meant 'the greater number of us might be taken for a number of National School Boys.'[201] Like dress, writing skills were bound up in the construction of a middle-class youth identity, particularly among pupils from families new to secondary schooling.

[200] "thee stage boi", 'Mr hedditer', Friends' School Manuscript Magazine 2/1 (10 April 1875), pp. 170-71.
[201] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Correspondence', *Ulula* (July 1873), pp.30-31.

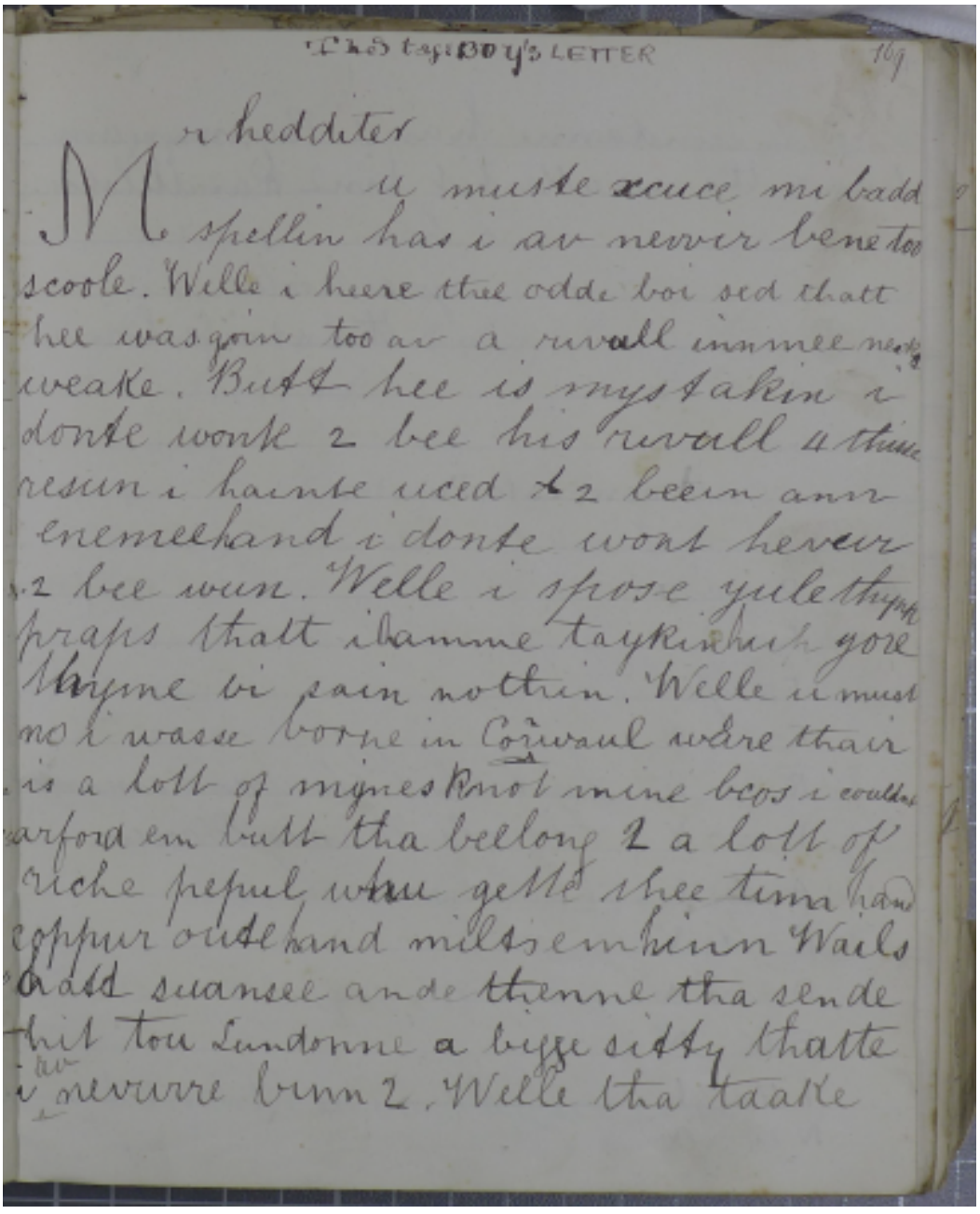


Figure 8. Image of page from the *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* with the Stage Boy's letter. "thee stage boi", 'Mr hedditer', *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* 2/1 (10 April 1875), pp. 170-71.

These same pupils deployed the criticisms levelled at a classical education in order to distance their own writing from that of public schools. Another fictional correspondent to Croydon's *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine*, the Odd Boy, began a letter on the

Oxford-Cambridge boat race with the apology that 'if you think if it fit for the Magazine put it in but if not let her rest not in the letter-rack but in the paper basket.'[202] The letter, with its long words and multiple clauses, parodied classically-influenced and literary styles of writing, and the Odd Boy's elite status was hinted at by choice of subject and his offhand reference to the Cambridge team as the 'Cantabs'.[203] The Odd Boy's literary excesses carried connotations of the overconsumption, gambling and immorality often attributed to aristocratic circles by rising middle-class communities like the Quakers, who anchored their own identity in modest living, financial acumen, and practical knowledge.[204] William Weaver notes the school magazine played a part in constructing youth identities based on an 'industrious middle-class intellectualism', eroding the dominance of aristocratic identities at Rugby School.[205] Examining school magazines from other secondary schools shows how pupils' written development in English carried associations of these emerging middle-class identities. Manchester Grammar School's *4B Outlet* parodied elite writing with 'On his being elected to Parliament' by Sir J. W. D'Hodgkifils proclaiming 'the opposition of the motion, Will cause much effusion', turning the poem into a litany of long words which made it scarcely comprehensible.[206] The *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* contributors and writers displayed a sophisticated ability to use features of youth writing to position their fictional characters the Odd Boy and the Stage Boy in the world, and in so doing claim the superiority of middle-class youth.

Girlhood intensified the debates surrounding class and youth writing. In yet another 'Conversation' in the earliest girls' essay book, when fictional Croydon pupil Mary confessed to forgetting to write a piece for the manuscript essay book, schoolmate Sarah declared 'it is

[202] 'The Odd Boy on the Boat Race', *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* 1/4 (27 March 1875), pp.107-12.
[203] 'The Odd Boy on the Boat Race', *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* 1/4 (27 March 1875), pp.107-12.
[204] For the construction of middle-class educational identities opposed to aristocratic values, see C. de Bellaigue, 'Great Expectations?' Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 21.
[205] Weaver, 'A School-Boy's Story', p. 477.
[206] MGS: 'On his being elected to Parliament', *4B Outlet* 3 (7 November 1901).

very silly of thee to procrastinate', proudly adding 'I wrote mine last 1st day' (first day or Sunday).[207] Mary retorted 'methinks 'tis about as bad if not worse to write one on 1st day as leaving it thus.'[208] The exchange highlighted the most serious challenge to girls' written development: finding time to write at school.

Sarah and Mary's discussion provides some insight into the relative lack of material written by girls in the archive. At the Croydon Friends' School, the shift from labour towards literacy played out differently among girls, with composition removed from the girls' timetable in 1871. The reluctance to timetable composition lessons contrasts with the time apportioned to keeping the school's clothing in order, with shoes on Monday, knitting on Wednesday, stockings on Thursday, and so on.[209] In the education of lower-middle-class and working-class girls, it was needlework which was prioritised as creating an orderly and thrifty youth.[210] Indeed, needlework and writing overlapped: pupils worked during meetings of the Girls' Juvenile Society; the society described writing as encouraging pupils to 'be orderly & neat in their habits'; and needlework was often celebrated in pupils' writings, such as a long poem on the impoverished families assisted by their Dorcas group, like local woman Mary Bryant, who 'to her father that old man you know, Whose age is 86 or so, We gave a shirt of calico.'[211] In practice, Croydon's fragmented archive of girls' writing is astonishing evidence of girls' determination to find time to write around a heavy workload. The boys' *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* took a different stance on girls' writing, with a sea story under the female pseudonym, Sister Louisa. The Stage Boy explained Louisa was his sister, who put her accurate spelling down to attending 'mys haibuths establishmeant

[207] ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c1: 'A Conversation', *The Girls' Juvenile Society for the Improvement of the Mind*, *1837-1842*, p. 120.
[208] ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c1: 'A Conversation', *The Girls' Juvenile Society for the Improvement of the Mind*, *1837-1842*, p. 120.
[209] ERO, D/Q 49/E3/a1: *Headmaster's Notebook, 1871-1889*. 'Girls - 1st Class.'
[210] McDermid, *The Schooling of Girls*, p. 47.
[211] ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c1: *The Girls' Juvenile Society for the Improvement of the Mind, 1837-1842*, (9 November 1839; 8 March 1842).

4 yung lady's' ("Miss Haibuth's Establishment for Young Ladies").[212] Female literacy, particularly for working-class girls like Sister Louisa, tapped into broader fears about its destabilising effects on the social order implicit in written development.

Class authority was underpinned by the other often more implicit hierarchies which pupils negotiating. The school magazine claimed a privileged position for middle-class youths in both England and the British Empire. Stephen Heathorn notes that elementary school textbooks often worked to place working-class children within a national, ethnic, and colonial order.[213] A similar sense of order is evoked in a serialised story for the *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine*, 'The Travels of Aladdin', where the exoticized fairytale hero was guided by an Englishman, Gray, through the Crystal Palace in London. Aladdin was astonished to see 'a large number of animals' he explained 'which Grai (sic) said were of stone but they looked as if they were alive.'[214] The writer of the 'Travels of Aladdin', thirteen-year-old pupil Frank Bunting, could count on his pupil readers to grasp what eluded Aladdin, as they frequently went on outings to see the dinosaur statues in Crystal Palace Park.

The exhibition at the Crystal Palace encouraged English visitors to see the artefacts produced by racial others as inferior to their advanced position in a 'class-based colonial world order'.[215] This sense of order was articulated in many of the books in the Boys' Juvenile Library, such as works on *The Hindoos*, *Friends and the Indian Tribes, Tracts on the Aborigines*, and Livingstone's *Travels in Africa*. Writing confirmed the pupils' place in the world, as the character Aladdin failed dismally at the object lesson, highlighted by Frank Bunting's use of footnotes to translate Aladdin's garbled ideas into the correct terms (Figure

[212] "Thee Staagge boi", 'The Stage Boy's Letter', *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* 2/3 (24 April 1875), pp. 229.
[213] Heathorn, *For Home, Country, and Race,* pp. 115-40.
[214] "ABOE" [Frank Alexander Bunting], 'Travels of Alladdin', Friends' *School Manuscript Magazine* 2/2 (17 April 1875), pp. 198-201.
[215] K. Message and E. Johnston, 'The World Within the City: The Great Exhibition, Race, Class, and Social Reform' in J. Auerbach and P. H. Hoffenberg (eds), *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851* (Basingstoke, 2008), p. 27.

9).[216] Writing in the school magazine was not a trajectory open to these classed, gendered, or racial others. Other school magazines also conveyed racial otherness through the act of writing, such as an anonymous 'Account of the Grammar School. By a Foreigner' in *Ulula* in 1892 which imagined the amazement of a visitor from "Thibet" watching pupils arrive by train, or, as he put it, 'in a demon-boil-and-scream-procession wagon.'[217] The school magazine's shift from literary writing to description was not necessarily confining, but instead enabled these pupils to construct from their modern secondary education an empowering white, middle-class, masculine youth identity.

[216] See for example "ABOE" [Frank Alexander Bunting], 'Travels of Aladdin', *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* 1/3 (27 March 1875), p. 103.
[217] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Account of the Grammar School. By a Foreigner', *Ulula* (February 1892), p. 20.

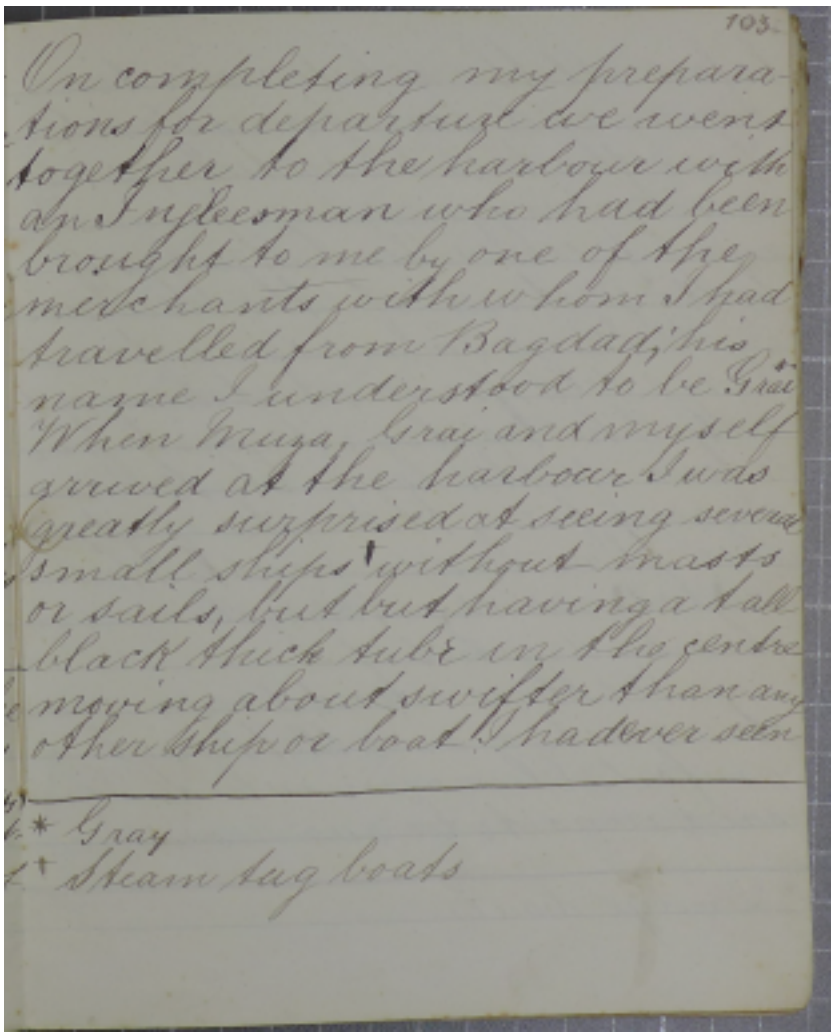


Figure 9. Image of page from the *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* with Aladdin's story, including footnotes at the bottom of the page. ERO, D/Q 49/G1/a8, "ABOE" [Frank Alexander Bunting], 'Travels of Aladdin', Friends' School Manuscript Magazine 1/3 (27 March 1875), p. 103.

Youth writers used the school magazine to position themselves as empowered and privileged in the hierarchy of their school and in the world. Their sense of social and cultural authority could take older generations by surprise, as happened with the sudden appearance of a new Croydon magazine, the *Illustrated Miscellany*, in 1866 (no longer extant). A review in its more established rival the *Echo* suggests the *Illustrated Miscellany* had similar content to teacher-edited magazines, with descriptive essays 'on a variety of subjects' and 'illustrations and Illuminations.' However, the reviewer noted with apprehension it was

launched 'by the Editors who are boys in the Second class' (below the top form). Their efforts were not encouraged, with the review advising the contributors to put on hold their 'considerable talent', which 'when the time comes will we hope be directed to the support of the pages of this Journal.' Starting their own magazine enabled second form boys to try their hand at essay writing at an earlier age than allowed by the *Echo*, and even worse, the review indignantly remarked, the *Illustrated Miscellany* 'has for a time diminished support of the *Echo*'.[218]

Youths like the *Illustrated Miscellany* editors were clearly confident and independent enough to launch their own ventures, which could be as successful as their teacher-edited competitors. This potential was observed with horror by William Thistlethwaite, the headteacher of Penketh Friends' School, who complained to the Friends' Educational Society about the 'insipid, varnished, got-up papers, mis-called essays' written in juvenile societies.[219] While the Friends' Educational Society was dismissive, his complaints imagined magazines and essay books as nurturing a youth-driven sense of 'privilege' beyond control. Even worse, he declared, the manuscripts were 'handed down to races yet unborn, as proofs, still existing, of what it is their privilege to attain - the measure of the stature attained by those, who have run the same honourable race before them!'[220] Writing at school was imagined operating independently of adult control, as the circulation of manuscript inspired similar efforts by other pupils, placing this youth-driven dynamic at the heart of education. Susan Miller's research into nineteenth-century American periodicals suggests this youth-driven dynamic was an unexpected yet predictable consequence, as young writers and society members who worked with adults gained skills and training which they could easily use in independent ventures.[221] Pupil-edited magazines were often by pupils active in other teacher-

[218] 'The Illustrated Miscellany', *Echo* 2/3 (June 1866), p. 102.
[219] *Report on English Composition*, p. 19.
[220] *Report on English Composition*, p. 19.
[221] S. Miller, 'Assent as Agency', p. 59.

led activities, like *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* editor Frank Farrington, who as mentioned above was an enthusiastic essay writer and curator for the school societies. While the premature appearance of pupil-edited ventures like the *Illustrated Miscellany* appeared to disrupt the orderly trajectory of youth development, in fact for many pupils starting their own magazine was a logical next step.

CONCLUSIONS

The writings in this chapter may seem expressive of a peculiar form of youth constructed by the Quaker community, one largely confined like the manuscripts to the physical space of the Croydon Friends' School. For all their specificity, however, the magazines and essay books from the Croydon Friends' School provide an illuminating introduction to a new relationship between youth and writing which, by the beginning of the twentieth century, had become a defining characteristic of the school magazine. In 1884, the *Stonyhurst Magazine* observed that it was those issues with 'little literary matter and much of domestic chronicle, while it seems to some, including perhaps ourselves, to be below the average, is received with far more than ordinary favour,' echoed by the *Oxford High School Magazine* in 1892 when it offered 'a Magazine well stocked with School news rather than teeming with literary productions.'[222] This characteristic of the nineteenth-century school magazine has provoked frustration in the historians and literary scholars, faced with the thousands of pages of description of trips and travels, school events, and the minutiae of school life. Descriptive writing, James Mangan concludes, is 'symptomatic of intellectual apathy' in the Victorian

[222] SC: [Editorial], *Stonyhurst Magazine* (May 1884), p. 265. OBL, Per. G.A. Oxon 8° 612: 'Editors' Notes', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1892), p. 383.

school, resulting from conformity to limiting adult ideals about the activities suited to youths.[223]

This chapter has argued otherwise. Examining magazines from the decades prior to the boom in school magazines in the 1870s and 1880s enables us to uncover a seemingly "common sense" relationship between youth development and writing which was embraced by pupils, trainees, and teachers from more modest middle-class backgrounds. It was a form of writing valued for being driven by the interests and capacities of youths themselves, who were not simply subjected to adult ideals, but used it as a marker of the classed, gendered, and raced privilege they gained through a modern secondary education. Factoring in this contemporary understanding of youth writing enables us to reevaluate school magazine content as everyday articulations of a new and empowering form of middle-class youth identity. It also enables us to see the school magazine as a powerful textual space: firstly, by creating a new critical vantage point on Victorian education; secondly, by nurturing a new cultural confidence in youths; and thirdly, by justifying the archiving of pupils' writing as a normal part of nineteenth-century secondary schooling.

The school magazine gave youths an often critical stance on secondary education, due to its promotion of a modern education, and the importance of reading and writing in English. Laurie Langbauer notes that even in the eighteenth-century, public and grammar school pupils intended their practices of writing in English in the school magazine as a criticism on their classical education.[224] This gained force in the nineteenth-century: a pupil at the Jesuit public school Stonyhurst College recommended their magazine, the *Stonyhurst Journal*, to any schoolmate who was 'a great Greek scholar and can talk to me of the beauties of Greek', but lacked 'general information.'[225] Out of the schools in this study, only Stonyhurst College retained an exclusively classical curriculum, as it followed the *Ratio Studiorum* (Latin for

[223] Mangan, *Athleticism*, p. 108.
[224] Langbauer, *The Juvenile Tradition*, p. 139.
[225] SC: *Stonyhurst Journal* (1854).

"plan of studies") published in 1599 to standardise teaching in Jesuit colleges.[226] Public school histories emphasise the endurance of the classics, but youths' demands for a more varied curriculum remained a constant topic in nineteenth-century school magazines, and the school magazine became an essential strategy for pupils to make youth-driven efforts towards curricular change. Magazines became a fix for what the *Stonyhurst Journal* termed an educational 'deficiency', and a contributor promised schoolmates that by writing in the magazine 'our combined exertions will be able to remove it', despite the often slow pace of curricular reform.[227]

This youth-driven dynamic could change wider cultural practices outside the school. By the 1850s, the Croydon juvenile libraries' hoard of descriptive books was beginning to fall out of line with the increasingly mainstream social and cultural preferences of many Quaker families, with some pupils arriving at school 'so fed with fiction in their childhood through the medium of tale-books' that a Friends' Educational Society report criticised their 'unhealthy' appetites.[228] While the school sought to unite pupils under a shared writing culture, some families clearly held different beliefs about the importance of descriptive reading matter for the young mind, and were content to expose their children to mainstream books and periodicals containing fiction. Manuscript magazines like the *School-Boy's Magazine* enabled pupils from these families to weave in new motifs of youth drawn from the latest offerings of the periodical press, and circulating them around the school.[229] While the *School-Boy's Magazine* did include descriptive pieces, a youth culture shared with their teachers did not prevent these pupils from diverting the school magazine towards more intimate peer group interests. In 1851, the *School-Boy's Magazine* editors copied out an

[226] See C. Pavur, *Ratio Studiorum: The Official Plan for Jesuit Education* (St Louis, 2005), pp. 146-7 on Jesuit classical teaching.
[227] SC: *Stonyhurst Journal* (1854).
[228] *Two Reports from Women Friends*, pp. 13-4.
[229] For a more detailed discussion of the impact of peer cultures on writing at Croydon, see Sloan, 'Periodicals of an Objectionable Character'.

anecdote 'The Learned Elephant' which was frequently reprinted in newspapers at this time, and indeed a note later explained the piece had been smuggled into the school on 'scraps of newspaper' by pupil William Lucas.[230] The anecdote did not fit with the school's instructive writing culture; however, William was clearly engaging with the new 'broad middle country' of ephemeral comic publications and family magazines of the 1850s, which extended periodical consumption to lower-middle-class and young readers.[231] It is less likely that older generations at the school would be familiar with *Punch*, as it had first been published in 1841, but the circulation of the *School-Boy's Magazine* made it a familiar and recognisable part of youth reading and writing at school. Similarly, an anonymous 'Eastern Narrative' in an 1855 girls' essay book used the first line of a piece from Lindley Murray's *Sequel to the English Reader*, but then went on to retell the story 'Qadi and his Slippers' from the Arabian Nights in a version similar to 'The Miser's Slippers' printed in the *Ladies' Cabinet* (1850).[232] This was a period of upward mobility for the Quaker community, and far from being passive carriers of familial aspiration and upward mobility, youths played a key role in shifting the Quaker community towards the social and cultural mainstream.

Archiving manuscript magazines and essay books gave pupils the primary responsibility for defining youth. After mentioning the departure of some of its old contributors, Croydon's *Echo* remarked 'How often regarding the past generation of fellow scholars we say "there were giants in earth in those days!"' before tantalisingly adding 'What matter? Why not in these?'[233] The editorial presented pupils as the main inspiration for their younger schoolmates. That 'youth makes its own history,' as historian John Gillis has argued,[234] is

[230] 'The Learned Elephant', *School Boy's Magazine* 2/1 (1851); quote from 'To Correspondents', *School Boy's Magazine* 2/3 (1851).
[231] C. Howes, 'Comic / Satiric Periodicals' in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century Periodicals and Newspapers,* p. 325.
[232] ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c2: 'An Eastern Narrative', *Girls' Essays and Poems written for the Juvenile Society about 1855* (1855); compare with Lindley Murray, *Sequel to the English Reader* (London, 1800), p. 132; and 'The Miser's Slippers', *The Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music, and Romance* (1 December 1850), p. 374.
[233] 'The Echo', *Echo* 2/5 (12 October 1867), pp. 148.
[234] J. R. Gillis, *Youth and History*, ix.

captured in the manuscript archive of the Croydon Friends' School, which exists today thanks to the new role youths played in making their own culture by the mid nineteenth century. The *Echo*, for instance, recommended new contributors to look for ideas in 'the back numbers (1-6) of the new Series, or the Bound volume of the old series,' which had been added to the library, where 'many hints may be taken as to the character of articles wh[ich] different literary tastes and capacities may originate.'[235] State and institutional archives are more typically analysed as an extension of the powers of the adult authority figures, bureaucrats and archivists who created them;[236] however, the *Echo* was bound and added to the school library by the boys' Juvenile Literary Society, and the Girls' Juvenile Society made similar efforts with their essays, on one occasion deciding to 'appoint M. A. Townson (pupil Mary Ann Townson) to attend to their being copied without delay.'[237] As a result, pupils' writings were archived alongside the mainstream texts in the juvenile libraries, and thus given equal status in sustaining the school's descriptive tradition. The *Monthly Gleaner*'s title echoed those of other earlier magazines, the *Critical Gleaner* from the 1830s, and the *Literary Gleaner* from the 1840s (no longer extant). The expansion of secondary schooling in this period gave growing numbers of middle-class youths the writing skills, and experiences of making and archiving magazines, to interweave the social and cultural practices of their community with the narrative of their own development.

[235] 'To Correspondents', *Echo* 2/7 (15 September 1869), p. 267.
[236] See for example M. J. Maynes, 'Age as a category of historical analysis', p. 117; and Sánchez-Eppler, 'In the Archives of Childhood'.
[237] ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c3: *Minutes of the Juvenile Society (Girls) 1859-1871* (4 November 1861).

2 | COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

First published in 1879, the very title of the *Oxford High School Magazine* boldly asserted the arrival of a new community of pupils, high school girls, into the world of print. When compared with the manuscript efforts of the Croydon Friends' School, the first copy represents a new departure for the school magazine. The *Oxford High School Magazine* was printed in a small periodical format and covered with a wrapper featuring a school motto and emblem, new generic features which this chapter will demonstrate emerged in the 1870s and 1880s. An incomplete series of the *Oxford High School Magazine* (1873) is held in the Bodleian Library alongside the *Rossallian* (1881) and *Leodiensian* (1892-) and hundreds of other contemporary titles proclaiming their school as having a privileged and desirable corporate identity, that is, creating a special type of girl or boy. The corporate identities of this period alluded to wider privileges, as the Oxford High School girl and her equivalents in other schools shared a wider collective identity as English schoolgirls and schoolboys. This chapter relates the rise of a more generic print school magazine to the creation of identities which would fit pupils from a growing number of new and reformed secondary schools for the expanding spheres of academic, professional, and public life.

Corporate identity was emphasised in the *Oxford High School Magazine* from its beginning, with seventeen-year-old pupil Margaret Fletcher demanding 'a strong *esprit de corps*' against the 'The Temptations of School Life' in the second issue.[1] For social and economic historians, the collective identity of public schoolboys has been a fundamental factor in the emergence of a new elite in the south of England by the end of the nineteenth

[1] OBL, Per. G.A. Oxon 8° 612: Margaret Fletcher, 'The Temptations of School Life', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1880), pp. 59-60. Hereafter *Oxford High School Magazine.*

century.[2] Class solidarity and cohesion is seen as resulting from the public schools' classical curriculum, tightly-knit friendship groups and social networks, and ethos of public service.[3] These studies pivot upon youths whose own motivations, perspectives, and activities receive surprisingly little attention.[4]

Periodical scholarship, however, has illuminated how youths did the majority of the work in constructing the collective identities of the period, using participatory elements such as correspondence, competitions, and children's pages to generate a 'collective expression of will' which shifted national, girlhood, and boyhood identities.[5] Thus, magazines have become an increasingly prominent source in studies of university education. Jill Lamberton, Paul Deslandes, and William Whyte have uncovered how students used university magazines to discuss and construct the typical student at a time when the university population was in flux.[6] Paul Deslandes described the unity among white male British Oxford and Cambridge students as an 'elite *esprit de corps*', a phrase which suggests continuities between universities and the changes in school life in this period.[7] In contrast with the small if growing number of universities, the rise in the production of a more generic format of school magazine in hundreds of English schools gives significant evidence of how large numbers of middle-class youths participated in constructing a particular corporate identity for their school. Helen Sunderland has demonstrated that reports of debates in school magazines constructed girls as modern political subjects from the 1880s onwards, far in advance of

[2] Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit;* Thompson, *Gentrification*; P. J. Cain, 'Empire And The Languages Of Character And Virtue In Later Victorian And Edwardian Britain', *Modern Intellectual History* 4/2 (2007), pp. 249–73.
[3] On class cohesion, see J. Tosh, *A Man's Place*, pp. 117-18; on classics, see Stray, *Classics Transformed*.
[4] Tackling the absence of youth perspectives in histories of nineteenth-century class, see C. de Bellaigue, 'Great Expectations?'
[5] On national identity, S. Miller, 'Assent as Agency', p. 50. See also Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood.*
[6] Lamberton, 'A Revelation and a Delight'; Whyte, *Redbrick,* particularly pp. 145-70; Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men*.
[7] Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men*, p. 7.

women's participation in parliamentary politics.[8] Drawing upon studies by Kathryn Gleadle and William Weaver,[9] I will argue that pupils collectively deployed their own generic print school magazine to construct a corporate identity specific to their school, which as a whole suggested pupils belonged to a new national community of English schoolgirls and schoolboys.

Chapter One examined how youth writing was intertwined with gaining a rational independent selfhood. Historians note in passing, however, that collective practices of reading and writing were typical of young people and children.[10] Margaret Ezell terms this social authorship, as the small literate communities in her study engaged in 'collaborative production', she argues, as 'a formal effort to confirm threatened values and relationships'.[11] For the rapidly growing and dynamic communities of new and reformed secondary schools, the production of the school magazine was intertwined with the construction and affirmation of collective identities in the educational reforms of the 1870s and 1880s.

The *Oxford High School Magazine* provides a fascinating insight into the ways in which school magazines created corporate identity. The Oxford High School was a fee-paying day school established in 1875 by the Girls' Public Day School Trust. Establishing a school magazine was an important part of building a new community: the *Oxford High School Magazine* was established just four years after the school opened, in 1879, before it had a permanent building, playing fields, a library, or any of the other features seen as defining the middle-class school. The Oxford High School archive contains a full run of the magazine, alongside school photographs and a small collection of institutional records, including

[8] Thanks to Helen Sunderland for sharing an early draft of this research. H. Sunderland, 'Politics in Schoolgirl Debating Cultures in England, 1886-1914', *Historical Journal* (forthcoming).
[9] Gleadle, 'Magazine culture, girlhood communities, and educational reform in late Victorian Britain'; Weaver, 'A School-Boy's Story'.
[10] Grenby, *Child Reader*, pp. 251-53; Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States*, p. 28; Pooley, 'Children's Writing', p. 84.
[11] Ezell, *Social Authorship*, p. 39. The concept of collective literacy is proposed by Gretchen Long in a study of African American communities in the aftermath of the Civil War. G. Long, 'Writing Freedom Down: African American Handwriting in the Early Years of Freedom' (unpublished paper, delivered 25 October 2017, Long

minutes for school societies. Therefore, the magazine itself is the most detailed record of the creation of the institution, as it appeared termly (three times a year), and for the price of a shilling readers received a substantial periodical containing poems, essays, and a running commentary on life at the school. Like the magazines discussed in the first chapter, it was mostly written by pupils, and produced by an Editing Committee comprising current pupils, past pupils, and a teacher.

This chapter examines how for pupils writing in the *Oxford High School Magazine* corporate identity was not just an ideal. It was encapsulated how the school magazine operated within the middle-class secondary school, as a pupil-led textual space whose content and materiality continually articulated and reinforced shared values and habits. While teachers were involved, the school magazine harmonised with the self-governing practices of school societies. In fact, it was run like a school society: in the April 1880 issue of the *Oxford High School Magazine*, the editorial was followed by a list of Editing Committee members: teacher Sophia Huckwell (age 23), and pupils Julia Arnold (18), Mary Max Müller (18), Isabel Iles (17) and Violet Bonner (16). Printing their names in the magazine demonstrated these pupils' loyalty towards their school, and presented the school magazine as the hard-won results of pupils' corporate loyalty. Helping with the magazine was described as the girls' collective responsibility, with one 1894 editorial celebrating that 'the School has at last realised its duty in sending in contributions to the Magazine' after a flood of contributions.[12] Editorials also depicted the magazine as a 'venerable institution', and ran it accordingly: Editing Committee members drew up rules and regulations for circulation in the magazine; public response was solicited; and society and magazine accounts were published, generally

Nineteenth Century Seminar, Oxford).

[12] 'Editors' Notes', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1894), p. 587.

with an old girl acting as treasurer.[13] Similarly, the *Wykehamist* emphasised the school magazine as a vehicle for self-government, as 'a medium which should afford some means of discussing different opinions on those School matters which lay entirely in the hands of the boys themselves.'[14] Producing a school magazine was framed as an expression of corporate identity, and magazines sought to display pupils' abilities at editing, financing, raising money, and record-keeping, and thus their readiness for academic, professional, and public life.

The Oxford High School sheds light on the new educational communities at this time. 'In Oxford, of all places,' an 1889 *Oxford High School Magazine* article stated encouragingly to its girl readers, 'there is no danger of the prejudice that literature and learning are unwomanly.'[15] The school met demand for a girls' school in Oxford, as university regulations changed to permit fellows to marry, creating new "university families" from the 1850s onwards.[16] The Oxford High School was a fee-paying non-denominational day school which started out with twenty-nine pupils in 1875, and by the 1880s already had two hundred girls aged between ten and nineteen, as well as a kindergarten for younger boys and girls.[17]

Its prospectus explained the Girls' Public Day School Trust intended to address the alleged 'want of system' and 'want of organisation' criticised by the 1868 Schools Inquiry Commission report on middle-class education.[18] The Trust's network of girls' high schools promised external examinations, inspection by the board of the Girls' Public Day School

[13] 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1893), quote p. 487. For rules on committee membership see 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1881), p. 194; 'Accounts', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1885), p. 877.
[14] BLO, Per. G.A. Hants 4° 40: 'The Wykehamist', *Wykehamist* (September 1872), p. 1.
[15] [Anon], 'Unappreciated Characters in Social Life', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1889), p. 182.
[16] For the changes to regulations on marriage, see L. W. B. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford: A History* (Oxford, 2016), p. 469.
[17] For the in-house history, see Stack, *Oxford High School.*
[18] Stack, *Oxford High School*, p. 3. OHS: *Girls' Public Day School Company Limited Prospectus. Oxford High School* (1875).

Trust, and governance by a Local Committee.[19] The activities of the first four headteachers show the growing formality and organisation of women's education. The first headteacher Ada Benson had formerly established a private school, before becoming headteacher of the Norwich High School, and, after the Oxford High School, went on to found Bedford High School.[20] The second headteacher Matilda Bishop studied at Queen's College London, and after the Oxford High School, she became principal of the women's college at Royal Holloway, London.[21] Later there was Lucy Soulsby, who had taught at Cheltenham Ladies' College before establishing a small private school, and while at the Oxford High School she also sat on the council of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, and finally Edith Marion Leahy was the first college-educated headteacher, who went on to the Croydon High School.[22] At the same time, some teachers were active or supportive of Anglican sisterhoods, such as Matilda Bishop who viewed teaching as a vocation, which often led to clashes with the governing body over the regulation that religious teaching be non-denominational.[23]

Scholars highlight how collaboration between schools, colleges, and organisations was essential in supporting and affirming the expertise and authority of women teachers, administrators and students.[24] The corporate identity of Oxford High School girls was part of a constellation of collective identities among educated middle-class women. This was part of the school's purpose, as the Girls' Public Day School Trust aimed to familiarise girls with thinking of themselves and their activities as contributing towards a collective purpose. Joyce

[19] J. Kamm, *Indicative Past,* p. 52. See proposals in OHS: *Girls' Public Day School Company Limited Prospectus. Oxford High School* (1875).
[20] R. Pryor, 'Ada Benson (1840–1882)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (22 September 2005) http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-48641 (20 December 2018).
[21] C. Bingham, 'Matilda Ellen Bishop, (1842–1913)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004) http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-48431 (20 Dec. 2018).
[22] K. Flint, 'Soulsby, Lucy Helen Muriel (1856–1927)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (23 September 2004) http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-48573 (27 Dec. 2018).
[23] Pedersen, *The Reform of Girls' Secondary and Higher Education,* pp. 256-61.

Pedersen argues larger schools exposed girls to 'a new type of authority, less subject to their family's influence, less mindful of family interests, more impersonal, more bureaucratic.'[25] Secondary education enabled girls to enter new educational networks; however, for day schools like the Oxford High School it did not necessarily follow that familial influence was diminished. The first chapter explored the continuities between home and school. Indeed, Beverley Lyon Clark concludes these continuities with home disqualify the day school as a school story setting.[26] Moreover, in the case of the Oxford High School, new educational networks were grafted onto long-standing ties, in particular the tightly-knit community of "university families" in Oxford. School records highlight the support this community gave to the new school: pupil Mary Max Müller was active as President of the school's Debating Society, while her father, Friedrich, a professor at the University, was a school shareholder, and her mother Georgina served on the school's Local Council.[27] Whether the school remained their only institutional education or they succeeded in becoming students at women's colleges, these girls were integrated into the social and cultural activities of the university. Membership of these "university families" was another empowering collective identity. The second issue of the *Oxford High School Magazine* contains pieces printed under the names of pupils Julia and Ethel Arnold, Mary Max Müller, Mabel Bradley, Margaret Fletcher, Ruth Mayhew, and Beatrice Hatch, which makes the magazine read like a who-was-who of nineteenth-century Oxford University society. The magazine brings to light a frequently overlooked force underpinning the development of girls' secondary education, in the complex collective identities of these Oxford girls.

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[24] Martin and Goodman, *Women and Education,* p. 18; Lamberton, 'A Revelation and a Delight', p. 563; de Bellaigue, *Educating Women*, p. 105.
[25] Pedersen, *The Reform of Girls' Secondary and Higher Education,* p. 76; see also Mitchell, *The New Girl,* p. 17.
[26] Lyon Clark, *Regendering the School Story,* p. 3.
[27] To see the considerable list of university staff members who were involved at the school (including Margaret Fletcher's father, the Reverend Carteret Fletcher; Mabel Bradley's father George Granville, Master of University College; and Ruth Mayhew's father Arthur, a fellow of Wadham College Oxford). OHS: *List of Shareholders* and *Oxford High School Register, 1875-1935* (Oxford, 1935).

COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

Advancements in girls' education are typically seen as unfolding differently, or simply later, to boys' education. The Manchester Grammar School or Stonyhurst College were much older institutions; however, examining the boom in school magazine production from the perspective of the Oxford High School serves as a reminder that new schools did not lag behind in constructing corporate identities. The *Oxford High School Magazine* was published around the same time as many other generic print school magazines in this study: there was the *Wykehamist* (1866) from elite public school Winchester College, Manchester Grammar School's *Ulula* (1873), then the *Oxford High School Magazine* (1879), and later the *Stonyhurst Magazine* (1881) produced at the elite Jesuit college, and the *Manchester High School Magazine* (1883), from another school of the Girls' Public Day School Trust. This was the heyday of school magazine production, and the generic print school magazine was far from a public school phenomenon: in the schools in this study, only the Croydon Friends' School went without until the *Waldonian* (1906-8), perhaps due to their much better-established traditions of manuscript production. In fact, the *Saturday Review* saw the school magazines of the 1870s as different from predecessors like Eton College's *Microcosm* (1786-7). Their defining characteristic, the *Saturday Review* explained, was their emphasis on the collective life of the school, in that 'they are chronicles, or newspapers, relating current events of interest in the school community, and full of personal details of what may be described as of a public nature in relation to that community; whereas on all these points the *Microcosm* is entirely silent.'[28]

Examining a magazine in a recently-established school gives fresh insight into how nineteenth-century teenagers redrew the classed and gendered boundaries of secondary education to include themselves in new yet privileged English schoolgirl and schoolboy identities. This chapter examines how the school magazine defined, legitimised, and

[28] 'Public School Magazines', *Saturday Review* (7 April 1877), pp. 417-18.

sustained corporate identity first of all in its content, and secondly in its material features. While the concept of corporate identity suggests it united all pupils, the third section examines the practices of inclusion and exclusion which elevated corporate identity by associating it with other privileged collective identities such as class, denomination, and race. Corporate culture is seen as eradicating subversion at school, such as bullying and oppositional behaviour; however, the final section highlights the enduring importance of the peer group in identity construction at school.

CORPORATE IDENTITY AND CONTENT

Corporate identity rendered previous literature on school life inadequate. Seventeen-year-old pupil Mary Ann Mapleton wrote an 1881 *Oxford High School Magazine* essay on 'School-Life' which explained that 'a great deal, both of fact and fiction, has been written about the school-life of boys; but comparatively very little, and of that scarcely anything worth preserving, has been given to us describing the school-life of girls.' Mid-nineteenth-century literature criticised or lampooned girls' private schools, such as Lowood School in Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre* (1847) and Miss Pinkerton's Academy for Young Ladies in William Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* (1848). In the *Oxford High School Magazine,* Mary dismissed writing about such 'dreary uninteresting, we may even say unwholesome places' as the girls' private school, and argued 'girls as a class now have schools of their own, as worthy of their love and esteem and heart-felt pride as the other type of school was well-worth their dislike.'[29] The school magazine enabled pupils' to create literary tradition 'of their own' which adequately captured the corporate pride and autonomy that girls like Mary believed set their new schools apart.

[29] Mary Mapleton, 'School-Life', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1881), p. 196.

COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

Corporate identity was an important theme in pupils' essays. The first issues of the *Oxford High School Magazine* contained not only Margaret Fletcher's 'Temptations of School Life' and Mary Ann Mapleton's 'School-Life', but essays by other pupils on 'Cliques', 'Public Spirit', and 'Behaviour in the Street'.[30] These titles directed the pupils to think of their activities, achievements, and behaviour as acts of duty and loyalty towards their school. Early issues of Manchester Grammar School's *Ulula* featured similar content, such as an essay on *esprit de corps* called 'Town Schools', news of a 'Proposed Gymnasium and Swimming Bath', and a few 'Home Truths' about some pupils' lack of participation in school life.[31] In the 1870s, when this content was published, the Manchester Grammar School was rapidly increasing in size to about 1,000 pupils drawn from commercial and industrial families, many without traditions of secondary schooling. Essays in the *Oxford High School Magazine* and *Ulula* used the school magazine to explain corporate identity to pupils new to secondary education.

Essay titles such as 'Cliques' and 'Home Truths' acknowledged the challenges of introducing corporate identity. Mary Ann Mapleton's 'School-Life' in the *Oxford High School Magazine* spoke of the 'great temptation' for schoolgirls 'to forget common ties and interests which they share with the rest of the school.'[32] Mary was echoing 'The Temptations of School Life' in an earlier issue, where Margaret Fletcher had concluded that girls were too individualistic, because 'living at home, as most girls do, they are not often in "sets"'.[33] Similar comments about nineteenth-century girls' individualism endure in histories of girls' education, where the 'home-like' atmosphere of small private schools is argued to have left

[30] Margaret Evetts, 'Cliques', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1880), pp. 72-73; Ethel Arnold, 'Public Spirit', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1880), pp.99-101; 'Behaviour in the Street', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1879), pp. 27-28.
[31] "N.B.", 'Town Schools', *Ulula* (April 1874), pp. 161-67; 'Proposed Gymnasium and Swimming Bath', *Ulula* (April 1874), pp. 213-14; 'Home Truths', *Ulula* (November 1877), pp.261-64.
[32] Mary Mapleton, 'School-Life', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1881), p. 196.
[33] Margaret Fletcher, 'The Temptations of School Life', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1880), p. 59.

pupils without a sense of community.[34] This has made collective identity a measure of middle-class women's successful integration into public life, as larger and more formal educational organisations, colleges and schools proved women's capacity to govern their behaviour according to public norms.[35] Girls in the *Oxford High School Magazine* presented corporate identity as a measure of their educational advancement, with the anonymous writer of 'Behaviour in the Street' declaring that the 'enemies' of girls' education would be disarmed by seeing pupils 'so devoted to our School, and so jealous of its reputation.'[36]

In one of the earliest issues of Manchester Grammar School's *Ulula* in 1874, an anonymous article on 'Town Schools' complained along similar lines that 'united life, *esprit de corps*, community of feeling, interchange of sentiment there is little or none.'[37] Gender historians see similar appeals to collective activity and solidarity as a 'crucial break' in masculinities from the 1850s onwards, as the morally serious manliness valued in early nineteenth-century families was displaced by a more physical masculinity where sport and communal activities were idealised as the source of duty, honour, and industry.[38] In studies of this shift in youth identities, schools like the Oxford High School and Manchester Grammar School rarely feature, with the titles of works like John Honey's *Tom Brown's Universe* (1977), James Mangan's *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School* (1981), and John Chandos's *Boys Together* (1984) pointing to public schoolboy identities as the template for the development for secondary education. However, the school magazine does not depict the public school as a stronghold of English identity. The *Wykehamist* was founded at the elite public school Winchester College in 1866 due to a drastic need, a later article

[34] C. Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*, p. 71. Girls' boarding school relationships are seen as a distinctively female and intimate sociability in C. Smith-Rosenberg, 'The female world of love and ritual: Relations between women in nineteenth-century America', *Signs* 1/1 (1975), pp. 1-29.
[35] On the 'public' aspect of relationships in schools, see J. N. Burstyn, *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood* (London, 1980), p. 11. See also Pedersen, *The Reform of Girls' Secondary and Higher Education,* p. 179; M. Vicinus, 'Distance and desire: English boarding-school friendships', *Signs* 9/4 (1984), p. 604.
[36] 'Behaviour in the Street', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1879), pp. 27-28.
[37] "N.B.", 'Town Schools', *Ulula* (April 1874), pp. 161-67.

explained, to 'bring the different divisions of the School… to regard their actions and public opinion as parts to be united into a consistent whole'.[39] While the school magazine has been seen as a source on public school identities,[40] the *Wykehamist* was founded to create, rather than reflect, a corporate identity in a period of reform and expansion to the school.[41] These pleas were even more urgent in new schools, with similar sentiments in *Ulula* and the *Oxford High School Magazine.* Although teachers were involved, pupils' involvement was integral to the construction of a corporate identity particular to their school. 'It is everyone's duty to remember that he or she is a member of the whole community of mankind,' sixteen-year-old pupil Ethel Arnold wrote in an essay on 'Public Spirit' in 1880, 'and it is not only men and women who have to remember this, but boys and girls too.'[42]

The simple stratagem of counting pages reveals how corporate identity went beyond a topic for elucidation in school magazine essays. The first issue of the *Oxford High School Magazine* in 1879 had just four of its forty-eight pages dedicated to its news column 'Topics of the Term', with the rest of the magazine devoted to essays on both school life and literature, poems, and stories. Even in 1881, the school news section remarked there was 'little of importance to record'.[43] This changed when the establishment of the Tennis Club and the Debating Society enlarged 'Topics of the Term', with new sub-headings to sort through the bulk.[44] Soon, the magazine created the impression of a bustling corporate life of group activities and school events, with the December 1883 issue including news on 'The Needlework Class', 'The Violin Class', 'Mr Mill's Lecture', 'The Debating Society', 'The

[38] For an overview of historical work on this shift, see Deslandes, O*xbridge Men*, p. 17; and Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p. 111-18.
[39] BLO, Per. G.A. Hants 4° 40: 'The Wykehamist', *Wykehamist* (September 1872), p. 1.
[40] J. Mangan, *Athleticism*; Holt, 'The Textual Formations of Adolescence', p. 68.
[41] On reform to pupil dynamics at Winchester College, see P. Gwyn, 'The "Tunding Row": George Ridding and Belief in "Boy-Government"' in R. Custance (ed.), *Winchester College: Sixth-centenary Essays* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 431-477.
[42] Ethel Arnold, 'Public Spirit', July 1880, *Oxford High School Magazine,* p. 99.
[43] 'Topics of the Term', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1881), p. 288.

Lawn-Tennis Tournament', 'Speech Day', 'Marriage of an Old High School Girl', and the 'Library'.[45]

Reports on the clubs, societies and teams proliferating in English schools at this time were integral to imagining corporate identity. The minutes kept by Oxford High School's Guild of Charity presented its activities as reinforcing the aims of a high school education by fostering 'the strength and perseverance which individual work so often lacks.'[46] For middle-class girls, philanthropy served as an introduction point to collective action.[47] For girls, schools' corporate life served as a route into local public life: pupil Ethel Arnold wrote about 'our Christmas Tree at the Industrial School' in the *Oxford High School Magazine* in 1882, where girls handed out clothes made by the school's Dorcas Society.[48] Girls' manuscript books at the Croydon Friends' School also provided rich detail on their Dorcas Society, which included visits and donations to a local unnamed infant school.[49]

Manchester Grammar School's *Ulula* drew upon an even more extraordinary array of school societies of varying duration: from the Debating Society and the Philosophical Society of the 1870s; and the Glee Club, Chess Club, Natural History Society, Lacrosse Club, and Modern Languages Society of the 1880s; to the Hockey Club, Photographic Society and Shakespeare Society of the 1890s. These school magazine reports on corporate life mirrored the newspaper reports on provincial associational life which created a sense of social

[44] The Tennis Club was first discussed in Ethel M. Arnold, 'Topics of the Term', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1882), p. 382; and the Debating Society announced in 'Topics of the Term', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1882), pp. 478-79.
[45] 'Topics of the Term', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1883), pp. 621-8.
[46] OHS: *The Oxford High School. Guild of Charity (*18 January 1884).
[47] A. Twells, 'Missionary Domesticity, Global Reform and "Woman's Sphere" in Early Nineteenth□Century England', *Gender & History* 18/2 (2006), pp. 266-284. E. Gordon and G. Nair, *Public Lives: Women, Family, and Society in Victorian Britain* (New Haven CT, 2003), pp. 223-27.
[48] Ethel Arnold, 'Topics of the Term', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1882), p. 382.
[49] ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c1: *The Girls' Juvenile Society for the Improvement of the Mind, 1837-1842* (1 December 1838).

cohesion and shared values in nineteenth-century middle-class communities.[50] Manchester Grammar School societies explicitly pointed to Manchester's thriving associational life by copying the names of the city's Shakespeare Society, Glee Club, Natural History Society, and Chess Club, and of course, its renowned Literary and Philosophical Society.[51] It should not be assumed that school societies were derivative versions of city societies: historians note that young people were key participants in "adult" associational life.[52] In 1885, the *Oxford High School Magazine* explained that a group of former pupils had decided to form a spin-off of a school society, a 'club of guild members resident in London', and appealed to current pupils to support their work in impoverished parishes.[53] School corporate activities served as an entry point into the growing number of organisations for child and youth welfare, such as lads' clubs and settlements. *Ulula* reported on Manchester Grammar School's financing of a 'Grammar School cot' at a local hospital and a club for working-class boys, the Hugh Oldham Working Lads' Club.[54] Involvement did not end with leaving school: former members of Manchester Grammar School's Philosophical Society still joined debates after starting at Owens College; while at the Croydon Friends' School community members sent pieces in to be published in the *Echo*, numerous adult subscribers were members of the Juvenile Literary Society, and former pupils even started their own spin-off of a school

[50] R. J. Morris, *Class, Sect and Party: The Making of the British Middle Class, Leeds 1820-1850* (Manchester, 1990); Hewitt, *The Emergence of Stability in the Industrial City,* p. 70. On print and associational life, see Beetham, 'Healthy Reading'; and Powell and Wyke, 'Manchester Men and Manchester Magazines'.
[51] 'Manchester Shakespeare Society', *Manchester Guardian* (30 March 1904), p. 6; 'Manchester Glee Club', *Manchester Guardian* (9 May 1878), p. 6; 'Manchester Natural History Society', *Manchester Guardian* (7 August 1852), p. 6; 'Manchester Chess Club', *Manchester Guardian* (5 February 1877), p. 6.
[52] Young fundraisers were essential to philanthropy, as in Elleray, 'Little Builders'; in the temperance movement, see A. McAllister, 'Onward; in natural history circles, see M. Wale, '"The Sympathy of a Crowd": Periodicals and the Practices of Natural History in Nineteenth-Century Britain' (PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 2018); and on young contributors to natural history publications, see M. Wale, 'The Weekly Entomologist (1862-63)', Constructing Scientific Communities blog (13 April 2018) https://conscicom.org/2018/04/13/the-weekly-entomologist-1862-63/ (30 April 2018).
[53] 'Topics of the Term', *Oxford High School Magazine* (March 1885), p. 826.
[54] On the cot, see OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Notes on News', *Ulula* (March 1893), p. 32. For similar initiatives in children's periodicals, see Moruzi, 'Donations need not be large to be acceptable'. On the Lads' Club see 'Our Working Lads' Club', *Ulula* (February 1888), pp. 49-51.

magazine 'wishing to keep up the tastes awakened in our Schools.'[55] Associational life was far more familiar to Manchester, Croydon, and Oxford youths than those at elite public schools. An 1869 letter to Winchester College's *Wykehamist* was hesitant when proposing a natural history society, because the correspondent was worried 'I may seem to be suggesting a subject which savours of "t'other school"' ("T'other school" was used by Winchester pupils to signal a small private school).[56] The correspondent was anxious a school society was distasteful to the *Wykehamist*'s readers as it would link their elite corporate culture to the far broader practices of middle-class associational life.

The school magazine went beyond reflecting corporate identity. In the 1880s, when the school authorities supported the establishment of a library, Debating Society, Guild of Charity, a Games Club, and other activities, the *Oxford High School Magazine* was already there to herald the arrival of each improvement. The existence of a school magazine conferred the same legitimacy and prestige on corporate culture that periodicals and newspapers are credited for giving the new clubs, societies, and civic structures of rapidly expanding provincial cities.[57] Although the first meeting of the Oxford High School Debating Society was attended by just a handful of girls, the *Oxford High School Magazine* adopted all the formality of the newspapers to report 'the proceedings were opened by the President', name all attendees, and provide summaries of speeches.[58] By printing reports, school magazines made corporate culture desirable, because pupils were eager to get their names into print. An 1884 correspondent to the *Oxford High School Magazine* requested that reports on society news and school honours be expanded, as 'what girl is there who has gained an

[55] For former pupils attending societies at Manchester, see OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: D. W. R., 'Philosophical Society', *Ulula* (February 1900), pp. 17-9. For adult contributors to the *Echo* see 'Letter from S. J. Levitt to the J. L. Society's Correspondents', *Echo* 2/3 (June 1866), p. 90; and for adult society subscribers see ERO, D/Q 49/F1/c1: *Annual Reports (Printed) of the Juvenile Literary Society 1850-1887* (June 1876). The spin-off *Naturalist's Journal* was mentioned in in 'Societies', *Natural History Journal* (15 November 1877), p. 151.
[56] BLO, Per. G.A. Hants 4° 40: 'Correspondence', *Wykehamist* (October 1869), p. 7.
[57] M. Turner, 'The Making of a Middle Class Liberalism'.
[58] 'Topics of the Term', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1882), pp. 432-34.

honour (be it ever so humble) who does not like to see her name in the list?'[59] Lists of names were a key type of content across the magazines in this study: for example, in the May 1874 issue of Manchester Grammar School's *Ulula*, it listed the names of members of the school's Debating Society, Philosophical Society, football teams, as well as the 'University Honours' of former pupils.[60] Participating in the boys' Juvenile Literary Society at the Croydon Friends' School held out the promise of appearing in its print annual report like fourteen-year-olds David Bransby and George Birkbeck Knight who were named in the 1857 annual report as the 'Librarian' and 'Curator of Entomology' respectively.[61] While a small number of pupils self-consciously wrote about corporate identity in essays, far more pupils contributed towards school life by attending a school event, joining a society or team, donating money, or through academic achievement. School magazines went beyond constructing and legitimating schoolgirl and schoolboy types, as the flow of school news depicted a large proportion of pupils as doing their bit in sustaining the school's corporate identity.

Pupils' participation and agency was central to representations of corporate identity. The *Oxford High School Magazine*'s report on the first Debating Society meeting quoted a letter from headteacher Matilda Bishop, who was 'willing to allow' the society, as long as pupils met conditions, such as submitting debate topics for approval.[62] The oversight and approval of authority figures such as Matilda Bishop has led to the assumption that corporate culture was a part of an adult-directed programme of character formation, where controlled and regimented leisure instilled habits, personality traits, and values seen as ensuring success, as discussed in the introduction. However, the report from the first Debating Society in the *Oxford High School Magazine* listed no adults present at the actual meeting. This seems

[59] 'Topics of the Term', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1884), pp. 714-25.
[60] *Ulula* (May 1874), p. 218-23.
[61] ERO, Essex Record Office, D/Q 49/F1/c1: *Annual Reports of the Juvenile Literary Society* (June 1857).
[62] 'Topics of the Term', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1882), pp. 432-24.

likely, as it accords with the adult-sanctioned self-government, such as supervision by prefects and top form pupils, which was typical of Victorian secondary schools. Indeed, the Clarendon report on public schools put 'public spirit', 'vigour and manliness of character' and 'strong but not slavish respect for public opinion' down to self-governing corporate life rather than adult oversight and intervention.[63] School archives are often the results of associational life, as pupils kept manuscript records of rules, subscriber names, accounts, and disciplinary matters. The girls' and boys' mutual improvement societies at the Croydon Friends' School kept detailed records; the Oxford High School archive contains manuscript records and minutes of the Oxford High School Guild of Charity, and the Oxford High School Games Club; and at Stonyhurst, there is a formal *Cricket Journal* and the *Association Football Journal*.[64] School magazines circulated to a wider readership and their reports proved pupils' abilities to run clubs, teams and societies for themselves, to acquire desirable characteristics such as organisational skills, habits of keeping records, and a sense of fiscal responsibility.[65] Indeed, some societies were started by enthusiastic pupils: at the Manchester Grammar School, the Shakespeare Society was very much the project of seventeen-year-old pupil Arnold Max Aronovich.[66] Including school news forms a picture of collective agency which was not dominated by teachers, and which includes the many pupils whose names fleetingly appear in school news or as participants in societies and other events.

This collective agency was new, and pupils used the school magazine to explain it to their schoolmates. In her essay on school life in the *Oxford High School Magazine*, Margaret Fletcher explained that corporate solidarity would emerge if 'a few girls, to start with, would

[63] *Parliamentary Papers* (1864) Royal Commission on the Public Schools Vol. I, p. 3.
[64] ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c3: *Minutes of the Juvenile Society (Girls) 1859-1871*; OHS: *Oxford High School Guild of Charity*; *Oxford High School Games Club* (1898); SC, A.4 (21): *Stonyhurst Association Football Journal*; SC: *Cricket Journal 1860-1872*.
[65] On the religious meaning of accountancy practices, see Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, pp. 201-3; on responsibility, see D. Denisoff, 'Introduction. Small Change: The Consumerist Designs of the Nineteenth-Century Child' in D. Denisoff (ed.), *The Nineteenth-Century Child and Consumer Culture* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 1-25. In the Quaker community, see P. Jones, *Industrial Enlightenment: Science, technology and culture in Birmingham and the West Midlands, 1760-1820* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 161-201.

bind themselves together to uphold the honour of the Form, to scorn anything underhand as beneath them, to work conscientiously and to speak boldly.' After offering this picture, Margaret appealed to her readers 'Are there none who will try this?[67] The essay shows how the school magazine explained collective agency and thus created it, by mobilising readers to acts of loyalty towards their school. This recurred throughout the *Oxford High School Magazine*: in 'Public Spirit' sixteen-year-old pupil Ethel Arnold appealed 'everything mean and cowardly let us suppress, and everything noble let us uphold, not merely for the sake of our own individual honour, but for the sake of the purity and fair fame of our school'; an appeal to collective action repeated in Mary Max Müller's 'Our Motto', and the article on 'Behaviour in the Street.'[68] Middle-class pupils sought to extend this collective responsibility to working-class youths. When the Hugh Oldham Lads' Club was established by the Manchester Grammar School, members were charged a small fee because it would, *Ulula* explained, 'make them feel that they have a say in their club, that they are a part of it, and must keep up its honour.'[69]

School magazines legitimated pupils' control over constructing and sustaining corporate identity, and often dismissed the idea of teacher oversight. In 'Cliques', an essay appearing in the *Oxford High School Magazine* in 1880, seventeen-year-old pupil Margaret Evetts took pride in the fact that high school girls were a community 'drawn close together by undergoing the same experiences and trials.'[70] Her authority to write about 'Cliques' was anchored in an aspect of corporate identity unique to this first generation of high school girls, and denied many parents and teachers: experience.

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[66] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: Arnold Max Aronovich, 'Shakespeare Society', *Ulula* (February 1898), p. 22.
[67] Margaret Fletcher, 'The Temptations of School Life', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1880), pp. 59-60.
[68] Ethel Arnold, 'Public Spirit', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1880), pp. 99-101; [Mary Max Müller], 'Our Motto', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1879), pp. 19-20; 'Behaviour in the Street', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1879), pp. 27-28.
[69] 'Our Working Lads' Club', *Ulula* (February 1888), pp. 49-51.
[70] Margaret Evetts, 'Cliques', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1880), pp. 72-73.

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It was 'the same experiences and trials' which set the school magazine apart from mainstream youth periodicals. School life and education were key themes for many youth-oriented periodicals in the late nineteenth-century, but many writers of school stories, like teachers and mothers, had limited experience of schooling.[71] Home-educated girls built 'imaginative communities' around mainstream periodicals like the *Monthly Packet* and *Atalanta*,[72] or created their own communities by circulating manuscript magazines via post to other ambitious girls.[73] The rapid growth in high schools meant they were often staffed by teachers who, former Oxford High School pupil Margaret Fletcher remarked, 'had not themselves experienced school life,' and she marvelled at the paradox of home-educated women required 'to fuse hitherto separate groups, and inculcate a corporate spirit and what was generally considered best in public school life.'[74] For these home-educated women, the autonomy and confidence of their pupils could be alarming. Oxford High School headteacher Lucy Soulsby, saw pupils' confidence as 'conceit, that school-room knowledge in children who live in a childish world, which hides from them their own inferiority.' Lucy Soulsby was alarmed by the tendency for pupils like Margaret Evetts to confidently talk over parents and teachers and talk instead to their schoolmates.[75] On occasion, pupils used the school magazine to poke fun at older generations' naivety and inexperience. An anonymous story 'A Dialogue on the Greek Play', published in *Ulula* in 1900, featured a father watching his son's performance in a Greek play at Manchester Grammar School. The father responded 'evasively' to questions about the play from his other children, prompting one child 'in a stage whisper' to ask 'Does Pa know Greek?'[76] The vignette captures the discomfort faced by

[71] On the limited experience periodical writers had of schooling, see Rodgers, *Adolescent Girlhood and Literary Culture,* p. 82.
[72] S. Mitchell, *The New Girl*, p. 177; Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood,* pp. 21-52; pp. 115-38; Walton, 'Spinning the webs'.
[73] Walton, 'Spinning the webs'; K. Gleadle, 'Magazine culture, girlhood communities, and educational reform'.
[74] Fletcher, *O Call Back Yesterday*, p. 46.
[75] L. Soulsby, *Stray Thoughts for Teachers* (Oxford and London, 1893), p. 15.
[76] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'A Dialogue on the Greek Play', *Ulula* (October 1900), pp. 155-57.

parents when confronted with the associational life and events at their children's secondary schools.

Some magazine contributors were confident they were uniquely able to explain and spread corporate identity. There is a sense of authority in 'The Temptations of School Life' in the *Oxford High School Magazine* where pupil Margaret Fletcher explained, 'having experienced the peculiar temptations of school life, perhaps in that I have yielded to many, I shall be less likely to undervalue their effects.'[77] Contribution to the school magazine demanded experience of school life, unlike the imaginative communities of mainstream books and periodicals. Indeed, some pupils used their experience to critique other publications. In an article on her experiences as a district visitor, former pupil Nellie Hardman frankly acknowledged that 'the discouraging question often forces itself, "What good is one doing?" and is very hard to answer, compared with the girls in books who generally convert the whole village, one's successes are infinitesimal.'[78] Experience enabled Nellie to confidently assert the superiority of her own essay for her school magazine compared with mainstream publications. The value of the school magazine lay not in its literary qualities, but the fact that its content was anchored in activities, events, and routines to which Oxford High School girls had privileged access.

Some contemporary teachers and adult commentators noted this shift away from literary ambition. 'Harrowing has been the description given by some of the literary famine,' *Ulula*'s editor wrote after perusing other schools' magazines in 1877, before delivering some 'Home Truths' on his struggles to find enough content to create a magazine at all.[79] At times, magazines criticised individual contributions, such as a rather humiliating remark in the *Oxford High School Magazine* that sixteen-year-old pupil Beatrice Stockton's essay was

[77] Margaret Fletcher, 'The Temptations of School Life', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1880), pp. 59-60.
[78] N. Hardman, 'My District', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1887), p. 1105.
[79] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Home Truths', *Ulula* (November 1877), pp. 261-4.

'good in style, but poor in substance'.[80] Such complaints have led historians and literary scholars to sideline the school magazine as of little merit.[81] Those sections which deliberately worked to foster corporate identity have been sidelined as somehow supplementary to the main purpose of the school magazine. Yet evaluating the magazine from the pupils' perspective, it was the everyday writing up of club and society transactions issue after issue and year after year that was central to the school magazine's purpose in explaining and sustaining corporate identity. Far from precipitating decline, corporate identity fuelled a boom in school magazine production, which transformed the content, and deflected the attempts at literary analysis which had shaped responses to the school magazine in the genre's first century.

CORPORATE IDENTITY AND MATERIALITY

By the mid-1880s, corporate identity was making the school magazine more predictable, in its layout and appearance as much as its content. For instance, readers in search of news in the *Oxford High School Magazine* would know to flick to the back of each issue where they would find it under 'Topics of the Term'. The word 'magazine' denotes miscellaneous content, but literary scholar Margaret Beetham observes the magazine was 'governed by formulae' which resolved heterogeneous content into a satisfying and predictable pattern across its run.[82] Examining over forty magazines in 1884, the *Western Daily Press Bristol* concluded 'the same plan is carried out, with slight variations, throughout all the

[80] 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1880), p. 98.
[81] Kupferberg and Topp declared they 'stared away stonily' and 'shudder' at school and college publications. Kupferberg and Topp, *Children as Authors,* p. 3. Jane Wilson found school publications too numerous to include in a bibliography. Wilson, *Children's Writings,* ix.
[82] M. Beetham, 'Towards a Theory of the Periodical as a Publishing Genre', in L. Brake, A. Jones and L. Madden (eds), *Investigating Victorian Journalism* (London, 1990), p. 24.

magazines.'[83] School magazines commented on the formulaic structure: *Ulula* wrote that the 'ordinary magazine begins with an editorial', followed by school events, honours, and sports, comments echoed in the *Western Daily Press Bristol* article.[84] The generic structure emerged across the generic print magazines in this study. By 1884, readers of the *Stonyhurst Magazine* could expect to see 'Current Events' in the first pages, then articles, and announcements such as 'The Prize Debate'. Towards the back they could rely on regular sports reports such as 'Cricket', or trace conversations unfolding over several issues in the 'Editor's Post-Bag.' This was not a structure individual to one school, but shared across different magazines as the organising principle of the genre. While the Croydon Friends' School deliberately kept itself apart from the culture of Anglican schools, even Croydon Friends' School's manuscript magazine the *Echo* launched a 'new series' of the *Echo* in 1866 which departed from the usual elaborately illustrated front cover, instead bearing a simple masthead and table of contents promising a 'Record of 1st Month', a 'Memoranda of 2nd Mo[nth],' and news about school prizes.[85]

These material features were appreciated by contemporary readers as part of the school magazine's meaning. The first issue of the *Oxford High School Magazine* perhaps a little pre-emptively proclaimed the magazine a 'success' as 'we are able to print forty-eight pages instead of thirty-two.'[86] We might not attach much meaning to the number of pages, but for contributors it was satisfyingly material evidence of the school's success in encouraging loyalty, duty, and hard work at school. For instance, in 1889, an *Oxford High School Magazine* editorial used the quantity of pages as a measure of public spirit, declaring that the 'abundance of public spirit' in the school would lead to 'the first-rate Magazine which a

[83] 'Public School Magazines', *Western Daily Press Bristol* (16 December 1884), p. 7.
[84] 'Public School Magazines', *Western Daily Press Bristol* (16 December 1884), p. 7; OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (December 1885), pp. 46-7.
[85] See *Echo* 2/1 (1 February 1866), p. 1.
[86] 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1879), pp. 1-2.

school like ours ought to be able to boast.'[87] Similar sentiments appeared in other schools' magazines, such as a boast from an 1887 *Stonyhurst Magazine* editorial that 'all numbers are now of a bulk which we should once have called double', which was 'a healthy sign and shows that in some measure the *Stonyhurst Magazine* is doing the work for which it was started.'[88] For contemporaries, material features such as quantity could hold as much ideological importance as literary features such as quality, providing compelling evidence of a thriving corporate culture.

The material features of *Oxford High School Magazine* were central to constructing corporate identity. At the centre of the cover page was the school's Latin motto 'Ad Lucem' ("To the light") and its emblem of sunflowers (Figure 10). This layout cannot be found in earlier school magazines like Eton College's *Microcosm* (1787) which merely printed the title and date, styling itself as a 'periodical work'. Nor was it commonplace for mid-century public school titles like the *Eton College Magazine* (1832), the *Eton School Magazine* (1847) and the *Rugbaean* (1850), which did not regularly feature emblems or mottoes. It was only in the 1870s that cover pages evolved the clear conventions so recognisable today. *Ulula* was subtitled 'the Manchester Grammar School Magazine' and had an emblem, the owl device of the school's benefactor, Hugh Oldham, which was also a visual allusion to the school's Latin motto 'Sapere Aude' ("Dare to be Wise").[89] Cover page conventions were well established enough for *Ulula* to take offence at innovations: an 1886 editorial described the cover page of the *Huddersfield College Magazine* as 'remarkable' for having 'a vast expanse of pink, with three words in black letters in the middle.'[90] The similarities between cover pages connected each school to the wider collective identity of English schoolgirls and schoolboys, while each

[87] 'Editor's' Notes', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1889), p. 146.
[88] [Editorial], *Stonyhurst Magazine* (December 1887), p. 65.
[89] On the choice of emblem, see OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: J. C., 'Recensio Erroris', *Ulula* (December 1883), p. 25. This motto 'Sapere Aude' was in evidence in earlier publications. It featured for example on the 1839 pupil-edited print magazine the *Grammar School Gazette.* MGS: *Grammar School Tracts. Grammar School Gazette* (23 May 1839).

unique combinations of title, emblem and motto anchored a specific magazine in the special corporate identity of one school.

[90] 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (February 1886), p. 72.



Figure 10. Image of front cover of the *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1879).

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Like corporate identity more generally, the school magazine's material features were novel enough to require explanation to pupils. In 'A Vision of Sunflowers' published in the *Oxford High School Magazine* in 1880, headteacher Matilda Bishop explained the sunflower was a reminder of pupils' duty 'to teach other flowers to look upwards to the sun'.[91] Matilda Bishop presented the school as a spiritual and moral community, as her vision of the girls' school and college was as a site of Anglican sisterhood, a religious symbolism affirmed at the school's first speech day in 1880 by the master of ceremonies, the Reverend W. Merry, Rector of Lincoln College, and father of pupil Kate Merry.[92] The sunflower emblem was selected by staff members, but pupils' control over the magazine enabled pupil Mary Max Müller to add another meaning. Her essay on 'Our Motto' explained the sunflower symbolised 'turning to the light' at school, where 'so much is trusted to our honour; we cannot always be looked after, and there are so many little ways in which we may be unfair or mean without being found out.'[93] Pupils like Mary encouraged a reading of the sunflower as a reminder that corporate identity depended upon their collective behaviour and activities.

Magazine mottoes and emblems were an ideal strategy to legitimate corporate identity, particularly in new schools. The Oxford High School may have been just four years old in 1879, but the magazine's Latin motto 'Ad Lucem' conferred an aura of tradition and permanence. Schools have been acknowledged as key in inventing traditions which gave stability and coherence to national identity during the rapid social, cultural, and imperial changes of the nineteenth century.[94] Secondary schools represented new opportunities in public and professional life but employed Latin mottoes and coats of arms to legitimate their pupils' presence. For example, Manchester Grammar School's emblem was designed and

[91] Matilda Bishop 'A Vision of Sunflowers', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1880), pp. 50-52.
[92] 'Topics of the Term', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1881), pp. 232-37.
[93] [Mary Max Müller], 'Our Motto', Oxford *High School Magazine* (December 1879), pp. 19-20.
[94] J. A. Mangan, '"The grit of our forefathers": invented traditions, propaganda and imperialism' in J. MacKenzie (ed), *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester, 1986), pp. 113–39; Stray, *Classics Transformed*, p. 182.

picked out in 1873 for the front cover of *Ulula*, but it proudly pointed to the school's ancient foundation by adapting the owl from the arms of fifteenth-century benefactor Hugh Oldham.[95] Similarly, the emblem and legend on the *Stonyhurst Magazine* created an English continuous Catholic identity out of a list of disbanded and precarious former institutions for English recusant boys at 'St Omers 1592, Bruges 1762, Liege 1773' and finally 'Stonyhurst 1794'. Magazine cover pages did not reflect a stable corporate identity, but constructed it for a rapidly expanding and diversifying middle-class educational community.

These generic conventions of the school magazine drew upon a new material culture of schooling. In her article on 'School-Life' in the *Oxford High School Magazine*, Mary Ann Mapleton argued the need to 'set before all the Forms some common ambition, or to unite them by some common tie; even if it be only by means of a motto or badge, the property of the whole school.'[96] William Whyte argues that this period saw architectural features such as the quadrangle, playing fields, and a school church become central to 'building a public school community', and mentions in passing a growing enthusiasm for school songs, old boy and old girl clubs, sports uniforms, and school colours.[97] This material culture became popular across the schools in this study: in 1880, the *Oxford High School Magazine* proudly announced that music for their school song was to be written by John Farmer, a music master celebrated for songs written for Harrow School; Manchester Grammar School would commission Farmer to the same ends in 1889.[98] Mary's preference for 'only' a motto or badge suggests that unlike more costly architectural reforms and rebuilding, pupils preferred a simple and accessible symbol which they could easily acquire to communicate their sense of corporate pride in their school.

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[95] 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1879), p. 1; J. C., 'Recensio Erroris', *Ulula* (December 1883), p. 25.
[96] Mary Mapleton, 'School-Life', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1881), p. 197-9.
[97] Whyte, 'Building a public school community', p. 622. See also Mangan, *Athleticism*, p. 178.

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The school magazine played a key role in popularising the material culture of English schooling. Editorials and articles show that the sunflower emblem and Latin motto were chosen around the same time the *Oxford High School Magazine* was established.[99] This was also the case for Manchester Grammar School's *Ulula*, as an article in 1883 explained that 'in July 1873, when *Ulula* started as a School Magazine, a natural desire was expressed for a distinctive badge or device'.[100] The enthusiasm for swapping and collecting magazines from other schools made pupils acutely aware that convention demanded they have a motto and emblem to adorn their own magazine, and signal their membership of this broader educational community. For instance, correspondents to both the *Oxford High School Magazine* and *Ulula* wished for school colours after seeing them in other schools.[101] *Ulula* even informed pupils of how to purchase this material culture, as copies from the 1890s included wrappers with advertisements for local businesses selling sports clothing and 'a speciality: the Manchester Grammar School cap'.[102] Not only did the material features of school magazines proclaim a school's possession of a desirable, long-established corporate identity, but the circulation of magazines around England and beyond made this new material culture an integral and desirable sign of being a schoolgirl or schoolboy.

By incorporating mottoes and emblems, the school magazine itself became a further example of material culture. In *Ulula*, a correspondent described former pupils as 'stamped with the owl for ever'.[103] The process of magazine production was a useful way to visualise the process of identity formation at school. When another magazine criticised the lack of

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[98] E. Walker and J. James, 'Farmer, John (1835–1901)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (23 September 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-33081> (8 January 2018). OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Editorial', *Ulula*, May 1889, p.113.
[99] See 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1879), p. 1; 'Our Motto', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1879), p. 18.
[100] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: J. C., 'Recensio Erroris', *Ulula* (December 1883), p. 25.
[101] 'Correspondence', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1898), p. 1044. OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: [Anon.], 'Correspondence', *Ulula* (November 1873), p. 94; and "Nemo", 'Letters to "Ulula"', *Ulula*, March 1898, p. 57.
[102] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: [wrapper], *Ulula* (February 1893).
[103] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: "Nemo", 'Letters to "Ulula"', *Ulula* (March 1897), p. 50.

literary writing in the *Stonyhurst Magazine*, an editorial asserted that its 'Stonyhurstian stamp' was not only 'the aim of the *Stonyhurst Magazine*' but 'the legitimate and proper aim of a school magazine.'[104] Regardless of the content, the school magazine was a material object, like a cap or a badge, which marked its owner with corporate identity. Any pupil who did not buy the magazine could be accused of disloyalty, with the *Oxford High School Magazine* declaring it 'a disgrace… that out of a School of two hundred girls *only* one hundred take in the Magazine' (emphasis theirs).[105] This complaint about what seem to be surprisingly robust sales figures, comprising about half of the school, used magazine sales as a measure of girls' loyalty and identification with their school. Other school magazines hammered this point home, with *Ulula* insisting that a subscription of two shillings and sixpence a year proved a pupil 'really wishes to belong to the School'.[106]

Furthermore, the collective agency of the school magazine was ideal for engaging pupils with this material culture. In 1880, when school authorities decided to hire John Farmer to write music for a school song, the *Oxford High School Magazine* 'ask[ed] everyone, both old girls and present members of the school, to do their best in supplying the words.'[107] The school magazine was used to involve the whole school in deciding the symbols to best represent their corporate identity. This decision-making process repeated over the years: for instance, in 1898 a former pupil wrote to the magazine to request 'colours' to denote which school she had attended.[108] Other school magazines provided a forum for similar negotiations, such as requests from pupil correspondents to *Ulula* for their own school colours, and editorials in the Quaker *Stramongate School Magazine*, which in 1900 courted

[104] SC: 'Notes on Current Events', *Stonyhurst Magazine* (May 1886), p. 216.
[105] 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1881), p. 191.
[106] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: [inside cover] *Ulula* (May 1883).
[107] 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1880), p. 98.
[108] 'Correspondence', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1898), p. 1044.

pupil readers for 'more suggestions for a Magazine Motto'.[109] These appeals relied on pupils to step forward, so could fall flat - for instance, only two responses were received to the *Oxford High School Magazine*'s appeal for song words.[110] Whether pupils participated or opted out, these appeals in the school magazine attempted to mobilise pupils to participate in the self-government and collective agency of corporate culture. In 1882, the *Oxford High School Magazine* explicitly mobilised collective agency by deciding that all pupils in the highest form would join a new Magazine Committee and promise 'to write themselves' and 'to do all in their power to help other girls to write'.[111] Similar appeals echoed throughout the magazines in this study, with *Ulula* declaring in 1892 that 'if a School Magazine is to be of any use, it must be made by the School and read by the School.'[112]

CORPORATE IDENTITY: INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION

Despite the emergence of a generic form of print school magazine, and its representations of a stable corporate identity, in practice identity at school was an uneven and dynamic construct. As well as the overlaps between home and school education discussed in the first chapter, middle-class families, communities, and children did not necessarily embrace the ideal of whole-hearted dedication to school. In the *Oxford High School Magazine*, headteacher Lucy Soulsby warned pupils against 'running in and out of each others houses at all hours', advising them of their duty to separate school from home life.[113] Corporate identity is often seen as the product of the increasingly inward-looking nature of public

[109] London, Friends' Library, Friends' House, Pers B/STR/4, SER 615/1: 'Our Name and Motto', *Stramongate School Magazine* (December 1900), p. 16. OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: [Anon?], 'Correspondence', *Ulula* (November 1873), p. 94.
[110] A. L. Luxton, 'School-Song', *Oxford High School Magazine*, April 1881, p. 194. Luxton was the sister of headteacher Ada Benson; Alice Lewis, 'School Song', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1881), p. 226.
[111] 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1882), p. 337.
[112] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Proclamation by the Owl', *Ulula* (February 1892), p.2.

schools in this period. Sleeping accommodation on school grounds was replacing town boarding houses; free foundation places for townspeople were discontinued in favour of open competitive scholarships; debates and societies were closed to outside membership and took place in school buildings; and inter-school games were played on fields in sole use by the school.[114] For day pupils, however, daily life continued to be skewed towards family and community. This gave a particular urgency to statements of corporate identity in *Ulula*, for instance, where one 1883 editorial argued that 'the Magazine in a large day-school like ours, where boys had scarcely the opportunity sometimes of knowing each other's names, is obviously one chief way by which to develop school interest and school spirit.'[115] Such comments highlight how ideals of a strong corporate identity were modified in practice, as middle-class communities varied in their views on the place of school in teenagers' lives.

Girls were aware their corporate culture faced additional obstacles. The article on 'Behaviour in the Street' in the first issue of the *Oxford High School Magazine* reported 'complaints' from locals that 'girls stand waiting outside the school, walk arm in arm stretching right across the pavement, rush to School in a most disorderly way.'[116] In the nineteenth century, girls were typically shielded from public attention, and, as Christina de Bellaigue notes, England lacked institutions such as convents to normalise a collective female public presence.[117] Content such as the warnings in 'Behaviour in the Street' was common in the *Oxford High School Magazine*'s first years, suggesting the school's startling visibility to a local community unused to seeing crowds of girls arriving and leaving at the same time each day. These essays in the magazine sought to manage girls' collective presence, by alerting

[113] L. H. M. Soulsby, 'Holidays', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1888), quote p. 65; See also L. H. M. Soulsby, 'Friendship', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1889), p. 151; L. H. M.Soulsby, 'The Ideal Woman, and How School Affects Her', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1893), p. 491.
[114] On rebuilding, see W. Whyte, 'Building a Public School Community', p. 603; Gamsu, 'Moving up and moving out'.
[115] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: [inside cover] *Ulula* (May 1883).
[116] 'Behaviour in the Street', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1879), p. 27.
[117] de Bellaigue, *Educating Women*, p. 40; on girls and public attention, see Maynes, 'Age as a category of historical analysis', p. 117.

them to the potential need to rein in their own enthusiastic dedication to school life in the face of the more critical stance taken by many families and the wider public.

Girls used their school magazine to counter these wider discourses which sought to exclude them from the values and habits of corporate culture. 'Perhaps some people may think "Woman's Work" an ambitious subject for a School Magazine', an anonymous article began in the *Oxford High School Magazine*, 'but girls will be women some day, so why should they not think a little about their duty in life?'[118] The article was torn between its assertion of women's right to work and a hesitant tone acknowledging the potential hostility not only to their work, but to articles on the subject in the school magazine.

Hesitation and apology were common strategies used by women writers to soften readers' hostility, particularly when making arguments for education and public sphere participation.[119] Magazines by early Cambridge women graduates contained similar 'rhetorical performances', Jill Lamberton demonstrates, as women students campaigned for women's education but remained mindful that their campaigns 'risked scrutiny by much of the Cambridge establishment.'[120] Although women's activism has been central to analyses of advancements in education, recent histories of twentieth-century American education draw attention to the centrality of younger generations in reform, not just as beneficiaries of adult activism, but as 'some of the most committed social activists in the past sixty years'.[121] Similar 'youth-centred' activism in English education has been identified by Kathryn Gleadle in girls' manuscript magazines and correspondence in the mid-Victorian period.[122] Navigating everyday hostility and scrutiny was a task that Ada Benson noted 'mainly

[118] 'Woman's Work', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1879), p. 36.
[119] Apologies and hesitations are part of a 'long literary tradition' in female writing. For an overview, see Martin and Goodman, *Women and Education*, p. 25.
[120] Lamberton, 'A Revelation and a Delight', p. 580. On young working-class women deploying similar tactics, see Pooley, 'Children's Writing', pp. 92-93.
[121] On pupils' activism to desegregate US schools, see D. Walker (ed.), 'Online Forum: A History of Student Activism', Black Perspectives: The Blog of the African American Intellectual History Society (8-12 January 2018) https://www.aaihs.org/online-forum-a-history-of-student-activism/ (21 August 2018).
[122] K. Gleadle, 'Magazine culture, girlhood communities, and educational reform in late Victorian Britain'.

depends upon you - you, the first students', she wrote in the *Oxford High School Magazine*.[123] In a hostile context, corporate identity was not merely submission to adult-directed character formation, but activism on pupils' own account, according to former Oxford High School pupil Ruth Mayhew. 'We were the first to write ourselves down High School girls,' she wrote in a recollection of schooldays, 'and we bore ourselves bravely, feeling ourselves indeed the elect, proud of the School, sacrificing ourselves willingly for its fair name, full of hope, energy and determination.'[124] School magazines provided girls with a space to practise anticipating and parrying the blows of public criticism of their education. Many *Oxford High School Magazine* essays adopted the hesitant stance of 'Woman's Work': former pupil Nellie Hardman opened an essay by acknowledging her 'feeble' abilities when she started out as a district visitor; and pupil Margaret Anne Rolleston apologised for the title of her article 'Girls and Politics', as 'to some people the above title 'Girls and Politics' may, I am afraid, seem very strange. What have girls to do with politics?'[125] Through these rhetorical strategies in their school magazine, girls practised deflecting criticism and hostility towards their corporate culture.

Strategies to shield girls from public criticism affected the circulation of the school magazine. In 1882, a correspondent writing to the children's periodical *Aunt Judy's Magazine* to request amusing epitaphs was recommended by another reader 'that if he can borrow a copy of the *Oxford High School Magazine*, No. 8., printed for private circulation, he will find some curious epitaphs in it, taken from churchyards near Oxford.'[126] The recommendation may have sought to connect the *Oxford High School Magazine* to the wider readership of children's periodicals, but the desire was hampered by the rule printed on the cover that it was 'Printed for Private Circulation Only', and not available to buy at local booksellers or by

[123] Ada Benson, 'Miss Benson's Letter', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1879), pp.2-4.
[124] Ruth Mayhew quoted in Stack, O*xford High School,* p. 52.
[125] N. Hardman, 'My District', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1887), p. 1104; M. A. Rolleston, 'Girls and Politics', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1884), p. 750.

people unconnected with the school. That the *Oxford High School Magazine* is the only magazine in this study with a 'private circulation' suggests the gendered nature of this restriction, shielding girls' fledgling corporate identity from the scrutiny levelled at women's education. To some extent, this private circulation recreated the sheltered social and cultural environment of manuscript, where the circulation of a single copy was restricted to the school building. At the same time, the choice of a generic print school magazine rather than manuscript provided a stepping-stone into the broader educational communities made possible by print, as each impression of the *Oxford High School Magazine* still had about 150 copies.[127]

The corporate identity of new communities faced additional obstacles and constraints, including the exclusion of many pupils from participation in school activities and the magazine. As noted in the first chapter, involvement in societies and magazine production was often closed to pupils in lower forms. Other potential participants opted out. While the *Oxford High School Magazine* reported that 'much interest has been displayed in the welfare of the [Debating] Society', it lamented that only a small number of girls were willing to write essays and speeches for society meetings, with the result the society repeatedly disbanded and re-formed over the next decades.[128] As the introduction observes, corporate culture is presented by historians as enforcing mass conformity, yet these extra-curricular activities were voluntary, and pupils could choose to opt out. Appeals for full participation could fall flat: on one occasion, an *Oxford High School Magazine* essay competition for younger girls did not attract a single entrant.[129]

[126] 'Aunt Judy's Correspondence', *Aunt Judy's Magazine* (September 1882), p. 572.
[127] According to accounts, in 1884, 150 copies were printed, while in 1895 sales figures suggest it was around 200. 'Accounts', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1885), p. 877; Accounts', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1895), p. 688.
[128] 'Topics of the Term', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1882), pp. 432-34.
[129] 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1881), p. 193.

Some pupils may have opted out, but exclusion of others was integral to corporate identity. In the article on 'Behaviour in the Street' in the *Oxford High School Magazine*, its anonymous writer chided pupils that 'it is a well-known rule that girls may not walk together without leave, the carrying out of this rule is entirely trusted to our honour, and I am afraid it is sometimes disregarded.'[130] The essay reminded some pupils to exclude others from their company on the walk home. Paul Deslandes' analysis of university magazines points to 'new insider/outsider distinctions and dichotomies of inclusion and exclusion' that were used to shore up the status and privileges of Oxford and Cambridge student identities as numbers of non-Anglicans, non-Christians, foreigners and women increased in the late nineteenth century.[131] For middle-class girls, the Bishop of Oxford acknowledged the fact that many parents 'thought it a disadvantage to send their daughters to such a school as this, or any other large school, where many were thrown together' at the school's first speech day in 1880.[132] Corporate identity implied inclusion of all pupils, but its status depended on unspoken exclusions, and the warning about the walk home presented social difference as key in protecting the reputation of individual girls, and thus the school.

Closer inspection of the *Oxford High School Magazine* reveals the collective identity of "university" girls was held up as representative of the school at large. The Oxford High School purported to create a 'fusion of classes' between different middle-class communities in Oxford; in practice, however, corporate culture at the school reproduced pre-existing social divisions between "town" and "gown", that is, between townspeople and "university families".[133] The "town" girls were generally silenced and omitted from the *Oxford High School Magazine*, with only occasional appearances by pupils like Louey (Sarah Louise) Eagleston, the daughter of a local ironmonger and city mayor. Pupils without university ties

[130] 'Behaviour in the Street', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1879), p. 27.
[131] Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men*, pp. 184-228; quote pp. 184-85.
[132] 'Oxford High School. Opening of New Buildings and Distribution of Prizes', *Jackson's Oxford Journal* (18 December 1880).

felt alienated from corporate culture, with former pupil Janet Payne explaining that the groups 'could be friends in school and at games, but we didn't go to one another's homes.'[134] The *Oxford High School Magazine* occasionally attempted to break the hold of "university" girls on the magazine: but despite an 1881 ruling from the Editing Committee that a new member would be elected each term, university girls on the Committee continued to re-elect one another, with Mary Max Müller re-elected in 1881 leaving the Committee unchanged.[135] Silences and omissions from the school magazine were not just the result of individual non-participation, but the subtle exclusion of some pupils from representations of corporate identity, in order to align the school with the status, beliefs, and pre-existing social ties of a particular dominant group.

Similar silences and omissions surrounded migrant and minority ethnic pupils' participation in sustaining and creating corporate identity. For instance, Jewish pupils can regularly be glimpsed participating in school activities, such as a performance of Shylock by pupil Arnold Meyer ("Max") Aronovich reported in *Ulula* in 1898.[136] Pupil names in *Ulula* recorded a small yet substantial number of pupils transferring from the Manchester Jews' School, and official rules distributed to parents in 1894 clarified that separate prayers were held for Jewish boys.[137] However, while pupils like Arthur Frederick Hertz and one of the Frankenburg brothers (either Leonard Henry or Sydney) were active members of the Philosophical Society in the mid-1890s, *Ulula* did not discuss the school's ties to these prosperous Jewish families in Manchester. Nor did the magazine engage with the religious, ethnic, and national diversity of the school after Jewish refugee families arrived in Manchester from Eastern Europe in the 1890s, like the Romanian-born Arnold Max

[133] The 'fusion of classes' is discussed in Fletcher, *O Call Back Yesterday*, p. 46.
[134] E. Forbes, *Oxford High School Girls' Public Day School Trust Recollections, 1875-2000* (Oxford, 2000), p. 48.
[135] 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1881), p. 241.
[136] 'The Conversazione', *Ulula* (February 1898), p. 11.

Aronovich.[138] Similarly, while the *Stonyhurst Magazine* acknowledged the school's continental inheritance, assertions of corporate identity remained silent regarding the school's long tradition of drawing pupils from Ireland, continental Europe, North and South America, and the West Indies. In reality, the pupils were so diverse in Philosophy, the third-level course at Stonyhurst College, that at times it was a struggle to enforce speaking in English.[139]

The presence of migrant and colonial pupils is a key yet under-theorised aspect of the impact of globalisation and colonisation on secondary education in England.[140] Paul Deslandes notes university magazines actively excluded non-Anglican Christians, non-Christians, foreigners, and women from representations of the typical Oxford or Cambridge student.[141] Similarly, exclusions and silences show the generic print school magazine policed the boundaries of corporate identity to construct a white British identity. For some parents and teachers, the corporate identity of English schooling was valued as a way to 'mitigate' indigenous or migrant heritage.[142] Historians note it was through the Manchester Jews' School and the Jewish Lads' Brigade that the more established Jewish community responded to growing public anti-Semitism by imposing the values of 'an English, middle-class, public-school culture' on recent migrants from Eastern Europe.[143] Pupils from the established Jewish community were from families active in Manchester's civic life, and were just as active in the school magazines: for instance, Arthur Frederick Hertz and one of the Frankenburg brothers

[137] 'Honours List', *Ulula* (August 1894), p. 121. MGS: *Manchester Grammar School: Rules of Discipline* (1894).
[138] Naturalisation Certificates and Declarations, 1870-1916, Class: HO 334; Piece: 23; Certificate: 8601 www.ancestry.co.uk (12 November 2015).
[139] Sire, *Gentlemen Philosophers*, p. 6.
[140] E. Millions, '"By education and conduct": educating trans-imperial Indigenous fur-trade children in the Hudson's Bay Company Territories and the British Empire, 1820s to 1870s' (PhD thesis, University of Manitoba, 2017), pp. 1-26; Buettner, *Empire Families.*
[141] Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men,* pp. 184-228.
[142] See Buettner, *Empire Families*, p. 157; Millions, 'By education and conduct', p. 2.
[143] R. Livshin, 'The acculturation of the children of immigrant Jews in Manchester, 1890–1930' in D. Cesarini (ed.) *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry* (1990), p. 85; see also R. Voeltz, '"… A Good Jew and a Good Englishman": The Jewish Lads' Brigade, 1894-1922', *Journal of Contemporary History* 23/1 (1988), pp. 119-27.

were part of the circle who produced a manuscript magazine the *Scientist* in 1896.[144] These families were also active in the Jewish Board of Guardians, the Jewish Working Mens' Club and Grove House Lads' Club, the precursor to the Jewish Lads' Brigade, initiatives aimed at assimilating more recent migrants such as Arnold Meyer Aronovich to deflect the criticism and scrutiny of the anti-Semitic press.[145] Arnold's participation in a Shakespeare play could thus be read as evidence of corporate identity as successfully promoting linguistic and cultural assimilation.

Their comparative absence from the school magazine means it remains unclear how pupils from ethnic and national minorities negotiated a corporate identity which pivoted on their exclusion. The report of Arnold's acting in *Ulula* drew attention to his performance of Shylock, describing an audience won over by 'the power and Irving-like style with which he "craved the law and due penalties of his bond"'.[146] The experiences of pupils like Arnold in reading such material has been investigated by Sneha Krishnan, who has explored the sense of betrayal shared by Indian colleagues and students when reading texts about the "Indian College Girl" written by white staff for the entertainment of English and American readers.[147] Corporate identity produced a readership which was white and Christian by default, leaving minority ethnic and minority nationality pupils like Arnold with little control over their representation in the school magazine. We cannot know how Arnold received the pointed reference to his Jewishness in *Ulula*, or indeed if he volunteered to play Shylock or had the role thrust upon him. What we can see is the outcome, as the praise for his performance encouraged Arnold to found the school's Shakespeare Society, and he became a reporter and

[144] Parents attended civic events: see, for example, 'Technical Education: Sir W. Anson at the Salford Institute', *Manchester Guardian* (12 October 1906), p. 12.
[145] On their involvement in Jewish organisations, see for example 'Jewish Working Men's Club Bazaar', *Manchester Guardian* (23 March 1893), p. 7; 'Isidor Frankenburg' in W. Rubinstein and M. A. Jolles (eds), *The Palgrave Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish History* (Basingstoke, 2011), p. 292; 'Sir Arthur Frederick Hurst' in *The Palgrave Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish History*, pp. 442-43. On Manchester press and anti-Semitism, see B. Williams, 'The Anti-Semitism of Tolerance: Middle-Class Manchester and the Jews, 1870-1900' in *City, Class, and Culture: Studies of Social Policy and Cultural Production in Victorian Manchester*, pp. 74-102.
[146] 'The Conversazione', *Ulula* (February 1898), p. 11.

frequent correspondent to *Ulula*, urging greater participation in drama at the school.[148] This tiny glimpse suggests that some pupils from minority ethnicities and nationalities used the school magazine to proudly display their participation in school life, including themselves in a corporate identity which on other occasions was mobilised to assimilate, marginalise, or exclude them.

Denominational school magazines more overtly questioned the homogeneity of English schoolgirl and schoolboy identities. The *Stonyhurst Magazine*'s cover page employed the conventions of most generic print school magazines in this study. However, its legend 'St Omers 1592, Bruges 1762, Liege 1773, Stonyhurst 1794' placed the marginalisation of English Catholics, their exclusion from public life, and traditions of education abroad, at the heart of corporate identity.

While the schoolgirl and schoolboy were more generally represented as Anglican, the *Stonyhurst Magazine* negotiated constantly between proud Englishness and proud Catholicism. Associational life revealed, an article in the *Stonyhurst Magazine* declared, 'such resemblance' between the rules of football at Stonyhurst, Harrow, Eton, and Winchester that the writer knew 'conclusively' that 'there was in the old times a well organised code of football rules from which we and they have drawn.' However, the article also described the school's in-house 'Grand Matches' which celebrated the institution's continental history, as pupils divided into teams of "the English" and "the French" and marched onto the pitch to play with their respective flags and national anthems.[149] Corporate identity also carried denominational inflections at the Croydon Friends' School. The 1863 cover page of the *Echo* used sketches of flowers and forest plants and recorded the date as '3 mo[nth] 1863' in accordance with Quaker convention, and bore the motto 'labor omnia vincet' (Latin for "work conquers all") to invoke the testimonies of simplicity, truthful

[147] S. Krishnan, 'Anxious Notes on College Life'.

observation, and service at the centre of Quaker identity.[150] The school magazine forced Catholic and Quaker pupils into reconciling the group activities and material culture of the English schoolgirl and schoolboy with their denominational identity. Sublimating corporate identity in these broader practices could provoke anxieties. In the 1880s, for example, correspondents to the *Stonyhurst Magazine* balked at the shift from "Stonyhurst football" to Football Association rules as evidence of the loss of a distinctive English Catholic identity.[151] Similarly, a note interleaved in the bound volume of Croydon Friends' School's *Echo* expressed fears that magazine production was encouraging pupils to abandon Quaker plain speech and use 'you' instead of 'thee' in their writing.[152] For denominational schools, corporate identity placed a premium on exclusion from mainstream practices, meaning the generic print school magazine and its conventions posed a threat to their own educational traditions.

Further pressure was put on corporate unity by the size and organisation of secondary schools. In comparison with other school magazines, Manchester Grammar School's *Ulula* contained copious society reports, to the extent that an exasperated review of the magazine in the *Manchester Guardian* pleaded with pupils to rein in 'the slightly dull reports' of these 'miniature "Hansards".'[153] This plea went ignored, as the length of the reports was unavoidable in a school with two different debating societies, as pupils in the classical forms refused to unite with what *Ulula* called the 'new-born and much hated rival', the science forms established in the 1870s.[154] The need for two debating societies runs counter to the historiographical narrative that associational life and sports created a homogeneous and

[148] Arnold Max Aronovich, 'Shakespeare Society', *Ulula* (February 1898), p. 22.
[149] SC: 'Stonyhurst Football: A Chapter in Evolutionary History,' *Stonyhurst Magazine* (April 1888), pp. 130-1.
[150] *Echo* 1/3 (March 1863).
[151] SC: 'Football under Association Rules,' *Stonyhurst Magazine* (November 1887), p. 42; 'A Sceptic on Stonyhurst Football,' *Stonyhurst Magazine* (December 1887), p. 88.
[152] *Echo* [inserted note], pp. 132-3.
[153] 'Ulula, The Manchester Grammar School Magazine', *Manchester Guardian* (9 March 1876), p. 5.
[154] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Correspondence', *Ulula* (November 1873), p. 94.

dominant public schoolboy identity at this time.[155] Periodicals and magazines were 'fluid and dynamic' spaces where different identities could easily be constructed, due to the multiple contributors and multiple columns.[156] University magazines have been portrayed as enabling the construction of rival versions of student identity.[157] This rivalry was pronounced in *Ulula*, as some northern families rejected public school identities, instead seeking schools which prioritised hard work and practical skills.[158] In *Ulula*, classical and modern pupils demanded their own space, as classical pupils traditionally joined the Debating Society, and modern and science pupils joined the Philosophical Society. This was the boys' demand rather than their teachers, as school authorities criticised the 'danger of partisanship' by this divided associational life.[159] Teachers repeatedly advised the two debating societies to merge, but *Ulula* is filled reports of these failed mergers in 1875, 1883, 1888, 1890, 1892, and 1899.[160] The *Manchester Guardian* reviewer may have found their reports tiresome, but *Ulula* was largely fuelled by the controversies and competition between these rival groups, who sought to preserve the status of their different versions of corporate identity.

The rivalry between classical and modern identities in *Ulula* had wider consequences, as it generated more critical reflection on corporate identity. In 1894, as the classical and science streams debated their relative merits in *Ulula*, a pupil calling himself "Reform" added to the mix with a letter declaring that the school hat made him look 'weak i'th'yed' ("weak in the

[155] Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit*, p. 13; Thompson, *Gentrification and the Enterprise Culture*, pp. 125-26; W. B. Stephens, *Education in Britain*, p. 191; Cain, 'Empire and the Languages of Character and Virtue'.
[156] On women's experimentations with identities, see Fraser et al, *Gender and the Victorian Periodical*, p. 44. On how young people tried on various identities, see Langbauer, *The Juvenile Tradition,* p. 90. On girls' experimentations with identity in periodicals, see Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood,* p. 12.
[157] Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men*, pp. 1-16.
[158] de Bellaigue, 'Great Expectations?'
[159] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'The Debating Society: Open Meeting', *Ulula* (May 1883), p. 173.
[160] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'The Union', *Ulula* (July 1875), p.35; 'The Debating Society: Open Meeting', *Ulula* (May 1883), p. 173; 'Debating Society', *Ulula* (May 1888), p. 112; 'Debating Society', *Ulula* (April 1892), p. 72; 'The Philosophical Tea', *Ulula* (March 1890,) p.18; 'Philosophical Society', *Ulula* (March 1899), p. 41.

head") to passers-by.[161] Pupils like "Reform" were objecting to the black public school boater adorned with Oxford and Cambridge blues which boys in the top form were obliged to wear as a sign of their status. An 1889 *Ulula* editorial boasted 'the Sixth forms looks very well in their black straw hats'; however, pupils like "Reform" repeatedly wrote in to reject this symbol of elite education.[162] Their displeasure is an example of the 'resistance and redefinition' which Kristine Moruzi argues characterised readers' reactions to adult constructions of youth identities in print periodicals.[163] Pupils' complaints included letters, stories like 'Alice at the Grammar School', where she 'shrieked' as the Mad Hatter forced the hat on her head, and a report on an 1894 Philosophical Society debate about the hat.[164] The frequent use of dialect in these criticisms suggested the hat as offensive to local youth identities, and highlighted the humiliation of performing a public schoolboy identity on the Manchester city streets before a local community unappreciative of, and indeed indifferent towards, its meaning. While constructing an overarching middle-class English schoolgirl and schoolboy type, school magazines also chronicled the shifting and contested nature of identities at school in the late nineteenth century.

PEER GROUPS

In the *Oxford High School Magazine* in 1880, pupil Margaret Evetts complained that cliques 'must certainly must harm the school,' as 'the members are interested only in themselves and in the failings of those outside their circle.'[165] Her complaint exposes concern about another

[161] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: "Reform", 'Letters to *Ulula*: The Sixth Form Hat', *Ulula* (November 1893), p. 215.
[162] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Editorial', *Ulula* (May 1889), p.113. For complaints, see 'Letters to *Ulula*: The Sixth Form Hat', *Ulula* (December 1894), p. 235.
[163] Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood*, p. 13.
[164] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Alice at the Grammar School', *Ulula* (August 1894), pp.113-7; 'Philosophical Society', *Ulula* (October 1894), p. 156.
[165] Margaret Evetts, 'Cliques', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1880), pp.72-73.

form of collective identity at school: the peer group. By proclaiming the aim of corporate identity was 'to prevent cliques',[166] the *Oxford High School Magazine* constructed an opposition between the school and the peer group which continues to shape historical understandings of collective agency in Victorian secondary schools. Historians see the rise of corporate identity as a strategy to tackle other less desirable forms of collective identity associated with public schools in the early nineteenth century.[167] Thomas Arnold, for instance, aimed at reducing the 'six evils' of school life - drunkenness, lying, bullying, disobedience, idleness, and 'combination', that is, peer pressure.[168] In such studies, peer group values and identities are understood as a form of rebellion which ran counter to the dominant social and cultural values of Victorian secondary schools.[169] While generic print school magazines of the nineteenth-century constructed an opposition between peer groups and corporate identity, they could not deny their continued existence. Pupil Margaret Evetts admitted in the *Oxford High School Magazine* that 'there decidedly are cliques in the Oxford High School', an observation echoed in Mary Ann Mapleton's essay on 'School-Life'.[170] While the generic print school magazine struck a critical pose, peer group identities clearly continued to co-exist with corporate identity.

The generic print school magazine gives little insight into the identity construction, values and habits within these intimate groups. Manchester Grammar School's the *Scientist* (1896) gives a glimpse of more informal social activities in a description of the walk home after a Philosophical Society gathering, when 'it took the united strength of Ball, Bates and Aspland to keep Mr Ingram out of every pub they passed, & Mr Bates had to be seen home, in a state

[166] 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1879), pp. 1-2.
[167] See Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe*, pp. 1-46. Chandos, *Boys Together,* pp. 247-83; Neddam, 'Constructing Masculinities'.
[168] T. Arnold, *The Christian Life: Its Hopes, Its Fears and Its Close* (Philadelphia, 1856), p. 59-64.
[169] Neddam, 'Constructing Masculinities'.
[170] Margaret Evetts, 'Cliques', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1880), pp. 72-73; Mary Mapleton, 'School-Life', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1881), pp. 196-98.

of intoxication, by Ball & Aspland.'[171] The *Scientist* (1896) was a pupil-edited manuscript magazine produced by a peer group in the top science form of the school. Its picture of pupils enjoying Manchester's night life differs from the reports from the Philosophical Society in the generic print school magazine *Ulula*.

Peer cultures are 'essential components' of children's experiences from the time they start school, sociologist William Corsaro explains, as interactions between young people generate particular shared values, routines, and cultural activities.[172] Yet the peer group remains largely neglected in studies of nineteenth-century education. Martha Vicinus suggests that school life created a new binary in the social dynamics of girlhood, with the 'public mask' required by life at larger high and boarding inadvertently leading to intense identifications in the crush.[173] Yet Christina de Bellaigue illuminates another form of identification, as even private schools with careful adult oversight provided pupils with a 'collective "room of one's own" where they developed age-specific interests and gained a sense of autonomy.'[174] Pupil-edited manuscript magazines like the *Scientist* (1896) demonstrate that peer group identities remained a key dynamic in the patterns of identification in reformed and larger Victorian secondary schools. While there are no extant peer-group publications in the Oxford High School archive, magazines from other schools shed considerable light on peer cultures: at Stonyhurst College, there was the *Darford Star: A Duffer Journal* (1878-9), a fishing magazine created by a group of novice Jesuits, *El Curioso* (1881), a newspaper in both Spanish and English, and the *Comic and News Journal* (1881); at the Croydon Friends' School, there was the *School-Boy's Magazine* (1851) and the *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* (1875); and at the Manchester Grammar School, there was *Quilibet* (1895), the *Scientist* (1896), the *4B Outlet* (1901) and the *Modern Remove Review* (1902). While there

[171] MGS, COOUR 44/0001: 'School News', *Scientist* 4 (October 1896).
[172] Corsaro, *Sociology of Childhood*, p. 120.
[173] M. Vicinus, 'Distance and Desire', p. 604; Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920* (Chicago and London, 1985).

are few examples from girls' schools, the Manchester High School archive contains the *Boarding School Chronicle* (1901-2) which gives a rare glimpse of girls' peer cultures. The extant magazines are a small proportion of the lively peer group cultures of magazine production in schools at the time, as the production of single manuscript copies, often without school approval, means few have endured in the archives. However, manuscript publication particularly suited the peer group, as requiring only a pen and paper to execute, it could easily operate independently of the corporate life of the school.

Peer group magazines carved out a distinctive identity for intimate circles of friends within the school. Take, for example, the opening of the *Boarding House Chronicle,* a manuscript record collaboratively produced by pupils in a boarding house attached to the Manchester Grammar School around 1901. 'Muriel fastened me into the cupboard,' sixteen-year-old boarder Constance May Gill recorded, 'then ran upstairs to fetch the girls to see me.' Constance 'was almost splitting with laughter,' she wrote, '[Muriel] thought I was weeping. Oh, fancy!'[175] This record of misdeeds and misadventures was produced secretly and only for the eyes of its producers, and constructed a deliberately different picture of the English schoolgirl than generic print school magazines.

The *Boarding House Chronicle* uncovers peer group bonds as part of the networks and social connections in girls' and women's education. The *Boarding House Chronicle* certainly reported on boarders and their 'beloveds', the types of crush investigated by Vicinus, but both corporate identity and the crush paled in significance to the ties of the peer group. Constance May Gill, Hilda Pearson, and Muriel Alice Bedson used the boarding house to create a collective identity as the 'dauntless three', 'three bad girls', or the 'three maidens'.[176] They were conscious they occupied a unique status as boarders at Manchester High School, a day school with a small number of privately-run boarding houses. The contributors' identity

[174] de Bellaigue, *Educating Women*, p. 147.

may have been influenced by their enthusiasm for the *Girl's Realm*, one of the late nineteenth-century girls periodicals, where secret societies and wild girls were well-established tropes in school stories by the 1880s.[177] The *Boarding House Chronicle* was devoted to describing their subversive behaviour, interests and language, from Constance's being locked in the cupboard, to 'a smonge (sic)… full of water' thrown at Muriel, a 'soap pill' dropped in Hilda's mouth for snoring, and Constance and Muriel getting 'boosey' (sic) on lemonade.[178] Similarly, the pupil-edited *School-Boy's Magazine*, produced at the Croydon Friends' School in 1851 repeatedly celebrated pupils' illicit story-telling, as in the 'Chamber Conversation' discussed in Chapter One. In another dialogue, pupils begged 'I say some chap tell a tale'. Another pupil offered 'I'll tell one', but simply quipped 'A monkey's tail', to the universal frustration of the group.[179] Paradoxically, while generic print school magazines sought to unite all pupils under a corporate identity, magazine production could easily be used to construct more intimate peer group identities.

It is a mistake to assume peer group magazines were motivated by a desire to challenge corporate identity. The manuscript *Boarding House Chronicle* loyally complained of the 'very bad taste' of pupils from Whalley Range girls' school who dared to beat the Manchester High School at home in tennis, and later enthusiastically celebrated the boarders' 'good fortune to see the rehearsal of the French Play.'[180] At the same time, the girls established their own cricket team, 'playing with a tennis racquet and ball' and held 'private theatricles' (sic).[181] Pupils did not have to choose between a corporate or peer group identity, nor follow coherent or consistent patterns of behaviour and character, but instead some

[175] MHS: *Boarding House Chronicle* (1901-2), p. 2.
[176] MHS: *Boarding House Chronicle* (1901-2), p. 25; p. 26; p. 56.
[177] Rodgers, *Adolescent Girlhood and Literary Culture,* pp. 79-114.
[178] MHS: *Boarding House Chronicle* (1901-2), p. 3; p. 23; p. 20.
[179] 'What the boys talk about in the chamber', *The School Boy's Magazine* 4 (1851); 'Chamber conversation', *The School Boy's Magazine* 5 (1851).
[180] MHS: *Boarding House Chronicle* (1901-2), p. 45; p. 82.
[181] MHS: *Boarding House Chronicle* (1901-2), p. 4; p. 69.

gained the freedom to enjoy the diversity of experiences and identities available in a large school. For instance, the editors and writers of the *School Boy's Magazine* celebrated story-telling, but were also active participants in teacher-led forms of group activity such as Croydon Friends' School's Juvenile Literary Society.[182] Indeed, bedrooms, boarding houses, and school events and societies all provided space and opportunity for less regulated peer-group activities.

Although peer groups could valorise aspects of identity suppressed or marginalised by corporate culture, this did not make them inclusive. 'Fräulein is an imbecile', Constance and Muriel wrote in the *Boarding House Chronicle*, 'Fräulein is quite mad'.[183] Census returns for 1901 suggest this was Swedish boarder Elizabeth Löfgren, whose occupation is not listed, but at twenty years old was probably a foreign language teacher tasked with keeping the boarders in order.[184] By accusing Elizabeth of being a 'sneak' and a 'spy' on their pranks, the three girls associated their subversive behaviour with the honour and freedom of the English schoolgirl or schoolboy, an identity from which their foreign teacher was conspicuously excluded.[185]

Studies point to such instances of bullying as a strategy to exclude other identities, such as femininity or non-Englishness, from the dominant corporate identity.[186] Indeed, Elizabeth's perceived foreignness was frequently referred as a reason for their teasing. However, other inhabitants of the boarding house met with similar treatment for far less obvious reasons. The *Boarding House Chronicle* tirelessly catalogued the girls' torment of fellow boarder Gertrude Potter: recording her 'longing eyes' when she interrupted their feast; and delighting in her 'mystery' when hearing them sing 'Just a tiny bit of string' - only

[182] For example, editor Joseph Stevens was a prominent member of the Juvenile Literary Society. ERO, D/Q 49/F1/a3: *Minutes of the Juvenile Literary Society*, 1*851-1870*, Vol. 3 (1 December 1851).
[183] MHS: *Boarding House Chronicle* (1901-2), p. 13.
[184] 1901, England Census, Class: RG13; Piece: 3683; Folio: 33; Page: 4 www.ancestry.com (12 February 2017).
[185] MHS: *Boarding House Chronicle* (1901-2), p. 65; p. 74.
[186] Neddam, 'Constructing Masculinities'; Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men,* pp. 184-228.

cleared up in the middle of the night when the hidden string was yanked and Gertrude, they wrote, 'suddenly felt herself deprived of her bedclothes.'[187] Unlike Elizabeth's foreignness, the writers did not express particular objections to Gertrude. Instead, they seemed to enjoy the sense of intimacy and friendship reinforced by the exclusion of others.

In fact, the *Boarding House Chronicle* existed to celebrate acts of exclusion, as readership was closed to all except chosen friends. Gertrude's request to join in on the magazine was greeted with horror. 'She's afraid of feeling "out of it"', a note in the *Chronicle* explained, before pointedly remarking she 'in fact is really too much in it.'[188] The participation of outsiders like Gertrude would ruin the peer group magazine, as its production and circulation was intended to reinforce the bonds between its contributors. In a similar magazine by three boys at King's College School London, the writers of *The Sneezer* produced a series of salacious 'Celebrity Interviews' of other pupils who were particularly marginalised and isolated in the school, like one of a boy they nicknamed "The Looney".[189] Crucially, these pupils valued the collective agency to choose their own peers and decide amongst themselves the values, beliefs and activities which constituted their collective identity at school.

School magazines celebrated a collective agency purportedly including the whole school, typically silencing or omitting pupils who did not fit with corporate identity. In contrast, peer group magazines were sustained by a dynamic of rivalry and exclusion. At the Manchester Grammar School the *Scientist* loudly complained about 'the competition of *Ulula*', and condemned 'the Classical Sixth, a form which last term did all it could to wreck this magazine.'[190] While the manuscript magazines in Kathryn Gleadle's study sought to create an 'encouraging environment' to foster community among home-educated girls, peer group magazines depicted more combative interactions between pupils in Victorian secondary

[187] MHS: *Boarding House Chronicle* (1901-2), p. 27; p. 56.
[188] MHS: *Boarding House Chronicle* (1901-2), p.34.
[189] King's College London Archives, King's College School, K/SER113: 'Interviews with Celebrities. No. 1 "The Looney"', *Sneezer* (12 March 1885), p. 2.

schools.[191] A dynamic of rivalry and combat characterised periodicals and newspapers across the nineteenth century, Fraser et al observe, with motifs of duelling and military combat capturing the editorial competition created by an increasingly diverse and unstable marketplace.[192] In the Victorian secondary school, magazines could use rivalry and combat to differentiate different peer groups. A Manchester Grammar School magazine the *4B Outlet* repeatedly mocked 'the new-fledged Editor' of another magazine in the same form, the *Gazette*, reminding him that 'Gymnasium is spelt G-y-m-n-a-s-i-u-m not G-y-m-n-a-s-u-i-m.'[193] These magazines are an important reminder of how alternative values and ideals created more intimate alliances and friendships at school. Despite the rise of the generic print school magazine, the enduring popularity of peer group efforts are a reminder that a range of values and ideals not only survived, but remained integral to, a dynamic and fluid process of identity formation in the nineteenth-century school.[194]

CONCLUSIONS

In 1901, after a memorial service for Queen Victoria at Manchester Cathedral, *Ulula* reported it was the first occasion when local secondary schools, 'those for girls as well as those for boys, have all taken part in one collective action.'[195] Both Manchester Grammar School and Manchester High School were in attendance. This chapter has shown how such a clear sense of overarching collective identity emerged out of the rapid expansion and changes to secondary education in the 1870s and 1880s. The school magazine was not just a mirror of

[190] MGS, MGS COOUR 44/0001: *Scientist* 4 (October 1896).
[191] K. Gleadle, 'Magazine culture, girlhood communities, and educational reform'.
[192] Fraser et al, *Gender and the Victorian Periodical*, p. 30.
[193] MGS: 'Remarks', *4B Outlet* 4 (14 November 1901).
[194] See also C. Sloan, 'Periodicals of an Objectionable Character'.
[195] 'Occasional Notes', *Ulula* (February 1901), p. 3.

these changes, but enabled the construction of powerful and desirable schoolgirl and schoolboy identities which included pupils new to secondary schooling.

By the 1880s, the school magazine was defined by content explaining and recording corporate culture, by generic features drawn from school material culture, and above all, by the interplay between the collective agency of middle-class English teenagers and the authority of their teachers. The first chapter noted the concern over the autonomy of youth culture expressed by Quaker headteacher William Thistlethwaite in the 1840s, and high school girls' autonomy was equally unsettling, resulting in cautious justifications and explanations of corporate identity in essays and editorials in the magazine's first decade. By 1894, however, schoolgirls' collective agency was acceptable enough for an *Oxford High School Magazine* editorial to announce that teacher and Editing Committee member Ruth Mayhew felt 'girls might be more willing to contribute to the Magazine if it was managed entirely by girls, and she therefore resigned her post as editor, which, for the future, will be occupied by a member from form VI.'[196] The school magazine had normalised collective agency by the end of the century, with Manchester Grammar School's *Ulula* launching a new series in 1892 announcing 'if a School Magazine is to be of any use, it must be made by the School and read by the School.'[197]

Pupil ownership shifted the tone of the school magazine. In a poem on 'Our School Magazine' published the *Oxford High School Magazine* immediately after the change in editorial policy, fifteen-year-old pupil Muriel Underhill confidently berated 'lazy' peers who did 'not even take any trouble, To write for our School Magazine'. She ordered:

> Now will you all please to wake up
> And just make our Magazine 'go'?
> That none will have cause to complain
> 'It is really so dreadfully slow.'
> So, Hurrah for our School Magazine!
> We're resolved it shall never fall through,

[196] 'Editors' Notes', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1894), p. 587-8.
[197] 'Proclamation by the Owl', *Ulula* (February 1892), p.2.

Hurrah for the Sunflowers say I!
And, Hurrah for the gold and the blue!'[198]

The strategic hesitations of earlier generations had given way to Muriel's confident use of the trappings of corporate identity such as school colours, emblems, and sports chants. Furthermore, she incorporated the informal tone and slang of peer group magazines like the *Boarding House Chronicle* into the *Oxford High School Magazine*. In the next issue, fifteen-year-old Ethel Sidgwick's 'A Memorable Day' created a similar schoolgirl voice when describing pupils getting caught in a downpour. 'In secret, I actually heard,' Ethel wrote, 'there was present many a one, Who thought the bustle "jolly fun", Which is of course absurd!'[199] Pupils used their greater ownership over the school magazine to weave aspects of peer culture into corporate identity. Other magazines in the 1890s included peer culture, such as society reports from *Ulula* in the 1900s which described a debate by science pupils being invaded by their classical rivals and, pupil T. E. Lee reported to *Ulula*, ending in chaos as 'the classics were promptly repulsed by the judicious use of patent water guns'.[200]

Pupils' ownership of the magazine blurred the line between official magazines and peer group magazines. After *Ulula* reported formally on the memorial service to Queen Victoria, it included a poem on the memorial service borrowed from a peer group magazine, *The Classical Fifth Form Monthly* (no longer extant). Explaining that a rumour had circulated that '500 girls from Manchester High School would attend the Cathedral Memorial Service and sit with the boys behind the Screen', the poem described how

Slowly in single file
Through the deserted aisle
Where are we going, while
Maidens look on and smile?
Ev'ryone wonder'd.
Further, and further still -

[198] "M. M. U." [Muriel Underhill], 'Our School Magazine', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1894), pp. 629-30.
[199] Ethel Sedgwick, 'A Memorable Day', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1894), pp. 589-90.
[200] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: T. E. L., 'Philosophical Society', *Ulula* (November 1900), pp. 187-91.

Fears and doubts strike us chill
As from all mortal view
We are led on, until
Separate, sunder'd,
Boys sit alone, alas
Far from five hundred.[201]

The remarks *Ulula* attached to 'The Unseen Five Hundred' in 1901 made no reference to the patriotism towards school and country required at such a solemn event, unlike the early issues of *Ulula* which had warned pupils' against 'unpatriotism'.[202] By parodying 'The Charge of the Light Brigade', the poem celebrated pupils' ability to turn the solemn service into a chance for teenage flirtation and collective fun. The copying of the poem into *Ulula* suggests that like peer cultures, peer group magazines had become a recognised and accepted feature of school life. *Ulula* remarked in 1900 that peer group magazines were 'valuable' and 'evidence of a proper spirit in the school.'[203]

Schoolgirl and schoolboy identities were becoming less controversial among older generations, as by the 1890s, a growing proportion had experience of school life themselves. In a poem in *Ulula* called 'The Mid-Term Report', a schoolboy character related how 'I found my father flaring, at a paper he was staring, With my mother, who was talking at a very rapid rate.'[204] This was one of a series of 'Grammar School Ballads' written from a pupil perspective; however, it was later revealed many had been written by thirty-one-year-old teacher John Fowler, who co-edited the magazine with eighteen-year-old pupil Ernest Barker. Far from imposing adult perspectives upon pupils, John Fowler was doing the opposite, and modelled his poem on the subversive writings of peer group magazines. Sociologists of childhood point to peer cultures as impacting the activities of other children and adults.[205] The impact of peer culture is a less familiar aspect of historical developments; however

[201] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Occasional Notes', *Ulula* (April 1901), p. 55.
[202] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Home Truths', *Ulula* (November 1877), pp. 261-4.
[203] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Occasional Notes', *Ulula* (December 1900), p. 204.
[204] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: "Drugs", 'Grammar School Ballads: No. 5. The Mid-Term Report', *Ulula* (May 1892), p. 96.

Kathryn Gleadle points out how children's war play and pageantry stirred patriotic sentiments in the adults around them, creating a 'constant two-way interplay between the domains of adult and child'.[206] Ruth Mayhew, who handed the *Oxford High School Magazine* over to her pupils, may have felt less alienated from the collective life of the school, as a former pupil herself, and one of the magazine's first contributors. By the 1890s, identifying as "old girl" or "old boy" of a secondary school was becoming an integral part of middle-class status for adults like John Fowler and Ruth Mayhew.

The 'Grammar School Ballads' in *Ulula* highlighted teacher John Fowler's insider knowledge of school life, a privileged status reinforced by writing under the name "Little Alexander", his pseudonym from his time as a pupil writing in the *Pauline* of St Paul's School.[207] Readers outside the school were keen to signal their own insider's status. In a review of *Ulula* in the *Manchester Guardian,* the writer praised a 'Grammar School Ballad' as '….a capital chant, not too long, with plenty of swing and a good easy downrightness of manner'.[208] Consuming the school magazine could play an important part in confirming adult identity, as the reviewer's slang and informal language signalled his insider's status in a recognised, desirable, and marketable collective identity.

Historians and literary scholars frequently struggle to interpret the school magazine by wider literary standards, with bibliographers of child writing Tuli Kupferberg and Sylvia Topp explaining they 'stared away stonily' and 'shudder' at school and college publications.[209] Pupils in the nineteenth century were aware their writings were failing by standards of literary merit. A correspondent to the *Oxford High School Magazine* in 1884 asked editors to 'leave out the less interesting wonders of poetry' and 'let those who like, pity my depraved taste', echoed by an 1892 editorial which noted the lack of literary writing, and

[205] Corsaro, *Sociology of Childhood,* p. 120.
[206] Gleadle, 'Playing at Soldiers', p. 336.
[207] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Occasional Notes', *Ulula* (October 1894), pp. 140-1.
[208] 'Grammar School Magazine', *Manchester Guardian* (6 March 1894), p. 12.

called upon readers as 'the remedy of this defect, if it be a defect, rests in your hands, oh readers'.[210] The reference to pupils' preferences as a 'defect' or 'depraved taste' alluded to contemporary notions of literary merit, but they were unperturbed. In 'A Memorable Day' in the *Oxford High School Magazine*, pupil Ethel Sidgwick explained she had written her poem quickly when the Committee:

> … named a meeting day;
> 'Write!' they beseech us, 'it is not
> Of very great importance what,
> But write without delay.'[211]

Ethel airily encouraged pupils to write for the magazine regardless of their literary skill. Such poems demanded school magazine content be evaluated by its own standards, as a measure of collective identity. Muriel Underhill joined Ethel in using her poem on 'Our School Magazine' to appeal for her schoolmates to 'write something, no matter what.'[212] Contributors in the nineteenth century enable us to move beyond simply ignoring or dismissing the school magazine by examining it according to their own standards. The expansion of school magazine publication placed young people at the centre of constructing desirable and valued aspects of middle-class identity in the 1870s and 1880s.

[209] Kupferberg and Topp, *Children as Authors*, p. 3
[210] 'Topics of the Term', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1884), pp.714-25; 'Editors' Notes', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1892), p. 383.
[211] Ethel Sedgwick, 'A Memorable Day', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1894), pp. 589-90.
[212] "M. M. U.", 'Our School Magazine', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1894), pp. 629-30.

3 | PRODUCTION

One of the most prominent themes of the school magazine was its production. 'What a dreadful undertaking is that of the editor,' complained an anonymous pupil in the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* in 1861, before grandly mentioning he had been 'called upon to assist the editor'.[1] The *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* was a manuscript magazine by pupils in one of the higher forms at the Jesuit Stonyhurst College, overseen by their teacher and editor, the Reverend Charles Boardman. The pupil's grandiose complaint made sure that the production of the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* was not tucked away behind the scenes. In 1881, another Stonyhurst magazine the *Boys Occasional Times* grumbled that 'much inconvenience is experienced by the Editor of the *B.O.T.* owing to the scarcity of contributions,' echoed in 1882 by the *Stonyhurst Magazine* when it irritably addressed 'A Few Words to Contributors at Home and Abroad' in 1882.[2] The complaints reveal how for many, the meaning of the school magazine lay in the behind-the-scenes activity, in the chances for autonomy, self-fashioning, and authority offered by a process of production which largely unfolded at the school itself. The significance of production - activities such as founding a magazine, contributing, printing, and consuming - is the central concern of this chapter.

This chapter's reconstruction of the production process of the school magazine draws together scattered yet innovative scholarship which approaches writing in its social rather than literary context. The chapter builds upon Margaret Ezell's concept of 'social authorship'. Ezell's study of manuscript circulation went beyond mainstream publications and publishers to emphasise the importance of a more contextual analysis, considering the meaning of writing, circulation, reading, and commentary held for more intimate circles of readers and

[1] SC: 'Summary', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 2/2 (9 March 1861). Hereafter simply *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times*.

writers.[3] Historical geographers such as Sarah Mills similarly emphasise the need to reconstruct the process leading up to a finished object, as the 'seeming fixity' of the archival object today obscures the more fluid and ambiguous meanings of the 'practices and relationships' involved in its production.[4] This approach is particularly fitting in a school, where pupils were often judged by their efforts in the messy material process of learning to read and write, as discussed in the first chapter. Various studies have taken this approach, shifting from literary analysis to children's 'book use', or to reading and writing as liberating and independent activities for girls and women, regardless of the often limiting ideological messages in texts aimed at female readers.[5] Age should not preclude child and youth writers from being considered 'significant and varied participants in making social meaning', Karen Sánchez-Eppler argues in a study of nineteenth-century American child writers.[6] While the first chapters of this thesis have emphasised how ideals were constantly under negotiation in school magazine content, this chapter broadens the analysis to consider the social meaning made across the process of production, and how features such as title, price, or printing method were not fixed, but subject to discussion and debate among the pupil producers.[7]

The Stonyhurst archive provides astonishing insight into magazine production in one Victorian secondary school. The archive shows the varied nature of magazine production, as it contains twelve extant series of print, manuscript, and amateur print magazines, while references in institutional documents and histories suggest the existence of at least seventeen magazines between 1850 and 1908 (Table 3). Not all these magazines were produced by

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[2] SC: [note], *Boys Occasional Times* 1/8 (16 June 1880), p. 8; SC, 'A Few Words to Contributors at Home and Abroad', *Stonyhurst Magazine* (December 1882), p. 152. Hereafter simply *Boys Occasional Times*, *Stonyhurst Magazine*.
[3] Ezell, *Social Authorship*, p. 39.
[4] Mills, 'Cultural-Historical Geographies of the Archive', quote p. 701.
[5] On 'book use' see Grenby, *The Child Reader*, p. 194; on the meaning of reading for one girl, see S. Pooley & C. Pooley, 'Such a Splendid Tale': The Late Nineteenth-Century World of a Young Female Reader', *Cultural and Social History* 2/3 (2005), pp. 329-51; on the meaning of writing for the young women employed by editor Charlotte Yonge, see Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood*, p. 28.
[6] Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States*, xv .

teenage pupils, as the secondary school was one branch within a larger Jesuit institution consisting a preparatory school, a secondary school, and a course in 'Philosophy' providing further education for Catholic youths into their mid-twenties, as well as a noviciate to train new generations of Jesuits.[8] The complexity of this institution is deepened by its history, as Stonyhurst College was preceded by St Omer (1593), a continental college for English recusant boys which disbanded and relocated to Bruges (1762) and then Liège (1763) due to the shifting geopolitics of mainland Europe.[9] The relocation of the institution to the Stonyhurst estate in Lancashire in 1794 was part of a 'wider transplantation' of continental Catholic colleges to Britain after the Catholic Relief Bills removed legal barriers to the construction of schools.[10] The Stonyhurst estate was in a historically Catholic area of Lancashire and formerly belonged to an English recusant family, giving Stonyhurst College all the social and religious obligations of a major landowner: it provided a parish church; oversaw the almshouse and village school; and presided over the manorial court.[11] Moreover, Stonyhurst initially served as the administrative centre for the Jesuit Province of England.[12] By the mid nineteenth century, Stonyhurst College was undergoing considerable modernisation and rebuilding, with a new gymnasium, swimming pool, laboratories, chapels, and a lecture theatre.[13] At the same time, the institution reflected its complex inheritance, with a collection of early printed books from Stonyhurst's continental predecessors, institutional records, as well as a growing collection of art, religious, antiquarian, natural history and anthropological artefacts from around the world.[14] This complexity of Stonyhurst

[7] On the importance of considering the 'choice' made by early modern writers, see Ezell, *Social Authorship*, p. 12.
[8] On Stonyhurst, see Muir, *Stonyhurst College*; on the Philosophy course, see Sire, *Gentlemen Philosophers*.
[9] Whitehead, *English Jesuit Education*.
[10] Whitehead, *English Jesuit Education*, pp. 189-95.
[11] Muir, *Stonyhurst College*, pp. 138-40.
[12] Muir, *Stonyhurst College*, pp. 138-44.
[13] Muir, *Stonyhurst College*, pp. 106-37.
[14] For the library, see Charles Boardman, *A Catalogue of Books Printed Either in Gothic Letter or Before 1551, Forming Part of the Library of Stonyhurst College* (London, 1862).

marks its magazines, which reveal how pupils negotiated between these various ideals of tradition, modernisation, Englishness, and Catholicism across their magazines' production.

Magazines at Stonyhurst College

Moralist (c.1851)
Independent (c.1851)
* *Stonyhurst Journal* (1854)
* *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* (1861)
Syntax Journal (1861)
Stonyhurst Spy (1861)
Comet (1861)
* *Monthly* (1874)
*†*Our World: A Journal for Clerics and Laics* (1877)
* *Doeford Star: A Duffer Journal* (1878-9)
* ‡*Boys Occasional Times* (1880)
† *‡*Comic and News Journal* (1881)
† * *El Curioso* (1881)
† * *Silvapetræan: A Catholic Fortnightly Magazine* (1881)
† * *Stonyhurst Magazine* (1881-present)
† * *Convent Chimes* (c.1906-c.1908)

*Extant copy † Printed ‡ Chromographic

Table 2. Magazines at Stonyhurst College.

PRODUCTION

This chapter reconstructs a turbulent and exciting process which a contributor to the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* described as 'the great undertaking of setting on foot a journal'.[15] While the magazines were shaped by the particular educational traditions and ideals of the English Catholic community, pupils' preoccupation with production was not unique to Stonyhurst College. As previous chapters have shown, production was a constant theme in the school magazines in this study, from the 'Acrostic' poem pleading 'Here all should con the pages, Of the *Schoolboy's* (sic) *Magazine*' at the Croydon Friends' School in 1851; to a poem ordering 'Now will you all please to wake up, And just make our Magazine 'go'?' in the *Oxford High School Magazine* in 1894.[16] A detailed reconstruction recovers how every aspect of magazine production took on particular meaning within the social and cultural context of the Victorian secondary school. In this chapter, the first section explores how decisions like title, cost, frequency, and format combined practical with ideological matters. The second section focuses on contributing as a significant and often public act, which had a considerable impact on the finished product of the magazine. Publication methods are the subject of the third and fourth parts, which examine how print, amateur print, and manuscript were all available at Stonyhurst College, and offered distinct possibilities to pupils. The chapter will finally move on to consider the circulation of the school magazine, and how its meaning was shaped by forms of consumption particular to the Victorian schools. The school magazine was not only written at the school, it was also made there, and the activities of starting a magazine, contributing, printing, and consuming were central to the meanings attached to the genre by English teenagers.

[15] 'Summary', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 2/2 (9 March 1861).
[16] 'Acrostic', *School-Boy's Magazine* 2/2 (1851). "M. M. U." [Muriel Underhill], 'Our School Magazine', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1894), pp. 629-30.

ESTABLISHMENT

In 1854, an editorial in a new magazine at Stonyhurst College decided that 'to avoid all difficulties we prefer to give our new work the simple title of the *Stonyhurst Journal*.' No finished issues of the *Stonyhurst Journal* survive, but an archived collection of draft contributions and editorials reveal its 'simple title' was the result of some editorial agonising. The title *Moralist* was rejected as that of a magazine 'enforcing lessons of prudence upon the mind of the youthful Telemachus'; *Critic* was rejected for encouraging a 'carping disposition which would lead us, like the bird of prey, to maintain numbers by tearing our neighbours to pieces'; and then the alternative titles *Satirist, Observer*, *Rambler*, and *Tatler* were proposed one by one and dismissed.[17]

Few drafts of school magazines are extant in the archives, meaning the *Stonyhurst Journal* drafts give unique insight into the complex negotiations and choices which went into such a seemingly humdrum feature of a school magazine as its title. The title was important because, the *Stonyhurst Journal* draft editorial mused, it would 'give "public" advertisement of [the] pieces' desired from contributors. Titles were weighed up for their impact on potential contributions, and their ideological implications. The aversion to the *Moralist* or titles modelled on eighteenth-century literary periodicals such as the *Rambler* and *Tatler* because they might 'enforc[e] lessons' or encourage 'carping' is evidence that some titles did not fit with dominant ideals of youth written development and collective identity with which the editor planned to align the new Stonyhurst magazine.[18]

Publication features such as frequency and cost are generally viewed as determined by economic conditions, but some producers recognised them as part of a magazine's

[17] *Stonyhurst Journal* (1854).
[18] *Stonyhurst Journal* (1854).

ideological message.[19] The generic print *Stonyhurst Magazine* (1881) rather grandly depicted the periodical press 'as a mighty river, tumbling wave and wavelet - *Quarterly Review* and *Stonyhurst Magazine* - into the ocean of literature.'[20] The *Stonyhurst Magazine* ranked itself alongside quarterlies, which were high status publications appearing infrequently at a higher price, which enabled editors to shift away from ephemeral content such as gossip and news to commission weightier and more reflective pieces.[21] A periodical's cost bolstered its status: pupils would have been familiar with the price range of youth periodicals, starting at a halfpenny, often for cheap and improving literature by religious presses, and rising to sixpence or even a shilling for more elaborate publications for children from more affluent middle-class homes.[22] Starting a magazine in a periodical format was a practical strategy for editors. The *Stonyhurst Magazine* appeared five to seven times a year at the price of sixpence, giving the editors the time to gather serious content such as a long essay on 'Cricket and Football' and 'Science Jottings' compiling several months' observations.[23] Of course, high cost and infrequent publication held a practical appeal for school magazine producers with little free time or financial investment, yet these features had the added benefit of connoting respectability. Many Stonyhurst magazines, however, appreciated the high status this connoted, with the *Stonyhurst Magazine* in 1888 recommending pupils follow 'men of culture' in the *Times* or *Saturday Review*, while its predecessor the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* (1861) had recommended 'that rambling, pleasant, inelaborate style wh[ich] is now

[19] For discussion of the relationship between practical and ideological influences, see A. King, 'Periodical Economics,' in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century Periodicals and Newspapers,* pp. 60-74. On the ideological motives of religious publications, see M. Knight, 'Periodicals and Religion', in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century Periodicals and Newspapers*, pp. 355-64.
[20] 'The First Magazine,' *Stonyhurst Magazine* (November 1883), p. 224.
[21] On status and frequency, see L. Peterson, 'Writing for Periodicals', in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century Periodicals and Newspapers*, pp. 77-101.
[22] For the price of children's, girls' and boys' periodicals, see K. Moruzi, 'Children's Periodicals', in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century Periodicals and Newspapers*, p. 296; p. 300.
[23] *Stonyhurst Magazine* (May 1881).

generally adopted in reviews.'[24] The *Stonyhurst Magazine* was typical: most school magazines cost sixpence, according to *Ulula.*[25] Some of the magazines in this study sought to be higher status publications: the *Oxford High School Magazine* appeared three times a year, at the end of each term, initially costing a shilling before reducing to sixpence; the *Manchester High School Magazine* appeared four or five times a year at ten pence.

However, other producers in this study set out to construct a different identity for their new magazine. *Ulula* appeared six to eight times a year, but it prided itself on the low price of three pence (later twopence) which made it 'the cheapest School Magazine existing.'[26] Cheapness was positively associated with a corporate identity accessible to all pupils. 'Every boy who really wishes to belong to the School, to know what is going on, what his fellows or friends are doing,' an editorial note declared after a price drop, 'ought in our opinion to spend 2s 6d a year in getting *Ulula*.'[27] At the Croydon Friends' School, cheapness connoted the rational and improving recreation afforded by penny publications. The *Monthly Gleaner* (1855) sought to

> Draw from the pockets of the one who loves
> Sweet Newman's goods, a ha'penny to improve
> The mind of gentle reader, who pores o'er
> Thy thirty columns of the monthly lore.[28]

The *Monthly Gleaner* aimed at drawing pupils' attention away from Newman's, the local sweetshop, towards self-improving reading material for working-class and lower middle-class youths, modelled on publications like the *Penny Cyclopedia* which were familiar at the school.

In the school magazines in this study, respectability was often confirmed by choosing a staid format. The generic print school magazines of the 1870s and 1880s, such as the

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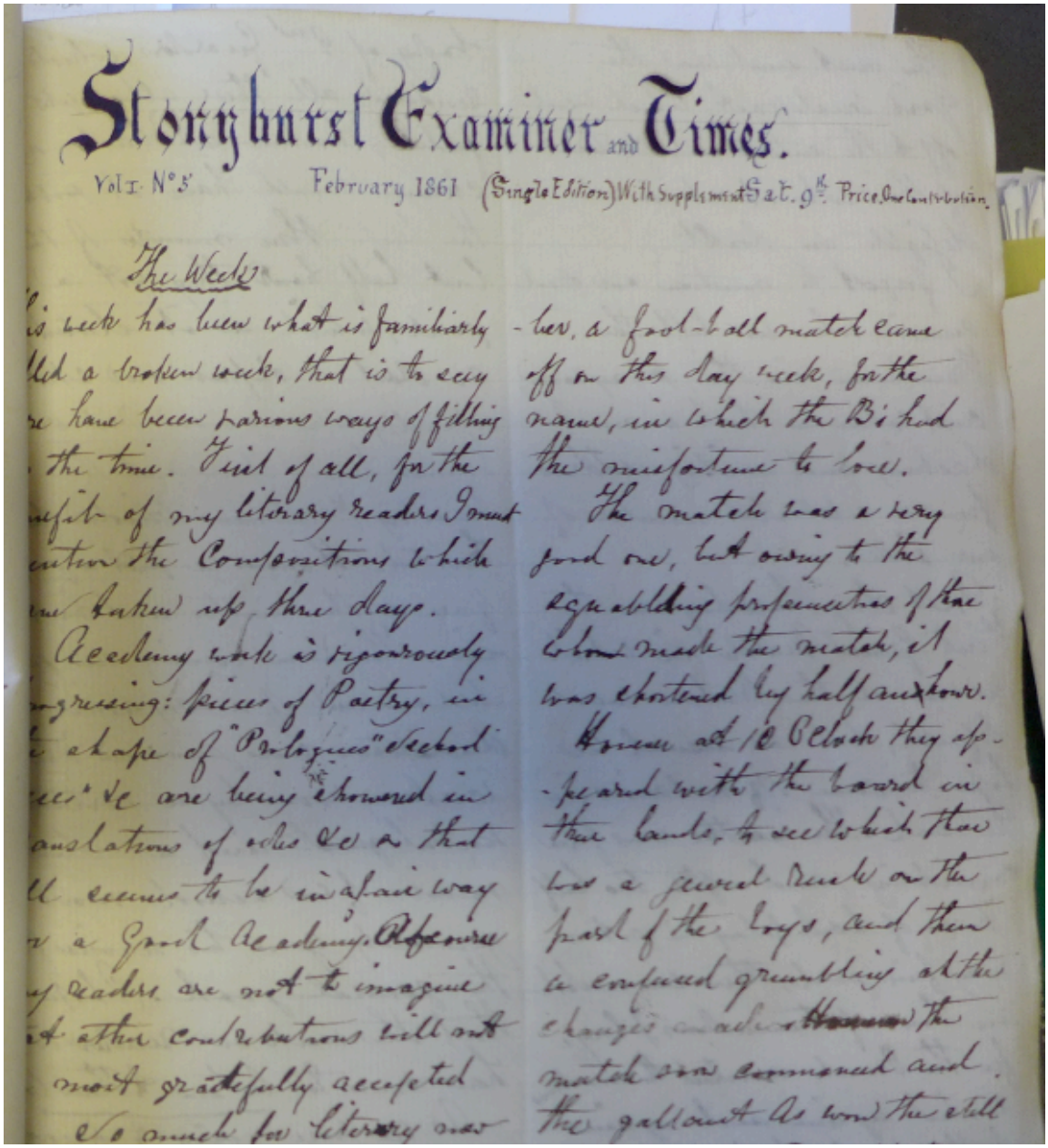
[24] 'English as she is wrote', *Stonyhurst Magazine*, December 1888, p. 276; *The Stonyhurst Examiner [and] Times* 1/1 (1861).
[25] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Proclamation by the Owl', *Ulula* (February 1892), p.2.
[26] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Notice', *Ulula* (July 1883), p. 232.
[27] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: [inside front cover], *Ulula* (May 1883).

Stonyhurst Magazine, Ulula, *Manchester High School Magazine* and *Oxford High School Magazine,* were all in a small respectable periodical format. When the *Oxford High School Magazine* faced 'the threatened reduction of our Magazine to a common newspaper form' due to financial difficulties in 1887, editors decided to reduce the number of pages instead, and retain a periodical format rather than the more ephemeral and less respectable newspaper.[29]

While the generic print school magazine was usually a periodical, other groups of producers set out to experiment with other combinations of frequency, price, and format. Take the manuscript *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* (1861) produced by pupils in Poetry form, with oversight from their teacher Charles Boardman. It was a weekly manuscript publication which started with a round-up of the latest news from the school, all attractively formatted with a newspaper masthead (Figure 11). The choice of a newspaper was deliberate, as its opening editorial explained the modernisation of Stonyhurst in the 1860s, with 'our club, our rifles corps, our Christmas plays,' meant that 'in such a go-ahead age it is more surprising that we should have remained without a college-newspaper than that we should at length have made this partial attempt to establish one'.[30] The ephemerality of the newspaper press held positive associations with modern education and the new corporate culture of Victorian secondary schools. By 1881, Stonyhurst pupils were producing more ephemeral publications in print rather than manuscript: the bilingual English and Spanish newspaper *El Curioso* ambitiously proposed to appear 'dos veces por semana' (Spanish for "twice a week"), while two other Stonyhurst magazines printed at Clitheroe, the *Comic and News Journal* and the *Silvapetræan*, promised to appear fortnightly.[31] Pupils were eager to exploit the development of cheap provincial print in Clitheroe, the town nearest the school: the

[28] 'Hail to the Monthly Gleaner', *Monthly Gleaner* 1/2 (November 1855), p. 19.
[29] 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1887), p. 1070.
[30] *The Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/1 (1861).
[31] SC: *El Curioso* 1/1 (10 February 1881). Hereafter simply *El Curioso*.

printer of *El Curioso* was J. Cowgill, who established the first weekly newspaper in Clitheroe, the *Clitheroe Advertiser and Times*, in 1868.



Stonyhurst Examiner and Times.

Vol I. N°5 February 1861 (Single Edition) With Supplement &c. 9d. Price One Contribution.

The Week

This week has been what is familiarly called a broken week, that is to say we have been various ways of filling the time. First of all, for the benefit of my literary readers I must enter the Compositions which are taken up three days.

Academy work is rapidly progressing: pieces of Poetry, in the shape of "Prologues" Second Class we are being showered in translations of odes &c & that all seems to be in a fair way for a good Academy. Oh course my readers are not to imagine that other contributions will not most gratefully accepted

So much for literary mat-

-ter, a foot-ball match came off on this day week, for the name, in which the Bi had the misfortune to lose.

The match was a very good one, but owing to the squabbling propensities of the blue made the match, it was shortened by half an hour.

Soon at 12 Oclock they appeared with the board in their hands, to see which flew a fluted Rock on the part of the boys, and then a confused grumbling at the changes made the match was commenced and the gallant A won the still

Figure 11. Image of one page from the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times*, formatted as a newspaper. Note the price is set at 'One Contribution'. SC: *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/5 (9 February 1861).

Youths were often warned away from ephemeral publications like newspapers. The *Stonyhurst Magazine* in 1888 contained an article on 'English as she is wrote', which warned

pupils away from emulating the style of 'newspapers of the lower class'.[32] Magazines across this study reacted uncertainly to contributors' enthusiasm for emulating newspapers, in particular the attention-grabbing features associated with the American press like headlines and celebrity interviews. Manchester Grammar School's *Ulula* exclaimed in 1880 that 'surely a School Magazine ought to have higher models for style than American daily papers and the *Pall Mall Gazette*!'[33] This was echoed in 1890 when a society meeting attended by many *Ulula* contributors debated the subject 'That this House regards with disapproval the growing tendency to Americanise the English newspaper'.[34] As well as condemning the 'lower class' writing in the newspapers, the *Stonyhurst Magazine* saw the English press as a threat to pupils' religious development, warning that 'there is hardly a newspaper or a review which they can take up without meeting some insidious and dangerous attack upon the foundation of Faith'.[35] Newspapers were fraught with dangers, but contribution was still presented as a political necessity and religious duty. Thus, the popularity of the newspaper format at Stonyhurst was down to pupils' need for preparation to enter public life for Stonyhurst's elite young Catholics. 'When you come to write in newspapers, as most of us will have to do, either to express our opinion or to ward a blow,' a *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* article declared in 1861, 'you will then be in a capacity to gauge what pleases the public ear & what does not. For what takes in a small scale in the schoolroom will take in a larger scale in the news room.'[36] Twenty years later, the *Stonyhurst Magazine* again represented newspaper publication as an everyday part of life for elite English Catholics, and readers were counselled it was 'the inevitable duty of our educated Catholics of the rising generation to take a vigorous and intelligent part in the struggle which they cannot avoid.'[37]

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[32] 'English as she is wrote', *Stonyhurst Magazine* (December 1888), p. 276.
[33] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula*, (October 1888), p. 23;
[34] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Debating Society', *Ulula* (July 1890), pp. 92-4.
[35] 'The Stonyhurst Series of Philosophical Manuals', *Stonyhurst Magazine* (November 1888), p. 243.
[36] 'To the Editor', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 6/1 (13 July 1861).
[37] 'The Stonyhurst Series of Philosophical Manuals', *Stonyhurst Magazine* (November 1888), p. 243.

Other magazine producers started out by choosing even more controversial publication formats. Comic periodicals inspired Stonyhurst's pupil-edited *Comic and News Journal*, (Figure 12). A print magazine launched in 1880 by two teenage pupils, the only extant issue from 1880 has an attention-grabbing cover page promising 'Fun' and 'Comic illustrations'.[38] Such an irreverent and light attitude had been discouraged by other magazines like the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times*, which had on one occasion demanded 'a much greater number of such serious articles', as 'our journal should not be an imitation of *Punch.*'[39] The mid-nineteenth century saw the rapid proliferation of cheap, ephemeral publications, which attracted large youth audiences.[40] Fears of accelerated youth development overlapped with fears of accelerating periodical production, and youths were increasingly characterised as 'desultory' readers whose development was hindered by rapid but superficial movement through an endless supply of ephemeral periodical material.[41] A love of novelty was described as harmful to school magazines. An editorial recounted how the *Stonyhurst Magazine* was 'hailed with delight', but pupils did little to sustain it, and a drop in contributions made an *Oxford High School Magazine* editorial wonder along similar lines 'Is it not generally said of girls that they will take up a new scheme at first with great enthusiasm, and then flag directly the novelty has worn off?'[42] Choosing a format like the *Comic and News Journal* subverted the ideals of corporate pride, diligence, and correct youth development which suffused the school magazine. Pupils' familiarity with the implications of title, format, cost, and frequency make clear that the often conventional and unremarkable issues of generic print school magazines were not inevitable. Instead, the debates involved in

[38] *Comic and News Journal* 1/8 (3 March 1881).
[39] 'Summary', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/3 (26 January 1861).
[40] C. Howes, 'Comic / Satiric Periodicals'.
[41] Quote from *Two Reports from the Committee of Women Friends*, p. 2. On 'Poverty and indiscrimination', that is, indiscriminate reading, see Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, pp. 371-81.
[42] 'Writing for the Magazine,' *Stonyhurst Magazine* (April 1884), p. 257; 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1880), p.49.

establishing a magazine reveal conscious choices to adapt its features to the ideals of Victorian schools.

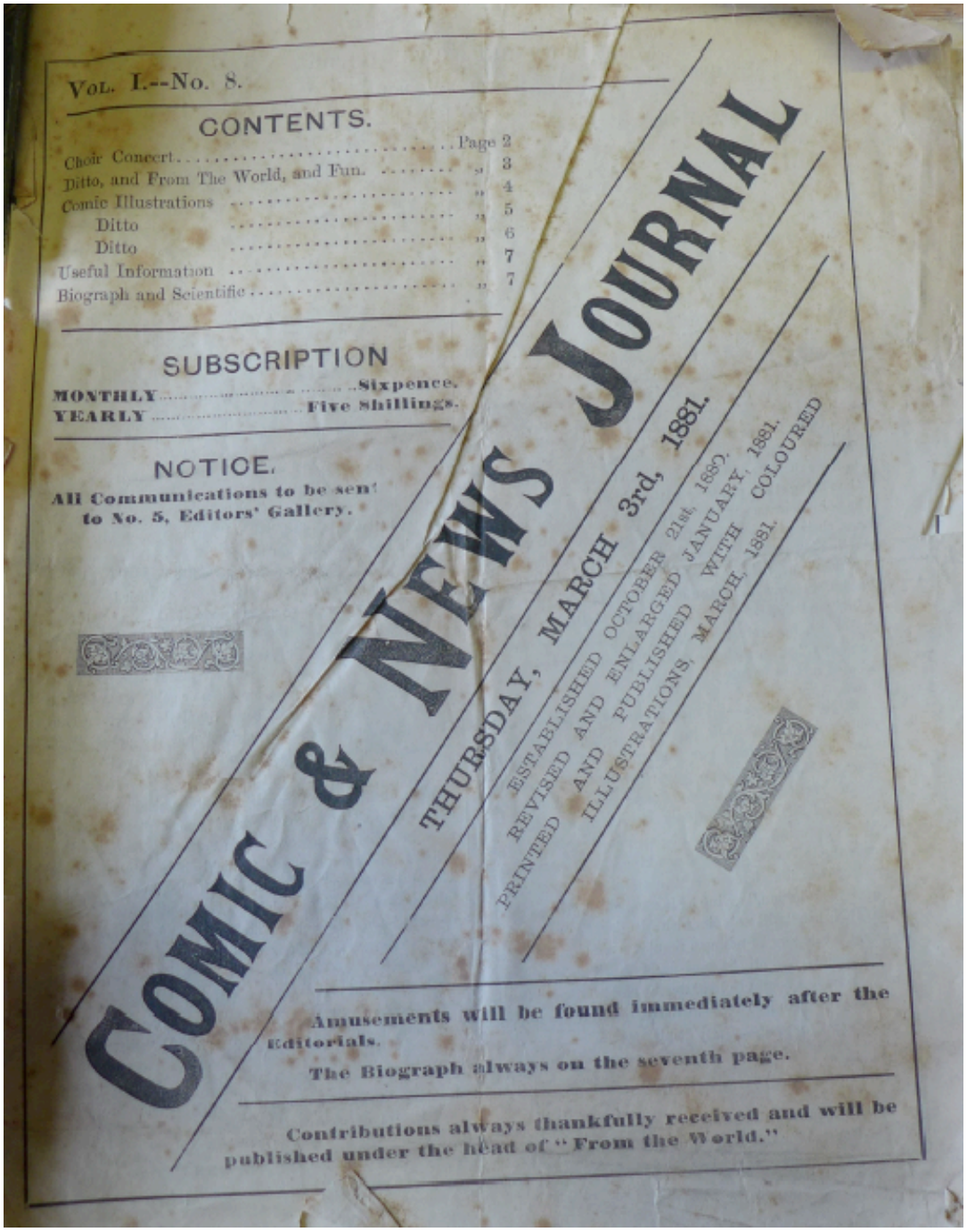


Figure 12. Image of the attention-grabbing cover page of the *Comic and News Journal* promising 'Fun' and 'Comic Illustrations'. *Comic and News Journal* 1/8 (3 March 1881).

CONTRIBUTION

Title, cost, format, and frequency could encourage certain types of contributions, but starting a magazine did not necessarily set its agenda. The title *Stonyhurst Journal* may have been carefully chosen, but future draft editorials recorded it had caused 'misunderstanding', as pupils believed they could write only about 'the events of interest which are occurring daily in the domestic world around us'. To send the message that literary writing was as welcome as news, it was decided to 'take up as title the *Stonyhurst Journal & Miscellany*.'[43] Similarly, neither the newspaper format of the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times*, nor its stern warning that it was not *Punch*, could rein in contributors like "Delta" who were 'smitten with the mania,' another contributor remarked disapprovingly, 'and desired to be a contributor to the *Stonyhurst Punch*.'[44] Such instances reveal an even more prominent influence on every aspect of the school magazine than the editor: the act of contribution.

School magazine editors and producers deferred to their contributors. In 1880, when the pupil editor of Stonyhurst's *Boys Occasional Times* complained of a 'scarcity of contributions,' he added despondently, 'Will no one take the hint?'[45] Small publications which served tightly-knit communities rarely had imperious editor-reader dynamics, as editors were keenly aware they relied on their readers for the bulk of the content.[46] School magazine editorials repeatedly told pupils that its survival depended on their contributions, with the generic print *Stonyhurst Magazine* reminding readers in 1882 that it was 'with no fixed staff, and subsisting entirely on casual support.'[47] In a 'Peep behind the scenes' at the *Monthly Gleaner* of the Croydon Friends' School, the teacher editor was imagined desperately searching for contributions:

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[43] 'Summary', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 2/2 (9 March 1861).
[44] 'To the editor', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 2/1 (1 March 1861).
[45] [note], *Boys Occasional Times* 1/8 (16 June 1880), p. 8.
[46] On small-scale publications and reader-generated content, see Wale, 'The Sympathy of a Crowd', pp. 36-39; p. 71.

> But really I can find nought,
>
> Though I have ransacked all over my desk
> And into each pigeon hole sought…[48]

Pupil Muriel Underhill portrayed the *Oxford High School Magazine*'s Editing Committee in a similar light, begging the magazine's readers to 'write something, no matter what' in 1894.[49] The image portrayed of school magazine editors was a of desperate figure, entirely at the mercy of the school magazine contributors.

School magazines used a variety of techniques to attract contributors. By the late nineteenth century, prizes were a commonplace strategy to attract young readers to mainstream print periodicals.[50] Teacher-edited magazines could fund prizes: the *Stonyhurst Magazine* printed a prize-winning essay in 1881, a practice also common in the *Oxford High School Magazine* and Croydon's teacher-edited *Monthly Gleaner*.[51] School magazines also innovated: re-examining the first page of the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times*, the price was set at 'One Contribution', obliging readers to send in pieces (Figure 11). Croydon's pupil-edited *School-Boy's Magazine* decided 'correspondents are only allowed to read the magazine gratis for something original,' waiving the halfpenny subscription for contributors.[52]

Such content across the school magazines in this study reiterated that it was the contributors, not the editors and producers, who set the agenda. The first editorial of the *Stonyhurst Magazine* in 1881 eagerly reassured contributors that they welcomed 'anything, in fact, which is the natural food of magazines,' and listed 'essays, poems, discussions, descriptions, stories, accounts of cricket matches, or football matches, or debates, or plays,

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[47] 'A Few Words to Contributors at Home and Abroad,' *Stonyhurst Magazine* (December 1882), p. 152.
[48] 'A peep behind the scenes', *Monthly Gleaner* 1/3 (December 1855).
[49] "M. M. U." [Muriel Underhill], 'Our School Magazine', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1894), pp. 629-30.
[50] See for example Rodgers, 'Competing girlhoods'.
[51] [Editorial], *Stonyhurst Magazine* (August 1882), p. 118; for an example prize, see 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1880), p. 50.

criticisms, correspondence.'[53] Studies have repeatedly emphasised the periodical format as liberating to groups otherwise circumscribed by age or gender ideologies, as the variety of content meant dominant ideas could be variously amplified, ignored, renegotiated, and challenged across the multiple columns, authors, and issues.[54] Smaller publications such as provincial newspapers afforded even greater freedom, as they needed to capture the highest possible proportion of their highly localised readership, so contained 'more magazine-style content than their London counterparts.'[55] School magazines relied on an even more localised pool of unpaid contributors who harboured eclectic literary tastes, and editors made clear that they could not afford to be picky. Like the *Stonyhurst Magazine* above, opening editorials gave expansive lists rather than rigid agendas: Stonyhurst's *Boys Occasional Times* welcomed 'educational subjects, literary questions, scientific inventions and discoveries', as well as 'anecdotes, puzzles, conundrums, witticisms, epigrams, notes & queries', and all kinds of poetry 'from the heights of Epic, to the pits (open at both ends) of doggerel.'[56] Even the Croydon Friends' School's *Monthly Gleaner* started out with a similar litany, welcoming pieces 'scientific or literary - historical, biographical, or ethical - descriptive, argumentative, didactic, or poetical'.[57]

For some editors, it was the experience of gathering contributions which gradually shifted the magazine's agenda. The *Oxford High School Magazine*'s Editing Committee initially declared in July 1880 that, as regards its essay prize, 'if the contributions are not up to certain standard… the prize will not be awarded',[58] but by the following year they explicitly refrained from such harsh commentary on contributions. A December 1881 editorial

[52] 'Introduction', *School-Boy's Magazine* 2/4 (1851).
[53] [Editorial], *Stonyhurst Magazine* (May 1881), p. 9.
[54] On how ideals of femininity played out in periodicals, see Fraser et al, *Gender and the Victorian Periodical*, p. 44. On ideals of girlhood, see Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood*, p. 12. For ideals of youth, see Langbauer, *The Juvenile Tradition*, p. 90.
[55] A. Hobbs, 'Provincial Periodicals'.
[56] [Editorial], *Boys Occasional Times* 1/1 (15 February 1880).
[57] 'To our Readers', *Monthly Gleaner* 1/2 (November 1855), p. 17.
[58] 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1880), p. 97.

remarked 'we will say nothing about the quality of them; suffice it to say, we are thankful for the quantity.'[59] Other editors were more cautious about discouraging potential contributors from stepping forward. Stonyhurst's pupil-edited *Boys Occasional Times* (1881) began with the question 'But ought we not to lay before the public what are our views now from the outset - what the colours we hoist?' The editor immediately ridiculed editorial agendas, writing 'we don't yet feel enough experience in journalism to enable us to stereotype from the outset our opinions on all matters inclusive of things yet to be discovered or invented.'[60] The pupil editor demurred from expressing his own views, depicting the ideals and values of the school magazine as coming from the contributions themselves which were at that point 'yet to be discovered or invented'.

Contributions may have set the agenda; however, this did not mean pupils were entirely free to follow their own interests and perspectives. The drafts for the *Stonyhurst Journal* (1854) proposed that contributions may be either conveyed by the Scholars through the hands of their Masters, or given directly to the Editor himself.'[61] This proposal reveals contribution to be a complex act, shaped by the social environment of handing the manuscript over in the classroom, and the subtle differences in power and status between pupils, prefects, trainee teachers and teachers outlined in the first chapter. English Jesuit institutions have been characterised as keeping pupils under strict supervision, following the tradition of their French predecessors rather than the English idealisation of self-government.[62] At Stonyhurst College, there was a Study-place and Play-rooms with staff supervision, in contrast with the prefect supervision of elite Anglican schools.[63] While Jesuit colleges did not idealise self-government as much as other English secondary schools, the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times*

[59] 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1881), p. 289.
[60] [Editorial], *Boys Occasional Times* 1/1 (15 February 1880).
[61] *Stonyhurst Journal* (1854).
[62] Mangan describes the 'unremitting surveillance' at Stonyhurst. See Mangan, *Athleticism* p. 21.
[63] Muir, *Stonyhurst College*, p. 12.

suggest that everyday routines were not all that different, as the magazine celebrated pupils' unsupervised leisure in the school gardens, dormitories, and play spaces.

In Stonyhurst magazines, teacher editors were aware of the potential for contributing to be fraught, and for the inequalities of power between different members of a school to become an obstacle to the magazine's success. They strategised to make themselves more approachable, with the *Stonyhurst Journal* editor adding that for pupils unwilling to approach him directly, contributions could be 'addressed to him in form of letter, and send in the ordinary way in which letters are transmitted.'[64] Other teacher editors made direct interaction with the teacher unnecessary altogether. Croydon Friends' School's *Monthly Gleaner* promised 'any signature will do & so thou need not be afraid of writing: the papers are to be placed in the box in the school-room', the *Manchester High School Magazine* assured pupils that 'the Editor's Box is *always* open', and Manchester Grammar School's *Ulula* introduced an editor's box for 'anyone who is too bashful to carry his manuscript into No. 15 Old Buildings.'[65] Anonymity and an editor's box sought to free contributing from the differences in authority and status between teachers and pupils.

Nor was handing contributions to other pupils free from inequalities of status and authority: the first chapter demonstrates the dominance of top form pupils in school magazines. The *Oxford High School Magazine* also proposed that pieces 'anonymous or otherwise' be placed in 'a box in Form VI' (the top form) from 1890.[66] The *Oxford High School Magazine* was largely edited by sixth (top) form pupils and a younger teacher, but contributors may have been just as eager to be shielded from schoolmates. Croydon Friends' School pupil-edited magazines also introduced indirect ways to contribute, like Frank Farrington and Bedford Pierce, who asked that contributions to their *Friends' School*

[64] *Stonyhurst Journal* (1854).
[65] 'A Dialogue', *Monthly Gleaner* 1/1 (October 1855), p. 10; MHS: 'Appeal', *Manchester High School Magazine* (March 1884), p. 184; OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Occasional Notes', *Ulula* (October 1896), p. 117-20.

Manuscript Magazine be 'placed in either of the Editors' desks.'[67] Yet the editor's box or desk were located in crowded secondary schools, and paradoxically heightened the public nature of contributing to the school magazine. Former pupil Isabella Rowntree captures the spectacle of contribution in recollections of a 'chronicle' written by girls at another Friends' school, the Mount School in York. 'When a girl had finished privately writing her essay,' Isabella Rowntree wrote, 'she would walk past the box with an air of unconcern, and if nobody was looking, drop it in surreptitiously.'[68] The 'unconcern' softened the criticism often levelled at women's public activities, as the visibility of the editor's box turned the act of contributing into a public performance of the confidence or authority to write for the school magazine. For pupil-edited magazines, approaching the editor's desk or box could be a performance of friendship. The manuscript *Sneezer* (1885), produced by three friends at King's College School in London, directed contributors to 'the Editor, Stove, N(orth) End of B. Room', where editor Marcus Dixon spent lunch breaks with his friends.[69] Not all pupils would have dared the approach, as the *Sneezer* makes clear there were rival peer groups at the north and south ends of the classroom, producing rival magazines, and fighting other pupils who trespassed on their territory.[70] Pupils' excitement and fear was not just about potential reactions to the content of their contributions, but about the social meaning of contributing itself at a Victorian secondary school.

The ideals attached to contributing meant it was not an invisible stage of production, but an act whose meaning was negotiated and discussed across the magazines in this study. In the *Stonyhurst Journal* drafts, an anonymous poem '"Wanted Composers" or "Wanted a Name"'

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[66] 'Editorial Notes', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1890), p. 196.
[67] 'Preface', *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* 1/1 (6 March 1875), p. 1.
[68] H. W. Sturge and T. Clark, *The Mount School, York* (London and Toronto, 1931), p. 65.
[69] London, King's College Archives, King's College School, K/SER113: 'Entre Nous', *Sneezer* (12 March 1885), p. 4.
[70] London, King's College Archives, King's College School, K/SER113: 'The Battle of the "B" Room', *Sneezer* (12 February 1885), p. 3.

appealed 'Wanted composers adapted to fill, Up two of three pages, with average skills.' The poem presented the 'composers' in an attractive light:

> Ease, smoothness, & freedom combined with good grace,
> This is more than enough, to win writers a place.
> To give them a little to honour, and Fame,
> In our Journal, which yet by the by has no Name.[71]

Stepping forward to write for the magazine was presented as an honourable and gentlemanly act, which would confer on future 'composers' the aura of 'ease, smoothness, & freedom' of this light and entertaining poem. This gentlemanly identity differs from the poem 'Our School Magazine' in the *Oxford High School Magazine*, which exclaimed 'Hurrah for our School Magazine!' and 'Hurrah for the Sunflowers say I!', which presented contribution as loyalty towards corporate identity with a reference to the school's emblem of a sunflower.[72] Magazines differed in their representations of contributing, as they were inflected with the shared ideals of the school's middle-class community. At the Croydon Friends' School, for instance, the poem 'Hail to the *Monthly Gleaner*' lauded the pupil who spent his pocket money on self-improvement instead of at Newman's sweetshop, as 'He'll find it better, when he gives his money, For honey that thy pages give - not Newman's honey.'[73]

The editorial reliance on contributors shaped many school magazines. Following the *Stonyhurst Journal*'s directions to hand articles to the editor or send them as a letter, many of the articles in the book of manuscript drafts began 'Mr Editor' or 'To the Editor'. Matthew Wale emphasises the role of correspondence in small-scale publication, with the title *Intelligencer* referring to a periodical formatted as a circulated collection of letters.[74] Correspondence columns are an overt reminder of the importance of letters to youth periodicals, yet other columns such as competitions, clubs and societies, advertisements, and

[71] SC: 'Wanted Composers, or, Wanted a Name', *Stonyhurst Journal* (1854).
[72] "M. M. U." [Muriel Underhill], 'Our School Magazine', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1894), pp. 629-30.
[73] 'Hail to the Monthly Gleaner', *Monthly Gleaner* 1/2 (November 1855), p. 19.

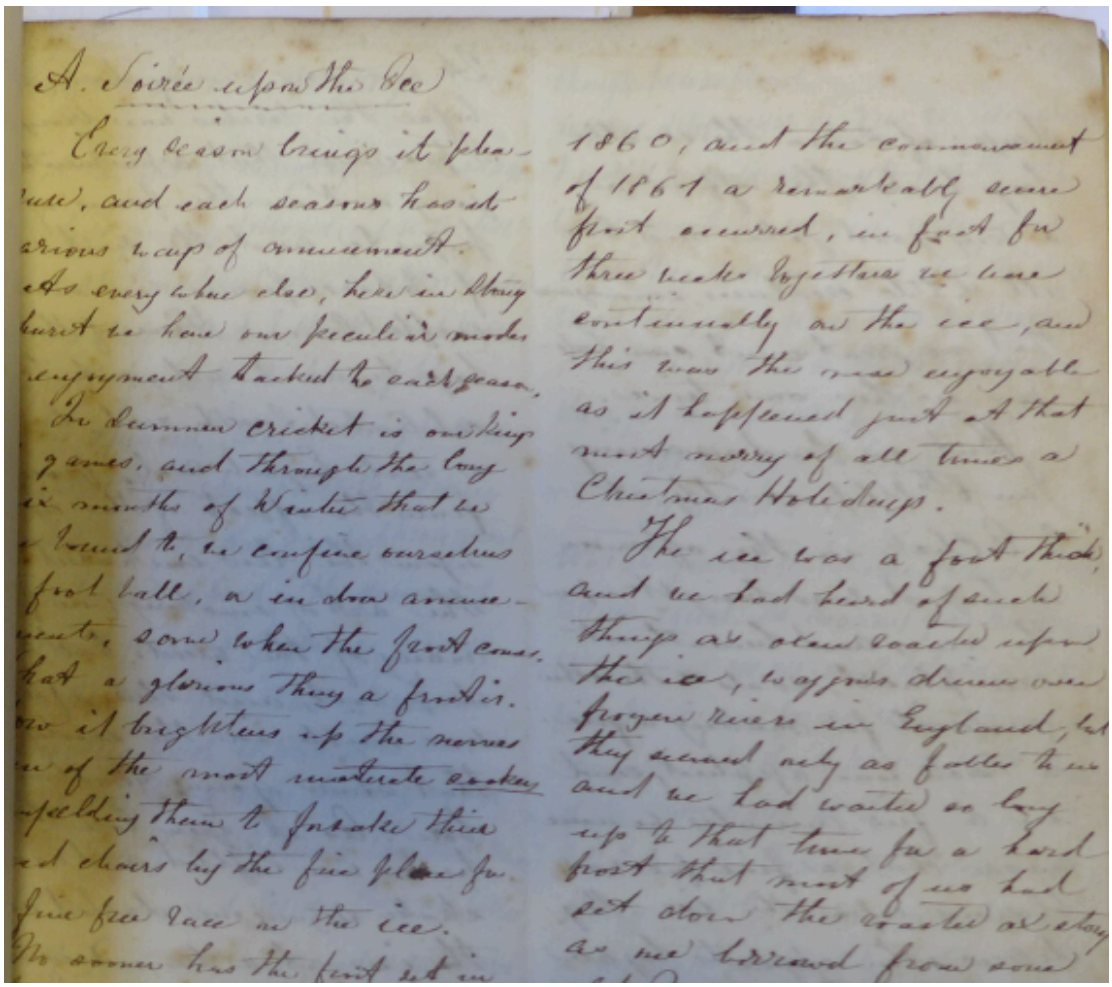
children's pages, were reliant on the same give-and-take dynamic between readers and producers. The school magazine's format was marked by the companionable dynamics of education and periodical culture. For instance, the draft book for the *Stonyhurst Journal* illuminates the impact of the letter, as some drafts still bear fold marks, and addresses on the back 'to the Editor of the *Stonyhurst Journal*'.[75] Contributing via letter continued to shape the format of the manuscript magazine the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* a decade later. As will be discussed further below, many of the manuscript issues simply used the original drafts sent by contributors, so some archived copies have folds and addresses, one sent 'To the Editor of the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* with The Writer's good wishes.'[76]

Equally influential upon the appearance of the school magazine was the time available for contributing. This can be seen in the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times*, where, an editorial explained, contributions were 'weakly (sic) given up to the two secretaries' who would '…stitch them together & deliver the whole paper to the editor'.[77] Issues were not transcribed, meaning the archived volume is a collection of the original manuscripts in the contributor's own hand. It sheds extraordinary light on the time and effort expended by individual contributors: for instance, the manuscript of 'A Soirée Upon the Ice', a piece describing the boys' skating during a 'remarkably severe frost' at the beginning of 1861, shows the contributor devoted time to its appearance (Figure 13). He took the effort to fold the page down the middle, and write on either side of the fold to organise his handwriting into two neat columns.[78] Handwriting and format were read as signs of diligence and effort. While few manuscript drafts survive, Beth Rodgers uses feedback on girls' contributions to youth periodical *Girl's Realm* to emphasise the importance editors attached to physical

[74] Wale, 'The Sympathy of a Crowd', p. 27.
[75] 'Advertisement', *Stonyhurst Journal* (1854).
[76] 'I've been asked to write…', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* [no issue number](1861).
[77] [editorial], *The Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/1 (1861).
[78] 'A Soiree upon the Ice', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times*, [no issue number](1861).

presentation.[79] Karen Sánchez-Eppler points to child and youth writers as highly aware of the 'moral and social worth' attached to neat handwriting and an attractive layout.[80] Similarly, Helen Sunderland notes how school magazine articles on school debates reproduced the conventions and formats of parliamentary reporting in the mainstream press.[81] Like the careful presentation of 'A Soirée Upon the Ice', editorial feedback for entries to an *Oxford High School Magazine* competition reminded pupils that 'handwriting will be taken into account', and praised pupils for the use of red ink, or 'neat and well written' work.[82] Content and at times the format were shaped by the act of contributing, which nineteenth-century school magazine producers recognised and celebrated as a key performance of the ideals and values of their secondary education. Regardless of the magazine content, the process of contributing was a varied, turbulent, and exciting performance of identity which was interwoven with the social and cultural environment of the Victorian secondary school.

[79] Rodgers, 'Competing Girlhoods', p. 282.
[80] Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States,* p. 23.
[81] Sunderland, 'Politics in Schoolgirl Debating Cultures'.
[82] 'Search Passages Competition', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1892), p. 387; 'Search Passages Competition', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1892), p. 424; 'Search Passages Competition', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1893), p. 463.



A Soirée upon the Ice

Every season brings it pleasure, and each seasons has its various cup of amusement. As every where else, here in Stonyhurst we have our peculiar modes enjoyment backed to each season. In summer Cricket is our king of games, and through the long six months of Winter that we are bound to, we confine ourselves to foot ball, & in-door amusements, some when the frost comes, that a glorious thing a frost is. How it brightens up the nerves in of the most moderate cockney upholding them to forsake their arm chairs by the fire place for the free race on the ice. No sooner has the first set in

1860, and the commencement of 1861 a remarkable event first occurred, in fact for three weeks together we have continually on the ice, and this was the most enjoyable as it happened just at that most merry of all times a Christmas Holidays.

The ice was a foot thick, and we had heard of such things as oxen roasted upon the ice, & of fairs drawn over frozen rivers in England, but they seemed only as fables to us and we had waited so long up to that time for a hard frost that most of us had sat down the roasted ox story as we termed from some

Figure 13. Image of one page from the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times*. Note the fold down the middle to organise the text into two columns. 'A Soirée upon the Ice', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times*, [no issue number](1861).

PRINTING

'Of the "making of magazines" there is no end', began an 1883 article in the generic print *Stonyhurst Magazine*, noting 'the mighty muster of dependents' on periodical production, from the editor whose job involved 'judging and mutilating' contributions, to the apprentices and compositors, and finally to the poet whose 'cherished manuscript' was destined for the 'Balaam-box'.[83] Like the warning against emulating the language of 'newspapers of the

[83] 'The First Magazine,' *Stonyhurst Magazine* (November 1883), p. 224.

lower class', the *Stonyhurst Magazine* alerted readers to the social differences across the complex process of print production.

As well as encouraging appropriate genres of writing, a key purpose of the print school magazine was cultivating an appropriate relationship between pupils and the process of production. Jane Griffith's analysis of Indian boarding school magazines in Canada illuminates how indigenous pupils were tasked with printing the magazines by the white school authorities, as a form of manual labour which would assimilate them into the occupational structures and rhythms of industrialised society.[84] Pupils' relationships to magazine production varied from school to school. For pupils from more modest backgrounds, involvement in magazine production could serve as training in work rather than public life. Quaker educational pamphlets presented printing the school magazine as a form of apprenticeship, and heaped praise on George Edmonson's private school for the printing press that enabled pupils to 'amuse themselves with printing a small weekly journal, performing by themselves alone with various duties of editors, printers, publishers, compositors, &c.'[85] For pupils from more affluent backgrounds, involvement in magazine production could serve as training in public life rather than work. Girls at the Oxford High School were not involved in printing: the *Oxford High School Magazine* had an Editing Committee which, instead of presenting pupils as individual authors courting the public, highlighted the ability of the school's upper middle-class girls to run a public institution themselves. From 1884, the *Oxford High School Magazine* printed its accounts like any other public institution, in order to show pupils 'the very expensive nature of the process of publication.'[86] Stonyhurst pupils, in contrast, were destined to occupy an elevated position in this hierarchy of periodical production: the *Stonyhurst Magazine* article went on to

[84] Griffith, 'News from School', p. 68.
[85] *First Annual Report of the Friends' Educational Society,* p. 5-6; see also reports on Sidcot's printing press, see *Second Annual Report of the Friends' Educational Society*, (York and London, 1845), p. 10.
[86] 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1884), p. 629.

recommend Anthony Trollope's *Autobiography* to those pupils aspiring to be 'a writer who courts the public successfully through the columns of the modern periodical.'[87]

School magazines brought pupils into a tricky relationship with the commercial and financial stages of production. The *Stonyhurst Magazine* editor emphasised the duty to 'make ends meet', reminding pupils that 'like all things else our publication to justify its existence must justify it financially.'[88] Allusions to material concerns could meet with criticism. Editors of mainstream schoolboy periodicals such as the *Public School Magazine* and the *Captain* railed against advertisements they came across in school magazines, on one occasion dramatically demanding of the *Droghedean* of Drogheda Grammar School 'fie, fie… are ye fain to run your little school journal at a profit?'[89] While accusations of materialism or profit-making were often levelled at middle-class communities, the *Stonyhurst Magazine*'s open discussion of its finances shows in practice school magazine did not always attempt to detach pupils from more material concerns.

As in the *Stonyhurst Magazine*, material and ideological concerns overlapped in the school magazine. As seen above, the Croydon Friends' School's *Monthly Gleaner* represented the magazine as enticing pupils' halfpennies from the sweetshop to self-improvement, and the *Oxford High School Magazine* which, even when low funds prompted a reduction in the size of the magazine in April 1887, still set aside a whole page for expenses tallied by nineteen-year-old former pupil Beatrice Hatch, from the £6 10s spent on printing 150 copies of the magazine down to the 2s 5d spent on 'Wrappers and Postage.'[90] Studies of periodicals often differentiate magazines with a social agenda from those set up to generate a profit; however, in a study of parish magazines, Jane Platt notes publishers did not see

[87] 'The First Magazine,' *Stonyhurst Magazine* (November 1883), p. 224.
[88] [Editorial], *Stonyhurst Magazine* (May 1884), p. 265.
[89] Quote 'Reviews of School Magazines', *Captain* (April 1899), p. 105; 'The Magazines Reviewed', *Public School Magazine* (September 1900), p. 179; 185.
[90] 'Hail to the Monthly Gleaner', *Monthly Gleaner* 1/2 (November 1855), p. 19; 'Statement of Accounts. Spring Term 1887,' *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1887), p. 1100.

religious and commercial concerns as incompatible.[91] In practice, parish magazine advertisements generated income for charities, and lower prices helped spread ideological messages to a wider audience.[92] Nor did periodicals for children separate material from ideological concerns: instead, print was used to spread messages of responsible consumerism and commercial propriety, reinforced by encouraging young readers to spend money on improving literature.[93] Tracking school magazine finances harmonised with middle-class ideals of fiscal responsibility.

Furthermore, some school magazines in this study used advertising to cover costs. Problematically, wrappers were often removed in creating the bound volumes of magazines found in archives, but the volumes of Manchester Grammar School's *Ulula* in the Bodleian Library contain copious advertising wrappers. Far from unsettling dominant identities, the advertisements complemented the modern, corporate school life offered at the school. There were advertisements for local businesses selling textbooks and chemistry apparatus, sports clothes and equipment, photographic equipment, and bicycles that complemented school news from the school's photography and bicycling clubs.[94]

Generic print school magazines sought to establish a relationship to print production deemed appropriate to the social and cultural background of the pupils. In practice, however, school magazine producers did not occupy static or consistent social and cultural positions. In the first issue of the *Boys Occasional Times*, the pupil editor explained the magazine had been established 'to supply a want of news felt by the Stonyhurst public, & a want of money felt by the editor to pay for his printing press.'[95] Owning his own printing press enabled this editor to ignore the relationship to print established by the *Stonyhurst Magazine*.

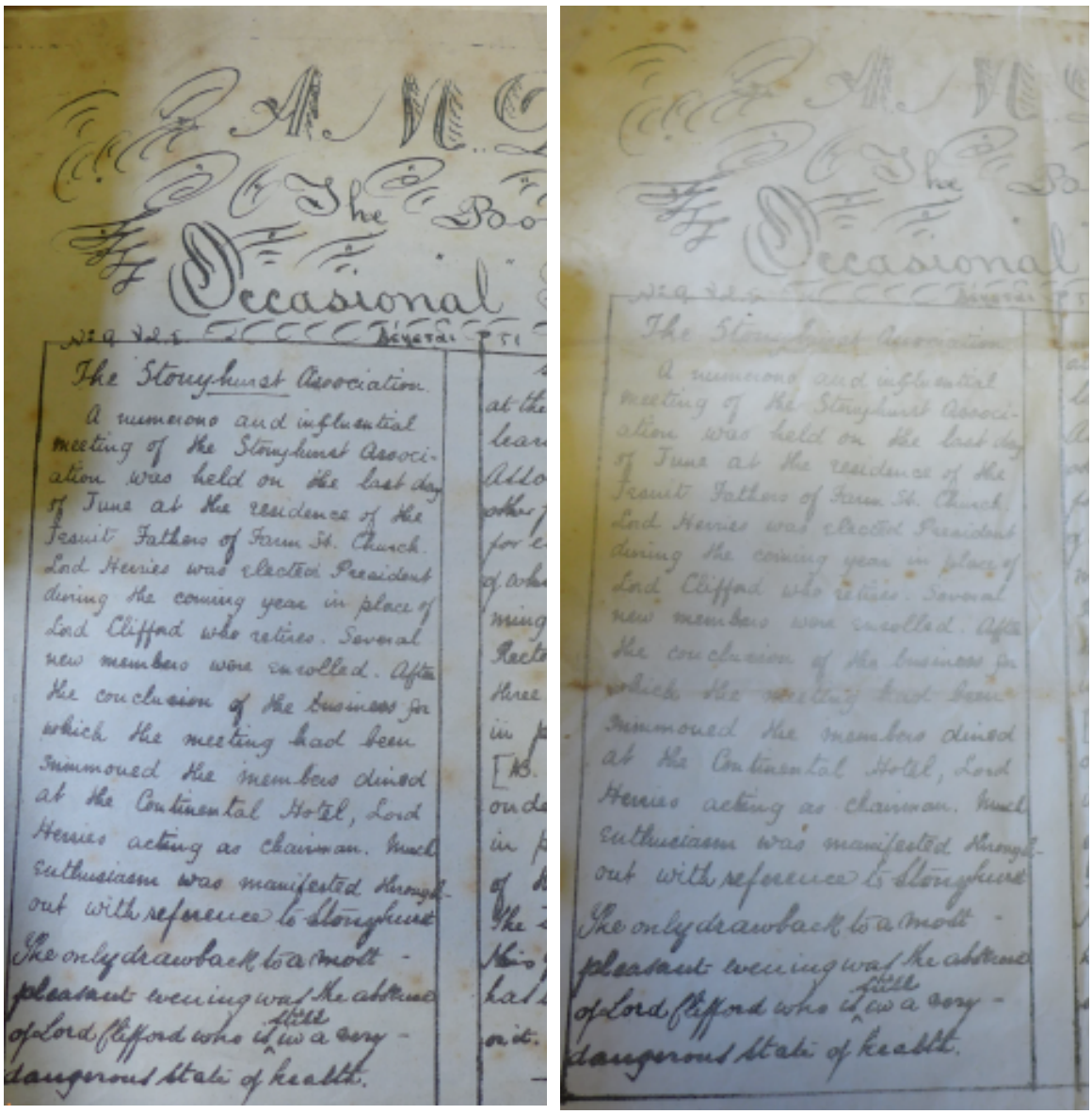
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[91] M. Knight, 'Periodicals and Religion'; on the harmony of religion and commerce, see Platt, *Subscribing to Faith?,* p. 49.
[92] Platt, *Subscribing to Faith?*, p. 50.
[93] Denisoff, *The Nineteenth-Century Child and Consumer Culture*, p. 11.
[94] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: *Ulula* (February 1892); (February 1893); (March 1893)[wrappers].
[95] [Editorial], *Boys Occasional Times* 1/1 (15 February 1880), p. 1.

PRODUCTION

Examining the printed pages of the *Boys Occasional Times* gives some clue as to how a secondary school pupil might have come to own and operate their own printing press. The pages have a handwritten appearance: some show the indentations of the pen on the page, but most do not; a small number are in violet ink, but the majority in black; and most intriguingly of all, there are multiple copies which are completely identical apart from the varying textures of the ink on the page (Figures 14 and 15). This points to the magazine as a rare example of chromography (or hectography), an amateur printing process developed in the 1880s, which involved transferring ink from a gelatin surface onto a page. James Moran's study of *Printing Presses* is so uncertain about the place of processes like chromography in the history of print that amateur print is detailed in the ancillary position of an appendix.[96] Few historical studies of periodicals refer to amateur print, although in a study of parish magazines, Jane Platt briefly notes examples with print 'insets' wrapped in local advertising and parish news which were sometimes printed using chromography.[97] Publications like the *Boys Own Magazine* point to a neglected history of printing in secondary schools, as amateur print enabled some teenagers to ignore the official relationship with printers established by the *Stonyhurst Magazine* and explore a personal fascination with print.

[96] J. Moran, *Printing Presses: History and Development from the Fifteenth Century to Modern Times* (London, 1973), p. 230.
[97] On the production of local content see J. Platt, *Subscribing to Faith?*, pp. 49-50. On the use of manuscript or amateur print, see J. Platt, 'London Anglican Parish Magazines 1860-1918' https://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/things-to-do/london-metropolitan-archives/the-collections/Pages/parish-magazines.aspx# (12 February 2018).



The Stonyhurst Association.

A numerous and influential meeting of the Stonyhurst Association was held on the last day of June at the residence of the Jesuit Fathers of Farm St. Church. Lord Herries was elected President during the coming year in place of Lord Clifford who retires. Several new members were enrolled. After the conclusion of the business for which the meeting had been summoned the members dined at the Continental Hotel, Lord Herries acting as chairman. Much enthusiasm was manifested throughout with reference to Stonyhurst. The only drawback to a most pleasant evening was the absence of Lord Clifford who is now a very dangerous state of health.

Figure 14. Two copies of the same page from the *Boys' Occasional Times*. The copies are identical apart from the varying texture of the ink on the page. The darker ink suggests this is an earlier impression. 'The Stonyhurst Association', *Boys Occasional Times* 1/8 (8 July 1880), p. 1; 'Dear Mr Editor', *Boys Occasional Times* 1/8 (8 July 1880), p. 7.

Figure 15. Two copies of the same page from the *Boys' Occasional Times*. The copies are identical apart from the varying texture of the ink on the page. The fainter ink suggests this is a later impression. 'The Stonyhurst Association', *Boys Occasional Times* 1/8 (8 July 1880), p. 1; 'Dear Mr Editor', *Boys Occasional Times* 1/8 (8 July 1880), p. 7.

The history of amateur print is intertwined with broader practices of middle-class education. It goes as far back as 1769, when J. Sutter advertised his portable printing press as an educational tool whereby elite children 'may be easily brought acquainted with the Poets

and other Authors, by reprinting the beauties of each and thereby strengthen the memory and early improve the understanding.'[98] In the context of elite pedagogies based on memorisation and imitation, amateur print was presented as an exciting new form of rote-learning. By the nineteenth century, small printing presses had become affordable for some middle-class families, with an 1846 manual recommending the Parlour Printing Press 'for the amusement and education of youth, by enabling them to print on a little subject they had previously written.' The manual targeted both parents and teachers, as the latter could use the press 'for the multiplication of various papers employed in conducting the classes and studies of their pupils; and amongst the pupils themselves for small essays, original papers, and school newspapers.'[99]

By the 1880s, amateur print was flourishing. At Stonyhurst College, the *Boys Occasional Times* preferred black ink to violet because 'the masters chromograph with violet ink, and it becomes common', suggesting that amateur print was like an early form of photocopying.[100] By the end of the nineteenth century, amateur print was reshaping informal education, as fans of *Young England* magazine established a Young England Naturalists' Society with 'a monthly cyclostyle magazine' - cyclostyle referring to another form of amateur print.[101] As well as these imaginative communities, amateur print became part of the collective activities of secondary schools. Children's periodical *Chums* advised 'secretaries of clubs of any kind' that a chromograph would be 'of great service,' as did schoolboy periodical *Captain*.[102] The Stonyhurst archive gives fascinating examples of the practical benefits amateur print could bring to school associational life: in 1878, the playbill for 'Slasher and Crasher' was

[98] Moran, *Printing Presses,* p. 230.
[99] Holtzapffel & Co., *Printing Apparatus for the Use of Amateurs* (London, 1846), p. 5.
[100] 'Ink Bottles', *Boys Occasional Times* 1/9 (8 July 1880), p. 2.
[101] 'Young England Naturalists' Society', *Young England* (1 March 1886), p. 143.
[102] 'Have You a Hektograph?' *Chums* (15 February 1899), p. 403; T. H. Durrans, 'How to Make a Hektograph', *Captain*, [Date Unknown] p. 568.

duplicated using chromography.[103] Amateur print was promoted in other schools in this study, as the Quaker inter-school magazine the *Natural History Journal* explained how pupils and teachers could make their own chromograph.[104] By the 1880s, amateur print was incorporated into the broad educational practices of middle-class communities, as benefitting the youth development and collective life desired in middle-class secondary schools.

The *Boys Occasional Times* editorial revealed the magazine was founded due to 'a want of money felt by the editor to pay for his printing press', suggesting that the editor bought the printing press first, and only later thought of establishing a magazine as an outlet for his enthusiasm.[105] Amateur print was a varied and exciting hobby, with processes involving anything from a single line of type inked and stamped by hand, or boards with several lines of type, to boxes or tins to print or reproduce a whole page.[106] By the late nineteenth century, enthusiasm was such that there was an Amateur Printing Association, and a print periodical *Amateur Printing* (1895-1974). Children's and youth periodicals such as the schoolboy periodical the *Captain* advertised amateur print materials like the "Little Printer", an ink pad with type, starting from sixpence.[107] An advertisement for the cyclostyle in *Fun* did not target those desiring a mode of communication, but an audience of enthusiasts who 'having hitherto used the ELECTRIC PEN, the TRYPOGRAPH, the HEKTOGRAPH, &c, are respectfully invited to see the process.'[108] Youths made up a large proportion of the enthusiasts: much as Sutter had advertised his 1760s press to 'the young Nobility and Gentry of both sexes', most references to 'chromograph' or 'hectograph' in the database *19th Century UK Periodicals* come from children's and youth periodicals, often after requests for advice from readers.[109]

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[103] SC, B.4 (1): 'Slasher and Crasher,' *Playbills, Stonyhurst College* (January 1878).
[104] "Miscellaneous: The Chromograph', *Natural History Journal* (15 November 1879), p. 152.
[105] *Boys Occasional Times* 1/1 (15 February 1880), p. 1.
[106] On the different methods, see Moran, *Printing Presses*, pp. 225-48.
[107] [advertising wrapper], *Captain* (May 1899).
[108] 'Multiple Classified Advertisements', *Fun* (2 July 1884), p. 14.
[109] Quote from advertisement by J. Sutter, c1760 in Moran, *Printing Presses*, p. 230. See requests from readers in 'Our Letter-Box,' *Young Folks Paper* (9 May 1885), p. 336; 'Correspondence,' *Boy's Own Paper* (6 August 1898), p. 720.

PRODUCTION

The *Boys Occasional Times* offers a rare glimpse of the motives for choosing amateur print. Historical analysis, Sarah Mills explains, would benefit from going beyond the 'seeming fixity' of archival objects to explore the meanings for producers.[110] The uneven textures and quality of the ink on the pages of the *Boys Occasional Times* suggest that practicality was not the reason, as they disclose an unreliable and laborious process of production.[111] Just how laborious is clear from the detailed description of the chromographic process in children's periodical *Young Folks* in 1884.[112] First, a master copy was created in clear handwriting, often using 'Judson's violet dye' - this may explain the violet colour of an extant master copy of the *Boys Occasional Times*. The master copy was pressed onto a gelatin surface, which absorbed the ink, and copies were made by pressing fresh pieces of paper onto the surface to transfer the ink. The surface had to be prepared in advance by buying 'a tin of the preparation called Hektograph in any respectable stationer's in your city', according to *Young Folks*, then melting the contents in an oven and pouring it evenly into a tin tray to harden.[113] The alternative name 'hectograph' (Greek for "one hundred" and "I write") promised to create a hundred copies from this surface, but *Young Folks* stated the more modest yet substantial number of fifty.[114]

Comparing different copies of the same issue of the *Boys Occasional Times* suggests producing so many copies was tricky. Some copies have missing edges, and are faint or blurry: each page had to be smoothed onto the whole surface to ensure all the text was picked up, and working too quickly led to missing edges; each copy was fainter than the last, as more of the ink in the gelatin was transferred; and copies became blurrier as the ink gradually

[110] S. Mills, 'Cultural-Historical Geographies of the Archive', p. 701.
[111] The hectograph or chromograph has been identified as the most likely process used for the *Boys Occasional Times* with the help of Bob Richardson, St Bride Library, London.
[112] 'Our Letter-Box,' *Young Folks* (14 June 1884), p. 184; see also B. Rhodes and W. Streeter, *Before Photocopying: The Art and History of Mechanical Copying, 1780-1938* (New Castle DE., 1990), pp. 137-41.
[113] 'Our Letter-Box,' *Young Folks* (14 June 1884), p. 184.
[114] The figure of fifty copies is provided by 'Our Letter-Box,' *Young Folks* (14 June 1884), p. 184. See also Rhodes and Streeter, *Before Photocopying*, p. 141.

diffused in the gel surface. Producing an eight-page magazine involved melting and resetting the gelatin surface eight times, as each page was produced separately. The uneven quality of the ink on the extant copies of the *Boys Occasional Times* forms an overlooked narrative of the laborious preparation and rapid and steady production that formed part of some middle-class young people's experiences of the school magazine. Indeed, the pages of the *Boys Occasional Times* are a measure of the producers' extraordinary enthusiasm, as producers made nine eight-page issues of the *Boys Occasional Times* between February and July 1880, at a rate of an issue every ten days to two weeks.

Pupils at Stonyhurst College experimented with even more complex print processes: in 1884, the *Stonyhurst Magazine* revealed that it was training 'a small but growing school of draughtsmen […] to master the art and mystery of zincographic illustration.'[115] The *Stonyhurst Magazine* consistently elevated amateurism, even objecting to Association Football rules as introducing the 'ingenuity of trained intelligence, combined in some cases with the shrewd instincts of pot-hunting professionals,' an aversion to professionalism backed up by another piece claiming it lacked the 'élan of the Stonyhurst game.'[116] Lithography was similarly disassociated from material gain or work. When one of the lithographs was included in the *Stonyhurst Magazine*, the editorial acknowledged it was of a 'rude description', but reminded readers that 'the merits of the subject of the drawing will quite hide a multitude of shortcomings in the execution of it' as 'for to all true Stonyhurst boys, even an indifferent picture of Stonyhurst will always be more acceptable than a good picture of anything else.'[117] School magazines distanced themselves from accusations of profit-making, with the *Stonyhurst Magazine* presenting pupils' corporate identity as the motivation for lithography, while other magazines also emphasised more improving aims.

[115] [Editorial], *Stonyhurst Magazine* (May 1884), p. 265.
[116] 'Stonyhurst Football: A Chapter in Evolutionary History,' *Stonyhurst Magazine* (April 1888), pp. 130-1; 'The Editor's Post Bag,' *Stonyhurst Magazine* (February 1888), p. 112.
[117] 'The New Playground Front', *Stonyhurst Magazine* (April 1884), p. 254.

PRODUCTION

When a fictional working-class correspondent complained to the 1875 *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* of Croydon Friends' School that 'i dident no u dident pa 4 peases' ("I didn't know you didn't pay for pieces"), the pupil editors sharply pointed to more improving motivations for writing, as 'we never pay for pieces but let authors have the magazine free.'[118]

For the contributors of the *Boys Occasional Times*, however, engaging in this production process enabled the producers to reject the pose of gentlemanly amateurism and experiment with a different identity. 'We ought to talk of "launching our little craft" or "spreading our sails to the zephyrs" but we won't,' the first editorial of the *Boys Occasional Times* started abruptly. 'You will want to know who we are & what we are? You will understand quite soon enough. What we want? Primarily that you will take in our paper. Secondly that you will pay us for it.'[119] This businesslike manner contrasts with the 'ease, smoothness, & freedom' with which the *Stonyhurst Journal* associated magazine production. Christine Alexander observes Charles Dickens' faith in the business lessons acquired by his sons when he provided them with a printing press, and encouraged them to finance, print, and distribute their own magazine.[120] As the *Boys Occasional Times* continued publication, this practical editorial persona grew in confidence. Initially asking for a halfpenny per copy, 'because that would just cover expenses & we as amateurs had no object of gain before our eyes,' the editor later defended raising the price to a penny as a reasonable price for 'undertakings that assume such gigantic proportions as does that of conducting a newspaper with its learned correspondence in every quarter of the - Stonyhurst Globe.'[121] This confidence may reflect the greater efficiency of production. The producers kept the front page current by printing it last: an issue towards the end of the run had sporting updates on its first page, as the

[118] 'The Stage Boy's Letter', *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* 2/4, (April 1875), pp. 259-60.'To Correspondents', *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* 2/4 (April 1875), pp. 26.
[119] *Boys Occasional Times* 1/1 (15 February 1880), p. 1.
[120] C. Alexander, 'Playful "Assumption"', p. 201.

'Athletics Competitions' report on page seven 'was in print before the arrival of this later news.'[122] The producers also reported 'the improving of our printing presswork,' and the use of paper 'worth more than a penny per copy' later in the run.[123] In fact, the final issues were of noticeably hastier production, with sprawling handwriting, blurry and uneven ink, and missing corners and edges of text.

This suggests that it was the experience of printing itself that had improved, rather than the finished article. Printing could carry a variety of meanings in the middle-class school, and the relationship to print production suggested by generic print efforts like the *Stonyhurst Magazine* did not necessarily prevent other attitudes from emerging, such as the *Boys Occasional Times*'s stances of commercial and professional expertise which was gradually constructed and consolidated through the activity of printing.

MANUSCRIPT PUBLISHING

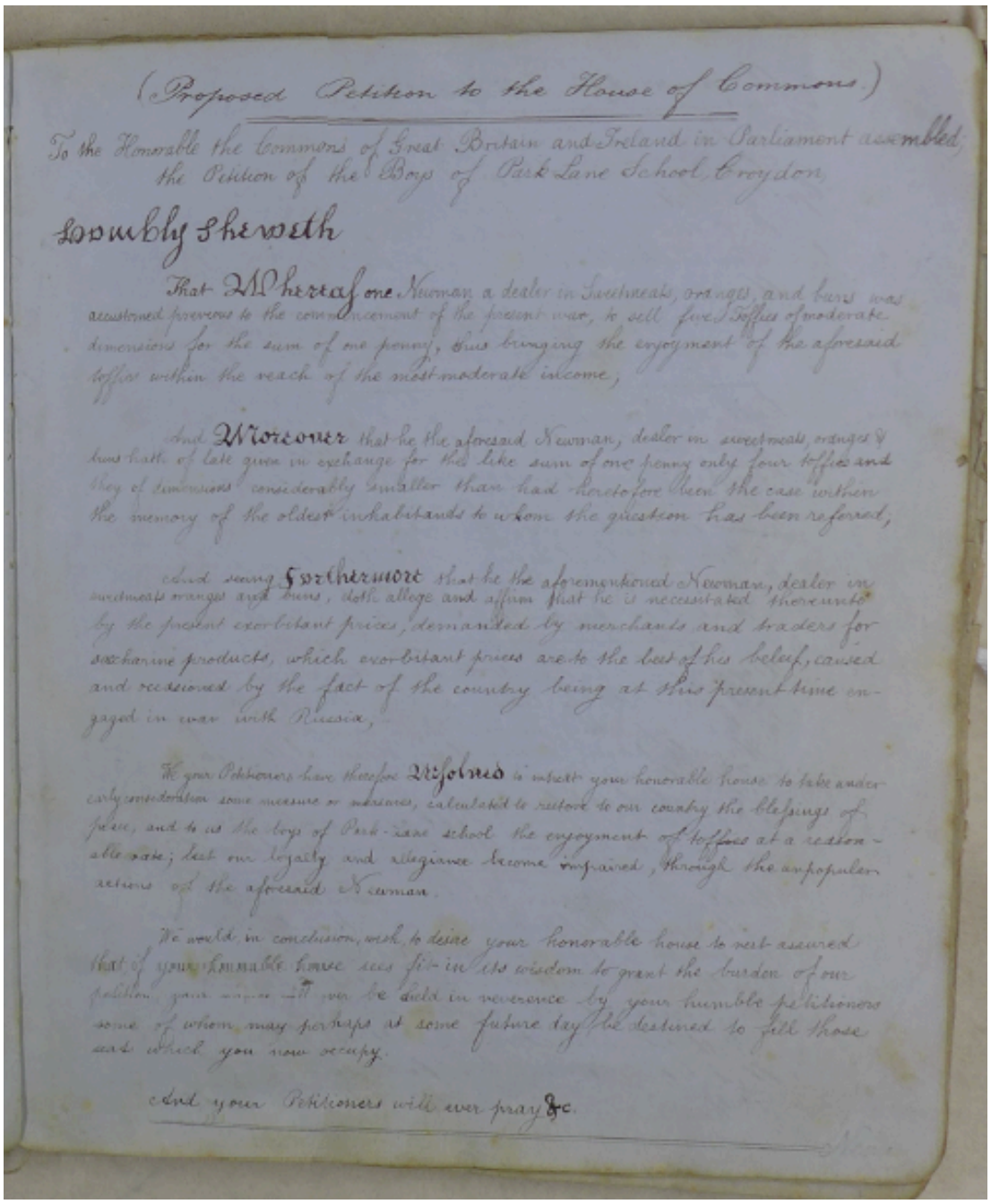
The experience of print production was shaped by the social and cultural environment of the school. Although narratives of technological development suggest that manuscript publication was rendered obsolete by the invention of the printing press, early modern scholarship points out print and manuscript co-existed and overlapped, and recommends we see each method of publication as a 'tactical' choice suited to particular 'practical and literary ends.'[124] This is a promising approach for archives like Stonyhurst College, where print, amateur print and manuscript publication remained viable yet distinct options for school magazine producers into the twentieth century. The archive unsettles the narrative of

[121] [untitled], *Boys Occasional Times* 1/7 (4 June 1880), p. 5.
[122] 'The Stonyhurst Association', *Boys Occasional Times* 1/8 (8 July 1880), p. 1; 'Dear Mr Editor', *Boys Occasional Times* 1/8 (8 July 1880), p. 7.
[123] [untitled], *Boys Occasional Times* 1/7 (4 June 1880), p. 5.
[124] For an overview of the early modern historiography, see Tenger and Trolander, 'From Print versus Manuscript to Sociable Authorship and Mixed Media', p. 1045; see also Ezell, *Social Authorship*, p. 12.

technological progress by revealing the enduring value of publication methods otherwise seen as residual or obsolete, due to the particular ideals, values, and everyday routines of the Victorian secondary school.

Most Victorian secondary schools have a rich yet overlooked history of youth-driven manuscript publications. When Stonyhurst boys were provoked by the poor food and table service of an ageing servant, a letter to the editor of the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* recorded the decision that 'a petition should be sent to the Minister of Home Affairs for a new servant; a round Robin was accordingly formed and an address written on it, to the minister.'[125] It was a playful threat, but readers would have been aware of the potential for youths' words of protest to be backed up by action, given the notorious riots and rebellions in elite schools, including 'food riots' at Stonyhurst in the 1840s.[126] A manuscript petition requesting a holiday from Queen Victoria was recycled in Manchester Grammar School's *Comet* (1840), while pupils at Croydon Friends' School petitioned against the Crimean War for 'the enjoyment of toffies at a reasonable rate', a parodic request which displayed their detailed knowledge of the appearance of a petition (Figure 16).[127] These older forms of manuscript production inflected the school magazine more generally. The *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* incorporated the dynamic of petitioning: one contributor used the magazine to launch an 'Appeal Against Fines' given out in punishment by institutional authorities; and another pupil proposed a petition for more modern library books.[128]

[125] 'To the Editor of the Stonyhurst Examiner and Times', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 6/1 (13 July 1861).
[126] D. Knight, 'The Stonyhurst Civil War', *Stonyhurst Magazine* (2003). Email copy provided by archivist David Knight (17 March 2015).
[127] MGS: 'Address to the Reader', *Comet* 3 (10 June 1840); 'Proposed Petition to the House of Commons', *Monthly Gleaner* 1/3 (December 1855).
[128] 'Appeal Against Fines', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/7 (16 February 1861); 'The Stonyhurst library', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 5/1 (1 June 1861).



(Proposed Petition to the House of Commons.)

To the Honorable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled,
the Petition of the Boys of Park Lane School, Croydon,

Showeth

That Whereas one Newman, a dealer in Sweetmeats, oranges, and buns was accustomed previous to the commencement of the present war, to sell five Toffies of moderate dimensions for the sum of one penny, thus bringing the enjoyment of the aforesaid toffee within the reach of the most moderate income,

And Moreover that he the aforesaid Newman, dealer in sweetmeats, oranges & buns hath of late given in exchange for the like sum of one penny only four toffies and they of dimensions considerably smaller than had heretofore been the case within the memory of the oldest inhabitants to whom the question has been referred,

And seeing Furthermore that he the aforementioned Newman, dealer in sweetmeats oranges and buns, doth allege and affirm that he is necessitated thereunto by the present exorbitant prices demanded by merchants and traders for saccharine products, which exorbitant prices are to the best of his belief, caused and occasioned by the fact of the country being at this present time engaged in war with Russia,

We your Petitioners have therefore Resolved to intreat your honorable house to take under early consideration some measure or measures, calculated to restore to our country the blessings of peace, and to us the boys of Park-lane school the enjoyment of toffees at a reasonable rate; lest our loyalty and allegiance become impaired, through the unpopular actions of the aforesaid Newman.

We would in conclusion, wish to desire your honorable house to rest assured that if your honorable house sees fit in its wisdom to grant the burden of our petition, your acts will be held in reverence by your humble petitioners some of whom may perhaps at some future day be destined to fill those seats which you now occupy.

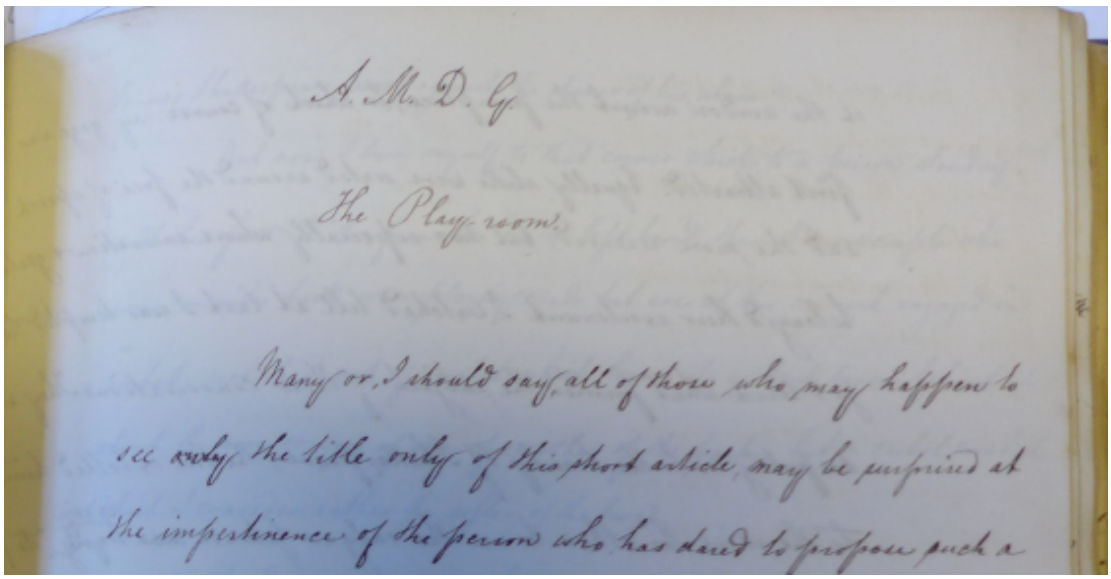
And your Petitioners will ever pray &c.

Figure 16. Image of the *Monthly Gleaner* showing a page laid out like a petition. ERO, D/Q 49/G1/a5: 'Proposed Petition to the House of Commons', *Monthly Gleaner* 1/3 (December 1855).

Other manuscript production processes shaped the school magazine. On an article on the 'Play-room' in the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times*, the contributor wrote the Jesuit motto A. M. D. G. (Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam: Latin for "for the greater glory of God") at the top of

the page (Figure 17).[129] The article had gone through the same production process as classwork, as youths in Jesuit colleges like Stonyhurst conventionally wrote A. M. D. G. at the top. As the first chapter suggests, Quaker denominational traditions shaped manuscript production at the Croydon Friends' School, as the minute books of the school's juvenile societies mirrored the careful record-keeping of the Religious Society of Friends. Besides denominational practices, other schools had youth traditions of manuscript writing. At Winchester College, pupils like fourteen-year-old John Mayson Callender made 'notions books' comprising alphabetical lists of the slang and customs unique to the school.[130] Manuscript magazines overlapped with varied practices of youth-driven manuscript production in different secondary schools. In its opening editorial, the manuscript *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* mentioned rivals the *Syntax Journal*, *Stonyhurst Spy* and *Comet*, magazines which are no longer extant but point to a lively history of manuscript magazine publication at the school.[131] The Stonyhurst archive reveals that manuscript survived the development of the provincial press in Clitheroe in the 1860s, and the rise of the generic print school magazine in the 1870s and 1880s. Later publications such as the *Monthly* (1874) and the *Darford Star* (1878-9) indicate manuscript's enduring appeal for young producers even after the local availability of print.

[129] 'The Play-room', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/4 (1 February 1861).
[130] WCA, F3/3/22: J. N. Callander, *Winton Notions* (1866).
[131] 'To the Editor', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/3 (26 January 1861).


A. M. D. G.

The Play-room.

Many or, I should say, all of those who may happen to see only the title only of this short article, may be surprised at the impertinence of the person who has dared to propose such a

Figure 17. Image of a page from the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times*. Written at the top is the Jesuit motto A. M. D. G. (Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam: Latin for "for the greater glory of God"). SC, 'The Play-room', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/4 (1 February 1861).

Some school magazine producers saw manuscript as an older and traditional form of publication in schools. Stonyhurst' *Doeford Star: A Duffer Journal Pictorial and Piscatorial* (1878) alluded to its modernity by claiming to be 'emulating its contemporaries ye *Daily Telegraph* & ye *N[ew] York Herald*.'[132] In a period of rapid school modernisation, the *Doeford Star* in fact rejected the new corporate activities of the school, and offered a fishing journal containing poems, pen-and-ink sketches, maps and accounts of fishing to construct an elite masculine sociability for Stonyhurst youths who nicknamed themselves Duffers. Manuscript was used to symbolise the Duffers' withdrawal from modernity, with the *Doeford Star* describing its own production with 'the barrel Lithographic Crow-quill of Gillett' and the 'fine Goose quill steel-pen', using archaisms like "ye" for "the", and restricting illustration to pen-and-ink sketches 'drawn from nature' intended as a 'foil to anything like current taste.'[133] Technological development meant 'the manuscript's meaning within print

[132] SC: 'The Bennmian River systems & ye Upper Aled', *Darford Star* 1 (7 February 1878), p. 5. Hereafter simply *Darford Star*.
[133] 'Dufferesque Art - an embryo essay', *Darford Star* 1 (7 February 1878).

culture' shifted, Laurie Langbauer argues, pointing to the prominent role young writers such as Thomas Chatterton played in giving manuscript an almost mythological status.[134] Stonyhurst pupils would have been aware of the growing antiquarian interest in manuscript, as nineteenth-century Stonyhurst was an archive, with the *Stonyhurst Magazine* of March 1886 reporting the inclusion of its collection in the Tenth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts.[135] Manuscript was seen as authenticating a Stonyhurst identity, and an editorial proposed that 'the collection and registration of materials' by the *Stonyhurst Magazine* could create 'a fuller and more authentic history of Stonyhurst'.[136]

Other schools undergoing modernisation, like Winchester College, looked to manuscript to construct more traditionalist identities. At Winchester College in 1866, pupil Herbert E. Campbell created an elaborate 'notions' book of school slang and customs which, 'after so many changes and losses of traditions, of late years,' Herbert wrote, was in danger of becoming 'a kind of sealed book, ancient and curious.'[137] While pupils claimed modernisation was a threat to school traditions, in fact the majority of notions books currently held at Winchester College were produced during this period of reform.[138] Herbert's notions book, with its frontispiece in coloured and gilt inks, was styled as an illuminated manuscript (Figure 18). It was so elaborate it took two years to create, and shows how manuscript publications were used to imagine a more traditional identity in a time of modernisation.[139] Manchester Grammar School's *Ulula* frequently featured imagined encounters with ancient manuscripts or ghosts revealing the school's history.[140] Manuscript production was envisaged

[134] Langbauer, *The Juvenile Tradition*, p. 108-9.
[135] Current Events of the Christmastide', *Stonyhurst Magazine* (March 1886), p. 191.
[136] [Editorial], *Stonyhurst Magazine* (July 1885), p. 113.
[137] WC, F3/3/31: H. E. Campbell, *A Commoner Word Book,* (1866-1868).
[138] For a list of notions books and dates, see WC, F3/3: *Notions*. Email copy provided by archivist Suzanne Foster (14 November 2014).
[139] WC, F3/3/31: H. E. Campbell, *A Commoner Word Book,* (1866-1868).
[140] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: "Logographus", 'Old Times at the Grammar School', *Ulula* (June 1891), pp.49-54; "Timothy Trumble", 'Grammar School Ballads. No. 6. High Jinks in the Drawing-Hall', *Ulula* (May 1892), p. 127; "εὖ", 'Olden Days at the Grammar School', *Ulula* (November 1892), pp. 165-9.

by pupils as conferring a more traditional and authentic identity in a time of increasing modernisation.



Figure 18. Image from frontispiece of a hand-made book of Winchester College slang and customs, styled like an illuminated manuscript. WC, F3/3/31: H. E. Campbell, *A Commoner Word Book, 1866-1868.*

PRODUCTION

While we might see manuscript as a marginal, residual, or traditional publication format by the nineteenth century, another appeal of manuscript production lay in its ability to recreate the fast pace of the periodical press. The article in the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* on 'A Soirée Upon the Ice' made a timely appearance in one of the first issues in January or February.[141] Such good timing would have been impossible for the print *Stonyhurst Magazine*, as the laborious process in gathering, editing proofs, and sending to the printers meant that articles such as 'Current Events of the Christmastide' appeared in a March issue.[142] The *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* side-stepped the more laborious steps of the production process by bundling together the original contributions to create the single copy of the manuscript magazine, meaning the producers managed to issue the magazine almost weekly between January and July 1861, with at least nineteen extant issues remaining in the Stonyhurst archive today. This method of manuscript production was so efficient that a February article described the boys 'around the fireplace' in 'The Play-room', and a May issue had a timely poem 'On the month of May'.[143] Manuscript's efficiency enabled pupils in other schools to maintain weekly magazines: the pupil editors of Croydon's *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* (1875) published twelve weekly issues, while Manchester Grammar School's *4B Outlet* (1901) ran to at least five weekly issues, and reappeared under the title *Modern Remove Review* the following year. The choice of manuscript was not necessarily backward-looking, but could enable producers to capture the pace and rapidity of periodical production.

It was the flexibility of manuscript production which cemented its appeal in schools. Print magazines repeatedly apologised to their paid subscribers. The *Stonyhurst Magazine* apologised for the June 1882 issue's publication 'a full month later than was intended',

[141] 'A Soiree upon the Ice', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times*, [no issue number](1861).
[142] 'Current Events of the Christmastide', *Stonyhurst Magazine* (March 1886), p. 191.
[143] 'The Play-room', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/4 (1 February 1861); 'On the month of May', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 4/1 (11 May 1861).

explaining that the 'numerous' events of summer meant 'there is so much to be done it is hard to get anything written.' The editorial concluded that summer months 'favourable to the growth of many things, are by no means propitious to the production of school magazines'.[144] Busy terms generated more content but less time to write, leaving producers pressured by the obligation to provide paid subscribers with regular issues. Manuscript magazines had fewer obligations, and the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* simply ceased publication during particularly busy weeks. 'We had no journal last week, as everyone knows, how we were otherwise engaged', a piece explained during examinations, and St Patrick's Day festivities were simply so enjoyable they 'prevented this number from coming before the public in due time.'[145] Manuscript also adapted to the school year at the Croydon Friends' School. The production of the *Monthly Gleaner* ceased in summer when natural history studies absorbed pupils' leisure time, but it revived in autumn, when 'out-door amusements… give place to the quieter occupations of the house.'[146] That manuscript magazines could be short-lived, intermittent and of varying lengths was not necessarily a weakness of the format, but the inevitable result of a mode of publication more adaptable and responsive to the rhythm of the school year.

Layouts of generic print school magazines like the *Stonyhurst Magazine* remained unchanged over decades, but the appearance of manuscript magazines, like their production processes, changed according to the time of the year. As seen above (Figure 11), an early issue of the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* imitated a newspaper, with an elaborate blackletter masthead displaying the title, date, and price, and the text organised into two columns. This was deliberate: the opening editorial explained it was copying earlier Stonyhurst magazines that were 'so arranged as to form as close as possible a resemblance to

[144] [Editorial], *Stonyhurst Magazine* (June 1882), p. 97.
[145] [untitled], *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 4/1 (11 May 1861); 'Summary', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 2/3 (18 March 1861).
[146] 'To my Readers', *Monthly Gleaner* 1/1 (October 1855).

a print newspaper.'[147] This was not always achieved: for instance, the 13 April issue had the masthead quickly penned in, and the writer had arranged the first page into two columns, but he did not carry the neat arrangement onto the next page.[148] In busy periods, manuscript magazine producers pared back the production process and opted for a simpler presentation. Manuscript ventures like the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times*, Croydon's *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine*, and Manchester's *4B Outlet* lacked elaborate layouts, which may have been key in enabling their producers to publish a weekly magazine during the school year. The *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* had a simple pen-and-ink title page, with little graphic content apart from a few illustrated capitals, and at times was so hastily written that a reader pencilled in the lament 'I wish they'd write better'.[149]

Theoretically, chromography was as flexible as manuscript, with the additional benefit of producing multiple copies. Chromography enabled the pupil editors of Stonyhurst's *Comic and News Journal* to boast a 'revised and enlarged' format 'printed and published with coloured illustrations.'[150] The partially extant issue shows that pages of text were printed locally at Clitheroe, then supplemented by pages of chromographic illustrations. The relatively cheap availability of lithography and other techniques had made illustration central to the identity of satirical periodicals such as *Punch* and *Vanity Fair*.[151] *Vanity Fair,* for example, was characterised by full-page colour lithographs of contemporary public figures, inserted loose into each issue. As chromography worked from manuscript master copies, it offered the possibility of affordable illustrated print school magazines. The youth periodical the *Boy's Own Paper* boasted that with chromography, pupils could 'draw out a number of copies of diagrams, plans, circulars, letters, music,' and use it for drawings, programmes and

[147] [Editorial] *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/1 (1861).
[148] 'Summary', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 3/2 (13 April 1861).
[149] 'Puzzles', *The Supplement of the Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* 3/1 (12 May 1875), p. 22.
[150] *Comic and News Journal* 1/8 (3 March 1881) [front cover].
[151] B. Maidment, 'Illustration' in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century Periodicals and Newspapers*, pp. 102-23; C. Howes, 'Comic / Satiric Periodicals', p. 321.

'in a hundred other ways'.[152] The Stonyhurst playbill for 'Slasher and Crasher' was illustrated with a decorative border, and some issues of the *Boys Occasional Times* appear to have used a stencil to create a blackletter masthead.[153] Thus, for other pupils, chromography potentially made it possible to adopt the satirical stances of the comic press. Indeed, one of the illustrations in the *Comic and News Journal* was of Conservative politician Lord Henry Lennox drawn from a lithograph by Carlo Pellegrini in *Vanity Fair*.[154] Yet the archived copies of the magazine give a clue as to why chromographic magazines remained rare. The 'coloured illustrations' promised by the *Comic and News Journal* in practice consisted of a simple line outline of Pelligrini's lithograph in violet ink (Figures 19-21). Similarly, although the *Boys Occasional Times* editorial wrote 'we hope to give an illustration in our next', none of the extant copies of the magazine contain illustrations.[155] Pupils' experience of the difficulties of chromography may have discouraged experimentation with its graphic and paratextual possibilities, with the *Boys Occasional Times* mostly consisting of blocks of unadorned handwritten text.

[152] Theodore Wood, 'Graphs and Graph-Making', *Boy's Own Paper* (19 December 1885), p. 187.
[153] SC, B.4 (1): 'Slasher and Crasher,' *Playbills, Stonyhurst College* (January 1878).
[154] Carlo Pellegrini, 'Statesmen No. 57: A man of Fashion and Politics', *Vanity Fair* (30 July 1870), p. 46. See Carlo Pellegrini, 'Statesmen No. 57: A man of Fashion and Politics' (2 June 2010) https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Henry_GC_Gordon-Lennox,_Vanity_Fair,_1870-07-30.jpg (9 January 2018).
[155] 'Intelligence Department', *Boys Occasional Times* 4 (28 March 1880), p. 3.



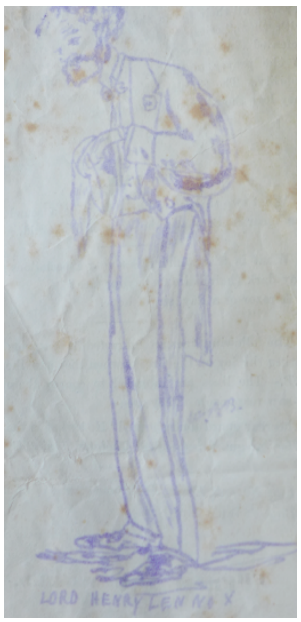




Figure 19 (top). Image of page from the *Comic and News Journal*, with printed border and chromographic illustration in violet ink. SC, *Comic and News Journal* 1/8 (3 March 1881).

Figure 20 (left). Detail of *Comic and News Journal* chromographic illustration of Lord Henry Lennox. SC, *Comic and News Journal* 1/8 (3 March 1881).

Figure 21 (right). Carlo Pellegrini, 'Statesmen No. 57: A man of Fashion and Politics', *Vanity Fair* (30 July 1870), p. 46. See Carlo Pellegrini, 'Statesmen No. 57: A man of Fashion and Politics' (2 June 2010) https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Henry_GC_Gordon-Lennox,_Vanity_Fair,_1870-07-30.jpg (9 January 2018).

Circulating single manuscript copies remained a viable and robust form of publication. For contributors willing and able to spend more time on producing their manuscripts, the flexibility of the format enabled them to experiment with the latest paratexts and visual features of the periodical press. This visual experimentation can be seen in the manuscript *Monthly* (1874) by thirteen-year-old Stonyhurst pupils Bernard Partridge and V. A. Corke, who used pen-and-ink to create comic sketches, pasted in pictures cut from periodicals, and added borders using coloured inks, turning the magazine into a visual treat.[156] Juvenilia scholars frequently marvel at the sophistication of some juvenile manuscripts, from the Bronte siblings' miniaturisation of *Blackwoods' Edinburgh Magazine*, and the careful illustrations in books produced by the Burney children.[157] David Hanson emphasises the modernity of manuscript in the hands of youths like John Ruskin, who used pen and ink to replicate the textures and appearance of the print techniques in nineteenth-century annuals.[158] Annuals experimented with print, Andrew King explains, using a mix of complex and costly production processes of engraving, printing text, printing graphic content, with covers of silk or leather and expensive bindings.[159] These processes were too expensive for print school magazines, and Manchester Grammar School's *Ulula* gave up on the idea of regular photographs after finding the cost 'prohibitive.'[160] Matt Wale highlights that the cost of print constrained smaller publications, with the result that pictures rarely featured in small-scale natural history periodicals in his study.[161] Pen and ink may have been basic tools, but like the *Monthly*, they could be used to easily and cheaply approximate the visual splendour of

[156] SC: *The Monthly* (1874).
[157] On the materiality of the Brontë magazines, see C. Alexander, 'Play and apprenticeship'; L. J. Clark, 'Teaching "the young idea how to shoot": The Juvenilia of the Burney Family', *Journal of Juvenilia Studies* 1 (2018), pp.20-36.
[158] D. Hanson, 'Friendship's Offering' in *The Early Ruskin Manuscripts, 1826–1842* http://english.selu.edu/humanitiesonline/ruskin_dev/notes/friendships_offering_note.php (9 October 2018).
[159] A. King, 'Periodical Economics', in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century Periodicals and Newspapers*, p. 67.
[160] Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Notes on News', *Ulula* (February 1894), p. 6.

nineteenth-century annuals. Print, manuscript, and amateur print processes were co-existing choices available to magazine producers in schools, and far from being a residual format, manuscript production sustained its appeal in giving pupils the ability to mimic, and indeed eclipse, the latest developments in print.

CIRCULATION

Producing a magazine at school, whether, print, manuscript, or chromographic, allowed pupils to court a wider and more critical readership than at home. One correspondent to the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* described how, when a schoolmate wrote in criticising his first written piece, he managed 'to destroy at a blow… with a stroke of his malicious pen, all the hopes the author had ventured to build up.'[162] Such heightened emotions are a reminder that the circulation and consumption of the school magazine, just like other aspects of its production, were activities which unfolded in public, often witnessed first hand by anxious and excited contributors and producers.

Out of all publication methods, print had the potential to expose school magazine contributors to the widest readership. There is no record of the number of copies typical of the *Stonyhurst Magazine*; however, the *Oxford High School Magazine* printed 150 copies, and when *Ulula* relaunched in 1892 it boasted that its first issue had run to three editions, selling nearly 700 copies, suggesting a typical run of about 200 or 250 copies.[163] Generic print school magazines such as the *Oxford High School Magazine* had youth-driven sales practices by making all top form pupils into members of a Magazine Committee responsible

[161] M. Wale, 'The Sympathy of a Crowd', pp. 77-9.
[162] 'The Sparrow', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/7 (16 February 1861).
[163] 'O. H. S. Magazine Balance-sheet, Autumn Term, 1883', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1884), p. 677; 'Interview with the Owl', *Ulula* (March 1892), p. 29.

for selling the magazine.[164] At the Manchester Grammar School, it was the monitors elected in each form who 'worked energetically' to sell the first issue of *Ulula*'s new series in 1892, but were berated in a note in November 1893 for 'wanting in energy', and urged 'to more than make up by securing a large sale this month'.[165] Circulating the magazine was part of the authority and status of some pupils due to the hierarchical structures of Victorian schools.

We should not assume, however, that the wide circulation of print was desired by all schools. The *Oxford High School Magazine* was deliberately restricted 'for private circulation only', and mainstream schoolboy periodical the *Captain* suggested this as a general rule when a potential school magazine editor wrote in asking for professional advice, responding that 'a magazine of this sort is intended for private circulation only'.[166] Kathryn Gleadle has shown that manuscript magazines, where single copies circulated via post, were valued for creating an 'encouraging environment' for young writers keen to share their early efforts.[167] The smaller circulation of print school magazines could similarly 'offer to the young student a field properly his own,' the *Manchester Guardian* wrote of Manchester Grammar School's *Ulula*, 'a field in which he may of right claim to test his growing strength.'[168]

Yet what constituted a 'private circulation' depended on the school. The *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* recollected a manuscript magazine that had once been made by the Rhetoric (top) form, which had initially been 'placed on the rhetorical table, to be afterwards handed round'. While this method of circulation appears across the schools in this study, at Stonyhurst College the top form pupils' magazine provoked so many divisions and quarrels that manuscript circulation was thereafter 'forbidden' and the magazines 'read aloud by a

[164] 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1882), p. 337.
[165] Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Interview with the Owl', *Ulula* (March 1892), p. 29.'Notes on News', *Ulula* (November 1893), p. 197.
[166] 'Answers to Correspondents', *Captain* (June 1899), p. 334.
[167] K. Gleadle, 'Magazine culture, girlhood communities, and educational reform'.
[168] 'The Manchester Grammar School Magazine', *Manchester Guardian*, (23 July 1873), p. 8.

superior.'[169] While the exact reason was not explained, the preference for reading aloud by a teacher, which reinforced school hierarchies, demonstrates than the horizontal circulation of single manuscript copies pupil to pupil around the school was sometimes perceived as a dangerous youth-driven venture, which might allow for autonomous and undesirable ideals and habits to emerge. Manuscript magazines circulated via post typically had a readership of about twenty,[170] but the manuscript magazines in this study were circulated in increasingly large Victorian secondary schools from one hundred (Croydon Friends' School) up to nearly one thousand (Manchester Grammar School) pupils. An issue of the pupil-edited *School-Boy's Magazine* (1851) from Croydon Friends' School had a list of twenty paid subscribers, who crossed themselves off before passing the magazine to the next reader. Far more than twenty actually read the magazine, as a sketch above the list of subscribers compared 'Honourable boy: pays for what he reads' to the 'Mean boy: looks over the other's shoulder', indicating that other pupils cheekily read the magazine without paying (Figure 22).[171] The circulation of a manuscript magazine at school differed from other social contexts of reading and writing, as it could pass hand to hand around a relatively large group of teenagers, creating a grassroots and autonomous youth-driven collective culture.

[169] *The Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/1 (1861).
[170] K. Gleadle, 'Magazine culture, girlhood communities, and educational reform'.
[171] [back cover], *School-Boy's Magazine* 2/5 (1851).

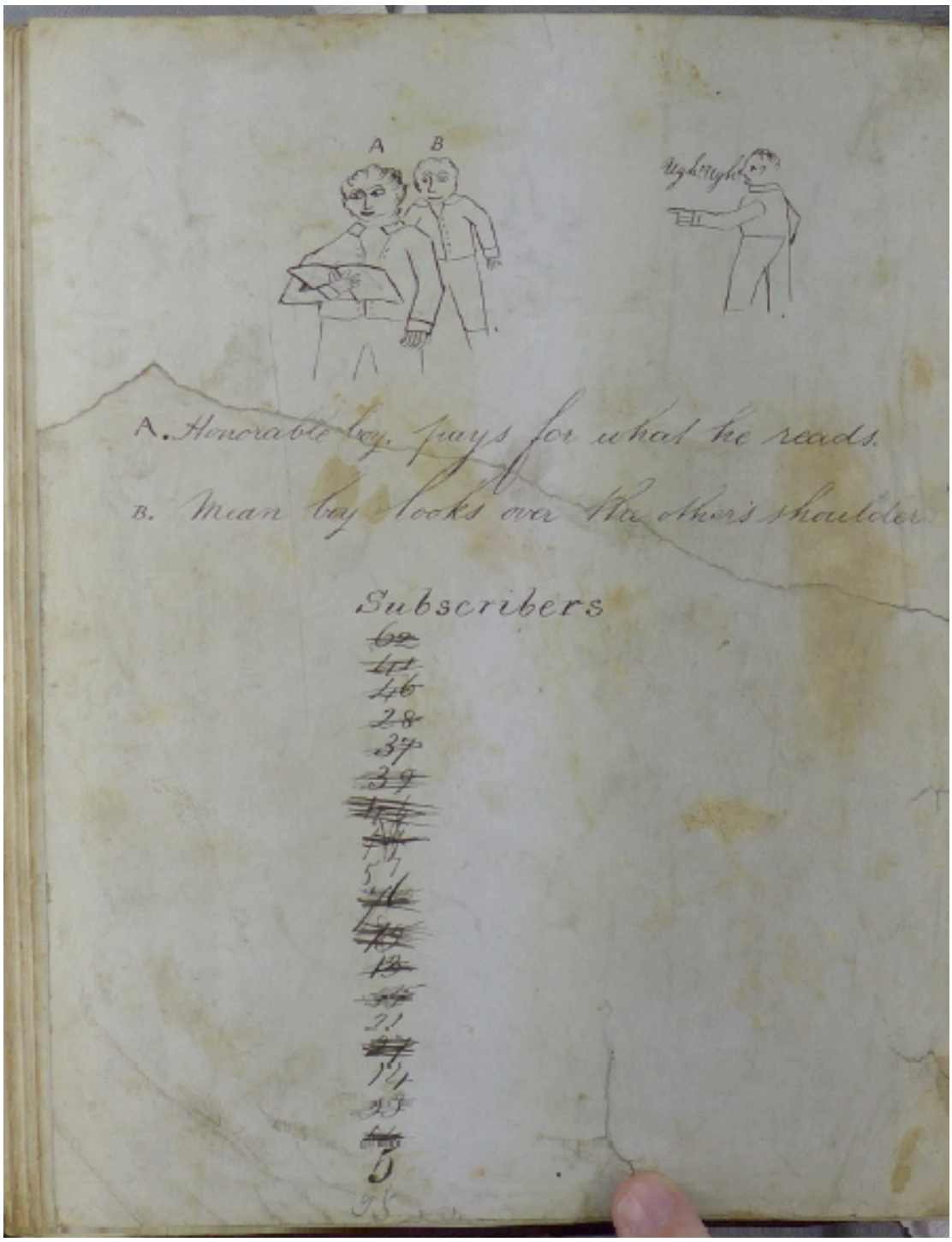


Figure 22. Back cover of the *School-Boy's Magazine*. On top, 'Honourable boy: pays for what he reads' and 'Mean boy: looks over the other's shoulder'. On the bottom, the list of subscriber numbers crossed out after reading the magazine. ERO, D/Q 49/C1/a4: [back cover], *School-Boy's Magazine* 2/5 (1851).

The circulation of a single manuscript copy collapsed the differences in authority and status between producers and readers, which school magazines often sought to reinforce. Circulation provided readers with an opportunity to make their mark on the magazine. Under a pasted-in picture in the manuscript *Monthly* of Stonyhurst College, the editors wrote that 'the readers of this journal are kindly requested to keep the book clean'.[172] The tattered and dirty state of archived objects like the *Monthly* are a reminder of the porousness of the manuscript magazine. Manuscript is 'fluid', Margaret Ezell explains, as 'the role of the reader of manuscript text becomes conflated with the roles of editing, correcting, or copying the text and extending its circulation of readers.'[173] The nineteenth-century girls in Kathryn Gleadle's study of manuscript magazines performed as readers and editors simultaneously by receiving the magazine, providing feedback and even marks on the contributions so far, before adding their own and forwarding it to the next girl.[174] The *Monthly* demonstrates that the autonomous horizontal circulation of manuscript endured into the 1870s at Stonyhurst College despite staff attempts to enforce reading aloud in the 1860s.

The constant pleas for careful handling show that magazine producers remained at the mercy of their readers: the *Monthly* was echoed by the Manchester Grammar School's *Modern Remove Review*'s 'wish our readers will kindly return this magazine intact', possibly informed by their experience with the *4B Outlet* just a year before, when both front and back pages had been covered in doodles and sums, presumably as it circulated in class.[175] This marginalia draws attention to the autonomy of circulation, as it suggests pupils may have covertly circulated the magazine around the class during lessons, hiding it amongst their books and papers. The circulation of copies hand to hand created a sense of collective

[172] *Monthly* 1 (1874).
[173] Ezell, *Social Authorship*, p. 40.
[174] K. Gleadle, 'Magazine culture, girlhood communities, and educational reform '.

ownership over the magazine, so that when the editors of Croydon Friends' School's *Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* complained some pupils were spoiling the puzzles by pencilling in the answers and ruled 'Members are not to write in the magazine', readers added approving notes 'Here here' (sic), 'Amen' 'and Amen'.[176] Unlike the staff decision about reading aloud, the rule about puzzles was a consensus formed as the single copy of the magazine circulated and readers pencilled in supportive remarks. Manuscript magazines were shaped by their production in a school, where the norms of circulation and consumption were not simply imposed by editors, but gradually gained traction amongst the producers and readers.

The bound volume of the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* reveals how the rule against manuscript circulation transformed the production and consumption of the magazine. The masthead on the first page in the bound volume shows it came from the first volume, fifth issue.[177] Reading the volume cover to cover is a confusing experience, as it becomes clear each contribution was still in the original contributor's hand and on its own page, and had at some stage drifted apart, later bound out of sequence. The confusion is a tangible reminder that recovering the meaning the magazine held for the pupils of Poetry form requires recovering how these first producers and consumers first encountered their magazine.

The opening editorial of the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* ruled that each issue would be 'read […] aloud on Saturday nights for the school.' This rule was intertwined with the hope that an oral performance would ensure that 'the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* must get on without personalities or not atal (sic).'[178] This discussion of personalities reveals pupils' awareness of the critical dynamic of many periodicals, which since the Romantic era

[175] MGS, MGS-COCUR 27/0007a: *Modern Remove Review* [no issue number](18 February 1902); MGS: *4B Outlet* 3 (7 November 1901).
[176] 'Editorial Notes', *The Supplement of the Friends' School Manuscript Magazine* 3/4 (May 1875), [back cover].
[177] 'Summary', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/5 (9 February 1861).
[178] *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/1 (1861).

had featured highly personal slights bestowed by one correspondent upon another disguised as letters to the editor, creating a stream of criticism and counter-criticism which kept readers hooked from one issue to the next.[179] The ruling associated manuscript circulation with personalities, perhaps reflecting earlier manuscript magazines at Stonyhurst which, the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* recalled, was a 'history of the struggles between rival papers for the exclusive possession of their alma mater'. This dynamic ran counter to the ideal of corporate identity, the editorial explained, as pupils were 'all one body, living under the same roof, having our studies, our recreation, & our meals in common' with the result that 'amongst us every cut would end a friendship & create an enmity.'[180]

Reading aloud disassociated the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* from the controversies created by earlier manuscript magazines. At the same time, oral publication particularly suited elite Victorian schools like Stonyhurst College. Scholars such as Matthew McCormack argue public speaking was prioritised in eighteenth-century elite schooling as it was the 'primary medium' of public life, and manuals were published to teach schoolboys the gestures and movements which best accompanied the delivery of particular words.[181] Oratorical training had formed a part of Stonyhurst's pedagogy since its previous incarnations on the continent, in line with the pedagogies of French Jesuit colleges which emphasised spoken as well as written development.[182] Oral culture was integral to the consumption of print and manuscript texts, which were typically intertwined with conversation, discussion, and lectures.[183] Jill Gage's study of the first school publications in early modern England highlights that many were prologues and pieces performed at speech days.[184] Stonyhurst's archive show the enduring influence of oratory on nineteenth-century

[179] K. Wheatly, *Romantic Feuds: Transcending the "Age of Personality"* (Abingdon, 2013), pp. 57-96.
[180] *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/1 (1861).
[181] McCormack, *The Independent Man*, p. 37.
[182] T. Zeldin, *France 1845-1945: Volume Two: Intellect, Taste and Anxiety* (Oxford, 1977), p. 245.
[183] Tenger and Trolander, 'From Print versus Manuscript to Sociable Authorship and Mixed Media', p. 1043.
[184] Gage, 'My Schoolfellows, My Patrons, My Public', p. 28-31.

school publications, with the large volume of Stonyhurst's *Academy Bills and Prize Lists, 1870-1894* containing the running order and participants of speech days.[185] Pupils were well-versed in observing and publicly critiquing oratory, and these practices made it into school magazines like the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times*, which had numerous reports on toasts and speeches at social events and outings.[186]

The *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* reveals how oratory impacted on the magazine. Towards the end of the run, a contributor reviewed a pupil who began 'with a sudden & violent jerk of the arm "'tis morn"' at a speech day performance of the 'Herculaneum' in summer 1861. The review devastatingly concluded the speaker reduced the piece to 'an unmeaning street-dance.'[187] The Saturday night readings were intended to prevent personalities; however, pupils like this reviewer brought the norms of observation and critique at school speech days to bear on the magazine. An 'aesthetic' of oral performance was a key part of elite English education from the eighteenth-century onwards.[188] While the Saturday night readings of the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* were overseen by teacher Charles Boardman, teachers as well as pupils were immersed in this dynamic. The *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* celebrated teacher and editor Charles Boardman for his 'bars' - or withering retorts - repeatedly describing him as 'our stern professor', referring to an 'iron age' when they fell out of his favour, and planning a class photo with Boardman at the centre 'to remind us, in days to come, of our stern master "the man of bars!"'[189] The ban on personalities was instantaneously muddied by the school's traditions of oratory, and when a pupil interrupted a Saturday reading of the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* towards the

[185] SC, C.1 (18): *Academy Bills and Prize Lists, 1870-1894*.
[186] See for example 'The Doo', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 2/3 (18 March 1861); 'Summary', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 2/4 (23 March 1861).
[187] [no title], *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 6/6 (1861).
[188] McCormack, *The Independent Man*, p. 37.
[189] 'On Bars', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/4 (1 February 1861); 'Proceedings on Tuesday', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 2/4 (23 March 1861); 'Summary', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 6/1 (13 July 1861); [untitled] *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 5/4 (28 June 1861).

beginning of the run, protesting that a hurtful remark about his contributions to earlier issues of the magazine broke the rule, it was recorded that Charles Boardman had dismissively 'told him there and then that there was nothing personal in it.'[190]

Towards the start of the bound volume of the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times*, a contribution began 'In the last number of this journal there appeared a review on the preceding one which in my opinion would have been more to the credit of its author had its criticisms been entirely omitted.'[191] The writer appears to have been wounded by a cutting review of his work, prompting him to retaliate with his own counter-criticism. The piece gives a rather bewildering introduction to the magazine, as it plunges today's reader into the middle of a quarrel. As the contributions to the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* were bound out of sequence, and at times without dates or issue numbers, it is only by tracing these criticisms and counter-criticisms that it is possible to discover their original order. Oratory thus remains essential to making sense of the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times*. The oral dynamic of classrooms and speech days set the tone for the magazine, and the majority of contributions became letters of criticism, and hurt or irate responses, much like the affronted contributor above who retaliated by calling his critic 'a dolt'.[192] Oratory shaped the content of the magazine, and while personal slights had been discouraged as disturbing the collective peace, in fact they guaranteed the magazine's success, filling issue after issue until the end of the school year. Another correspondent condemned his critic as someone who 'saith freely personalities', an accusation which was undermined slightly by his own decision to write a poem about how his critic was 'A Baby! A Baby!', inciting further responses.[193] Contributors understood this cycle of magazine production and circulation as an extension of oratory, with

[190] 'Mr Editor', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/8 (24 February 1861).
[191] 'The Sparrow', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/7 (16 February 1861).
[192] 'The Sparrow', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/7 (16 February 1861).
[193] 'A Baby! A Baby!', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 3/1 (6 April 1861).

one contributor responding to a critic with the challenge 'Does he wish to vie with me in an oratorical contest?'[194]

The different oral traditions of other middle-class schools also had an impact on magazine circulation. The *Oxford High School Magazine* hoped that 'that a Debating Society might indirectly exercise a beneficial influence on the contributions to the Magazine', and indeed it did, contributing essays based on speeches, and donating society subscriptions towards printing the magazine.[195] By the nineteenth-century, public speaking was part of the middle-class public life which these girls wished to enter, and school magazines mirrored provincial newspapers where reports on speeches and public meetings formed some of the most popular content.[196] As detailed in the first chapter, the magazines of the Croydon Friends' School were shaped by the familial conversation which was idealised by many middle-class communities and which came to characterise children's literature in the early nineteenth century. Yet many pieces written by pupils at the Croydon Friends' School were steeped in middle-class associational life, as much of the manuscript archive had originally been written for performance at meetings of the school's mutual improvement societies. In an essay book for the girls' society, a poem addressed 'To the Essay Meeting Night' (1855) described the air of excitement as the anonymous pieces were read aloud to

> …winks,
>
> And whispers loud, of: "Now that's Emily's
> I'm sure it is; I know it by her eyes."

[194] 'To the right honourable Editor of the Stonyhurst times. Pickings, Grindings, and Scrapings', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 5/4 (28 June 1861).
[195] 'Notice', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1882), p. 384; See for example Ethel Arnold's speech reported in 'Debating and Discussion Society', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1884), p. 720; and printed as Ethel Arnold, 'Recent American Fiction', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1884), p. 694.
[196] Ayerst notes the best-selling issues of the *Manchester Guardian* were those reporting speeches and meetings. see D. Ayerst, *Guardian: Biography of a Newspaper* (London, 1971), p. 84.

The poem declared that 'signs like these should not be shown', but the guessing game at the readings was clearly part of the social purpose of writing for the pupils involved.[197] Middle-class oral cultures, from oratory to participation in associational life, were integral to how the school magazine was originally circulated, and part of the pleasure and meaning it held for the original audience.

Pupils described their contributions to the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* as oral performances. When a piece of criticism was published under the pseudonym Mr Delta, the target of the criticism responded in a subsequent issue with 'A faint reply to Mr Delta'.[198] The references to voice and posture displayed pupils' growing experience of the impact of their writing when read aloud which was not in evidence earlier in the run of the magazine. In an incident which became notorious in the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times*, a pupil had contributed a piece 'The Lofty-grand Matches; in imitation of <u>divers</u> <u>inimitable</u> essays in the *Stonyhurst Tatler*' which had attempted to parody other pupils' long-winded contributions, but backfired dramatically when the audience found it even longer and more tiresome to sit through than the pieces it parodied.[199] Overwhelmed by complaints, the writer later wrote in to explain 'the only object I had in writing such a rambling piece was to amuse my readers.'[200] Other contributors learnt to gauge the room: one contributor observed pupils' tendency to 'murmur & grumble' or respond with 'a scowl and murmurs' to weak pieces; and another contributor described the dispiriting experience of spotting a classmate 'taking notes for this week's criticisms' while his piece was being read aloud.[201] As a result, contributors strategised to enliven the performance of their pieces. In one long article, the writer inserted

[197] ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c2: 'To the Essay Meeting Night', *Girls' Essays and Poems written for the Juvenile Society about 1855* (1855).
[198] 'To the Editor', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 6/1 (13 July 1861).
[199] 'The Lofty-grand Matches; in imitation of <u>divers</u> <u>inimitable</u> essays in the *Stonyhurst Tatler*', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 3/2 (13 April 1861).
[200] 'Dear Mr Editor', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 5/4 (28 June 1861).
[201] To the school of Poetry', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 2/4 (23 March 1861); 'The Sparrow', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/7 (16 February 1861).

the remark 'I see someone on that bench is getting rather restless', anticipating the need to recapture the audience's waning attention.[202] Orality became part of how contributors described the act of circulating the school magazine, with a growing awareness of the impact their words might have when read aloud before an audience of their schoolmates.

CONCLUSIONS

At a first glance, the story of school magazine production can seem to take two distinct paths: a dominant trend towards teacher-led magazines with increasingly generic formats; and a rebellious fringe of amateurish, short-lived, and chaotic pupil-edited ventures, seen as increasingly marginalised by the end of the nineteenth century. Yet as suggested in the second chapter, corporate activities at school were in constant interaction with peer group preferences and values. An analysis of school magazine production brings these interactions into view.

The *Stonyhurst Magazine* may have embraced the staid and respectable format of the generic print school magazine, but Stonyhurst pupils were not just schoolboys, but also came from the elite circles who were the primary targets for the socio-cultural commentary of comic publications such as *Vanity Fair* and *Punch*.[203] Establishing a light pupil-edited magazine like the *Comic and News Journal* enabled some pupils to choose a format to foreground this aspect of their identity. Similarly, Stonyhurst's *El Curioso* printed a column on 'The close of partridge and pheasant shooting' taken from the *Sporting Life*.[204] References to *Punch* and the *Sporting Life* enabled Stonyhurst pupils to construct identities as elite English gentlemen. Pupil-edited magazines from other schools enabled young producers to

[202] 'On Our Correspondents', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 2/4 (23 March 1861).
[203] B. Maidment, 'Illustration'.
[204] 'The close of partridge and pheasant shooting', *El Curioso* 1/1 (10 February 1881).

experiment with the stances implied by more ephemeral formats. Croydon Friends' School's *School-Boy's Magazine* (1851) contained a 'Dialogue on Wines' copied from an issue of *Punch* published earlier that year.[205] A joke about wine comes as something of a surprise in the archive of a school where pupils were encouraged towards the juvenile temperance movement.[206] The close attention to corporate identity and youth development in many secondary schools could not detach pupils from the other stances struck by the nineteenth-century periodical press which fitted with the social and cultural practices of their friends, families and communities.

These varied school magazines were not outliers, but existed in fruitful tension with the generic print format. At the Manchester Grammar School, some pupils used *Ulula* for an outspoken defence of ephemeral publications. In 1890, when the teacher editor of the Manchester Grammar School magazine *Ulula* condemned the light publication *Tit Bits* in a school debate, pupils became defensive, and, the report explained, 'a rather heated discussion ensued on the merits of *Tit Bits.*'[207] *Ulula* may have prioritised a staid and respectable periodical format, but it also detailed repeated debates on ephemeral literature which often ended in stalemate. When *Ulula*'s teacher editor again moved to condemn the 'countless inferior publications' of the time in an 1893 debate, he was defeated three to seven; and pupil and *Ulula* co-editor William Percival Crozier even made the shocking confession 'to having, once upon a time, read *Scraps*' and concluded many magazines were 'not altogether trashy' (although 'Even then, however, he preferred a book of sermons').[208] Older generations may have criticised the impact of newspapers and comic publications, but pupils seem to have harboured fewer qualms, embracing the ephemerality and novelty of the mid-nineteenth-

[205] 'Dialogue on Wines', *School Boy's Magazine* 2/1 (1851); 'Dialogue on Wines', *Punch* (5 April 1851), p. 137.
[206] For instance, temperance campaigner Thomas Bywater Smithies visited the school. See ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c3: *Minutes of the Juvenile Society (Girls) 1859-1871* (15 October 1866).
[207] 'Debating Society', *Ulula* (April 1890), pp. 44-5.

century periodical press. Establishing a school magazine like *Ulula* was a choice which was constantly debated and contested, and in some instances outright rejected, by young magazine producers.

Generic print and other teacher-led publications often framed contribution as a measure of diligent application or corporate spirit. Yet the Stonyhurst archive's unique collection of drafts enables us to see how particular pupils saw their act of contribution differently. A *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* editorial noted that 'the journals were principally kept up by the hurried articles, written by a few subscribers, between Saturday morning, & Saturday three o'clock.'[209] The editorial judged the contributors rather disapprovingly for their last-ditch attempts. Christina de Bellaigue points to the emphasis some middle-class parents placed on teaching their children early rising, good time-keeping, and the careful disposal of their time.[210] However, not all youths associated reading and writing with self-control and accountability. In one case study, Siân Pooley and Colin Pooley observe a female reader in the nineteenth century who used reading to express freedom and personal choice by setting aside time to read books and periodicals.[211] The manuscripts for the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* - some neat, others illegible, and some carefully organised while others are hastily scribbled - point to the varied ways these ideals of contribution worked out in practice. By scribbling last-minute articles for the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times*, pupils simply ignored the ideals of diligence and time-keeping implicit in school magazine contribution.

In fact, contribution provided some pupils with an escape from their timetables. The time pressures of modern schooling were a popular subject of criticism for the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times*: there was a poem on the school bell, and an article on 'The Rattle'

[208] 'Debating Society', *Ulula* (November 1893), p.206; E. H. B. P., 'Philosophical Society', *Ulula* (April 1898), p. 72.
[209] 'To the school of Poetry', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 2/4 (23 March 1861).
[210] de Bellaigue, 'Great Expectations?'
[211] Pooley and Pooley, 'Such a Splendid Tale', pp. 329-51.

which woke them in the mornings.[212] Several pupils admitted they wrote their contributions to the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* during the time apportioned to homework, one piece hurriedly signing off he was 'obliged to conclude as our professor has anounced (sic) half past eight'.[213] Girls at a boarding house organised by the Manchester High School used contributing to carve out time for more subversive peer cultures, writing in their secret manuscript *Boarding House Chronicle*, that they 'came to bed at 7.40 for the purpose of writing up the *Chronicle*.' When the woman in charge of the boarding house 'expressed surprise and asked the reason for it', the girls feigned tiredness, with the result, they wrote gleefully, they were 'regarded as angels.'[214] Contributing could be used by individual pupils to express freedom from school duties and control over their time, as the reading and writing of the classroom provided ideal camouflage for covertly escaping the daily routine of school life by writing for the school magazine.

These varying attitudes to contributing impacted on the material appearance of the school magazine. As seen above, the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* piece on 'A Soirée Upon the Ice' was neat, but others were clearly not particularly bothered by the appearance of their contributions and its implications. Another *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* contributor dropped his article halfway by hastily signing off with 'No more time', and the handwriting on another contribution grew progressively less legible before the pupil abruptly ended 'Small time, great haste.'[215] Neatness and a presentable layout may have formed overarching ideals in middle-class schools, yet the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* suggests that editorial reliance on contributors meant the school magazine was often shaped by pupils' ability or desire to set aside time to write. Pupils' leisure time determined article length, and when the

[212] 'Summary', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/3 (26 January 1861); 'The rattle', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* [no issue number] (1861).
[213] 'Summary', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 5/3 (15 June 1861).
[214] MHS: *Boarding House Chronicle* (1901-2), p. 16.
[215] 'To the editor of the Stonyhurst Examiner and Times. The Foxhunt,' *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/3 (26 January 1861); 'Christmas', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* [no issue number] (1861).

editor of the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Time* set an earlier deadline to prevent so many last-minute contributions, it 'had the desired effect of preventing hurried pieces,' a writer remarked, but 'also took away from the length of the journal.'[216] Equally, the *Oxford High School Magazine* for December 1880 complained that contributors 'take very little pains about their contributions', suggesting that while editors desired legible and attractive manuscripts, they could not entirely force the matter with contributors.[217] The Stonyhurst archive enables us to shift beyond the finished article of the school magazine and consider the varied ideals teenagers acted out in the process of making their contributions.

This chapter has demonstrated how generic magazines like the *Stonyhurst Magazine* sought to create stable and appropriate relationships between pupils and print production. Yet the Stonyhurst archive also suggests that the dominance of print in the nineteenth century can be overstated. While the generic school magazines of the 1870s and 1880s were print, the production of print came with practical disadvantages. The *Stonyhurst Magazine*, which was issued five to seven times a year, complained about workflow in December 1882, noting 'the present number has been on the stocks for a month' because 'the author leisurely takes his time and keeps the public waiting.'[218] In a school, its lengthy process of production made print more fragile, and even institutional support and infrequent issues could not ease the time pressure. More generally, periodical and book production and circulation accelerated, due to new technologies such as the Linotype and rotary printing press, and the telegraph and railway.[219] Print production and consumption was embedded in the rhythms of industrial society, with working-class Sunday newspapers, for example, produced to fit 'with the social

[216] 'To the school of Poetry', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 2/4 (23 March 1861).
[217] 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1880), pp.145-6.
[218] 'A Few Words to Contributors at Home and Abroad,' *Stonyhurst Magazine* (December 1882), p. 152.
[219] S. Smith, 'Technologies of Production' in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century Periodicals and Newspapers*, pp. 29-41.

and economic rhythm of weekly wages and Sunday leisure.'[220] Rapid production of a weekly or fortnightly print publication was a struggle in a school, however, as the labour-intensive stages of gathering and editing contributions, creating readable proofs, and submitting them to the printer on time, all had to fit around studies and group activities.

For pupil-edited magazines, print was even more fragile and unreliable. Youths in the further education course of Philosophy laconically recorded in a diary of their social events that 'a fortnightly periodical *Our World* made its first [& last] mysterious appearance' in 1877, and *El Curioso* and the *Silvapetrœan* have only first issues extant, suggesting equally brief runs.[221] As a result, when Stonyhurst pupils desired a 'college-newspaper' in the 1860s, the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* explained 'the powers that be were opposed to the measure considering that it might possibly interfere with more important studies… Hence the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times*'.[222] A manuscript magazine like the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* appears to have been an efficient compromise. We should not assume print to have been the most desirable production process, as the Stonyhurst archive highlights how, for smaller and more localised communities like a school, amateur and manuscript publications could be efficient and effective ways to participate in periodical culture.

Too often, the school magazine is seen as a conventional and staid publication. This chapter challenges these assumptions. A broader picture of school magazine production, including print, amateur print, and manuscript, reveals the extraordinary engagement of Victorian teenagers with the latest methods and formats of the periodical press. As well as efforts like Stonyhurst College's visually attractive *Monthly*, flicking through the second issue of the *Echo*, from the Croydon Friends' School, reveals line drawings of the Rosetta Stone, a coloured sketch of a salamander, pasted-in pictures of Colchester castle, possibly

[220] L. Brake, 'Markets, Genres, Iterations' in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century Periodicals and Newspapers*, pp. 237-48.
[221] SC, B. 1 (16): *Philosophers' Log 1873-1878* (18 May 1877).
[222] *The Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* 1/1 (1861).

bought as souvenirs, and a hand-drawn map of the Lake District.[223] Manuscript enabled producers to experiment with paratextual and graphic processes without facing the expense and technological limitations of paying outside producers. Manchester Grammar School's pupil-edited *Scientist* experimented with scientific periodical culture, including diagrams instructing beginners in photography, examples of the producers' photography, and even 'a photo-micrograph of the wing of a bee.'[224] At Manchester High School for Girls, needlework skills enabled the producers of the pupil-edited *Boarding House Chronicle* (1901) to sew 'M. H. S. M.' onto the cover. The attractive cover turned the chronicle into a treasured memento, and indeed the extant copy is a 'facsimile of the original manuscript' which was made 'with a view of keeping in our memories, by reference to it, the many events which from time to time occur at 1 Addison Terrace, Victoria Park, Manchester.'[225] The school magazine challenges a hierarchy of technical development with print at the top, as seemingly residual formats like manuscript remained the most varied and liberating process of magazine production into the twentieth century.

[223] *The Echo* 1/2 (March 1863), pp.53-128.
[224] MGS, MGS COOUR 44/0001: 'Science notes', *Scientist* 4 (October 1896).
[225] MHS: *Boarding House Chronicle* (1901-2), p. 1.

4 | NETWORKS

In 1855, the Croydon Friends' School's manuscript magazine the *Monthly Gleaner* launched with a greeting to 'the little world in which I am destined to move'.[1] As noted in the first chapter, single copies of this manuscript magazine passed hand to hand around the school. This process created a sheltered and protective textual space which the second chapter notes the *Oxford High School Magazine* sought to replicate, by ruling it was 'for private circulation only'. However, in 1881, when the print *Stonyhurst Magazine* introduced itself to 'the little world in which we move', that publication was greeting the far more complex and layered readerships under analysis in this chapter.[2] Copies of generic print school magazines like the *Stonyhurst Magazine* circulated via post across England, Britain, and beyond, to create extensive and expanding networks of teenagers united by a sense of shared power and privilege.

The extraordinary reach of the school magazine can be seen in the October 1886 issue of Manchester Grammar School's *Ulula*. It listed sixty "contemporary" magazines exchanged for free by post for copies of *Ulula* (Table 1). The magazines connected the Manchester Grammar School to a vast network: to local schools such as the *Manchester High School Magazine* and the *Fire-Fly* from Newcastle-Under-Lyme High School, located south of Manchester; to schools across Britain, such as the *South-Eastern College Magazine* from Ramsgate, the *Fettesian* from Edinburgh, and the *Barrovian* from the Isle of Man; and to schools across the British Empire, such as the *Geelong School Quarterly* from Australia, and the *St Andrew's College Magazine* from Grahamstown, South Africa. The list of magazines in *Ulula* was at times accompanied with reviews, directing pupils towards the magazines

[1] 'To my Readers', *Monthly Gleaner* 1/1 (October 1855).
[2] [Editorial], *Stonyhurst Magazine* (May 1881), p. 9.

'which may be seen in the library.'[3] Generic print school magazines circulated locally, nationally, and transnationally, enabling pupils in Manchester to navigate an expanding school world.

Magazine exchanges in *Ulula*

Allesley Lark	*Forest School Magazine*	*Newtonian*
Barrovian	*Geelong Grammar School Quarterly*	*Norvicensian*
Bathurstian	*Giggleswick Chronicle*	*Our Magazine*
Beech Lawn Budget	*Glenalmond Chronicle*	*Ousel*
Blue	*Hurst Johnian*	*Park Hurstian*
Cambridge Review	*Ipswich School Magazine*	*Peterite*
Chigwellian	*King Edward's School Chronicle*	*Portsmouthian*
Cinque Port	*Lancing School Magazine*	*Queen's College Magazine*
Cranleigh School	*Lily*	*Reptonian*
Magazine	*Lorettonian*	*Rossallian*
Denstonian	*Malvernian*	*Shirburnian*
Dovorian	*Manchester High School Magazine*	*South-eastern College Magazine*
Eagle	*Marlburian*	*St Andrew's College Magazine*
Eastbourne Cliftonian	*Melburnian*	*Tonbridgian*
Elizabethan	*Meteor*	*Thistle*
Elstonian	*Mill Hill Magazine*	*Wellingtonian*
Felstedian	*Miltonian*	*Wesley College Chronicle*
Fettesian	*Nelsonian*	
Fire-Fly		

Table 3. The list of exchanges listed in *Ulula* (October 1886).

Networks have long been vital to understanding the impact of schools beyond their immediate communities. In his classic study of *Tom Brown's Universe*, John Honey argues that it is by tracing 'which schools interacted with one another' that historians can expose how public schools controlled the development of English secondary education, using inter-school games and other activities to recognise newer schools as equals.[4] At the same time, the public school stands at the centre of understandings of imperial expansion, as historians point

[3] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: 'Occasional Notes', *Ulula* (November 1897), p. 159. Hereafter simply *Ulula*.

to school duties and privileges as underpinning British adults' belief in their right to rule, and providing a practical route into colonial service.[5]

Despite the centrality of public school pupils to this historical narrative, youth writings and perspectives feature little in broader studies of the British Empire: instead, youths are often seen as 'pawns of empire' whose age absolves them of culpability for imperial values and beliefs.[6] However, as demonstrated in the earlier chapters of this thesis, it is no longer sufficient to assume these values and practices originated in a powerful core of English public schools, trickling down from headteachers to the school, the nation, and the British Empire. Informed by feminist scholarship questioning the absence of white women due to their portrayal as 'hapless onlookers' of imperialism,[7] scholars of childhood and youth have begun to question a similar absence of white children and youths.[8] Recent research emphasises that youths were not contained within national bounds, but similar values and habits were held by middle-class secondary school pupils across the British Empire.[9] Moreover, instead of an imperial flow of influence where British youths would be imitated and admired by colonial youths, periodical scholarship suggests girlhood and boyhood as transnational identities, constructed through the constant circulation of ideas between British and white settler communities.[10]

Studies of nineteenth-century education have similarly questioned an imperial ordering of education placing Oxford and Cambridge at the centre. The circulation of ideas, people, and texts around British and colonial universities created, Tamson Pietsch argues, 'an expansive

[4] Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe*, p. 252; Whyte, 'Building a public school community 1860–1910'.
[5] P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: 1688-2000* (London, 2016), p. 55; p. 455.
[6] For an overview and interrogation of this approach, see S. Sleight and S. Robinson, 'Introduction: The World in Miniature' in S. Sleight and S. Robinson (eds), *Children, Childhood and Youth in the British World* (Basingstoke, 2015), quote p. 2.
[7] A. McClintock, *Imperial Leather* Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest (New York and London, 1995), pp. 1-17; p. 6.
[8] M. J. Smith, K. Moruzi, and C. Bradford, *From Colonial to Modern: Transnational Girlhood in Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand Children's Literature, 1840-1940* (Toronto, 2018), p. 10.
[9] Smith, Moruzi and Bradford, *From Colonial to Modern*; Sleight and Robinson, *Children, Childhood and Youth in the British World.*

British academic world characterised by irregular geographies of access and exchange.'[11] *Ulula*'s network offers even clearer evidence of how youth identities emerged out of far more irregular and expansive interactions between schools. Tracing the circulation of a single copy of a school magazine creates a complex picture of 'how overlapping geographical identities interact', as schoolgirl and schoolboy identities were simultaneously shaped by local, national, and transnational values and habits.[12]

Ulula shows Manchester Grammar School pupils operating within an expansive network. *Ulula* was a print magazine which appeared six to eight times a year, and most issues came with a list of 'Our Contemporaries' received via post from other schools (lists appeared from 1874 to 1891, and again from 1899 to 1902). Between thirty and sixty magazines were listed as exchanges in each issue of *Ulula*, uncovering the wide readership this grammar school magazine reached via post, despite a relatively small impression of about 250 copies.[13] These exchanges created a network connecting the Manchester Grammar School to over 150 other secondary schools in Manchester, Britain, and white settler colonies of the British Empire. This is a dynamic which is largely missing from historical analysis of local, national, and imperial developments.

Ulula attracted local attention and was reviewed in the *Manchester Guardian* from its first issue in 1873 until 1927. The *Manchester Guardian*'s sustained interest in a school magazine seems astonishing today, but reflected the local prominence of the Manchester Grammar School. In the early nineteenth century, it had been the subject of local controversy, as the school had Tory Anglican governors, mostly from outside Manchester, and it provided a classical education for free to local boys alongside fee-paying boarders, the latter often

[10] Smith, Moruzi and Bradford, *From Colonial to Modern,* p. 1-11.
[11] Pietsch, *Empire of Scholars*, p. 1.
[12] J. Lawrence, 'The Politics of Place and the Politics of Nation', *Twentieth Century British History* 11/1, (2000), p. 83.
[13] For sales figures, see 'Interview with the Owl', *Ulula* (March 1892), p. 29. The piece mentions over 700 copies for one issue which went through three impressions.

attending to gain financial support from the school's endowment as a route to Oxford and a career in the church.[14] The ruling that the governors and teachers of the Leeds Grammar School could stick to a narrow classical curriculum enabled some grammar schools to accelerate their retreat from local communities and upgrade to public boarding schools serving more affluent and geographically mobile middle-class communities.[15] The Manchester Grammar School of the 1870s developed differently, however. As the Liberal dissenting community gained ground in Manchester's new municipal corporation, established in 1842, they demanded a range of changes to the Manchester Grammar School: a more modern curriculum, bans on denominational religious education, bans on boarders, scholarships restricted to boys from Lancashire and Cheshire, an equal number of Anglican and dissenting governors, and a ban on governors not resident in Manchester or Salford.[16] While some had proposed the school's endowment be repurposed for elementary education, a compromise was struck whereby fees were introduced, but 250 free places (later reduced to 160) were offered, half reserved for pupils from elementary schools.[17] By the time *Ulula* was first published, the Manchester Grammar School was a large day school with between 800 and 1000 male pupils aged from ten to nineteen from Manchester's industrial and commercial families. The priority on local access meant that it remained in its site adjacent to Manchester Cathedral and Victoria Station, easily accessible to pupils from across the city, and from towns in Lancashire and Cheshire served by the railway.[18] The school had undergone substantial reforms to adapt to the needs of this local community, and offered both classical and modern forms from entry, with the option to specialise in science, mathematics, or the matriculation examination later on. To meet demand, buildings were extended and renovated

[14] On the history of the school, see Graham and Phythian, *The Manchester Grammar School,* p. 10.
[15] On the Leeds Grammar School case, see Simon, *Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870*, pp. 105-7.
[16] Graham and Phythian, *The Manchester Grammar School,* p. 37; 40-42; p. 276-87; A. J. Kidd, *Manchester* (Edinburgh, 2002), pp. 57-70; Hewitt, *The Emergence of Stability in the Industrial City,* pp. 73-77.
[17] Graham and Phythian, *The Manchester Grammar School*, p. 74.
[18] Graham and Phythian, *The Manchester Grammar School,* p. 23; p. 34.

in 1870 and 1881, and a gymnasium, laboratories, lecture theatre, reading room, library and museum were added.[19] Discussions of print culture and sociability in the north of England still see the southern public school as the dominant educational model.[20] However, Manchester Grammar School demonstrates a middle-class school which did not follow the public school model, but was inflected by local educational values and practices, as suggested by Christina de Bellaigue's case study of one northern industrial family.[21] Across the nineteenth century, the school had a rich internal tradition of magazine publication (Table 3). Additionally, *Ulula*'s network sheds light on how schools like the Manchester Grammar School did not develop in isolation, but were part of a network of other overlooked secondary schools.

[19] For a description, 'Ululae Ululatus', *Ulula* (October 1880), pp. 1-2.
[20] Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit;* S. Gunn 'The Manchester Middle Class, 1850-1880' (PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 1996), pp. 112-33.
[21] C. de Bellaigue, 'Great Expectations?'

Magazines at the Manchester Grammar School

†**Herald* (1839)

†**Grammar School Gazette* (1839)

†**Grammar School Chronicle* (1839)

†**Comet* (1840)

†**Grammar School Standard* (1840)

†**Grammar School Observer* (1840)

†**Manchester Grammar School Magazine* (1840)

†**New Microcosm* (1839-1840)

Grammar School Miscellany (1846)

†**Ulula* (1873-present)

† *Crocodile* (1894)

**Quilibet* (1895)

**Scientist* (1896)

Classical Fifth Form Monthly (c.1900)

Owlet (c.1900)

Outburst (c.1900)

**4B Outlet* (1901)

Gazette (c.1901)

North Salford Howler (c.1902)

Remove Chronicle (c.1902)

**Modern Remove Review* (1902)

IIIβGazette (c.1904)

†*3C Review* (c.1904)

IIA Times (c.1904)

Ducum Dux (c.1904)

4B Review (c.1904)

IIIα *Gazette* (c.1904)

Ululetta (c.1904)

* Extant copy † Printed

Table 4. Magazines at Manchester Grammar School.

This chapter highlights the role of a local, national, and transnational network of school magazines in constructing powerful youth identities in English schools. First, the local network of *Ulula* will be examined to emphasise how the school magazine was part of the press, print, and associational culture of the city of Manchester. The second section explores the exchanges of *Ulula* for copies of magazines from other schools across England, to consider how the interactions between schools like the Manchester Grammar School created a network which affected national print culture by the end of the century. The transnational reach of generic print school magazines like *Ulula* is the subject of the third section. I will argue that exchanges of magazines with schools from white settler colonies made the schoolgirl or schoolboy a transnational identity, which articulated some of the power and privilege of middle-class communities in this period.

LOCAL

Looking at production uncovers how the school magazine was integrated into local networks of magazine production. The title page of the Manchester Grammar School's *Grammar School Gazette* (1829) shows the proofs were sent to be printed by Cave and Sever, located on Long Millgate next to the school.[22] Printer names and address highlight how the school magazine depended on the local availability of print.[23] Suddenly, in 1839 and 1840, eight different magazines rivalled for readers at the Manchester Grammar School, all from small local printers, including the *Grammar School Herald, Grammar School Chronicl*e and *Comet*.[24] These three school magazines were printed at the office of the *Manchester Courier*,

[22] MGS: *Grammar School Tracts. Grammar School Gazette* (1839).
[23] Gage, 'My Schoolfellows, My Patrons, My Public', p. 36.
[24] MGS: *Grammar School Tracts*. *Grammar School Herald; Grammar School Chronicle; Comet* (1839-40).

showing the school magazine as part of the growth in Manchester's periodical press at this time. Newspapers were providing a shared textual space for Manchester's divided and partisan middle class to develop shared values and goals, which made it possible for these different communities to collaborate in running the corporation, voluntary societies, and of course, the grammar school.[25] Matthew Grenby argues children's literature, like the newspapers, was a key textual space in the emerging social and cultural consensus of the English middle classes, as reading the same books meant families of different denominations and politics gradually came to agree over child-rearing and education.[26] The boom in school magazines in the 1830s and 1840s shows pupils as active participants in this lively local print culture. Manchester Grammar School's *New Microcosm*, for example, took the more placatory stance of city societies and newspapers by adopting the rule that the magazine was 'not to take any share in the Political or Religious controversies of the day.'[27] The corporate life of the school consolidated the new values and practices of town life.

The generic print school magazines of the 1870s and 1880s developed out of these ties between the print culture of school and town. *Ulula* and the *Manchester High School Magazine* were both printed in Manchester; similarly, the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* was printed at the office of the *Clitheroe Advertiser and Times*, a market town near the school.[28] The *Oxford High School Magazine* initially asserted its university credentials by using printers connected to the Clarendon Press, but later saved itself from financial collapse by using a smaller and cheaper local press.[29]

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[25] On middle-class formation and civic governance, see Hewitt, *The Emergence of Stability in the Industrial City,* pp. 70-76; and S. Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority and the English Industrial City, 1840-1914* (Manchester, 2000), p. 91; on the role of newspapers, see M. J. Turner, 'The Making of a Middle-Class Liberalism', p. 106.
[26] Grenby, *The Child Reader*, 92.
[27] MGS: 'To Our Readers', *New Microcosm* (June 1839), p. 1. On the role of these rules in shaping civic life, see Morris, *Class, Sect and Party,* p. 329.
[28] From the 1890s, *Ulula* was printed by J. Galt and Co, school bookseller and printers; *Manchester High School Magazine* was printed by A. Ireland & Co of Pall Mall, Manchester.
[29] The *Oxford High School Magazine* was initially printed by the Clarendon Press but cut costs by moving to the Misses Baxter of St Aldates. 'Editorial', *Oxford High School Magazine* (July 1885), p. 821.

The school magazine overlapped with the local press. 'Ulula: The Manchester Grammar School Magazine will be Published on July 15th,' an advertisement in the *Manchester Guardian* announced shortly after the magazine's launch in 1873. 'Copies may be obtained at the School and the principal booksellers.'[30] The school magazine is typically seen as too self-absorbed and trivial to make much impact beyond the school itself, with James Mangan concluding, 'the outside world seldom intrudes.'[31] *Ulula*, however, frequently referred to the ties between the school and the local community. An 1875 appeal for money towards new buildings started with the stirring declaration that the Manchester Grammar School was 'as public as public can be, as civic as the Mayor and Corporation themselves'.[32] Because the school's local catchment meant it furthered the prosperity of the community, this community were obliged to ensure the school's prosperity. The collective effort and sense of pride in school was intertwined with civic pride: public appeals for funds for the school were successful, with the local community raising a substantial proportion of the £30,000 in building costs, including £1,400 collected by the boys appealing to friends and family themselves.[33] This overlap between corporate and civic life strengthened the ties between the school magazine and local print culture, as appeals for donations were circulated in the *Manchester Guardian* and *Manchester Times* as well as *Ulula*, and the magazine was regularly advertised in the *Manchester Guardian* and *Manchester Courier*.[34] Content flowed back and forth between school and town: *Ulula* excerpted *Manchester Guardian* reports on their speech days, and the *Manchester Guardian* occasionally recycled content, borrowing an obituary of former school governor C.H. Rickards from *Ulula* in 1877.[35] Associational life

[30] 'Advertisements 89', *Manchester Guardian* (12 July 1873), p. 9.
[31] Mangan, *Athleticism*, p. 243.
[32] 'The Gymnasium', *Ulula* (December 1875), p.101-5.
[33] 'Ululae Ululatus', *Ulula* (October 1880), pp. 1-2.
[34] 'The Manchester Grammar School Building Extension Scheme', *Manchester Guardian* (19 July 1878), p. 6; 'Manchester Grammar School,' *Manchester Times* (24 February 1877). For advertisements of *Ulula*, see 'Advertisements', *Manchester Courier* (30 April 1874), p. 1.
[35] 'C. H. Rickards', *Manchester Guardian* (1 January 1877), p. 6.

strengthened these ties between school magazines and city newspapers: *Manchester Guardian* editor Charles Prestwich Scott was friends with Manchester Grammar School staff, active in educational circles, and a benefactor of school events at both the Manchester Grammar School and the Manchester High School.[36]

Advertisements and reviews in local newspapers suggest school magazines were a resource for their community, keeping townspeople up-to-date with events at nearby schools. The *Blackburn Standard*, for instance, included the *Stonyhurst Magazine* among the literature received in 1888, and occasionally excerpted content from the *Stonyhurst Magazine.*[37] Likewise, the *Manchester High School Magazine* was reviewed in the *Manchester Guardian.*[38] Civic pride could include even southern public schools. Although seen as increasingly detached from their local communities in this period, in practice the level of detachment varied. Winchester College, with its city centre location, was often mentioned in local newspapers, and the launch of its magazine the *Wykehamist* gained a mention in the *Hampshire Advertiser* in 1867.[39] Such examples reveal that the school magazine was not cut off in the school but copies, excerpts, and reviews circulated among local readers, and thus became a visible part of local print networks: when Fred Leary wrote his 'History of the Manchester Periodical Press' (1897) *Ulula* and other local school magazines were included as examples of Manchester's provincial press.[40]

The school magazine was also shaped by local sports networks. *Ulula* put the Manchester Grammar School's struggles to participate in games with schools outside Manchester down

[36] T. Wilson, 'Scott, Charles Prestwich (1846–1932)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (January 2008) http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/article/35980 (7 September 2015); on Scott's involvement in education, see 'Summary of the News: Domestic', *Manchester Guardian* (28 January 1896), p. 4; 'University Extension in Lancashire and Cheshire', *Manchester Guardian* (17 April 1891), p. 7. 'Editorial', *Ulula* (May 1888), p. 109.
[37] 'Notes on Magazines and Books', *Blackburn Standard* (7 July 1888), p. 3; [untitled], *Blackburn Standard* (30 July 1887), p. 2.
[38] See for example 'The Manchester Grammar School Magazine' and 'The Manchester High School Magazine', *Manchester Guardian* (20 November 1900), p. 12.
[39] 'Literature of the Week', *The Hampshire Advertiser* (8 June 1867), p. 7.

to a lack of corporate pride: a former pupil at Oxford complained that 'other public schools ridicule ours as the place that can't get up a football team.'[41] Sports and athleticism are generally studied for their impact on networks of public schools by a collective identity through inter-school games.[42] Grammar schools have been seen as using sports in a rather derivative fashion, in order to 'imitat[e] their betters and disassociat[e] from their inferiors'.[43]

However, the Manchester Grammar School's struggles to join public school games were in part due to local sports culture. *Ulula* complained that pupils preferred playing for local clubs rather than school teams, one editorial fuming that 'their defection from their school is as bad as unpatriotism to their country.'[44] *Ulula* recorded many games with local teams such as Broughton Rangers, or educational institutions from Owens College to the Warehousemen and Clerk's School.[45] Other schools in this study played local teams: the *Manchester High School Magazine* recorded hockey and tennis games with Whalley High School for Girls and Owens College, and the school's joining the Northern Schools Basket Ball Association; and the *Leightonian* from a Quaker school at Leighton Park reported games with the team of Huntley and Palmer, a Quaker-owned biscuit factory, and the post office team in Reading; and the *Stonyhurst Magazine* played the Bohemians, a local team from Blackburn.[46] The *Stonyhurst Magazine* suggests greater anxiety about the impact of local ties on the school's elite Catholic pupils, as the report sought to reassure readers that the Bohemians were 'a non-professional club, in the strictest sense,' that is, gentlemanly amateurs rather than lower status

[40] F. Leary, 'History of the Manchester Periodical Press' (1897) quoted in Powell and Wyke, 'Manchester Men and Manchester Magazines', p. 166.
[41] 'Our Oxford Letter', *Ulula* (March 1884), p. 82.
[42] Mangan, *Athleticism*, pp. 73-74; Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe,* pp. 383-95.
[43] J.A. Mangan, 'Imitating their Betters and Disassociating from their Inferiors: Grammar Schools and the Games Ethic in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *International Journal of the History of Sport*. 27/1-2 (2010), pp. 228–61.
[44] 'Home Truths', *Ulula* (November 1877), pp. 261-4.
[45] 'School News', *Ulula* (December 1888), pp. 41-2.
[46] 'Games', *Manchester High School Magazine* (April 1904), pp. 31-32; 'Summary of the Cricket Season', *Leightonian* (May 1895), pp. 30-33; 'Notes on Current Events', *Stonyhurst Magazine* (November 1888), p. 225.

professional sportsmen.[47] Local newspapers provided a useful resource for sports teams' records. Stonyhurst's manuscript *Association Football* included cuttings from the *Stonyhurst Magazine*, the *Football Field*, *Preston Herald*, and *Football News*.[48] Moreover, the *Stonyhurst Magazine* took some pride in these newspaper reports, boasting in 1887 that 'a full account of the match appeared in the *Football Field*.'[49]

Magazines were a simple strategy to sustain connections between local schools. In 1884, *Ulula* remarked that 'amongst the magazines we receive from girls' schools, our contemporary from the Manchester High School is always prominent.'[50] By singling the *Manchester High School Magazine* out for praise, the review suggests a sense of pride and solidarity between Manchester secondary schools. Historians' emphasis upon the network of southern public schools has obscured educational ties elsewhere. Manchester had a distinct educational network, where scholarships connected elementary schools and higher grade schools to the Manchester Grammar School, Manchester Corporation Technical Scholarships connected the school to Owens College or the Technical School, and the Manchester Grammar School prepared pupils for open examinations at Oxford and Cambridge.[51] In the 1890s, the grammar school, Manchester School Board, Owens College (then renamed Victoria University), and the Technical Education Committee collaborated in drawing up the 'Manchester Concordat' to smooth collaboration between the institutions by defining a clear role for each.[52]

School magazines also enabled pupils in different schools to gain a sense of shared values and corporate life. *Ulula* cordially praised the *Manchester High School Magazine*, for

[47] 'Notes on Current Events', *Stonyhurst Magazine* (November 1888), p. 225.
[48] SC, A.4 (21): 'Season 1887-8. Stonyhurst F. C. & St Joseph's', *Stonyhurst Association Football Journal* (1887-88).
[49] 'Notes on Current Events', *Stonyhurst Magazine* (June 1887), p. 431.
[50] 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (July 1884), pp. 167-68.
[51] 'Address by the Secretary of the Education Department', *Manchester Guardian* (10 December 1892), p. 8; 'Manchester Grammar School: Distribution of Prizes', *Manchester Guardian* (2 August 1894), p. 8. 'Honours List', *Ulula* (July 1897), p. 114.
[52] Roach, *Secondary Education in England 1870-1902*, pp. 69-70.

'literary merit […] equalled by the finished manner in which it is printed and got up.'[53] The magazines created a local educational network by enabling pupils to identify and compare activities at their schools, including the production of their magazines. In the *Manchester High School Magazine*'s 'The Woes of the School Magazine', a correspondent held up *Ulula* as an example:

> Shall *Ulula* starlike surpass us?
> (Alas! competition is keen!)
> Nay, tread the first slope of Parnassus,
> Contribute to our Magazine![54]

The 'keen' observation of one another's magazines points to local cultures of secondary schooling as a part of the development of secondary education in this period. The lists of magazines in *Ulula* shows that northern schools were informally connected and eagerly watchful of one another. *Ulula* listed receipt of the *Hulmeian* by Hulme Grammar School, *Whalley Range High School Magazine* from Whalley Range High School for Girls, and the *Owens College Magazine*.

Not all members of this network were recognised as equal. In 1894, *Ulula* decided 'to offer a welcome to so near a relative as the revived organ of the Hugh Oldham Lads' Club, the *Owl*.'[55] The magazine was produced by the Hugh Oldham Lads' Club, a club for working-class boys with a gym, library, reading room, and debating society funded by the Manchester Grammar School, and named after the school's sixteenth-century benefactor.[56] The Lads' Club connected working-class Manchester boys to local middle-class schools. The school and the club had similar facilities and encouraged similar improving collective activities, including their own magazine. The Lads' Club magazine title the *Owl* alluded to

[53] 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (July 1884), pp. 167-68.
[54] MHS: 'The Woes of the School Magazine*,' Manchester High School Magazine* (April 1904), p. 6.
[55] 'Notes on News', *Ulula* (August 1894), p. 119.
[56] 'Editorial', *Ulula* (May 1888), p. 109.

the coat of arms of Hugh Oldham, as well as the title of *Ulula* (Latin for "hoot"), and the owl emblem on *Ulula*'s cover page.

However, in *Ulula* reports on the Club's annual summer camping trip, the working-class members were described as 'lads' whereas middle-class pupils were 'Officers'. The connections between the *Owl* and *Ulula* still maintained distance in age and status, as middle-class pupils attended to oversee the activities and sleep in separate tents. A quote from the *Owl* showed the working-class writer also acknowledging the distance by politely describing the teenage pupils as 'nice young men from Manchester Grammar School'.[57] Manchester Grammar School pupils were presented as holding a particular status in their city, which was affirmed by the unequal exchanges between pupils and club members at the camps, and between *Ulula* and the *Owl*. Even greater distance was maintained by the production of the *Stonyhurst Magazine*. Between 1886 and 1891, the magazine proofs were sent for printing to the Catholic Reformatory School at Market Weighton, where printing had been introduced as one of the forms of improving manual labour for the incarcerated youths.[58] While both Stonyhurst College and Market Weighton youths were expected to benefit from the school magazine, contributing, editing, and preparing proofs were activities differentiated from the labour of printing the school magazine, a difference which idealised very different identities for the school's elite Catholic pupils and the reformatory's impoverished inmates.

On some occasions, school magazines struggled to represent the privileges and powers of their pupils. In 1894, a reporter to *Ulula* admitted that Hugh Oldham Lads' Club members had beaten pupils 6-1 at football.[59] Corporate identity could be bolstered through comparison with representations of working-class youth, but its privilege and authority could also be threatened or collapsed. Even reporting a trivial defeat disturbed corporate identity, especially

[57] 'The "Hugh Oldham" Lads Club Camp', *Ulula* (July 1894), p. 107.
[58] P. Higginbotham, 'Yorkshire Roman Catholic Reformatory for Boys', Children's Homes website <http://www.childrenshomes.org.uk/MarketWeightonRfy> (Accessed 2 July 2017).
[59] 'The "Hugh Oldham" Lads Club Camp, *Ulula* (July 1894), p. 107.

given *Ulula*'s concern about middle-class Manchester boys' alleged physical inferiority due to their urban upbringing, seen in articles on 'Town Schools', and 'The Proposed Gymnasium and Swimming Bath'.[60] The report on the game with the Lads' Club explained pupils 'had not played since the last season (some of them probably not since the last camp)', and then added the excuses that pupils 'were unacquainted with the geography of the most peculiarly mountainous prairie, called for the occasion a football ground.'[61] Recording interactions between the school and the club demanded constant negotiations to protect the pupils' standing. *Ulula* defended further defeats at football by the Lads' Club in 1898 and 1899. Similarly, the *Oxford High School Magazine* indignantly recorded the lack of gratitude shown by a working-class girl from a local orphanage who was supported by the school's Guild of Charity, then turned around and sold the clothes and umbrella provided.[62] Pupils were not guileless witnesses of developing provincial societies, but privileged defenders of the middle-class lifestyles and values they articulated in their writings, with their school magazines gaining status and visibility in local print, associational, and charitable networks.

NATIONAL

Multiple print copies enabled school magazines to circulate nationally as well as locally. In 1885, *Ulula* alerted its readers to 'a new periodical from the South-Eastern College, Ramsgate.' The first issue of the *South-Eastern College Magazine* had been sent from Ramsgate via post, in the hope of receiving a free copy of *Ulula* in return.[63] Pupils in

[60] "N.B.", 'Town Schools', *Ulula* (April 1874), pp. 161-167; 'Proposed Gymnasium and Swimming Bath', *Ulula* (April 1874), pp. 213-214.
[61] 'The "Hugh Oldham" Lads Club Camp, *Ulula* (July 1894), p. 107.
[62] 'Hugh Oldham Lads' Club Camp', *Ulula* (July 1898), p. 121; 'Hugh Oldham Lads' Club Camp', *Ulula* (April 1899), pp. 96-7; 'O.H.S. Guild of Charity', *Oxford High School Magazine* (December 1890), p. 263.
[63] 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (February 1885), pp. 71-2.

Ramsgate were clearly aware of school magazines published in other parts of England, and eager to use their own magazine to connect to a network of other schools.

Exchanging school magazines enabled the Manchester Grammar School to extend its network beyond the more immediate social and cultural connections of the teachers, pupils, and their families. The February 1885 issue of *Ulula* recorded the receipt of sixty magazines since the previous issue in December, nearly all of which were school magazines. By perusing reviews of other magazines in *Ulula*, or simply scanning the lists of titles, pupil readers became familiar with the school magazine as a national phenomenon. Issues of *Ulula* between 1874 and 1891, and again between 1899 and 1902, listed exchanges with over 150 other secondary schools in Britain and further afield. While *Ulula* had a particularly extensive network, the *Stonyhurst Magazine* regularly listed up to fifteen exchanges with about thirty other schools, and even the *Oxford High School Magazine* with its 'private circulation' occasionally noted receipt of the *Nottingham Magazine* from a fellow Girls' Public Day School Trust school, as well as the *Malvernian* from public school Malvern College and the *Berkhampsteadian*, from Berkhamstead School, both boys' schools.[64] Indeed, while *Ulula* was better connected, pupils at many schools were aware that the school magazine could create and affirm links with other schools, with an *Oxford High School Magazine* editorial announcing that 'All magazines and communications from other schools on subjects of interest will be welcomed by the Editing Committee.'[65]

By the 1870s, the generic print school magazine allowed growing numbers of schools to reach out to one another. *Ulula* explained that the first editorial in the *South-Eastern College Magazine* started 'with a request not to withhold our congratulations, and we comply with the request.'[66] This suggests pupils or teachers in Ramsgate were eager to connect with other schools, and therefore sent their first issue unsolicited to the Manchester Grammar School

[64] 'Editor's Notes', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1882), p. 338.

hopeful of having it listed in *Ulula* and receiving a magazine in return. This desire for exchange and recognition may have been a factor in the boom in school magazine production, as *Ulula* received other first issues: the *Huddersfield College Magazine* (1879); the *Elstonian* from the Bedfordshire Middle Class Public School (1876); the *Eastbourne Cliftonian* from Clifton House School (1876); and the *City of London School Magazine* (1877), among others. This section explores how this desire for recognition and exchange created a grassroots network which shaped the construction of identities, beliefs and values in a large number of middle-class secondary school magazines.

Works such as *Tom Brown's Universe* present interactions with public schools as a sign of a school's status. How, then, should we take the mocking reviews of *Ulula* in Rugby School's *Meteor*, on one occasion poking fun at 'this most learned of our contemporaries'?[67] While a teacher declared in *Ulula* that the Manchester Grammar School was 'the only Public School of almost the largest city after the metropolis', its local standing could not ensure recognition from more elite public schools.[68] *Ulula* numbered Rugby School's *Meteor* among its contemporaries, but received the *Wykehamist* and *Harrovian* very sporadically, and no magazines were exchanged with Eton College.

Such higher status schools turned away from the new expanding network of school magazines towards older more stable social networks. In 1873, the pupil editor of Winchester College's *Wykehamist* decided to follow the example of other schools and include lists and reviews of contemporaries. It listed and reviewed the magazines of new public schools such as Cheltenham, Marlborough, Repton, Dulwich College and Rugby, subverting the school's

[65] 'Editors' Notes', *Oxford High School Magazine* (March 1885), p. 779.
[66] 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (February 1885), pp. 71-2.
[67] 'Our Contemporaries', *Meteor* (31 July 1878), p. 119.
[68] 'The Gymnasium', *Ulula* (December 1875), p. 101-5.

traditional long-standing ties to Harrow School and Eton College.[69] Some readers of the *Wykehamist* were appalled: the next issue contained an angry letter from a former pupil about the magazine's references to 'schools with which Winchester has not been actually connected.'[70] The *Wykehamist* editor complained readers saw their magazine 'to be on an entirely different and superior level to its contemporaries', and accused them of snobbery regarding new schools which meant 'any contagion with them is undignified and degrading; whilst for them to touch us would be an impertinent and unwarrantable liberty.'[71] While *Ulula* was exchanged with a wide range of schools, other schools like Winchester College withheld from exchanges, reinforcing the social distance between older and newer school networks. Ultimately, the outcry from the *Wykehamist* correspondents was such that the editor discontinued reviewing its contemporaries.

The public schools cannot be seen as the centre of a single network, when this was a network from which they so pointedly distanced themselves. School magazines provide insight into a network which facilitated the flow of ideas and values between numerous and diverse secondary schools. School magazines were quick to offer advice and criticism of their contemporaries' knowledge of the norms and values of school life. In 1886, *Ulula* repeated the rule that 'School Magazines are generally supposed to be neutral in all matters political and religious', before commenting disapprovingly 'Not so the *South-Eastern College Magazine*.'[72] *Ulula* was shaped by the neutral stance of Manchester's print culture, and exchanges of school magazines meant these local norms were applied to other secondary schools. As a result, the norms of provincial print shaped the school magazine at a national level.

[69] On elite networks, see Rubinstein, 'Education and the Social Origins of British Elites', p. 172; on the ties between Harrow, Eton, and Winchester, see R. Boddice, 'In loco parentis? Public-school Authority, Cricket and Manly Character, 1855–62', *Gender and Education,* 21/2 (2009), pp. 159-72.
[70] BLO, Per. G.A. Hants 4° 40: 'Correspondence', *Wykehamist (*November 1873), p. 7.
[71] BLO, Per. G.A. Hants 4° 40: 'The *Wykehamist* and its Contemporaries', *Wykehamist* (December 1873), p. 1.
[72] 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (February 1886), p. 72.

The schools in this study prioritised a broader middle-class community over the narrow network of elite public schools. *Ulula* refrained from reviewing public school magazines like the *Wykehamist*, but its 'Our Contemporaries' column (1884-'89) regularly reviewed the offerings of magazines from a range of school types. *Ulula*'s reviews alerted readers to other school magazines they might like to read: an 'interesting' piece of fiction was admired in the *Rossallian*, from the new northern public school Rossall; a version of the *Times* advice column gained praise as 'cleverly done in Latin Verse' in the *Fettesian*, from Fettes College in Edinburgh; and *Ulula* concluded that the *Pauline*, a magazine from St Paul's Cathedral School, London, 'excels in poetry.'[73] At the same time, *Ulula* commented positively on modern educational practices: there was praise for an essay which 'is written in a lively style, is at the same time useful topographically' in the *Mill Hill Magazine* from the non-conformist London school; readers were directed to an erudite paper on the formation of the earth' in the *Allesley Lark* from the private boarding Allesley Park College; and the reviewer celebrated the 'pleasing' news that 'a gymnasium has been instituted at Beech Lawn for the young ladies' in the *Beech Lawn Magazine* from a private girls' boarding school in Leamington Spa.[74] School magazines enabled schools to informally share values and interests and enable a wider collective identity to emerge, despite the boundaries of social status, gender, and denomination otherwise sustained by middle-class schooling. Moreover, these connections are at times the only remaining record of some middle-class schools: *Ulula* regularly admired the magazines received of the *Beech Lawn Budget* between 1884 and 1891, providing a unique insight into that school's history, despite the fact that only a single archival copy remains of one issue of its magazine.[75]

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[73] 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (March 1885), p.96; 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (July 1885), p. 168; 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (December 1885), pp. 46-7.
[74] 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (February 1886), p. 72; 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (May 1885), p. 144; 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (February 1885), pp. 71-72.
[75] Beech Lawn School is mentioned briefly in D. Leinster-Mackay, 'The English private school 1830-1914' (PhD thesis, Durham University, 1971).

Reviews of contemporary magazines are tangible evidence of exchanges of information and ideas between schools at a grassroots and informal level. Consider *Ulula*'s exchange with the *Fire-Fly*, a magazine published at Newcastle-under-Lyme High School, another day school in the north of England. A pupils' letter in the *Fire-Fly* for December 1883 stated 'that the Manchester School has a Chess and Draughts Club and Debating Society; might not these be adopted by ourselves?'[76] The exchanges of *Ulula* for the *Fire-Fly* between 1880 and 1900 opened up a conversation which shaped the development of corporate life at these northern day schools. By the *Fire-Fly*'s next issue of February 1884, another pupil had read *Ulula*, and agreed that 'we should imitate - well, no, not imitate, but take a lesson from the example of Manchester'.[77] Imitating perhaps insinuated their school was an inferior copy of Manchester Grammar School; instead, the correspondent wished to adopt these activities as a sign of their equal claim to public sphere participation. 'No School of our standing should be without a Debating Society', the correspondent explained, as it would train boys to 'stand on our legs and talk to our fellow-citizens'.[78] Soon afterwards, in March 1884, *Ulula* proudly noted the *Fire-Fly*'s efforts 'to start a Debating Society and support it themselves, taking the example of the Society at Manchester Grammar School,' by which time the *Fire-Fly* had reports from its new society.[79] Exchange became integral to the youth-driven process of constructing collective schoolgirl or schoolboy identities. Reading and reviewing other school magazines enabled pupils to gauge wider norms and values, and follow the *Fire-Fly* by working out their status as 'citizens' and the 'standing' of their school before an audience of their contemporaries. Exchanging school magazines could fuel corporate pride, in order to protect the reputation of their school when compared at a national level.

[76] OBL, Per. G.A. Staffs 8° 55: [Editor's note], *Fire-Fly* (December 1883), p. 168.
[77] OBL, Per. G.A. Staffs 8° 55: "Pro Bono", 'Correspondence', *Fire-Fly* (February 1884), p. 13.
[78] OBL, Per. G.A. Staffs 8° 55: "Pro Bono", 'Correspondence', *Fire-Fly* (February 1884), p. 13.
[79] 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (March 1884), pp.95-96. OBL, Per. G.A. Staffs 8° 55: [Editor's note], *Fire-Fly* (March 1884), p. 24.

Even denominational schools, otherwise seen as distant from mainstream middle-class values and practices, joined this network of secondary school magazines. Take, for instance, the exchanges of the *Stonyhurst Magazine* for copies of the *Rossallian* in July 1886.[80] Exchanges crossing the boundaries of school type and denomination are often ignored, with Catholic and Quaker schools in the first half of the nineteenth century typically characterised by their insularity.[81] Yet by the late nineteenth century, denominational schools were using generic print school magazines to stake their claim to membership in a wider educational network. In 1874, Rossall and Stonyhurst first organised a cricket match, and despite some consternation in the press, it became an annual tradition, reinforced by swapping copies of the *Stonyhurst Magazine* and the *Rossallian*.[82] While Quaker schools like Croydon Friends' School continued community traditions of a vernacular education, the community also established the more elite Leighton Park School in 1890 to prepare elite Quaker boys for a university education at Oxford and Cambridge.[83] Its magazine the *Leightonian* was exchanged for copies of the *Reading School Magazine* and the *Abingdonian*, schools located nearby with which they organised sporting events.[84] As a cheap and informal connection, the *Leightonian*'s network exceeded the formal sports meetings, as it also received copies of the *Carliol* from Carlisle High School and the *Tauntonian* from King's College Taunton.[85] As their communities moved towards mainstream middle-class values and practices, pupils were able to make these connections themselves at a more informal level, by observing the corporate activities and values of other youths, and confirming or commenting on them via their school magazine.

[80] 'Notes on Current Events', *Stonyhurst Magazine* (July 1886).
[81] On the insularity of Catholic schools, see Mangan, *Athleticism,* p. 62. On Quaker education, see Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe*, p. 288.
[82] Mangan, *Athleticism*, p. 62.
[83] Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe*, p. 288.
[84] London, Friends' Library, Friends' House, Pers B/LEI/4 SER 611/1: 'Our Exchanges', *Leightonian* (April 1903), p. 384.
[85] 'Our Exchanges', *Leightonian* (April 1903), p. 384.

The content of the school magazine was shaped by these exchanges between schools. In October 1884, *Ulula* recommended its readers look at the *Park Hurst School Magazine*, as it 'contains one or two howlers of more than average originality and merit.'[86] Park Hurst School was a small private secondary school for boys near Buxton in Derbyshire.[87] This practice of printing apocryphal errors made in Latin and Greek translation exercises of exams became a common feature of the school magazine at this time, and *Ulula* regularly printed its own exam "howlers".[88] Getting the joke required a smattering of classical knowledge, and therefore reinforced the insider status of school magazine readers across England.[89] By reading and excerpting one another's "howlers", an increasingly broad range of schools asserted status by publicly signalling that they too got the joke, from Manchester Grammar School to the private Park Hurst School. Exchanges caused exam "howlers" to proliferate across the network of school magazine, so that by 1885 *Ulula* complained 'the subject is by this time hackneyed.'[90] As well as making "howlers" staple fare for the school magazine, exchanges could fuel other fashions: *Ulula* delighted in a series of humorous epitaphs in the *Beech Lawn Budget* in 1885, and epitaphs also featured in Stonyhurst's *Boys Occasional Times* in 1880, and the *Oxford High School Magazine* in 1882.[91] School magazine content was shaped by the exchange of school magazines, as reviews and recycling cemented the popularity of particular types of contribution in different schools, turning them into constant features of the genre.

National exchanges of school magazines did not mean schools recognised one another as equals. *Ulula* reprinted comments from Westminster School's *Elizabethan* that 'the modus

[86] 'Our Contemporaries' *Ulula* (October 1884), pp. 23-24.
[87] Few records remain, but the school is advertised in 'Advertisements & Notices', *Liverpool Mercury* (26 August 1899).
[88] See for example 'Howlers', *Ulula* (December 1882), p. 74.
[89] On the role of classics in class cohesion, see Stray, *Classics Transformed,* p. 31.
[90] 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (March 1885), p. 96.
[91] 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (March 1885), p.96; 'Fireside Sparks', *The Boys Occasional Times* (28 March 1880), [p. 4]; Louey Eagleston, 'Epitaphs', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1882), pp. 371-76.

operandi of the Manchester Grammar School's Debating and Scientific Societies seems, according to the (sic) *Ulula*, to be of a very non-committal character.'[92] Reviews of school magazines often prompted these indignant replies, kicking off a chain of criticism and counter-criticism. In particular, schools' sharp comments on debating society reports conspicuously compared schools' grasp of the norms and practices of corporate life. *Ulula* was critical of other schools. The same page defending the Manchester Grammar School against the criticisms of Westminster School chided Newcastle-Under-Lyme's *Fire-Fly* for failing to grasp the companionable dynamic of pupils and staff. After the *Fire-Fly* reported that Manchester Grammar School teachers were not allowed to participate in debates, *Ulula* printed a direct correction addressed to the *Fire-Fly* that 'We must assure him that masters are not only allowed, but invited to speak at all meetings.'[93] Quarrels demonstrate how contributors used the school magazine to gauge relative status by representing themselves as more confident and able participants in the collective activities of middle-class secondary schooling.

The quality of the school magazine provided ample opportunity for criticism. *Ulula* witheringly commented that readers would fail to appreciate any "howlers" in the *Bradfield School Chronicle*, as a Latin poem was so strewn with errors that 'With such a text, what howlers would be surprising?'[94] While recycling "howlers" from other magazines enabled *Ulula* to portray Manchester pupils as familiar with the classics, classical content could also lead to schools being scrutinised and disparaged, like the unfortunate *Bradfield School Chronicle*. *Ulula* frequently commented on accuracy, as a well-printed, error-free, and carefully-edited magazine stood as a proxy for the pupils' corporate spirit, and a measure of the school's standing and reputation. School magazines presented their production as central to a school's standing, just like debates and classical writing. After *Ulula*'s debate reports

[92] 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (May 1884), pp. 143-44.

were reviewed critically by Westminster's *Elizabethan*, *Ulula* countered by condemning the 'calm recklessness' and 'patronising air' of the review, and then pointedly added 'sic' after the review incorrectly called the magazine 'the *Ulula*.'[95] Contributors and editors made the magazine an expression of corporate pride and the status of their school, and *Ulula* repeatedly remarked on poor editing: noting 'the editors must be rather remiss in proof reading' in a review of the *Park Hurst School Magazine* in 1884; and in 1886 advising the editor of the *Huddersfield College Magazine* 'to look over his proofs more carefully.'[96]

The rise of the generic print school magazine, and the ability to exchange magazines with a wide network of other schools, did not weaken older networks. In July 1886, the *Stonyhurst Magazine* was exchanged for the *Rossallian*, but also received copies of the *Raven* from another Catholic school at Downside Abbey in Somerset.[97] Denominational and local ties not only survived, but indeed thrived, the introduction of a more generic print school magazine, as Catholic schools in distant locations swapped copies of their magazines. Towards the end of the nineteenth century Catholic schools in England demonstrated their confidence by joining this nationwide trend of school magazine publication, with the establishment of the *Downside Review* (1880) and *Raven* (1884) both from Downside Abbey, the *Oscotian* from St Mary's College Oscot (1886), *Ratcliffian* (1887) from Ratcliffe College Leicester, and then in the 1890s the *Beaumont Review* (1894) from Beaumont School, Windsor and *Ampleforth Journal* (1895) from Ampleforth College, York. Connections with Anglican schools did not replace older networks of English Catholic schools.[98] Quaker schools too expanded their social and cultural ties: the Quaker *Leightonian* was exchanged for copies of magazines from other Quaker schools such as the *Stramongate School Magazine*, but also

[93] 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (May 1884), pp. 143-44.
[94] 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (July 1884), pp. 167-68.
[95] 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (May 1884), pp. 143-44.
[96] 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (October 1884), p. 25; 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (February 1886), p. 72.
[97] 'Notes on Current Events', *Stonyhurst Magazine* (July 1886).

reached out to other dissenting schools such as the *Leys Fortnightly* from the non-conformist Leys School, the *Daltonian* from the Dalton Hall of Residence for Quakers attending Owens College, Manchester, and the *Kingswood Magazine* from the Methodist Kingswood School, Bath.[99] The decision of minority denominations to launch their own generic print school magazines such as the *Stonyhurst Magazine* and the *Leightonian* did not erode denominational networks, but declared pupils' capacity to operate in a broader and privileged educational network, while remaining loyal to their denominational communities.

Yet denominational schools also interacted uniquely with national print culture, by developing another form of publication: the inter-school magazine. In 1877, the *Natural History Journal* was launched, a print magazine collaboratively produced by staff, pupils, and former pupils of different British and Irish Friends' schools. A natural history magazine, it continued the descriptive writing of the mutual improvement societies, and built upon these societies' traditions of sending printed reports out annually to other Friends' schools.[100] However, by the 1870s, these reports were seen as insufficient. 'How little we knew at our school of the kindred pursuits carried on at other schools,' the opening editorial of the *Natural History Journal* exclaimed, 'our annual reports, useful though they are, have never attained this end.'[101] While the Croydon Friends' School lacked a generic print school magazine of its own, an inter-school magazine positioned Friends' schools within a network united in associational life and descriptive writing practices. This was not the first attempt at inter-school solidarity, as it followed a 'Friends' Public Schools' Industrial Exhibition'. This was Croydon Friends' School's 'exhibition of juvenile skill and industry' (mentioned in the

[98] C. O'Neill, *Catholics of Consequence: Transnational Education, Social Mobility, and the Irish Catholic Elite 1850-1900* (Oxford, 2014).
[99] 'Our Exchanges', *Leightonian* (April 1902), p. 311; 'Our Exchanges', *Leightonian* (April 1903), p. 384.
[100] ERO, D/Q 49/F1/d1: *Annual Reports of Other Schools' Natural History and Literary Societies and attached correspondence, 1867-1892*.
[101] OBL, Per. 1996 e. 154: 'The Natural History Journal', *Natural History Journal* (15 February 1877), p. 1.

first chapter), but on a far larger scale.[102] It was a 'national competition' with prizes for model-making, penmanship, natural history collections and diaries and sketches intended 'to rid us of our local narrowness, and perhaps materially to alter some of our private ideas about our own productions.'[103] The Industrial Exhibitions were expensive and short-lived, but the *Natural History Journal* was a far cheaper and more robust strategy for creating a collective identity for Quaker youths.

The other inter-school magazine in this study was produced by a network of English Catholic schools. Their magazine the *Eagle* (1890) sought 'to foster a little more fellow-feeling among the boys of our various colleges.'[104] This print publication, gathering news from Catholic schools at Mount St Mary's, Ratcliffe, Downside and others, was seen as a simple and cost-effective strategy to form the social and cultural bonds which would cause pupils to 'realise the fact that they are members of one educated Catholic body with a great work before them.'[105] Far from diluting denominational sensibilities, Quaker and Catholic schools embraced the print school magazine of the 1870s and 1880s as a genre which could strengthen denominational ties at a national level, in a manner that staked their pupils' claims to a place in public life.

The inter-school magazine may have been particular to minority denominations because it could consolidate traditional networks but allow greater interaction with mainstream print culture. As a print periodical, *Natural History Journal,* while welcoming 'all interested in the youthful pursuit of Natural History', saw itself as a 'bond of union required to collect our scattered interests and re-unite those severed ties' of those who had once studied together in the Quaker schools.[106] Contributions suggest the magazine did not serve 'all' who pursued

[102] "Septimus Silverstick", 'Our Exhibition', Monthly Gleaner 1/3 (December 1855).
[103] OBL, Per. 1996 e. 154: J. W. Graham, 'The Schools Industrial Exhibition of 1879', *Natural History Journal* (15 September 1879), pp. 97-99.
[104] SC: 'The Eagle', *Eagle: An Intercollegiate Journal* (November, 1890), p. 2.
[105] SC: 'The Eagle', *Eagle: An Intercollegiate Journal* (November, 1890), p. 4.
[106] OBL, Per. 1996 e. 154: 'The Natural History Journal', *Natural History Journal* (15 February 1877), p. 1.

natural history, as they came almost exclusively from the Quaker community. While children are often portrayed as 'passive receptors of culture', Karen Sánchez-Eppler argues that the prominence of children's literature and elementary education in the nineteenth century made children's cultures a key component of wider values and beliefs.[107] The inter-school magazine made youths key to maintaining denominational networks. Some Quaker adults saw leaving school as a loss of identity and community. One group regretted the loss of the co-ordinated natural history studies so much that they started a spin-off of a school magazine, an illustrated manuscript magazine called the *Naturalists' Journal,* 'wishing to keep up the tastes awakened in our Schools.'[108] Far from being a marginal publication, the accessibility of the school magazine, and its ability to create and sustain social and cultural ties, made the network of school magazines a key expression of the status and traditions of their middle-class communities.

This national network became mainstream by the end of the century. In 1899, the successful schoolboy periodical the *Captain* was first published, including a copious column of 'Reviews of School Magazines' with twenty-six brief reviews, including the *Fire-Fly*, *Rossallian*, *Pauline*, alongside numerous other school magazines.[109] The *Captain*'s appeal for schools to send in their magazines for advice and praise met with such an enthusiastic response that the header of 'Reviews of School Magazines' was changed from a young editor with magazines scattered on the floor to an elderly man with his head in hands, overwhelmed by the bundles of magazines before him (Figures 23 and 24).

[107] Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States*, xvii.
[108] OBL, Per. 1996 e. 154: 'Societies', *Natural History Journal* (15 November 1877), p. 151.
[109] 'Reviews of School Magazines', *Captain* (April 1899), p. 104-5.



Figure 23. Header image from the *Public School Magazine* showing the young editor surrounded by school magazines. 'Reviews of School Magazines', *Captain* (April 1899), p. 104.

Figure 24. Header from the *Public School Magazine* showing an elderly editor, head in hands, surrounded by school magazines. 'Reviews of School Magazines', *Captain* (June 1899), p. 329.



The *Captain*'s editor George Newnes has been credited as pioneering more interactive media in this period, and the *Captain* bears a resemblance to his earlier periodical *Tit-Bits* (1881), which was packed with punchy anecdotes, stories, and jokes gleaned from other publications or sent in by readers.[110] However, Newnes' publications also drew upon a tradition of interactive youth periodicals stretching back to the mid-Victorian period, and

repurposed their competitions, prizes, and interactive components for a far wider readership. While the *Captain*'s 'Reviews of School Magazines', according to the editor, sought to 'bring the members of widely separated schools into closer touch', in fact it was building upon an already well-established network of school magazines.[111] Its first issue in April 1899 read much like a school magazine, with adventure stories, articles on hobbies, advice on sports, descriptions and histories of schools, school stories, reminiscences of schooldays, articles on collective life such as fagging and public spirit, and photographs of school 'captains' from Eton and Winchester, Brighton College, and Hurstpierpoint.[112] Schoolboy publications like the *Captain* could draw upon the large national readership which had already been created by the youth-driven network of school magazines.

The *Captain* was not the first attempt to use the network of school magazines as the basis of a mainstream publication. A year earlier in 1898, former Manchester Grammar School pupil T. A. Moxon wrote to *Ulula* that 'I noticed in this month's number of the *Public School Magazine* that among the list of "School Magazines Received", *Ulula* was one of the few not mentioned.'[113] Editor Philip Whitwell Wilson had recently established the *Public School Magazine* in order to 'represent Public Schools as a whole and to be instinct with the spirit which animates this unique educational system.'[114] The correspondent to *Ulula* clearly positioned their school and their magazine as likely candidates for inclusion in the *Public School Magazine*'s network.

While the Manchester pupil blamed *Ulula*'s editors for not sending in copies, in fact the *Public School Magazine*'s loyalty to 'this unique educational system' of public schools had embroiled it in quarrels over which schools deserved inclusion in its reviews of school

[110] K. Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain, 1880-1910: Culture and Profit* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 237-62.
[111] 'Reviews of School Magazines', *Captain* (April 1899), p. 104-5.
[112] See *Captain* (April 1899).
[113] T. A. Moxon, , 'Letters to *Ulula*', *Ulula* (April 1898), p. 81.
[114] 'Editor's Table', *Public School Magazine* (January 1898), p. 81.

magazines. In November 1898, for instance, correspondents at Eton College demanded that the editor 'restrict to the Public Schools proper the privilege of having their news reported.'[115] It has been suggested that an association with elite public schools was a major selling point for schoolboy periodicals.[116] The Eton correspondent argued in 1898 along these lines that 'although the Public School boy is not, as a rule, interested in the private schools, except his own perhaps, yet the converse is nearly always the case.'[117] Whitwell capitulated and promised 'to pay particular attention to the large Public Schools', and in 1899 the school magazine reviews went from alphabetical order to one of relative prestige, with Eton College, Harrow School, Winchester College, Rugby School and Charterhouse School featuring first with detailed coverage, followed by brief sections on lesser schools, such as Manchester Grammar School.[118] However, by 1902, the *Public School Magazine* had run out of steam and collapsed. By distancing itself from the network of school magazines, with its dynamic of exchange and mutual recognition, Whitwell may have effectively alienated the periodical from the larger part of its potential readership.

The *Captain* rejected the approach of the *Public School Magazine* from the outset. Kate Jackson argues its readership was 'the enormous numbers excluded from public school education but imaginatively drawn to it, as the much smaller minority with actual access'; however, in practice the middle-class school world was not defined by the small minority in public schools.[119] Its price of sixpence suggests a middle-class rather than working-class readership, and 'Reviews of School Magazines' connected the *Captain* to the expanding, scattered, and dynamic network of pupils created by the rise of generic print school magazines across an expanding and varied network of secondary schools. The reviewer

[115] 'Editor's Table', *Public School Magazine* (November 1898), p. 471.
[116] Jackson, *George Newnes,* p. 238; Holt, 'The Textual Formations of Adolescence', pp. 63-88.
[117] 'Editor's Table', *Public School Magazine* (November 1898), p. 471.
[118] 'The Editor's Table', *Public School Magazine* (December 1898), p. 549; 'The Editor's Table', *Public School Magazine* (January 1899), p. 47-79.
[119] Jackson, *George Newnes*, p. 238.

distanced the *Captain* from the hierarchical approach of the *Public School Magazine*, announcing 'our selection will be made irrespective of the size or position of the school. Everyone's turn will come round in time.'[120]

In comparison with school magazines like *Ulula*, however, the network of the *Captain* was still relatively constricted. While *Ulula* had listed girls' magazines from the 1870s, in the late 1890s the *Captain* was often forced into awkward acknowledgement of girl readers while systematically excluding them from representation in its pages. 'I congratulate you on being a girl,' the editor wrote to correspondent Lucy Brown, 'You are by no means the only girl who has written to me.'[121] In becoming a ubiquitous feature of nineteenth-century schooling, the network of the school magazine was providing a ready-made readership for the late nineteenth-century periodical press, and one which redefined the boundaries of what was acceptable in mainstream youth periodicals.

TRANSNATIONAL

British school magazines did not restrict themselves to national boundaries. When the arrival of the *South-Eastern College Magazine* was welcomed by *Ulula*, the same issue also listed an impressive number of colonial magazines: Australian magazines the *Geelong Grammar School Quarterly* from Geelong Grammar School and the *Melburnian* from Melbourne Grammar School; the *Nelsonian* from Nelson College, New Zealand; and the *St Andrew's College Magazine* from Grahamstown, South Africa. Other issues recorded receipt of magazines like the *St John's College Magazine* from Winnipeg, Canada, and *La Martinière* from the La Martinière School, Kolkata. The schoolgirl and schoolboy identities in the English school magazines in this study were not constructed in isolation, but through the

[120] 'Reviews of School Magazines', *Captain* (May 1899), p. 215-17.

constant circulation of ideas and values between schoolchildren in England and white settler communities.

Reviews and extracts of colonial magazines were a common feature of English school magazines. In 1885 *Ulula*'s column of 'Our Contemporaries' reported that 'The Wanganui Collegians seem to have got a saddler to make a cricket ball, but the idea, though brilliant, scarcely met with the success it deserved.'[122] The English schoolboy was constructed in part through humorous comparisons with school life in white settler colonies, made possible by the exchange of copies of *Ulula* for the magazines like the *Wanganui Collegian* of Wanganui Collegiate in New Zealand. Studies of colonial girlhood highlight how nineteenth-century youth identities were not constructed by each nation working in isolation, but through the transnational circulation of texts.[123] Youths are neglected participants in the 'mutually constitutive' process of identity formation between Britain and the Empire in the nineteenth century.[124] Scholars observe the comparative neglect of children and youths in the transnational circulation of culture and knowledge, pointing to the booming periodical press of the late nineteenth century which was fuelled by the circulation of texts between settler colonies and Britain.[125] While English schools were particularly prominent in this network, due to the rapid expansion of secondary education, exchanges with colonial and other British schools make clear national bounds were not tightly observed, instead schoolboy and schoolgirl identities were shaped by the constant recycling of ideas between schools across Britain and the British Empire. Colonial school magazines displayed their familiarity with the world represented by the English school magazines in this study, and colonial magazines also gained cordial recognition from schools in England. *Ulula*, for instance, recommended

[121] 'The Old Fag', *Captain* [Date Unknown], p. 441.
[122] 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (March 1885), p. 96.
[123] Smith, Moruzi and Bradford, *From Colonial to Modern,* p. 11.
[124] C. Hall, *Civilizing Subjects: Colony and Metropole in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Chicago, 2002), p. 8.

readers turn to the *St Andrew's College Magazine* for 'a short article on "Croppers", the South African name, apparently, for "howlers".'[126] Equating "howlers" with "croppers" enabled school magazines to construct overarching schoolgirl or schoolboy types which transcended the distance created by geography, culture, and language.

The colonial pupil became a constituent part of representing the schoolboy or schoolgirl in the school magazines in this study. Discussing the Wanganui pupils' attempts at making a cricket ball, *Ulula* excerpted a wry description from the *Wanganui Collegian* of 'the bright yellow, oblong article' which, 'though doubtless possessing some points, such as enabling the batsman to see it plainly, took such eccentric courses on touching the ground as to defy the skill of the best players.'[127] To some extent, the Wanganui pupils were presented as a parody of the Manchester schoolboy; however, in the context of *Ulula*, with its frequent references to the challenges of school life in urban Manchester, these extracts suggested solidarity as much as superiority, and admiration for their feats of public spirit under adverse circumstances. Colonial magazines were at times held up as examples of corporate spirit, with *Ulula* recommending that 'members of the Literary Society will be interested in an excellent paper in the *Melburnian* on 'The Advantages and Disadvantages of a Literary Club' read at Jumbunna East.'[128] The list of contemporaries, and the extracts from colonial magazines, made colonial schoolboys part and party to discussions of corporate identity from the start, as the generic print school magazine emerged in the 1870s and 1880s.

These exchanges of school magazines point to social and cultural ties between schools across the British Empire. In 1886, *Ulula* declared 'We welcome with pleasure the first number of the *Oamaruvian*, another sign of the steady success of Waitaki High School.'[129]

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[125] For a detailed study of the youth colonial press and its connections to Britain, see Smith, Moruzi and Bradford, *From Colonial to Modern.*
[126] 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (May 1884), pp. 143-44.
[127] 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (March 1885), p. 96.
[128] 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (May 1885), p. 144.
[129] 'Our Contemporaries', *Ulula* (July 1886), p. 168.

NETWORKS

Ulula's attention to the school magazine in New Zealand uncovers an expansive educational network which was not necessarily centred on southern English public schools, but on schools with characteristics such as a modern education and corporate activities. Modernity could fit with representations of colonial youth, as mainstream periodicals often encouraged colonial readers to think of themselves 'as modern citizens of emerging independent nations.'[130] Moreover, the expanding university networks of this time did not centre on Oxford and Cambridge, Tamson Pietsch observes, as white settler colonies created academic networks prioritising their ties with redbrick British universities, as well as 'lateral' ties to universities in different settler colonies.[131]

Pietsch's observations can be extended to the middle-class school. The *Oamaruvian* appeared at Waitaki High School after Manchester teacher and *Ulula* contributor John Harkness became its first headteacher; and *Ulula* sustained ties with the *St John's College Magazine* from Winnipeg in Canada, where former teacher George Frederick Coombes was working.[132] The network of school magazines reveals many pupils to be part of a network of secondary schools which, despite the distance between them, constructed similar modern collective identities. This modernity makes sense, as Pietsch notes that colonial secondary schools did not draw pupils or students from afar but, like the Manchester Grammar School, accommodated local educational needs.[133] Nor were English schools like the Manchester Grammar School at the centre of this network: the *Wanganui Collegian*'s exchanges in 1885 included two British magazines - Rugby School's *Meteor* and *Ulula* - but these were outnumbered by magazines from Australia, New Zealand, British colony Ceylon, and South

[130] Smith etc, *From Colonial to Modern,* p. 10.
[131] Pietsch, *Empire of Scholars,* pp. 1-17; pp. 17-34; quote p. 8.
[132] 'From the *North Otago Times*', *Ulula* (July 1883), p. 222; George Coombes in J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* Vol. 2 (Cambridge, 2011).
[133] Pietsch, *Empire of Scholars,* pp. 17-34.

Africa.[134] School magazine exchanges were a simple and accessible strategy to reach out to other schools, or consolidate links between schools, to negotiate and compare collective practices and identities.

For Catholic and Quaker youths, the generic print school magazine of the 1870s and 1880s were building on longer-standing circulation of knowledge and culture within their denominational communities. For instance, Stonyhurst's manuscript *Sodality Register* (1838-1878) recorded the pupil and teacher members of a network of sodalities in Jesuit colleges officially recognised by the Roman College, which were dedicated to additional masses, prayers, and meditation.[135] Croydon Friends' School's manuscript production was likewise shaped by the transatlantic networks of the Quaker community. The manuscript magazine the *Echo* awakened pupils' solidarity, with articles on the 'Treatment of Friends in the Confederate States' copied out from the *New York Tribune* in 1863, and the 'Case of Philip W. Lempriere' about a former pupil's imprisonment for refusing military conscription in Jersey, cut from the *Nouvelle Chronique de Jersey* in 1866.[136]

The print school magazines and inter-school magazines of the 1870s and 1880s were an even more straightforward strategy for denominational schools to sustain the deep transnational links integral to their religious identities. *School Echoes* was a magazine initially published in manuscript at Hobart Friends' School in Tasmania; shifting from manuscript to print enabled the magazine to be exchanged for copies of the *Leightonian* and the *Natural History Journal*, thus sustaining the connections between the new migrant community and communities in Britain.[137] The *Stonyhurst Magazine* connected the school to

[134] Email from Frances Gibbons at Wanganui Collegiate archive to Catherine Sloan (18 July 2018; 28 August 2018). With thanks to Frances Gibbons for her informative research into the *Wanganui Collegian*'s network.
[135] SC: *Sodality Register, 1838-1878*.
[136] 'Treatment of Friends in the Confederate States', *Echo* 1/4 (November 1863), p. 194; 'Case of Philip W. Lempriere', *Echo* 2/3 (June 1866), pp. 99-102.
[137] For an example of early manuscript versions, see 'Questions of Survival', Quaker Life in Tasmania online exhibition (23 January 2013) http://www.utas.edu.au/library/exhibitions/quaker/questions_survival/questions_survival.html (Accessed 21 April 2018); Quaker Library, PERS/HOB/4: *School Echoes* (19 September 1902); (8 December 1902).

an elite Catholic educational network.[138] The June 1886 issue of the *Stonyhurst Magazine* was exchanged for magazines from American Jesuit institutions such as the *Boston College Stylus* and the *Georgetown College Journal*; magazines were welcomed from other Catholic institutions such as the *Notre Dame Scholastic.*[139] These transnational ties could be called upon to bolster the status of Catholic communities at home. A correspondent to the *Stonyhurst Magazine* called for greater loyalty from American Catholic universities, noting they were still awarding the philosophy books by Princeton president and Church of Scotland minister James McCosh as commencement prizes, while the Stonyhurst Series of Philosophy Manuals, 'these volumes of our own choicest students', he argued, '[are] neglected.'[140] Generic print school magazines could connect Quaker and Catholic youths to an overarching identity shared by pupils of other denominations, but their transnational circulation also revived and sustained longer-standing educational identities.

Denominational networks transformed the school magazine, inflecting the shift from literary towards descriptive content discussed in Chapter One. An 1864 issue of the Croydon Friends' School's *Echo* explained the 'pitcherry' in the school cabinet had arrived 'enclosed in a piece of paper written on by John King the sole survivor of the ill-fated exploring expedition sent out from Melbourne & conducted by Burke & Willis.'[141] This exciting specimen was thanks to former pupil Samuel Levitt, who had migrated to Australia but continued to contribute regularly to Croydon Friends' School's *Echo*. The word 'pitcherry' or 'pitcherry' to describe pituri, an Aboriginal plant used as tobacco, first circulated to England in 1861 due to the publication of an account of the failed cross-continental *Burke and Wills Exploring Expedition*.[142] Pupils in this small Quaker school were embedded in the circulation

[138] O'Neill, *Catholics of Consequence.*
[139] 'Notes on Current Events', *Stonyhurst Magazine* (June 1886), p. 275.
[140] P. J. Coleman, 'The Editor's Post-Bag', *Stonyhurst Magazine* (May 1889), p. 333.
[141] 'The South Australian Curiosities', *Echo* 1/4 (November 1864), pp. 223-25; ERO, D/Q/49/G1/a7(ii): Samuel Isaac Levitt, 'Case of Australian Skins and other Curiosities', *Echo* 2/7 (October 1867), pp. 238-39.
[142] Robert Burke and William Wills, *The Burke and Wills Exploring Expedition* (Melbourne, 1861).

of culture and knowledge. In a period of increasing literacy and prosperity for the Quaker community in England, some of the objects which provided the raw material for pupils' written and intellectual development came from the school's transnational ties to Quaker migrants and missionaries. Content for the *Stonyhurst Magazine* at times came from the transnational network of Jesuit missions, as 'a Canadian toboggan' was gifted by a former pupil and brought back by teacher Fr Cyprian Splaine, and 'several curiosities from Russia' donated by Fr Stephen Perry, the astronomer in charge of the Stonyhurst Observatory, after a trip to Russia to observe the solar eclipse in 1887.[143]

The representation of the schoolgirl and schoolboy in the school magazine was shaped by other transnational networks created by missionary and associational organisations. In 1899, school news in *Ulula* reported that former pupil Thomas Biggin, after winning an open scholarship for the University of Oxford, had become 'headmaster of a school for Chinese pupils converted by London Missionary Society.'[144] This snippet of news about achievement overseas was familiar content to readers of youth periodicals, where the growing networks of missionary centres, colonial schools, and other organisations were presented as places where schoolgirl and schoolboy habits and values would deliver greater opportunities for work and independence than were available at home.[145] Since the mid-nineteenth century, juvenile missionary magazines had circulated accounts of missionary work overseas to young readers in England, while reporting back on how their collections were spent, and appeals for further collections, all of which 'position[ed] the child as a direct intervener in missionary efforts', Elleray explains.[146] School magazines provided content which highlighted the school's connections to these networks, such as *Ulula*'s report on Thomas Biggin's work for the London Missionary Society. There was a similar piece on John Ayliff's visit to Croydon

[143] 'Notes on Current Events', *Stonyhurst Magazine* (November 1887), p. 34.
[144] 'Occasional Notes', *Ulula* (October 1899), p. 144.
[145] C. Devereux, 'Fashioning the Colonial Girl' in K. Moruzi and M. Smith (eds) *Colonial Girlhood in Literature, Culture and History, 1840-1950* (Basingstoke, 2014), pp. 30-46.

Friends' School in the magazine the *Echo* in 1864, emphasising the missionary's sense of duty and service towards 'the darkest of these dark people', the "Fingo" (Mfengu) people of colonial South Africa.[147] Pupils were familiar with missionary literature, and the essay was accompanied by an arresting colour sketch by pupil Ferdinand Gröne featuring a dark-skinned warrior in leopard skin, most likely copied from one of the library's many books on missionary work (Figure 25).[148] The sketch suggests the attractions of missionary work in locations imagined as distant and exotic, while the text implied the school values of duty and service were particularly in demand due to imperial expansion. Although the *Echo* was a manuscript magazine, with its circulation restricted to the school, it still circulated news and reminded pupils of their connections to wider networks.

[146] M. Elleray, 'Little Builders', p. 232.
[147] 'Story of John Ayliff the Missionary', *Echo* 1/4 (November 1864), pp. 206-14.
[148] The image is typical of the frontispieces in missionary book in the Boys' Juvenile Library such as John Williams's *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands* (1837), Robert Moffat's *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa* (1842).



Figure 25. Image of page from the *Echo*. Illustration by pupil Ferdinand Gröne of a a dark-skinned warrior in leopard skin, likely copied from a missionary account. 'Story of John Ayliff the Missionary', *Echo* 1/4 (November 1864), pp. 206-14.

The content of girls' school magazines overlapped with empowering representations of women's "mission" in colonial societies common in the periodical press. In an essay on 'Women in China' in the *Oxford High School Magazine*, pupil Anna Legge lamented the 'general degradation' of the Chinese girl.[149] Representing the degradation of a stereotypical

[149] Anna Legge, 'Women in China', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1884), p. 664.

Asian woman was common when arguing the benefits the modern white woman would bring to imperial expansion.[150] These representations claimed for British women an empowering place in missionary and educational networks. In youth periodicals, representations of indigenous girls often emphasised the necessity of white protection and help.[151] Indeed, Anna's essay in the *Oxford High School Magazine* lamented that the typical Chinese girl 'does not hold her proper place in society…owing to the fact that she has never been taught its duties nor has exercised its privileges'.[152] The friendships, duties, and privileges experienced by the first generation of high school girls like Anna were vindicated by pointing to the benefits they could bring to girls across the British Empire. Similarly, in an anonymous piece by girls at Croydon Friends' School called 'The Negro's Tale' (1855), a 'poor little negro boy' appealed for the protection of the poem's audience of Quaker girls, as 'We love our dear parents as tenderly too, As any white children now living can do.'[153] While ventriloquising the enslaved child, the poem suggested white middle-class pupils felt themselves to be legitimate representatives and protectors of other youths in colonial and settler societies.

Contributors to the school magazine were personally embedded in these transnational networks. The article on 'Women in China' in the *Oxford High School Magazine* by pupil Anna Legge was informed by her early life in the missionary circles of Hong Kong where her father James Legge worked for the London Missionary Society, and her later move to Scotland where she studied at Dollar Academy alongside Chinese boys sent by the London

[150] A. Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture* (Chapel Hill and London, 1994), pp. 97-126; A. Twells, 'Missionary Domesticity, Global Reform and "Woman's Sphere" in Early Nineteenth-Century England', *Gender & History*, 18/2 (2006), pp. 266-84.
[151] J. O'Conor, 'Black Princesses or Domestic Servants: The Portrayal of Indigenous Australian Girlhood in Colonial Children's Literature' in *Colonial Girlhood in Literature, Culture and History*, pp. 110-123.
[152] Anna Legge, 'Women in China', *Oxford High School Magazine* (April 1884), p. 664.
[153] ERO, D/Q 49/F2/c2: 'A Negro's Tale', *Girls' Essays and Poems written for the Juvenile Society about 1855* (1855).

Missionary Society for a British education.[154] Elleke Boehmer and Sumita Mukherjee demonstrate that Oxford at this time was not simply an icon of Britishness, but a space where Britishness was reshaped through cultural exchanges between students and scholars born in Britain and the Empire.[155] Pupils did not only experience the Empire through literary representations in periodicals and books, but forged their identities through encounters with adults and other young people from colonised spaces. Anna had started at the Oxford High School when her father took a position at the university as the first professor of Chinese, and she studied alongside pupils like Mary Max Müller, whose father was a philologist and Sanskritist. Anna and Mary grew up homes open to the reception of scholars from China and India respectively.[156]

The school magazine was produced by pupils like Mary and Anna, but the opportunities afforded by school life, including the power of representation, were not necessarily open to all young people across the British Empire. In 1898, *Ulula* recorded a school debate on whether 'the life of a savage is preferable to that of a civilised man.' Pupil Francis Ascoli preferred a life 'never pressed for time', enjoying 'the absence of smoke', and most of all, where 'savage boys had no school'.[157] The 'savage boys' were imagined as the opposite of the modern schoolboy identity constructed by school magazines like *Ulula*. Tamson Pietsch notes educational networks prioritised connections between British and settler institutions, activities, and literature in a way that 'simultaneously sidelined the empire's various "others".'[158] References to 'savage boys' can seem like crude asides, but close reading reveals racial otherness to be a constant motif in school magazines. These caricatures were a

[154] M. L. Bowman, *James Legge and the Chinese Classics* (Vancouver, 2016), p. 455. N. J. Girardot, 'Legge, James (1815–1897)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (October 2006) http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16354 (21 Nov 2017).
[155] E. Boehmer and S. Mukherjee, 'Re-making Britishness: Indian Contributions to Oxford University, c. 1860–1930' in C. McGlynn, A. Mycock and J. W. McAuley (eds), *Britishness, Identity and Citizenship: The View From Abroad* (Oxford and New York, 2011), pp. 95-112.
[156] On visitors to the Müller family, see Boehmer and Mukherjee, 'Re-making Britishness', p. 103; on the Legge family, see Bowman, *James Legge,* p. 518; p. 522.
[157] E. F. B., 'Upper School Debating Society', *Ulula* (November 1898), p. 190.

part of representing corporate life from its emergence in the 1870s and 1880s. For instance, alongside sports matches and debates, blackface minstrel shows were a popular school event: the *Stonyhurst Magazine* reported pupils at Stonyhurst forming 'a company of Ethiopian Nigger Minstrels' in 1889; and *Ulula* mentioned the working-class members of Manchester's Hugh Oldham's Lads' Club having a similar entertainment in 1894.[159] The network of school magazines created a sense of shared collective identity including pupils in Britain with white settler pupils across the Empire; however, privileges and power were constructed around a constant statement of difference from racial others.

School magazines' constructions of racial otherness were paradoxically produced and consumed by the increasingly diverse pupil body resulting from the global movement of young people. Francis Ascoli, who debated the merits of the "savage" life, was the son of Ephraim and Clementina Ascoli, German-born Jewish migrants naturalised as British subjects in 1884.[160] Historians point to the significant movement of youths through nineteenth-century global and colonial networks due to enslavement, transportation, forcible removal to residential schools, or migration.[161] An innovative study by Erin Millions illuminates the movement of pupils into England and Scotland from the colonies as a key impact of the social, cultural, and economic networks of this period.[162] Pupils like Francis were among the wave of late nineteenth-century Jewish refugees discussed in the second chapter, who were deliberately targeted by corporate activities such as sport and societies as a form of assimilation and enculturation. While it can be hard to uncover how imperial and global networks impacted minority youths' sense of themselves, Mary Clare Martin's study

[158] Pietsch, *Empire of Scholars,* p. 7.
[159] 'Notes on Current Events', *Stonyhurst Magazine* (March 1889), p. 279; 'The "Hugh Oldham" Lads' Club Annual Report', *Ulula* (July 1894), p. 106.
[160] Naturalisation Certificates and Declarations, 1870-1916, Class: HO 334; Piece: 11; Certificate: 4095 www.ancestry.co.uk (12 November 2015).
[161] On the global movement of young people in the nineteenth century, see the recent collection by J. Baxter & M. Ellis (eds), *Nineteenth-Century Childhoods in Interdisciplinary and International Perspectives* (Oxford, 2018).
[162] E. Millions, 'By education and conduct', pp. 1-26; see also Buettner, *Empire Families*, pp. 151-80.

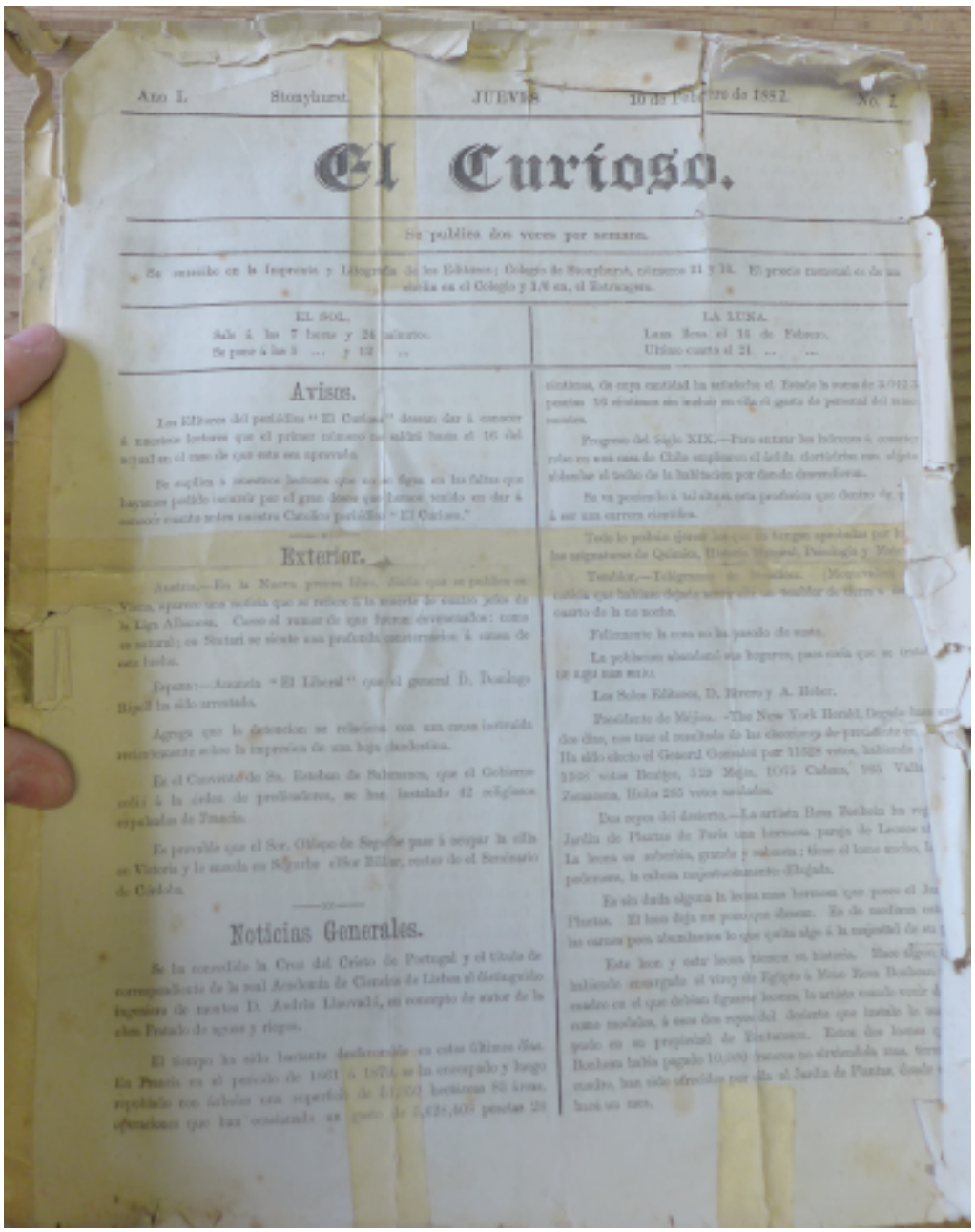
of early twentieth-century girl guide magazines suggests that the organisation's ideals of a transnational girlhood were often appropriated by indigenous as well as settler girls.[163] Francis's debating skills and attendance at the Manchester Grammar School clearly enabled him to align himself with the high-pressure modern schoolboy lifestyle from which 'savage boys' were excluded.

However, pupils who were excluded or alienated by these ideals feature little in school magazines. A rare instance is seen in the *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times*, a pupil-edited manuscript magazine, which reported in 1861 that a team calling themselves the '"United Niggers", the champions of the foreigners' arranged a cricket match on St George's Day.[164] In a school with a significant intake from the Americas and Europe, participation in school life at Stonyhurst was often judged through racial taxonomies, Víctor Macías-González argues, and Mexican teenagers' language acquisition and unfamiliarity with British customs 'confirmed the superiority of British students, giving them a civilising mission'.[165] The team name in the Stonyhurst cricket match shows how these racial taxonomies were a part of pupils' evaluations of corporate life; yet it also hints that pupils from the Americas and Europe could construct a collective identity through their exclusion from corporate identity. The *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* reported the team comprised 'four non-native born Englishmen and Irishmen [who] stepped forward and challenged four English to a match of Stonyhurst Cricket.'[166] The individuals' names were not recorded, but the team name used racial difference to respond to their exclusion from an English Catholic identity codified as white and British, and construct a transnational identity more fitting a school which in practice was characterised by complex racial and national identities.

[163] M. C. Martin, 'Race, Indigeneity and the Baden-Powell Girl Guides: Age, Gender and the British World, 1908–1920' in *Children, Childhood and Youth in the British World,* pp. 161-179.
[164] 'Summary', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* (27 April 1861).
[165] V. Macías-González, 'Learning the Rules of the Game: Informal Empire and the Mexican Experience at Stonyhurst College, 1805-1920' in M. Hewitt (ed.), *The Victorian World* (London and New York, 2012), pp. 691-707; quote p. 698.

The transnational outlook of some Stonyhurst boys could reshape pupil-edited magazines. In 1881, pupils at Stonyhurst College founded the print magazine *El Curioso* which contained news on 'Spain' in English were 'Notices Generales' and 'Exterior' in Spanish (see Image 3).[167] While the lack of studies of bilingual magazines printed in England makes it difficult to place *El Curioso* in a broader context, its political news in both Spanish and English was certainly an unusual departure for the provincial printers in the market town of Clitheroe near the school. *El Curioso* self-consciously positioned Stonyhurst within a transnational Catholic community, with Spanish-speaking pupils from South America and continental Europe depicted as eager to keep up-to-date with political events outside Britain. Another Stonyhurst magazine, the *Silvapetræan*, also had political headlines from London, Ireland and the Transvaal.[168] These school magazines facilitated extraordinary fusions of local and overseas print culture which pictured the English pupil as having a transnational outlook and as being an enthusiastic reader of newspapers and periodicals from overseas.

[166] 'Summary', *Stonyhurst Examiner and Times* (27 April 1861).
[167] El Curioso (10 February 1881).
[168] See for instance 'The Travsvaal', *Silvapetræan* (8 March 1881), p. 6.



Año I. Stonyhurst. JUEVES 10 de Febrero de 1881. No. 7.

El Curioso.

Se publica dos veces por semana.

Se suscribe en la Imprenta y Litografía de los Editores; Colegio de Stonyhurst, números 21 y 23. El precio mensual es de un chelin en el Colegio y 1/6 en el Estranjero.

EL SOL.
Sale á las 7 horas y 24 minutos.
Se pone á las 5 ... y 12 ...

LA LUNA.
Llena Sera el 14 de Febrero.
Ultimo cuarto el 21 ... ...

Avisos.

Los Editores del periódico "El Curioso" desean dar á conocer á nuestros lectores que el primer número no saldrá hasta el 10 del actual en el mes de que esta se aproxima.

Se suplica á nuestros lectores que sean lijeros en las faltas que hayamos podido cometer por el gran deseo que tenemos visto en dar á conocer nuestro Católico periódico "El Curioso."

Exterior.

Austria.—En la Nueva prensa libre, diario que se publica en Viena, aparece una noticia que se refiere á la muerte de cuatro jefes de la Liga Albanesa. Cuesta el temor de que hayan envenenado: como es natural; en Scutari se siente una profunda consternación á causa de este hecho.

Spain:—Anuncia "El Liberal" que el general D. Domingo Ripoll ha sido arrestado.

Agrega que la detención se relaciona con una carta interceptada recientemente sobre la supresión de una hija desheredada.

En el Convento de Sn. Esteban de Salamanca, que el Gobierno cedió á la órden de predicadores, se han instalado 42 religiosos españoles de Francia.

Es probable que el Sor. Obispo de Segorbe pase á ocupar la silla de Vitoria y le suceda en Segorbe el Sor. Eder, rector de el Seminario de Córdoba.

Noticias Generales.

Se ha concedido la Cruz del Cristo de Portugal y el título de correspondiente de la real Academia de Ciencias de Lisboa al distinguido ingeniero de montes D. Andrés Llavallí, en concepto de autor de la obra Tratado de aguas y riegos.

El tiempo ha sido bastante desfavorable en estos últimos días. En Prusia en el período de 1851 á 1875 se ha cosechado y luego repartido con fatalidad una superficie de 11,550 hectáreas 86 áreas, ofreciendo que han costado un gasto de 5,428,603 pesetas 25 céntimos, de cuya cantidad ha satisfecho el Estado la suma de 3,042,3 pesetas 50 céntimos sin tenido en ella el gasto de personal del mismo.

Progreso del Siglo XIX.—Para evitar los hurtos á consecuencia en una casa de Chile emplearon el lelio, dorándose con objeto alrededor el techo de la habitación por donde descendería.

Se ve próximo á tal abuso esta profesión que dentro de poco á ser una carrera científica.

Todo lo pedido quedó los que se hacen ejecutados por [illegible] los negociantes de Quinón, Historia Natural, Psicología y Mat[illegible]

También.—Telégrafos de Señales. (Mayo[illegible] noticia que habíamos dejado sobre una de nuestras de ayer [illegible] cuarto de la noche.

Felizmente la cosa no ha pasado de ese.

La población abandonó sus hogares, pues cada que se [illegible] se oía una explo[illegible]

Los Sobs Editores, D. Rivero y A. Heber.

Periódicos de Méjico.—The New York Herald, después [illegible] dos días, con tan el resultado de las elecciones de presidente en [illegible] Ha sido electo el General Gonzalez por 11528 votos, habiendo [illegible] 1508 votos Bonilye, 529 Mejia, 1075 Cadena, 905 Valle Zamanza, Habo 265 votos sueltos.

Dos reyes del desierto.—La artista Rosa Bonheur ha re[illegible] Jardin de Plantas de Paris una hermosa pareja de Leones al La leona es soberbia, grande y soberbia; tiene el lomo ancho, l poderosa, la cabeza rapetosamente dibujada.

Es sin duda alguna la leona mas hermosa que posee el Jar Plantas. El leon deja en poco que desear. Es de mediana est las orejas pero abundantes lo que quita algo á la majestad de su [illegible]

Este leon y esta leona tienen su historia. Hace algun[illegible] habiendo encargado el virey de Egipto á Mme Rosa Bonheur [illegible] cuadro en el que debian figurar leones, la artista resolvió venir [illegible] como modelos, á esos dos reyes del desierto que instalo lo mas [illegible] pulo en su propiedad de Enteuneu. Estos dos leones [illegible] Bonheur habia pagado 10,000 francos no obstante mas, tiempo [illegible] modelo, han sido ofrecidos por ella al Jardin de Plantas, donde [illegible] hace un rato.

Figure 26. Image of the front page of *El Curioso*, printed at Clitheroe, containing news in Spanish. *El Curioso* (10 February 1881).

This rich culture of magazine exchange shaped the youth periodicals emerging in the late nineteenth century. From its earliest issues, the *Captain* acknowledged magazines from British, American, and colonial schools. In October 1899, 'Reviews of School Magazines' included the cover of the *Yellow Dragon* from Queen's College, Hong Kong, which, the

editor claimed, 'gave me such a shock I jumped up and knocked my head.'[169] The cover had a dramatic line drawing of a dragon, with the Confucian saying 'All Within The Four Seas Are Brethren' in English and Cantonese (Figure 27). The cover page reflected the *Yellow Dragon*'s international community, drawn from Hong Kong's governing elite.[170] The *Yellow Dragon* may have come as something of a 'shock' to the *Captain*'s editor in 1899, but it was nothing new to the readers of most school magazines, who had consumed snippets or read reviews of school magazines from across the British Empire since the 1870s. This network resurfaced in the *Captain*, as the October 1890 issue also listed receipt of the *Sydneian* from Sydney Grammar School and the *Wesley College Chronicle* from Wesley College, Melbourne. These school magazines shifted the outlook of the *Captain*. For instance, the *Yellow Dragon* described itself as 'the first Anglo-Chinese school magazine that has ever been started in this world, where 'the chief editor and fighting editor are both Chinese, while the sub-editor and financial editor are English'.[171] This 'Anglo-Chinese' magazine was posted to England, and excerpted in the *Captain*, embedding the cultural exchange between English and Chinese governing elites in the representation of youth identities in the mainstream English periodical press.

[169] 'Reviews of School Magazines', *Captain* (October 1899), p. 97.
[170] G. Stokes, *Queen's College, 1862-1962* (Hong Kong, 1962).
[171] 'Reviews of School Magazines', *Captain* (October 1889), p. 97.



Figure 27. Image taken from the schoolboy periodical *Captain* reproducing the cover page of the *Yellow Dragon*, a school magazine from Hong Kong. 'Reviews of School Magazines', *Captain* (October 1899), p. 97.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has argued that the school magazine was an energetic part of local, national, and transnational networks of culture and knowledge. The school magazine is rarely considered in studies of provincial print today, but it had noticeable impacts at a local level. In 1890, the *Manchester Guardian* chastised a young writer in *Ulula* for the 'inaccuracy and 'unconscious offensiveness' of a colourful piece of literary criticism which described Walter Scott as a 'bankrupt landlord' and Emily Brontë's *Shirley* as a 'little known' work.[172] It may seem a disproportionate rebuke to a school magazine contributor in a local newspaper, but by the late nineteenth century, English teenagers were active participants in local print culture, and keen to seek feedback and advice as journalism became an increasingly attractive career choice.[173] Pupils may have equally valued the local visibility of the school magazine: the literary essay was written by *Ulula* contributor and co-editor, seventeen-year-old Herbert Sidebotham, who later went on to work for the *Manchester Guardian*, followed by fellow pupil and former *Ulula* co-editor William Percival Crozier.[174] The connections between *Ulula* and the *Manchester Guardian* over decades is a reminder that the school magazine was a familiar and recognisable part of the local literary scene. Mainstream youth periodicals noted the school magazine as an entry-point into publication: for instance, the column of 'Five Minutes with the Famous' in *Chums* explained to young readers that Arthur Conan Doyle and George Sims

[172] 'The Manchester School Magazine', *Manchester Guardian* (26 May 1890), p. 8.
[173] On teenage girls' interest in journalism, see Rodgers, *Adolescent Girlhood and Literary Culture,* pp. 181-218.
[174] The essay writer is identified in 'Literary Society', *Ulula* (April 1890), p. 43. On his role in *Ulula* see 'Editorial', *Ulula* (October 1889), p. 164. See also A. J. A. Morris, 'Sidebotham, Herbert (1872–1940)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (May 2006) http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36084 (6 Sept 2015). For William Crozier's role in *Ulula* see 'Occasional Notes', *Ulula* (October 1896), p. 117-20; 'Occasional Notes', *Ulula* (October 1897), p. 135. See also A. J. A. Morris, 'Crozier, William Percival (1879–1944)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004) http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32651 (6 September 2015).

had started out in their school magazines.[175] Reintegrating the school magazine back into our picture of nineteenth-century print enables us to recover middle-class teenagers as a neglected but active force in the development of local print networks at this time.

The school magazine also reached far beyond the school, and the genre's national connections remain with us today. Columns and jokes in the satirical weekly *Private Eye* by creators Richard Ingrams, Willie Rushton, Paul Foot, and Christopher Booker first appeared in the *Salopian*, the magazine of Shrewsbury School, which they had collaborated on as schoolboys.[176] This might surprise us, but across the period in this study, the school magazine became familiar enough to be offered up for general consumption in the national press. The nineteenth-century saw a growing demand for the informality, irrelevance, and school humour of today's mainstream publications like *Private Eye*, as editors and readers began to enjoy school magazine content: a 'Grammar School Ballad' from *Ulula* was reprinted in the *Manchester Times* on 5 May in 1893, and then on 19 May it was reprinted in a children's column in the *Dover Express*.[177] Nineteenth-century observers were aware of the school magazine as a visible and prominent part of national print networks. The *Western Daily Press Bristol* listed forty different titles in 1884, and the *Saturday Review* marvelled that 'the number of "public school magazines" or journals now regularly issued is considerable' in 1887.[178]

Youth-made productions are rarely systematically and deliberately included in library collections,[179] yet the school magazine made it into national archives such as the Bodleian

[175] 'Five Minutes with the Famous', *Chums* (21 March 1894); p. 471; 'Five Minutes with the Famous', *Chums* (13 January 1897), p. 326.
[176] Thanks to Christina de Bellaigue for pointing out the connection between *Private Eye* and the *Salopian*. See A. Went, 'From Public Nose to Private Eye', *Salopian* (November 2005) https://www.shrewsbury.org.uk/news/public-nose-private-eye (23 August 2018).
[177] 'A Grammar School Chap', *Manchester Times* (5 May 1893); 'Bits for Boys and Girls', *Dover Express* (19 May 1893), p. 3.
[178] 'Public School Magazines', *Western Daily Press Bristol* (16 December 1884), p. 7;'Public School Magazines', *Saturday Review* (7 April 1877), pp. 417-418.
[179] For the lack of children's writing in archives see Sánchez-Eppler, 'In the Archives of Childhood'; Maynes, 'Age as a category of historical analysis'.

Library collections. The Bodleian Library's copy of *Ulula* includes an 1886 letter from teacher James Cowan explaining 'I forward today all the numbers of *Ulula* published. Nos 1, 59, and 64 are out of print.'[180] Cowan was responding to a request from the Bodleian Library circulated to boys' public and grammar schools to send back and future issues of their school magazine for inclusion in their archive. The Bodleian Library's collection from over one hundred and fifty schools is startling evidence of the national visibility of the school magazine as a genre in this period.

Part of the school magazine's appeal was its accessibility. As corporate identity became a marker of privilege for growing numbers of middle-class adults, school magazines became even more appealing to adult readers. This aspect of school magazines was noted by mainstream schoolboy periodical *Captain* in 1899, and its subtitle explained the school stories, school news, and discussions of corporate activities made it 'a magazine for boys and old boys' alike. The mainstream periodical was following the school magazine, which was taken over by former pupils. In 1904, *Ulula* announced the inauguration of the Old Mancunians' Association, with membership including a free copy of *Ulula* 'which is adopted as the organ of the Association'.[181] This shift in the purpose of *Ulula* normalised the growth of 'old boy' and 'old girl' associations from the late-nineteenth century onwards.[182] The Quaker inter-school *Natural History Journal* changed its name in 1900 to *Past and Present: A Journal for Scholars (Old and Young) of Friends' Schools*.[183] Other schools in this study founded societies for former pupils, such as the Stonyhurst Association (1880), and the Oxford High School's Old Girls' Reading Club (1892). For former pupils, often scattered

[180] OBL, Per. G.A. Lancs 8° 243: *Ulula* 1 (1874-3) [interleaved] Letter from James Cowan to Bodleian Librarian (14 May [1886]).
[181] 'Old Mancunians' Association', *Ulula* (November 1904), p. 210.
[182] Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe*, pp. 153-57; Weaver, 'A School-Boy's Story', p. 482.
[183] ERO, D/Q 49/G2/b1: *Past and Present (Successor to the Natural History Journal). A Journal for Scholars (Old and Young) of Friends' Schools* (1900).

across Britain and the British Empire, the school magazine affirmed a position in national and transnational networks of power and privilege by sustaining valued ties to corporate identity.

The layered network of the school magazine was celebrated for everyday encouragement and affirmation of a global outlook amongst its pupils. The British and colonial press noticed this purpose of the late nineteenth-century school magazine. In 1887, the *Sydney Morning Herald* printed praise for *Ulula* for its modern education which 'provide[d] the promising scholar-freshmen whom they send up in force to the Universities with a somewhat wider knowledge of the greater world.'[184] The *Sydney Morning Herald* was reprinting the praise from the London periodical the *Saturday Review*. The recycled praise in the *Sydney Morning Herald* pointed to an Australian audience familiar with, and interested in, the English school magazines in this study. In March 1887, Hobart's *Mercury* newspaper offered up some 'Strange Advertisements' for the 'amusement' of its readers which it explained had been extracted from an issue of the *Manchester High School Magazine* published in October the previous year.[185] Periodicals presented this strain of school life and humour as entertaining and familiar to a general readership in Manchester and Tasmania alike.

Moreover, in English and in Australian newspapers, the school magazine was understood as the measure of a valued, transnational collective identity. Readers of *Ulula* would probably have been gratified that their nemesis, Westminster School's *Elizabethan*, was dismissed as narrow by Melbourne's *Argus* for 'giv[ing] only school news'.[186] These comments hint that Australian newspapers particularly scrutinised English school magazines for evidence of a transnational outlook, with a writer in the Tasmanian *Daily Telegraph* in 1888 'glad to note that as a sign of the times a good many of the school magazines are now giving prizes for

[184] 'Public School Magazines', *Sydney Morning Herald* (16 Jun 1877), p. 3.
[185] 'Strange Advertisements', Mercury [Hobart] (5 Mar 1887), p. 2; "Betsy Jane", 'Advertisements', *Manchester High School Magazine* (October 1886), pp. 71-2.
[186] 'London Town Talk', *Argus* [Melbourne] (7 May 1881), p. 4.

essays on colonial subjects.'[187] Equally, Australian newspapers looked to local school magazines for evidence Australian boys were holding their own in this network. Australian newspaper the *Clarence and Richmond Examiner* examined some "howlers" and concluded that these 'amusing extracts from an Australian school magazine […] show that the Colonial small boy has much in common with the English species.'[188] The network of school magazines enabled comparison of the development of collective identities, which was weighted with ideas of the development of settler nations and the shared privileges and powers middle-class communities expected to gain from the British Empire.

Rather than seeing English teenagers as onlookers to the societal and educational shifts of the nineteenth century, this chapter has explored contemporary awareness of how they shaped and were shaped by the circulation of knowledge and culture in the late nineteenth century. The 1877 *Saturday Review* article on 'Public School Magazines' praised *Ulula*, before going on to note that pupils in English schools were receiving contemporaries from America and elsewhere. 'America is not behind the old country in the matter,' the article remarked, 'and […] the merits of Transatlantic Microcosmopolitans are heartily recognised by the boy-editors of English schools.'[189] This vision of school magazines as 'Transatlantic Microcosmopolitans' was reprinted shortly afterwards in the *Sydney Morning Herald*.[190] The genre of the school magazine had come a long way from the *Microcosm* of 1778 to this astonishing network of 'Transatlantic Microcosmopolitans' a century later. Nineteenth-century observers did not see the little world of the school magazine as one detached from local, national, or global affairs. In fact, the genre captured how the circulation of school magazines asserted English teenagers' belonging in the expanding networks of cultural power and privilege in towns, across the nation, and across the British Empire.

[187] 'Our London Letter', *Daily Telegraph* [Launceston, Tasmania], (2 Feb 1888), p. 2.
[188] 'Humours of Examination Papers', *Clarence and Richmond Examiner* [New South Wales] (21 Nov 1899), p. 6.
[189] 'Public School Magazines', *Saturday Review* (7 April 1877), pp. 417-418.

[190] 'Public School Magazines', *Sydney Morning Herald* (16 Jun 1877), p. 3.

| CONCLUSION

This thesis has aimed to achieve three ends. Most obviously, it has drawn attention to a neglected source. The school magazine - as an object conceived, produced, and circulated in schools - has very rarely been the subject of serious consideration by historians of education or periodical culture. When school magazines have been mentioned, it is as further evidence of influence "trickling down" from authoritative adults to increasingly conformist children and youths, from the elite boys' public schools to lesser schools, and from mainstream periodicals to small-scale publishing. Those magazines which share features with adult, elite, or mainstream publications are judged conservative and derivative; those which do not are dismissed as intriguing outliers. Both judgements have tended to question the validity of using the school magazine as a historical source at all.

Yet to turn away from the school magazine is to ignore one of the richest and most abundant sources on middle-class cultural life in Victorian England. The genre's perceived deficiencies in fact yield many of its greatest insights. Youth is too often seen as a mismatch with the sophisticated social and cultural work of writing, with the school magazine sceptically handled as artificial or insufficiently authentic. This thesis has challenged this scepticism regarding youth-made sources by examining a relationship between youth and writing which characterised the Victorian period. The strong corporate ethos of many school magazines has also been viewed as a deficiency, as evidence of middle-class pupils' greater conformity to the "trickle-down" influence from a new social and cultural elite. However, I have emphasised the youth-driven nature of the school magazine, as it was shaped by a more participatory periodical format, prominent youth cultures, and the prevailing ideal of self-government in Victorian secondary schools. A third deficiency frequently attributed to the school magazine is its introspection, and therefore insignificance, in wider social and cultural developments. This ignores the sophisticated knowledge of magazine production and the confident use of magazines to create local, national, and transnational ties which characterised the school magazine. By exploring the themes of youth, collective identity,

production, and networks, this thesis has sought to develop new approaches to the school magazine as a historical source.

A second aim of this thesis has been to investigate Victorian secondary education not as a system, but as a patchwork. When secondary education has been studied, it is often by working outwards from a public school "system" which still has a disproportionate grip on the public imagination in England. As a result, the historical importance of little-known schools is measured by their proximity to a small circle of southern Anglican public schools.

To marginalise schools because they do not fit a coherent picture of an educational system has meant sidelining the vast majority of the middle-class secondary schools which existed in the nineteenth century. One of the strengths of the school magazine as a source is that its ubiquity holds out the possibility of developing a far more socially and culturally varied picture of secondary education, and a picture that is not necessarily dominated by the public school. With a detailed study of four lesser-known schools, I have sought to establish the school magazine as a valuable new vantage point on the broader and more varied practices of secondary schooling at the time. This thesis emphasises many commonalities among schools previously studied as separate developments, as the school magazine opened up multiple informal channels of communication between school types. Overall, the thesis highlights a broad shift from the literary periodical produced at school in the eighteenth century to the generic print school magazine of the nineteenth century, which sheds light on ideas of modern school life and culture negotiated and shared by schoolgirls and schoolboys of different denominations, locations, and social strata.

At the same time, the wealth of material in school magazines enables a considered examination of the distinctive practices in each school within these broader developments. Classic studies have long emphasised the social divisions and enduringly localised traditions which continued to characterise English secondary education. The effects of gender, religion, class, location, and ethnicity are often mapped in terms of the distance created from the

privileges and status of elite Anglican boys' public schools. This thesis has argued that the school magazine reveals a very different map of Victorian secondary education, one which was not necessarily organised by proximity and distance from the public schools. The school magazine was a ubiquitous genre, but it was complicated by the effects of home education, associational life, and periodical culture, to the varying schooling traditions of different middle-class communities. Detailed case studies of four school archives have enabled this thesis to consider how a collective identity culture played out in particular schools.

Moreover, the strength of the school magazine lies in its fluidity and heterogeneity, as bold allegiance to a national schoolgirl or schoolboy identity in one issue did not prevent other issues, or even pages or columns in the same issue, from constructing a more localised identity. Nor did one generic and conventional magazine in a school prevent other magazines from emerging to articulate the intimate interests and values of particular groups. While this study has focused largely on four schools, the hundreds of school magazines offer the potential to map the commonalities and particularities of Victorian secondary education in even greater detail.

A third aim of this thesis has been to explore how the nineteenth-century saw a boom in youth-driven cultural production. This is not a history of institutional structures and governance, or their impact on pupils, except inasmuch as structures and governance shaped pupils' social and cultural practices. Too often, youth-made archival objects like the school magazine have been held to exacting standards of "authenticity", and the search for the "child's voice" or unmediated "experience". This is the paradoxical inheritance of a desire to shift beyond cultural representations of childhood and youth and recover the perspectives and experiences of historical children and youths. The shift demands youth-made sources which mirror "experience", and at times has led to a distrust of young writers for using literary motifs or following generic conventions.

The separation of representations and ideals on the one hand from individual experiences and voices on the other is too stark to understand the school magazine. Significant work has

been done on the reciprocity between ideals and experiences in studies of children's writing in nineteenth-century America and Canada. Influenced by studies of historical children's cultures, this thesis seeks alternative readings of the school magazine as a site of lively and influential youth cultures, rather than a mirror of experience. This approach requires taking the school magazine seriously, analysing its representations and negotiations of identity, the conditions of its production, and its reader communities, much like any other periodical.

I have explored the two-way dynamic between ideals and experiences in the school magazine, as the ideals of youth and collective identity represented in the magazine content were consolidated or unsettled by the experience of magazine production and the circulation and reception of school magazines. In this process, a growing population of literate youths made sense of their new experiences by selecting from and adapting a cultural inheritance of literary motifs and conventions, then circulating their adapted versions to their friends, families, and communities. I argue the school magazine reveals the youth-driven nature of Victorian cultural developments, in particular within periodical culture, which remains a prominent dynamic in our interactive media culture today.

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