Globalising Eton

A Transnational History of Elite Boarding Schools since 1799

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Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization of the European University Institute

Florence, 24 May 2017
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This thesis uses the Swedish boarding school Lundsberg to write a global history of elite boarding schools and, more broadly, to reflect upon the transnationally interconnected nature of elites. The research draws on primary sources from Lundsberg, Sweden, but also from boarding schools in other parts of Europe, as well as in Africa, America, Asia, and Australia. The argument at the heart of this thesis is that from the beginning of the nineteenth century and onwards, there existed something that could be understood as a semi-autonomous global ‘field’, in the Bourdieusian sense of the term, of independent boarding schools. During the formation of this global field, English ‘public’ secondary boarding schools such as Winchester College, Eton College, and Rugby School, quickly emerged as an international gold standard for what an elite boarding school should look like. The ethos and educational ideology of the Victorian English public schools thus not only spread throughout the vast British Empire, but also left a lasting impact in countries such as France, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. In competing over pupils and prestige, these institutional incumbents have constantly been challenged by more ‘progressive’ or ‘modern’ alternatives that are generally based on ideas emanating from outside the British Isles. There have, in other words, always existed two strands within the global field of elite boarding schools: a ‘progressive’ one and a ‘conservative’ one, and there has never been any insurmountable barrier between them. I argue that since the second half of the twentieth century, a globally standardised ‘composite’ elite boarding school model has emerged. These composite boarding schools have integrated key elements from the progressive New Education Movement, while at the same time having retained many of the symbols and rituals of the English public schools of the Victorian era as a veneer of elite distinction. Notwithstanding this process of globalisation, I argue that the rationale of the nation state in the formation of elites through education remains to be reckoned with. In other words, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, new ‘global’ elites continue to be constructed first and foremost at the national and local levels, and elite boarding schools continue to play an important role in that process.
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Acknowledgments

This thesis has been a long time coming. It has emerged from six years of research and teaching within four different institutions; European University Institute (EUI), Uppsala University, Lund University, and Stockholm University. The greatest debt of gratitude is, however, owed to the EUI and all the people that makes it into such a stimulating milieu for conducting research. The Department of History and Civilization at the EUI, with its core mission to offer a distinctive programme of transnational and comparative European history that transcends nation-state paradigms, has been the perfect research environment to write a thesis on the global history of elite boarding schools. The founding principles of the EUI – solidarity, cooperation beyond imagined borders, and a positive outlook for the future – is something the runs through the entire organisation, from service personnel to administrators and researchers. It has been a privilege to experience this and I will be forever grateful to the wonderful scholars, colleagues, and friends that I have met at this very special institution.

I am immensely grateful to have had the encyclopedical Pavel Kolář as my supervisor. I have never met a scholar who has such a range in his historical knowledge. My external supervisor, Bo Stråth, has been a major influence and as fellow swede, with such a strong international reputation, he has also served as role model. I will be forever grateful for the hospitality Bo and his wife Angela showed by inviting me to their homes in Rhodt and Torrita di Siena. My second reader, Youssef Cassis, also warrants special recognition. Youssef’s intellectual curiosity, positive outlook on life and above all the way he treats other people is something I will remember and try to aspire towards myself. I would also like to thank Gary McCulloch for engaging so fully with the thesis manuscript and finding the time to be part of the Examining Board.
I am also thankful for the support of my parents Pia and Pär, and sister Anna Clara, as well as the support of my family in-law; Kenneth, Christina, and Anders. There are, however, three people to whom I owe more than mere thanks. Without my wife and fellow EUI researcher, Nina Liljeqvist, this would not have been possible. Together with our daughter Clara and our son Gustav – who both got to call Fiesole their first home – you turned the thesis into stimulating background music.

Throughout my years in Florence I have had a statement of the now former president of the EUI, J. H. H. Weiler, stuck in my head. Speaking about how many times young scholars has sought his advice on writing projects they had in mind, Weiler’s most frequently comment had been that ‘the idea was good, the project was interesting and would make for a useful, even good article, but that it lacked ambition’. Weiler then went on to say that ‘at any given moment you should be working on one medium to long-term, truly ambitious project. A project that stretches you (and the field) to the limits of your ability’. With this thesis, I can with confidence say that I stretched myself (and the field) to the limits of my ability.
Introduction: Toward a Global History of Elite Education

Those who hope to rule must first learn to obey… to learn to obey as a fag [new pupil] is part of the routine that is the essence of the English Public School System… the wonder of other countries. Who should say it is not that which has so largely helped to make England the most successful colonizing nation, and the just ruler of the backward races of the world?

The influence of elite English public schools – Winchester College, Eton College, Rugby School, Harrow School, et al. – on modern British history is arguably immense. J. A. Mangan, one of the foremost experts on English public schools, has stated that ‘once the Empire was established, the public schools sustained it’\(^1\), and Baron Noel Annan (1916-2000) has described Oxford and Cambridge as ‘little more than finishing schools for public schoolboys’\(^2\). The English public schools are heavily embedded in mythology, from Thomas Hughes’ *Tom Brown’s Schooldays* (1857) to J. K. Rowling’s *Harry Potter* series. Over its more than six hundred years of existence, the phenomenon of public schooling has drawn its fair share of admirers and detractors.\(^3\) An over-abundance of books have examined the English public school from every conceivable perspective: economic history\(^4\), leadership\(^5\), education\(^6\), sport\(^7\), military\(^8\), fiction\(^9\), gender\(^10\), religion\(^11\), empire\(^12\), and sociology\(^13\).

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In this respect, the following thesis is the next logical step; it examines the English public school through the lens of one of the latest historiographical ‘turns’ – the global one. However, to make this transnational history of the English public school truly global, this study will not take as its starting point the foundation of Winchester College in 1382, or the ascent of Thomas Arnold to the headmastership of Rugby School in 1828, nor the global success of Thomas Hughes’ Tom Brown’s Schooldays. Rather, it will use the Swiss aristocrat Emanuel von Fellenberg’s founding of his boarding school in Hofwyl, in 1799, as its chronological starting point. And the focus of the historical narrative is not Eton College, Harrow School, or Rugby School, but a provincial Swedish boarding school called Lundsberg. In taking this approach, the following pages will try to determine if this is a global history of the English public school, or, if it is a story about the English public school’s role within a globally interconnected history of elite boarding schools. Put differently, do we need to globalise or provincialise the history of the English public school?


7 Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public Schools*.


'The Roasting of a Fag'

In August 2013, the Swedish Schools Inspectorate (Skolinspektionen) temporarily closed the exclusive Lundsberg skola, a private boarding school in the rural region of Värmland. The Schools Inspectorate’s reasoning was that it could no longer guarantee the safety of Lundsberg’s pupils. The Schools Inspectorate reached this decision after medical staff at the local hospital had informed the police that a pupil at Lundsberg had been treated for second-degree burns. It transpired that these burns had been inflicted during an initiation ritual designed to demonstrate the pupil’s allegiance to his boarding house: a burning hot iron had been placed on the pupil’s back, in the manner of a livestock branding iron.\(^\text{14}\)

This was not the first time the Schools Inspectorate had paid a visit to Lundsberg. Two years earlier, in October 2011, after having received several anonymous phone calls, the Swedish Schools Inspectorate had conducted what could best be described as a raid on Lundsberg. The anonymous tip-offs had described a school environment in which older pupils systematically abused younger pupils. The abuse involved everything from being whipped with belts to being urinated on. One student described how he was woken in the middle of the night and forced to do push-ups while the older students guarded him with baseball bats; another told of how he was beaten if he sat on more than one third of his chair or if he neglected to bow to the older students when he left or entered a room. There were also testimonies of a practice called U-båten (‘the submarine’). A younger pupil would lay on his back with a straw-like tube in his mouth and, being asked to ‘close all his hatches’, was subjected to water being poured through the straw in a manner not dissimilar to waterboarding.\(^\text{15}\)

After the Inspectorate’s visit to Lundsberg, they confirmed the environment that had been described in the anonymous phone calls. In their view, an informal set of rules existed that allowed older students to systematically harass the younger ones –


\(^{15}\) These reports can be found at the Swedish Schools Inspectorate: Dnr 46-2011: 3477, Dnr 49-2011: 5192, and Dnr 42-2011: 5367.
supposed to teach them how to ‘take a beating’. This system, or culture, was according to the Schools Inspectorate tacitly endorsed by the teachers, the headmaster, and even the school’s governing body.\textsuperscript{16}

Privately run secondary schools have been an anomaly in the twentieth-century Swedish educational system, which has been predominantly state-controlled.\textsuperscript{17} Lundsberg is one of just three secondary schools that are exempt from the Swedish law stating that no secondary schools in the country are allowed to charge tuitions fees (one academic year at Lundsberg costs around 22,000 EUR).\textsuperscript{18} The other two private secondary boarding schools with this exemption are Grennaskolan and Sigtunaskolan Humanistiska Lärverket. Grennaskolan is a relatively progressive product of the 1960s and does not have the same symbiotic relationship to the economic and social elite as do the boarding schools in Lundsberg and Sigtuna.\textsuperscript{19}

Either way, these three schools all receive funding from the state, a fixed amount per pupil, and additional funding for pupils whose parents reside abroad. Considering that these private schools are in part financed by tax revenue, the scandal of the violence and bullying attracted great attention in the media. Public interest was huge, both domestically\textsuperscript{20} and abroad\textsuperscript{21}, and a majority of politicians and journalists, as well as members of the general public, demanded the immediate closure of Lundsberg\textsuperscript{22}. Only a few days after the violent events were exposed, the Schools Inspectorate ordered the school’s temporary closure. Pupils were seen crying as they left the school, only to later rush to its defence, vindicating it in open letters to the media claiming that the decision of the Schools Inspectorate was a

\textsuperscript{16} Swedish Schools Inspectorate, Beslut förgrundsskola och gymnasieskola efter tillsyn av Lundsbergs skola i Storfors kommun, 2013-08-28, Dnr 44-2013:4485.

\textsuperscript{17} For historical surveys of the modern history of education in Sweden see in particular Gunnar Richardson, Svensk utbildningshistoria: skola och samhälle för och nu (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2010); Ulf P. Lundgren, Roger Säljö, & Caroline Liberg (ed.), Lärande, skola, bildning (Stockholm: Natur & kultur, 2010), and Esbjörn Larsson and Johannes Westberg (ed.), Utbildningshistoria: en introduktion (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2011)

\textsuperscript{18} This is the official tuition-fees that is presented at Lundsbergs official webpage

\textsuperscript{19} Grennaskolan, Grennaskolan rikssvernarat: skolan som fortfarande är annorlunda (Gränna, 2003)


political one based on ‘jealousy and class envy’. Apart from being the educational institutions of choice for the Swedish Royal Family and other aristocratic families in the country, as well as the leading financial dynasties such as the Wallenbergs and Bonniers, very little is known about these boarding schools among the wider public and, indeed, the academic community. In fact, no academic research on these Swedish boarding schools has been undertaken to date, neither in the field of history, sociology nor pedagogy. The complete lack of research is problematic and we currently know very little about what social function, if any, these boarding schools have really played in Swedish society.

In the public discourse, these private boarding schools have for a long period been regarded as ‘upper class schools’ (överklassplugg), and have as such been viewed as the last bastion of a once powerful ‘feudal elite’ in a country that is in all other ways perceived as very egalitarian. The violent incidents described above directed the media spotlight on the phenomenon of private boarding schools and their patrician alumni, and this hit a soft spot in the egalitarian self-image of Swedes. During the postwar era, the political tone when it comes to social justice can best be described as aggressively progressive. The mere existence of privately owned elite schools has been like a red rag to a bull in the public debate. Especially considering that one of the key political issues of the dominant Swedish social democratic party, which formed a single-party majority government from 1932 to 1976, and again between 1982 and 1991, has been precisely this: equity in the educational system. The essence of this position may be summarised by a speech that the then Minister of Education, Ingvar Carlsson, gave at an OCED conference in Paris, in 1971: ‘Today we select the best-fitted for education; tomorrow we will have to give the worst-fitted a chance to be selected.’

Given the historical backdrop, this violent episode at a private, yet publicly-funded school stirred bewilderment, if not outrage, among the general public in the summer of 2013. This event can thereby be understood as a ‘social drama’ in the British anthropologist Victor Turner’s meaning of the term. That is, a small-scale

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conflict that reveals latent tensions in the society at large.\textsuperscript{25} Nevertheless, in seeking to understand the institutional anomaly of boarding schools catering for the needs of the last remaining high-born citizens in egalitarian Sweden, and their seemingly anachronistic school culture, it would be tempting to fall into the trap of applying a pseudo-national, or pseudo-local, explanatory model. Because, although private, rural boarding schools are an anomaly in twentieth-century Sweden, they are widespread in other parts of the world.

Cruel and violent initiation rites that are tenacious and difficult to eradicate are hardly a problem specific to Lundsberg. In France, these violent forms of initiations are called \textit{bizutage}, and practices of \textit{bizutage} have been added to the French penal code.\textsuperscript{26} This is also the case in the United States where \textit{hazing} is illegal in 44 out of 50 states.\textsuperscript{27} In Italy, where these types of initiation rite are called \textit{nonnismo}, several academic studies have been devoted to the problem\textsuperscript{28}. And in Australia a government-appointed commission was given the mandate to examine ritual violence, called \textit{bastardisation}, within the country’s secondary and tertiary schools.\textsuperscript{29}

There is however a key difference between what transpired at the boarding school in Lundsberg and the American custom of \textit{hazing}, the French \textit{bizutage}, the Australian \textit{bastardisation} or the Italian \textit{nonnismo}. The latter are all limited to the first couple of weeks a student/pupil/cadet spends at the new educational institution. By contrast, the informal set of rules that existed among the pupils at Lundsberg was in the words of the Schools Inspectorate ‘systematic and constant’.\textsuperscript{30} If we trace these informal sets of rules among the pupils at Lundsberg historically, we find that they are in fact not so informal after all. It all comes down to an intricate logic of delegation of power from the headmaster and teachers to the older


\textsuperscript{26} For an in-depth study on \textit{bizutage} see Martine Corbière, \textit{Le bizutage dans les écoles d’ingénieurs} (Paris: Edition L’Harmattan, 2003).

\textsuperscript{27} For the seminal-work on American hazing see Hank Nuwer, \textit{Wrong of Passage: Fraternities, Sororities, Hazing, and Binge Drinking} (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999).

\textsuperscript{28} See for example Fabrizio Battistelli, \textit{Anatomia del nonnismo: Cause e misure di contrasto del mobbing militare} (Milano: Franco Angeli editore, 2000).

\textsuperscript{29} Mike Donaldson and Scott Poynting, ‘Snakes and Leaders: Hegemonic Masculinity in Ruling-Class Boys’ Boarding Schools’, \textit{Men and Masculinities}, 7.4 (2005), 325-346.

\textsuperscript{30} Swedish Schools Inspectorate, \textit{Beslut förgrundsskola och gymnasieskola efter tillsyn av Lundsbergs skola i Storfors kommun}, 2013-08-28, Dnr 44-2013:4485.
pupils that was written into the school statutes in 1913. The older pupils are responsible for maintaining order and discipline amongst the younger pupils, which at Lundsberg are called *tarmar* (Eng. ‘intestines’). Count Ian Wachtmeister, who attended Lundsberg from 1941 to 1951, has described how a *tarm* functioned as a servant for the older boys, running errands, collecting wood for the fire, and in general performing menial tasks for the senior class of boys. Wachtmeister further describes how the senior boys used to call out ‘*Ta-a-arm!*’ at the top of their voices, at which all the younger boys would have to come running. The last *tarm* to reach the senior boy had to perform whatever menial tasks were appointed to him.\(^{32}\)

In two television documentaries – *Lundsberg: så fostras överklassen* (1996) and *Prinsarnas skola: Lundsberg 10 år senare* (2005) – journalist Karin Falk had the rare opportunity to explore the inner life of the boarding school in Lundsberg. One of the interviewees was an elderly woman who worked as a ‘house mother’ (*husmoder*) in one of the boarding houses. Her role was to attend to the boys whilst they stayed in the boarding house. In the interview with Falk, the house mother explained that the term *tarm* was very much still in use, although only in a ‘playful manner’. She also shared some historical anecdotes to illustrate the tasks that used to be allocated to younger pupils. A particular story of interest was how, in winter, the *tarmarna* – in the ‘old days’ when lavatories were still in outhouses – functioned as toilet seat warmers for the older boys.\(^{33}\)

Count Ian Wachtmeister’s story of how the older pupils used to shout *Ta-a-arm* to assemble all the younger boys in order to dish out some menial task and the matron’s story of how the younger boys functioned as toilet seat warmers for the older boys are more than quirky and provincial institutional anecdotes about school life at Lundsberg. On the contrary, these stories do in fact suggest that the history of the Swedish private boarding schools cannot be properly understood from a solely national perspective. Those familiar with the English public schools – note here that the elite boarding schools in the UK are called ‘public’ even though they are not open to all and are thus, in fact, ‘private’, or rather often controlled by a foundation

\(^{31}\) Karin C. Falck & Loui Bernal, *Prinsarnas skola: Lundsberg 10 år senare* (2005), Tv4 15/1 [Tv-documentary].

\(^{32}\) Ibid.

\(^{33}\) Ibid.
– would quickly recognise the anecdotes from Lundsberg. The ‘boy-call’, which is
the term used in England to describe the custom whereby the older boys who are in
charge (the ‘praepostors’, ‘monitors’ or ‘prefects’) gather all the younger boys
(‘fags’) in order to allocate some menial task, is for example described by Thomas
Hughes (1822-1896) in his famous book *Tom Brown’s Schooldays* (1857), which is a
depiction of school life at Rugby under the legendary headmaster Thomas Arnold
(1795-1842) in the 1830s. In his novel Hughes writes:

> From supper until nine o’clock, three fags taken in order stood in the
> passages, and answered any praepostor who called ‘Fag’, racing to the door,
> the last comer having to do the work.34

More than half a century after Thomas Hughes described the ‘boy-call’ in his novel,
Alan Turing (1912-1954), the mathematician who helped break the Enigma code
and create the modern computer, wrote a letter home to his mother describing his
first days at his English public school in the market-town of Sherborn: ‘Fagging
starts for us next Tuesday. It is run on the same principle as the Gallic councils that
tortured and killed the last man to arrive’.35 The author, Roald Dahl (1916-1990),
just like Thomas Hughes, Alan Turing, and count Ian Wachtmeister, also received
his secondary education at a rural private boarding school. In his autobiography *Boy:
Tales of Childhood* (1984), Dahl gives a vivid account of the power structures at
Repton School, situated in Derbyshire, in the English Midlands. At Dahl’s Repton
the governing group of older boys were called ‘Boazers’ and he recounts the day he
was given an assignment that echoes the ‘Lundsberg tradition’ of younger boys
serving as toilet seat warmers:

>[...] I heard the famous shout ‘Fa-a-ag!’ far away at the other end of the house.
I dropped everything and ran. But I got there last, and the Boazer who had
done the shouting, a massive athlete called Wilberforce, said, ‘Dahl, come
here’. The other fags melted away with the speed of light and I crept
forward to receive my orders. ‘Go and heat my seat in the bogs’

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Wilberforce said, ‘I want it warm’.36

These ‘old boys’, i.e. the alumni of an all-male boarding school, have experiences of boarding schools in different countries and time periods, yet their separate accounts combine into a larger, entangled story. That is, a story of the global diffusion of the idea that children of the upper-middle and upper classes should be brought up in rurally located, character building, exclusive boarding schools. It also further raises the question of whether the recently exposed culture of violence at contemporary Lundsberg can really be understood from a national or a local perspective. In this thesis I will examine the history of elite boarding schools from a transnational and global perspective. For this purpose, the ‘provincial’ history of Lundsberg is used as the focal point in the writing of a larger, indeed global social and intellectual history of elite boarding schools and, more broadly, to reflect upon the transnationally interconnected nature of elites situated in different nation states.

What is English about the English Public Schools?

In 1897, the April issue of the literary magazine The North American Review featured a story written by Thomas Hughes, the author of Tom Brown’s Schooldays (1857), which is arguably the most famous depiction of life at an English public school. In the magazine feature, Hughes retells the story of how an American gentleman had once asked: ‘Well, but will you tell me, after all, what is a public school?’ It goes without saying that the inquisitive American was asking about the English kind of ‘public’ school and not the American kind that was open to all and received state subsidies. The question contained a certain tone of dissatisfaction with the state of education in America, in which the gentlemen in question thought that a crucial institutional steppingstone was missing ‘between the home of the American gentry and the universities’.37 Yet the question he had directed at Hughes was a difficult one to answer. At the end of the nineteenth century, there existed no accepted definition of what an English public school was and what is was not.

Indeed, it can be argued that there is still no single accepted definition, rather, the term is a malleable one that keeps changing depending on the different areas of use. Therefore, the question of what an English public school really is has remained the default starting point of the vast majority of academic and ‘popular history’ studies on the subject. Out of all the secondary grammar schools that exist in Britain, or rather, in England and Wales, which ones should be counted as a public school?

Prior to his encounter with Thomas Hughes the American gentleman had received very varied answers to this exact same question. A sixth-form boy at Eton College had told him that the schools which played each other during the annual cricket games at Lord’s cricket-ground in London were the only schools to be regarded as English public schools. Another suggestion was that an English public school should be entitled to take part in the annual match rifle competition for the Elcho shield and Spencer cup, which were organised by the National Rifle Association. Other definitions suggested to the American were that the school should be a ‘foundation controlled by persons in no way interested in the profits of the institution’, and that the foundation charter should come from a Plantagenet or Tudor sovereign.38

Despite having recently written Tom Brown’s Schooldays, when the author had surely given the question considerable thought, Hughes remained hesitant on the matter. The answer, which Hughes eventually gave to the American, was the conventional one. According to Hughes, the genuine English public schools were Eton College, Winchester College, Westminster School, the Charterhouse School, St. Paul’s School, Merchant Taylors’ School, Harrow School, Rugby School, and Shrewsbury School. These nine schools were in 1861 selected by a Royal Commission (the Clarendon Commission) whose mandate was to ‘Inquire into the Revenues and Management of Certain Colleges and Schools and the Studies Pursued and Instruction Given therein’.39 All of these schools had differentiated themselves from the vast number of endowed grammar schools and therefore deserved to be in a specific category as ‘public schools’. These schools continue to

be referred to as the ‘Great Public Schools’, the ‘Great Nine’, or the ‘Clarendon Schools’.

It should, however, be underscored that the choice to single-out these particular schools in the larger group of endowed grammar schools was far from uncontroversial, even in contemporary times. Captain F. S. Dumaresq de Carteret-Bisson, who wrote the first volume of his contemporary seminal work Our Schools and Colleges in 1872, argued for example that Shrewsbury, St. Paul’s, and Merchant Taylors’ never should have been included in the group of Great public schools. Instead, according to Carteret-Bisson, the real group of schools consisted of only Eton, Harrow, Rugby and Winchester.\(^1\) In his conversation with the American, Thomas Hughes, on the other hand, was willing to add schools such as Marlborough, Haileybury, Uppingham, Rossall, Clifton, Cheltenham, Radley, Malvern, and Wellington College to the inner circle of prestigious and authentic English public schools.\(^2\) The number of schools to be considered as genuine public schools has in other words always been open for debate and the list has changed considerably over time.

Against this background, it may be argued that the Public Schools Commission (1861-1864), which led to the enacting of the Public Schools Act by British Parliament in 1868, serves as a rather unclear demarcation of which schools are and are not real English public schools. Indeed, many of the major changes had already started in the 1830s and were initiated by the schools themselves and were not the result of state pressure through the form of Royal commissions. Furthermore, from a reading of the memoirs of former pupils, the difference in the daily life of the schools pre- and post the 1860s is not obvious, if at all evident.\(^2\)

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\(^2\) Thomas Hughes, 'The English Public Schools', 354

\(^3\) This is evident from the case of Eton after reading Arthur Duke Coleridge, Eton in the Forties (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1896), Bracebridge Hemyng, Eton School Days; or, Recollections of an Etonian (London: Ward, Lock, and Tyler, 1864), which all is testimonies from 'unreformed' Eton. For testimonies from reformed Eton see George Nugent-Banks, A Day of My Life at Eton; or, Every-day Experiences at Eton (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1877), Gilbert Coleridge, Eton in the Seventies (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1912), Eric Parker, Eton in the Eighties (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1914).
The idea that the 1860s were a sea change in the history of the English public schools can, in other words, be easily questioned. In the historiography of the English public schools, however, the 1860s have been portrayed as a true watershed moment. And when the English public schools write their own institutional histories, the distinction between unreformed and reformed – that is, before and after the Public School Act of 1868 – serves as a clear chronological and thematic demarcation. In the preface of former Etonian Arthur Campbell Ainger’s book *Memories of Eton Sixty Years Ago* (1917), for example, the retrospective discourse of a major change within the public schools during the second half of the nineteenth century is evident. Campbell writes:

No one can have read Mr. Arthur Coleridge’s book on *Eton in the Forties* and the books of Mr. Gilbert Coleridge and Mr. Eric Parker respectively, which chronicle the years from 1870 to 1890, without feeling that what would be called an ‘epoch-making’ change has passed over the place in the interval between the first and the last two works…. Now the peculiar interest of the years from 1850 to 1860 would seem to consist in the fact that many of the events of these years indicate a passing away of the old order and the birth of the new.  

It is therefore difficult to escape the 1860s as an important ‘historical break’ in the history of the English public schools. The 1860s were also pertinent for two additional reasons: (a) the increasing attention the apparent reforms drew from politicians, intellectuals, headmasters, and pedagogues outside the British Isles, and (b), as I will argue in this thesis, the 1860s can be regarded as the genesis of a global field, in the Bourdieusian sense of the term, of elite independent boarding schools. That is, a relatively autonomous social space that consists of struggles and power relations rather than consensus and standardisation.

It is however important to emphasise that this thesis is not ‘theory testing’ nor overly ‘theory-driven’. Rather, the Bourdieusian metaphor of ‘field’, or ‘social field’,

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is first and foremost used to help to understand the global history of independent
boarding schools and not the other way around.

With regard to point (a), (the increasing attention the apparent reforms drew from
politicians, intellectuals, headmasters, and pedagogues outside the British Isles), the
following case should be noted. On the other side of the English Channel, the
Minister of Education, the École Normale Supérieure educated Victor Duruy,
commissioned a report on the large-scale reforms in secondary education that were
taking place in England at the time. The commission was led by Jacques Demogeot,
professor at the Sorbonne, and Henry Montucci, an English professor at the Lycée
Saint-Louis in Paris. The conclusions from Demogeot’s and Montucci’s investigation
were published in the rather hefty (664 page-long) study called *De l’enseignement
secondaire en Angleterre et en Ecosse* in 1868.  

The study offers a unique insight into how the English public schools were
perceived from a French perspective during one of the most formative periods of
the public school system. The objective of the commission was to examine what
parts of the English public school system could possibly be imported into the
French system of secondary state education. No significantly ‘English’ approaches
were adopted by the French system of state education, yet, the growing interest in
the comparative perspective during the nineteenth-century rise of the national
schools system is crucial if we seek to understand the educational institutions that
existed within a nation state from a more global perspective. That is, beyond the
nation state, which had for long been the sole perspective. The reforms of the
English public schools system attracted the attention of policymakers in several
other countries, too. I will illustrate that the largest interest from abroad, however,
came from headmasters, intellectuals, pedagogues, and perhaps more surprisingly
from prospective parents and pupils from the same social strata as those who were
attending the English public schools.

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Moving on to point (b), i.e. that the 1860s can be regarded as the genesis of a global field, in the Bourdieusian sense of the term, of elite independent boarding schools, one must revisit the debate on which schools should be regarded as real English public schools. The ‘Great Nine’ schools which were investigated by the Clarendon Commission had prior to the 1860s been a rather eclectic grouping, and therefore hardly constituted a clear category. Some, like Winchester and Eton (founded in 1382 and 1440 respectively), were old Royal foundations, and others were founded by rich merchants and landowners, like Rugby and Harrow, in the latter part of the sixteenth century. From the 1860s onwards, or so the traditional story goes, a process of standardisation was taking place at these schools. These schools became increasingly similar to one another. More importantly, the endowed grammar schools, which were not part of the ‘Great Nine’, started to emulate this exclusive group in order to elevate their own status and prestige. It is, however, crucial to emphasise that after the 1860s these schools did manifest important differences between one another. In fact, there could even be striking differences between boarding houses at the same school, which largely depended on the individual quirks and approach of the incumbent housemaster.

The founding of the Headmasters’ Conference in 1869, when Edward Thring, headmaster at Uppingham School, invited 37 headmasters to Uppingham, came to be of great significance for two key reasons. First and foremost it was a response to the perceived threat of state intervention, which the independent boarding schools faced in the wake of the Clarendon commission and the Endowed School Act of 1869. Second, it served as a catalyst for the further integration and standardisation of the leading boarding schools of the time.46 Indeed, participation at the Headmasters’ Conference has been evoked as yet another possible definition of which schools are to be considered public schools, and this could be a just argument during the first decades of the conference’s existence. With time, however, the Headmasters’ Conference came to include too many schools to be of any explanatory value when trying to define the social prestige and rank of a school.

In his oft-cited book *The Public School Phenomenon* from 1977, author and ‘popular historian’ Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy described this phenomenon of standardisation, or concentration, as the ‘rise of the public school monolith’. Similarly, Hilary Steedman, professor of Education at the London School of Economics, coined the phrase ‘defining institutions’ in the 1980s to describe the process of how the ideology of the great public schools trickled down to the rest of England’s grammar schools. The idea of a standardisation of the English public schools is in other words a well-established part in the historiography of secondary education in the United Kingdom.

To add to this master narrative, and in some respects to challenge it, I will explore if it is not more fruitful to regard the 1860s as the genesis of a competitive ‘field’ of independent boarding schools. Gathorne-Hardy’s ‘monolith’ and Steedman’s ‘defining institution’ are from this perspective very valuable in understanding how the top layer in the hierarchy of this field of independent boarding schools was created. The public school monolith became the natural reference point from which any headmaster or founder of a school founded post-1860 had to position themselves: were they in accordance with the curriculum and ethos of the ‘Great Nine’, or were they trying to rebut them? From the end of the nineteenth century and onwards, schools that departed from the ethos of the ‘Great Nine’ became numerous, and not all of them came from within the borders of the British Empire. In this sense, the schools that were included in the Headmasters’ Conference and the schools listed in the Public Schools Yearbook, which first came out in 1889, serves as a rudimentary demarcation of the schools which were a part of the competitive field of independent boarding schools. Viewing the history of the English public school from the dynamic perspective of the rise and fall of individual schools, they become more than carbon copy reproductions of Tom Brown’s Victorian public schools, which has survived in an embalmed form into the present time.

47 Gathorne-Hardy, *The Public School Phenomenon*
How, then, does one define the schools that are at the top of the hierarchy in this field of independent boarding schools? Put somewhat simply, by looking at the social pedigree of the pupils that any given school attracts at any given time, or rather, the social prestige of the pupils’ families. This is because, as the historian Ciaran O’Neill explains, a child’s schooling is ‘part of a calculated gamble parents take on the future of their children and as such is one of the most revealing social processes that a historian can analyse’. This definition of the ‘top of the hierarchy’ was also what the sixth-form student at Eton and Thomas Hughes were actually imparting to the American gentlemen. The definition of what an English public school was, or which schools could be regarded as one, was all derived from which school had the highest social standing.

To solidify this argument further, we can add the definition formulated by another insightful source, the historian Oscar Browning (1837-1923), who attended Eton College as a pupil and later became a master at the same school. Browning’s definition of a public school, which he put forward in 1887, is as follows: ‘an English public school implies something exclusive and privileged’, and, he adds, ‘a public-school man is different from other men. The question as to whether a particular school is a public school or not, depends not upon its size or its efficiency, but upon its social rank’.

In the same article, Oscar Browning voiced another opinion, which forms an apt transition into the topic of what is actually English about the English public schools, and whether the field of elite boarding schools can be contained within the borders of England. Browning writes that ‘it is said that they [English public schools] represent more completely than any other English institution the chief peculiarities of our national life. It is the public school that forms the typical Englishman: it is the ordinary boy of the upper classes who gives his character to the public school’.

There is no hesitation in Browning’s opinions on the matter, independent and rurally located boarding schools, which emphasise student self-government and the

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51 Ibid.
building of character, are a sui generis English upper-class form of educational institution. However, in one sense, Browning was stating these opinions at a time when this very typical type of English elite education was becoming not just a ‘national form’ but a ‘global form’, to use anthropologist Arjun Appadurai’s terminology when trying to explain the global flow of ideas and ideologies.\textsuperscript{52} Because, apart from Cathorne-Hardy’s concept of ‘monolith’ and Steedman’s ‘defining institution’, sports and education historian J. A. Mangan’s term ‘imperial diffusion’ is crucial for understanding how the English tradition of education spread globally, first throughout the British Isles and later throughout the British Empire. So even though the public school is arguably one of the most English of all English institutions, a ‘global history’ perspective of the English public schools is already a familiar feature in the educational historiography, although still an under-examined one. Put differently, contemporary with the zenith of the British Empire the public schools of England became the public schools of the British Empire with ‘little Etons’ being founded throughout the Empire.

It is worthwhile here to reflect on the phrase ‘little Etons’, or the more often used expressions ‘the Eton of India, Australia or Egypt’ or the ‘Nigerian, Pakistani or Canadian Eton’. Even though the Clarendon commission had described the English public schools, as a group, as ‘the chief nurseries of our statesmen’, Eton College became the emblematic example of this group of educational ‘nurseries’ and in itself a globally accepted byword for a school that educates the future leaders of a nation.\textsuperscript{53}

The first wave – the ‘British Isles’ one – of the ‘imperial diffusion’ was rather more of a Gramscian cultural hegemony type of diffusion. In his book \textit{Catholics of Consequence} (2014), historian Ciaran O’Neill has convincingly illustrated how the Irish elite of the late nineteenth century either sent their sons to England to be educated at one of the major public schools, or, to the leading Irish boarding schools


– Saint Stanislaus, Clongowes Wood College, and Blackrock College – which had during that time begun to emulate their leading English counterparts.  

The imitation of the symbols and customs of the leading English public schools was also present in Scotland. In 1870, Fettes College was founded just outside the metropolitan area of Edinburgh, and it was quickly dubbed ‘the Eton of the North’.  

The first headmaster of Fettes was Dr Alexander W. Potts, who had previously been a master at (the English) Rugby School for five years. As a result, Fettes College – together with two other Scottish ‘public schools’, Loretto School and Merchiston Castle School – resembled the English public schools more than other prestigious Scottish secondary schools, such as George Watson’s College, Edinburgh Academy, or the Royal High School.  

The educational path of the headmaster is another feature that these prestigious schools have in common. The typical background of a headmaster at these schools was a public school education followed by studies at Oxbridge. This career trajectory was echoed throughout the British realm, as shown by the ‘imperial public schools’: in Canada, the Upper Canada College was founded by John Colborne, 1st Baron Seaton, who had been educated at Christ’s Hospital School and Winchester College; in Australia, Melbourne Grammar School was founded by Charles Perry who had been educated at Harrow School; and in India, the first headmaster at Doon School, Arthur E. Foot, had been educated at Winchester College and had previously been science master at Eton College.  

What, then, was the essence of the curriculum that was being exported from the English public schools during the second half of the nineteenth century? To be sure, it was not the academic curriculum that was being emphasised. Rather, three distinct pillars upheld the ethos of the English public schools in the Victorian and  

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54 Ciaran O’Neill, Catholics of Consequence. 
55 The name ‘Eton of the North’ has also been used to describe Katsina College in Nigeria (referring to its location in the northern part of Nigeria), Sedbergh School in Cumbria, UK, Rossall School in Lancashire, U.K, and Glenalmond College in Scotland. 
Edwardian era. First and foremost it was the playing-fields, where team sports like rugby and cricket were played; second, the boarding house where the disciplinary authority was delegated to the oldest pupils; and last but not least, the daily services in the schools’ chapels. The educational priorities of the English public schools were in other words ‘first, religious and moral principle; second, gentlemanly conduct; thirdly, intellectual ability’, to quote the dictum of Rugby headmaster Thomas Arnold.\(^{59}\)

On this point it is worth noting that the ‘imperial diffusion’ was not a ‘one size fits all’ form of export. Rather, the colonial public schools also mirrored the differences that existed within the English field of independent boarding schools. This becomes evident from the many particular, if not peculiar, customs and traditions that existed at different colonial public schools – and, indeed, many of these idiosyncrasies have survived until today. And these peculiarities can often be traced to the educational background of a school’s founder or first headmaster.

This fact is exemplified in the recollections of the Indian novelist and playwright Partap Sharma (1939-2011), who was educated at Bishop Cotton School in Simla during the 1950s. Bishop Cotton School had been founded in 1859 by Bishop George Edward Lynch Cotton\(^ {60}\), who was schooled at Winchester and later served as a master at Rugby School under Thomas Arnold. Sharma recalled the ritual morning roll-call that the older pupils used to check that no boy had gone missing overnight. Although Sharma attended Bishop Cotton School in 1950s, i.e. post-colonial, India, the pupils had to answer the roll-call with the Latin *adsum*, just as they had done at Rugby school in the 1830s, i.e. more than 120 years earlier.\(^ {61}\) Such testimonies of Partap Sharma, and others, show that there existed peculiar customs at various Imperial public schools at the time, and by extension, also differences between them. What is more, testimonies such as Sharma’s bear witness to just how persistent and efficient British politician Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859) had been in his strategy to construct ‘coloured gentlemen’, or ‘brown Englishmen’,


\(^{60}\) As a teacher, Bishop Cotton was described as the ‘perfect young Assistant Master’ in Thomas Hughes' *Tom Brown’s Schooldays*. Viney Kirpal (ed.), *You Moved My Life: Heartwarming Stories of Teachers Who Mentored and Taught Us to Dream* (USA, UK, India: New Dawn Press, 2004), 20.

\(^{61}\) Ibid.
through an English elite educational system.\textsuperscript{62} Pakistani politician Imran Khan, who attended the prestigious Aitchison College in Lahore during the late 1960s, has described this process in the following words: ‘We were transformed into cheap imitations of English public school boys’.\textsuperscript{63} It is therefore important to note that the ‘imperial diffusion’ was not a carbon copy of the English public schools that was exported to its imperial holdings; this was rather a dynamic process with the emergence of hybridisations that reflected the local or regional conditions.\textsuperscript{64}

While the ‘imperial diffusion’ arguably remains of great importance, the thesis will distance itself from this particular scholarship in two important ways. First, it will not primarily examine the diffusion of the English public school ‘model’ throughout the British Empire, but rather study the entanglements between the English public schools and the private boarding schools in sovereign nations such as Denmark, France, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. Second, it will take issue with the idea of a one-way diffusion from the centre to the periphery, in other words from England to the rest of the world. Instead, there were many entanglements and key innovations within the global field of independent boarding schools that moved in the other direction – not least from Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States – and these completely changed the landscape of English public schools during the twentieth century.

This thesis will even argue that in the postwar world, the most prestigious elite boarding schools – the ‘top of the global hierarchy’ – have very little in common with the ethos and educational ideas of the Great public schools during the Victorian era. This is, in part, illustrated by the ‘controversial’ fact that the majority of the members of the contemporary British Royal Family have been educated at a boarding school which is as much influenced by Plato’s Republic, Goethe’s idea of a ‘Pedagogical province’, and a laboratory school in the German city of Leipzig as the ideas of the iconic Rugby headmaster Thomas Arnold.

\textsuperscript{63} Imran Khan, \textit{Pakistan: A Personal History} (Bantam Press, 2011), 47.
How to Write a Transnational History of Elite Boarding Schools

The ‘global turn’ in the social sciences and humanities, which in the discipline of history has manifested itself in the form of academic subfields such as ‘world history’, ‘global history’, ‘transnational history’, and ‘entangled history’, is by no means unconventional in the field of history of education. It is, however, relatively sparsely deployed.\(^65\) Given the fact that formal education and the rise of national school systems has been so closely associated with the nation state and nation building, the strongest academic discipline has been the comparative history of education, often called ‘comparative education’. In practice, the subfield of comparative education often means the comparative study of different national educational institutions or systems. The ‘comparative education’ perspective has produced a larger number of seminal works that have elevated our understanding on topics ranging from the different relationships between state and education\(^66\), to how the relationship between educational institutions and the formation of elites differ from one country to another\(^67\).

There has, however, been a tendency to treat the national school systems as hermetically sealed systems – which is a natural consequence of trying to do ‘proper’ scientific comparative research, *ceteris paribus*. And, by doing so, there has been an inclination to overlook the movement of ideas and practices between similar educational institutions situated in different nation states. In this thesis I will therefore argue for a more transnational or entangled approach in order to better understand the educational ideas, ethos and ideologies that have been crystallised in the educational institutions that exist within a nation, in this case, more precisely, in


private and independent boarding schools. At the same time, this approach will by no means dismiss the national context. Rather, it hopes to add a crucial transnational, indeed a global, dimension.

This ‘transnational’ or ‘global’ approach shall not be viewed as an attempt to write an all-inclusive history, or a *histoire totale* to use the vocabulary of the French Annales historians, of elite boarding schools. The approach in this thesis is rather more in tune with the call of historian Akira Iriye in the early 1990s for a ‘transnational cultural history’ to complement the national histories.68 In this approach, there is therefore a wish to challenge the master narratives of conventional national histories by looking at it from a new perspective, beyond the nation state. I do this by revisiting the idea of the socially egalitarian twentieth century Sweden and by globalising the often parochially written history of the English public schools. Compared to a ‘world history’ approach, the national dimension is still very much present in the analysis, albeit examined in a new light. The nation is, therefore, ‘not effaced but is examined afresh – from different angles, from within and from without, in larger context, and in dynamic relation with myriad social forces, many of which cannot be contained by national boundaries’, to put it in the words of historian Mae M. Ngai.69 And in accordance with another historian who has applied the transnational perspective, Klaus Kiran Patel, transnational history is in this thesis viewed as an approach or perspective rather than a theory.70

The global history approach has been broadly defined by the Oxford Centre for Global History as ‘the global movement of people, goods and ideas and the consequences that flow from them’.71 Even though this thesis recognises previous and ongoing debates concerning the differences between ‘global history’, ‘transnational history’, ‘world history’, and ‘entangled history’ (*Historie Croisée*), it

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69 Mae M. Ngai, ‘Promises and Perils of Transnational History’, *Perspectives on History* 50 (December 2012), 52.
71 [http://global.history.ox.ac.uk/](http://global.history.ox.ac.uk/). Introduction: Global History at Oxford
applies the broad definition of the Oxford Centre for Global History and uses ‘global’ and ‘transnational’ interchangeably.

By subscribing to the standpoint that global and transnational history is an ‘approach’ or a ‘perspective’ rather than a method or a theory, the concepts, narrative style, and theories applied in this study are therefore still very much in tune with, and indebted to, the intellectual and social historians of education from the 1970s and 1980s. These include scholars such as Brian Simon, Hartmut Kaeble, Fritz Ringer, and Detlef Müller. Likewise, much of the vocabulary throughout the thesis is influenced by the widely used theories of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and insights are also drawn from elite theorists – ranging chronologically from Vilfredo Pareto and his writings on ‘elite circulation’\textsuperscript{72} to the contemporary work on social and elite distinction that has been produced by sociologist Jean-Pascal Daloz\textsuperscript{73}.

The sources that are used to write this transnational history of elite boarding schools are also familiar to those who in the past have written about independent boarding schools from a national perspective. These sources consist of: catalogued material in the school archives; parliamentary papers and official reports; newspapers and popular journals; school pamphlets; memoirs written by teachers, headmasters, and former pupils; school journals; and fictional schoolboy novels. While my use of sources is in many ways original and innovative, the thing that truly sets this study apart is that it does not just analyse the above-mentioned sources with the example of one boarding school, or a group of boarding schools that exist within a nation state, but takes a global perspective. Indeed, my aim with this thesis is to consider these sources for boarding schools located in Australia, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, Switzerland, Sweden, and the United States.

Understandably, this approach differs from the more detailed study of one, or a handful of, boarding schools in several ways. It will not capture the full history of a school from its foundation to the present time; instead the focus here is rather to

\textsuperscript{72} Vilfredo Pareto, \textit{Trattato di sociologia generale} (Firenze: G. Barbèra, 1916).

\textsuperscript{73} Jean-Pascal, \textit{The Sociology of Elite Distinction: From Theoretical to Comparative Perspectives} (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) and \textit{Rethinking Social Distinction} (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
search for the global fault lines and entanglements, divergences and convergences, between these institutions. Simply put, with this thesis I hope to locate where and when these boarding schools have come in contact with each other, and to identify the consequences of these encounters.

The logic of the thesis is not, however, based on the interaction between boarding schools in different countries. Rather, the thesis is framed chronologically and organised thematically around significant events within world history in general, and within the global history of elite boarding schools in particular. Chapter 1 will therefore try to capture the rise and statistical expansion of elite boarding schools from a global comparative perspective during the period between 1850 and 1945. The rise of elite boarding schools during this time period will be connected to contemporary changes within the educational systems and as a reflection of larger societal changes, in particular related to the social fusion of ‘old’ and ‘new’ elites. The analysis in Chapter 1 is therefore largely based on school- and social registers in order to understand who sent their children to these independent boarding schools, and how changes in the clientele are related to social changes in society writ large.

In Chapter 2 I address a wide range of primary sources from several countries – including books written by school founders, school newspapers, and fictional boarding school novels – in order to examine whether the history of the English public schools should be globalised or provincialised. Chapter 3 uses the same wide plethora of primary sources, from different nations, to examine the relationship between the ‘modern’ or ‘progressive’ boarding schools and the more ‘traditional’ boarding schools. Chronologically, the first three chapters deal with the period between 1799 and 1945, but from different thematic perspectives. Turning to Chapter 4, I investigate how boarding schools reacted to the plea for more international solidarity in the wake of World War II. The increasing demand for a more egalitarian society and school system alike serve as the main themes for this chronologically framed chapter. This chapter thereby revisits the role of the boarding school in the formation of elites and looks at how educational practices, such as pupil self-government, have persisted or how this has been adopted to reflect the changing sentiments within society.
Whereas Chapter 4 captures the immediate decades following World War II, the fifth and final chapter examines how the elite boarding schools have dealt with the challenges and opportunities of globalisation up until the present time. After these five chapters follows a section on conclusions and concluding remarks.
The Making of New Elites during the Gilded Age

By ‘The Establishment’ I do not mean only the centres of official power – though they are certainly part of it – but rather the whole matrix of official and social relations within which power is exercised. The exercise of power in Britain (more specifically England) cannot be understood unless it is recognised that it is exercised socially.


Circulation, Persistence or Fusion

The last half of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century were a very dynamic time in many Western nation states. Old power structures were being challenged and the composition of each nation state’s domestic elite was being altered; the nobility were being deprived of its last legitimate privileges, and by that the old feudal societies were being transformed into a modern class society. In most national historiographies, the Marxist inspired and conflict-driven master narrative has portrayed this process as a struggle between ‘old’ and ‘new’ elites, the fall of the aristocracy and the rise of the bourgeoisie. There have, however, been several different explanations and interpretations of these transformations. The key words to understand the different interpretations are: circulation, continuity, and fusion. The idea of elite circulation, how an old elite is being replaced by a new, can be traced back to the Paris-born Italian Vilfredo Pareto’s book Trattato di Sociologia generale (1916) and his pithy saying la storia è un cimitero di aristocrazie – ‘history is a cemetery of aristocrats’.⁷⁴ According to Pareto’s

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train of thought, proper revolutions and social upheavals seldom come ‘from below’. Rather, they occur in the upper echelons of society when a new elite is trying to replace an older one. Resting on the thoughts of Vilfredo Pareto, and his fellow countrymen and cosmopolitans Gaetano Mosca and Robert Michels, the ‘Italian school’ of elite research has dominated the social sciences and humanities when it comes to the narrative of elite circulation. In a nutshell, it looks at how the old feudal elite was replaced by the haute bourgeoisie, which came to represent the new capitalist elite during this period.

Those who represented this new elite during the period between around 1850 and 1914 were the families whose fortunes had been accumulated in the wake of the industrial revolutions. It was during this so-called ‘gilded age’ that American family dynasties such as the Rockefellers, Astors, Mellons, Morgans, and Carnegies laid the foundation for their family fortunes through their control over industries such as railways, oil and steel. Italy saw the rise of haute bourgeoisie families such as Ceriana, Denina, Voli and Sella; England had its Barings, Hambros, Grenfells, Glyns, and Smiths; France had their so-called Deux cents familles (‘the two hundred families’) which included, among others, the Rothschilds, Wendels, Schneiders, Schulmberger, and Hottinguers; and in Sweden the financial foundation of the so-called de femton familjerna (‘the fifteen families’), which included families such as Bonnier, Broström, Klingspor, Wallenberg, and Wehtje, were also established during the gilded age. In the European countries, this group challenged the position of the inherited nobilities as the social and economic elite. And contemporary to this, the nobility’s political position was also challenged by increasing popular demands for democracy. In the United States, there existed no

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75 For their most important contributions to the study of elites see Gaetano Mosca, Elementi di scienza politica (Roma: Fratelli Bocca, 1896) and Robert Michels, Zur Soziologie des Parteiwesens in der modernen Demokratie: Untersuchungen über die oligarchischen Tendenzen des Gruppenlebens (Leipzig: W. Klinkhardt, 1911).
inherited nobility although the ‘old money’ families of Boston, Philadelphia, and New York held a similar position.\(^{80}\)

Nevertheless, since the 1980s, and with increasing strength during the past ten years, the thesis of continuity within the elites rather than circulation has been investigated in several academic studies. This wave began with the publication of Princeton historian Arno J. Mayer’s book *The Persistence of the Old Regime* (1981). Here, Mayer moved forward the chronology of when the nobility began to lose its influence in Europe from 1789 to at least 1914, that is, the outbreak of the First World War. This point in time, according to Mayer, represents a last desperate attempt from the nobilities to slow down the forces of industrial capitalism and to divert the attention from ‘the masses’ cry for democracy.\(^{81}\)

Although Mayer’s thesis did not remain unchallenged, the idea of a postponed fall of the aristocracy – which was also illustrated in David Cannadine’s studies of the British aristocracy\(^{82}\) – inspired similar studies from numerous national perspectives. Sociologist Jaap Dronkers, for example, has examined the persistence of the Dutch and Austrian nobility.\(^{83}\) In Sweden, historian Göran Norrby was the one who picked up Mayer’s mantle by showing how the Swedish nobility adapted to the structural changes in society and state during the nineteenth century. In his doctoral thesis, *Adel i förvandling* (2005), Norrby argues that the Swedish nobility managed to convert the economic, symbolic and social capital that they possessed by transferring their power and influence in the political sector into the business sector.\(^{84}\) This upgrade of the old fortunes within scholarly research, and the perception that no true circulation of elites occurred around the turn of the century, has grown even stronger due to the English translation of Thomas Piketty’s *Le
*Capital au XXIe siècle* (2013), which contains his maxim – which is apt for this argument – *Le passé dévore l’avenir* (‘the past is devouring the future’).

It is, however, important to note that the scholars that argue for a continuity of the nobility are making the case that some of the noble families were successful in their social reproduction strategies and became integrated into the social and economic elite of the modern class society – the end of the nobility as a judicial social class was an indisputable fact. Therefore, the most convincing and accepted argument in the historiography on this period is that the composition of the social and economic elite that emerged at the turn of the twentieth century consisted of a fusion between parts of the nobility and parts of the haute bourgeoisie. The conception of a cross-fertilisation between the nobility and the haute bourgeoisie should be understood literally and not only metaphorically. Indeed, noblemen and noblewomen marrying into the upper echelons of the bourgeoisie were in fact one of the clearest manifestations of this process, which German historian Jürgen Kocka has described as the ‘aristocratic-haut bourgeois symbiosis’.

In the Swedish case, what Norrby has quantitatively shown by pointing to the high number of Swedish noblemen marrying into the top strata of the bourgeoisie during this period, has been qualitatively illustrated in the anthology *Bilden av Sveriges historia* (2005). In this methodologically original study, which tells the story of Sweden in forty pictures, we get a qualitative insight into the fusion of the aristocracy and the haut bourgeois through the wedding photograph of Andrea Wallenberg, daughter of the banker Marcus Wallenberg, and Count Hakon Mörner. Besides intermarriage, a common educational trajectory has been regarded as a key catalyst in the fusion of old and new money. The causes behind the notable expansion of English public schools during the second half of the nineteenth century has been identified as the contemporary rise of a larger upper middle class that wanted to gain access to the same type of educational institutions.

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as the landed gentry, i.e. the public schools and universities in Oxford and Cambridge. The educational trajectory of boarding at a public school and then continuing up to Oxbridge, which the sons of aristocratic and economic upper-middle class families had in common, became an essential means of entry into the social life of these groups. According to Norrby’s studies, Sweden did not have any educational institution that fulfilled the function that the English public schools played in this process.

This chapter will examine if the three private boarding schools that were founded in Lundsberg (in 1896) and Sigtuna (in 1924 and 1926) did not in fact play a key role in the social fusion of the nobility and the haute bourgeoisie in Sweden. Furthermore, it will also examine what role the private boarding schools filled in the integration of new and old elites in France, Switzerland, and the United States. In other words, this chapter investigates the comparative social history of the relation between boarding schools and elites during the period 1850 and 1945.

How Robber Barons and New England Brahmins Became Preppies

It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that the upper crust of American society started to send their children, in vast numbers, to rurally located, independent, boarding schools. Needless to say, at this time the boarding schools were single-sex. However, the girls’ and boys’ schools were often located within a close geographical proximity and had the same founders. Prior to the emerging custom of sending one’s sons and daughters to boarding schools, the educational choice for the upper strata of the American society was predominately to enrol their children in prestigious day schools, such as the Boston Latin School, the Collegiate

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90 For the public schools’ role in the social fusion of the sons of aristocrats and financiers see Youssef Cassis, City Bankers, 1890–1914 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 213-15, 229.
91 Goran Norrby, Adel i forvandling.
92 A good example is the girls’ boarding school Rosemary Hall and the boys’ boarding school Choate School, which were both founded by William G. Choate’s and his wife Mary Atwater Choate.
School in New York, and Roxbury Latin School in Boston. Alternatively, well-off parents might hire a private tutor to educate their children at home, before it was time to leave for Harvard, Yale or Princeton.\(^{93}\)

In his seminal article, ‘The Rise of American Boarding Schools and the Development of a National Upper Class’ (1980), Steven B. Levine illustrated this sea change in the educational strategy of the American upper class by pointing to the simple fact that seven of America’s twelve most prestigious boarding schools were founded during a 23-year period, between 1883 and 1906.\(^{94}\) And two of the schools that was founded before this period – Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts (founded in 1778) and Phillips Exeter Academy in Exeter, New Hampshire (founded in 1783) – were initially day schools that were transformed into boarding schools during this particular period in time.\(^{95}\) In fact, Phillips Academy’s first boarding house, Andover Cottage, was commissioned as late as 1891.\(^{96}\) At the three other boarding schools, all founded before 1883 – Hill School in Pottstown, Pennsylvania (founded in 1851), St. Paul’s School in Concord, New Hampshire (founded in 1856), and St. Mark’s School in Southborough, Massachusetts (founded in 1865) – there was an increase in the number of applicants and each of the three schools extended their campuses and built sporting facilities during the latter two decades of the nineteenth century.\(^{97}\)

There was also a change in curriculum, now with an even clearer emphasis on preparing its pupils for university, hence the rise of the expression which they have become synonymous with – ‘prep schools’ – as in preparatory for university. The term ‘prep schools’ is often accompanied with the prefix ‘New England’. Indeed, out of the twelve schools on Levine’s list, ten are located in states within the New England region. (The other two are the already mentioned Hill School in Pottstown, Pennsylvania, and Lawrenceville School in the city of Lawrenceville, New Jersey).

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\(^{95}\) Levine, *The Rise of the American Boarding Schools*.


\(^{97}\) Levine, *Rise of the American Boarding Schools*. 

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These prestigious boarding schools are, in other words, closely associated with the East Coast of America in general, and New England in particular.

Unlike the nine ‘great public schools’ in England, whose demarcation was the outcome of a state enquiry which later became part of the public imagination, the list of the twelve most prestigious American boarding schools in Steven B. Levine’s article is a 1950s product which was created by social scientists. Levine’s list was derived from two of the most widely read and quoted studies on American elites – the University of Pennsylvania sociologist E. Digby Baltzell’s *The Philadelphia Gentlemen* (1958) and the journalist and social commentator Vance Packard’s *The Status Seekers* (1959). In fact, the list of schools that Baltzell presents in his *The Philadelphia Gentlemen* consists of sixteen schools. Hence, the concept of the ‘Select-Sixteen’, which was the term used by Baltzell, has played a key role in the numerous academic studies that have been carried out on the American elite boarding schools from ethnographical and sociological present day-perspectives.

There was, however, a process of identifying an ‘inner-group’ of leading boarding schools that happened contemporary to their rise at the turn of the nineteenth century. The first of these attempts was a two-part article titled *A Group of Classical Schools*, which was published in *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* in 1877. The author of the article was Horace Scudder (1838-1902), a prolific man of letters, and later editor of the highbrow magazine *The Atlantic Monthly*. The objective of Scudder’s article was to single-out a number of schools that fulfilled the same function in American society as the English public schools did in British society. Apart from Phillips Academy, St. Paul’s School, and Phillips Exeter Academy – which appear on Baltzell’s list of Select-Sixteen – Scudder also includes

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Adams Academy, at Quincy, Massachusetts; the Boston Public Latin School; and
Williston Seminary, at East Hampton, Massachusetts.\textsuperscript{101}

Another example of divergences between the contemporary view and the one held
by the social scientists of the 1950s and 1960s is the publication in 1903 of the
Massachusetts-born editor and author Oscar Fay Adams’ (1855-1919), \textit{Some
Famous American Schools}.\textsuperscript{102} In this book, Adams mirrors the example set by the
Clarendon commission and singles-out nine leading American schools. The schools
that are mentioned in Fay Adams’ book as the most prestigious schools in the
postwar era (namely, Nazareth Hall, Phillips Andover Academy, Phillips Exeter
Academy, Lawrenceville School, St. Paul’s, Saint Mark’s School, Shattuck School,
Groton School, Belmont School) only partially overlap with the ones mentioned by
Baltzell and Packard.

This suggests that in the United States, just as in England, the second half of the
nineteenth century marked the genesis of the field of private boarding schools, and
that this field was a competitive one. The changing fortunes of individual schools
over time, their rise and fall, is an additional suggestion that this ‘field’ is
characterised by ongoing transformation rather than static reproduction.

An emblematic by-product of the rise of this national field of elite, private,
secondary schools is the contemporary emergence of self-help books designed to
help prospective parents from the upper-middle and upper classes to navigate
among the private educational alternatives. First among the books that were meant
to aid prospective parents in finding a suitable educational institution for their
children was \textit{Where to Educate, 1898-1899} (1898), edited by Grace Powers Thomas.
In the preface of \textit{Where to Educate}, Powers Thomas writes that there appears to be a
market for this type of book given ‘the many letters of commendation which have
reached us from all parts of the country since its proposal’.\textsuperscript{103} Although Grace
Power Thomas’ outlook was positive, \textit{Where to Educate, 1898-1899} was the only
dition ever to be published.

\textsuperscript{101} Scudder, ‘A Group of Classical Schools’, 563.
\textsuperscript{102} Oscar Fay Adams, \textit{Some Famous American Schools} (Boston: Dana Estes and Co., 1903).
\textsuperscript{103} Grace Power Thomas, \textit{Where to Educate, 1898-1899: A Guide to the Best Private Schools, Higher Institutions
of Learning, Etc., in the United States} (Boston: Brown and Company, 1898), ix.
Seventeen years later, in 1915, education critic Porter Edward Sargent (1872-1951) published the first edition of what was to become the more successful, and longer lasting, *A Handbook of the Best Private Schools*. In the Editor’s Foreword of the first edition, Porter Sargent writes that this guide of the best private schools ‘has been undertaken with the parent especially in mind’, and that it ‘includes only the best [schools], drawing the line somewhat above the average’.¹⁰⁴

There is, in other words, a delay of just a few decades between the large increase in the number of public schools in England (and obviously also in the number of pupils attending these schools) and the rise of private secondary boarding schools in the United States. This prompts the following questions: what triggered this rise of rurally located private boarding schools in the United States? And, what social role did these boarding schools play in the formation of American elites at large? Did these schools fill a key function in the social integration of ‘new’ and ‘old’ money in the American society, just as their English counterparts did? Or, were these schools a deliberate attempt to keep people with newly accumulated wealth from the industrial revolution at arm’s length?

The historical sociological function of the American boarding schools has previously been dealt with by most of the major, mid-nineteenth century, American sociologists writing on social class, from E Digby Baltzell to Charles Wright Mills. Even though there has been a boom in scholarly research examining the present day situation and social function of the American elite boarding schools in the last ten years or so, the history of the American boarding schools, written by trained historians, is still a neglected field of study. The revised version of James McLachlan’s doctoral dissertation, *American Boarding Schools: An Historical Study*, which was published in 1970, is still regarded to be the key historical work on the matter.¹⁰⁵


It is nevertheless fruitful to make a brief survey of how American sociologists have answered the question of what social function the American boarding schools had during the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century. The picture that Charles Wright Mills paints in *The Power Elite* (1956) is that of boarding schools filling the role of a definitional institution for the American upper class. It is, according to Mills, one of the common experiences— together with an Ivy League education and membership of metropolitan social clubs and rural country clubs—that bind the upper strata of society together.¹⁰⁶ By-products of this shared life trajectory are first and foremost intermarriage and residence in the same affluent neighbourhoods. Among the social institutions that an American from the upper strata of society passes through in his (less so, her) life, the boarding school is, as Mills puts it, ‘the characterizing point in the upper-class experience’.¹⁰⁷

There is also an attempt by Mills to propose hypotheses—although he phrases this as an empirical fact—about the boarding schools’ changing historical role. Mills identified that the role of the family in the transmission of cultural and moral traits to the next generation has lost some of its importance; and this role was instead being filled by the private boarding schools.¹⁰⁸ The reader is however left in the dark as to when this supposed change actually occurred— at some point during the second half of the nineteenth century would be the qualified guess. To help answer the question of the societal and social function of the American boarding schools during the gilded age, there is one more historically important aspect to take away from Mills’ writings on the topic. Namely, the influence of the elite boarding school in uniting new and old elites into a nationalised upper class. Because, according the Mills, apart from being the most important agency in transmitting the traditions of the upper social classes to the next generation, the role of the boarding schools in ‘regulating the admission of new wealth and talent’ into this social group was of vital importance.¹⁰⁹

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¹⁰⁸ Mills, *The Power Elite*, 64.
In the writings of Baltzell, who also emphasises the crucial function that the boarding schools played in the creation of a national elite, the socially binding experience of spending part of one's adolescence at a rural boarding school is however secondary. The catalyst behind the need to integrate regional elites into a national one, according to Baltzell, was the rapid industrialisation of American society. This created a national market, with small-scale regional industries being replaced by large-scale national corporations. In other words, both Mills and Baltzell portray the incorporation of 'new' money into the establishment of families from 'old' money as a relatively smooth social process – with boarding schools functioning as a key mediator.

This view of a smooth social integration of new wealth and talent into the old upper class is challenged by Levine in his The Rise of American Boarding Schools and the Development of a National Upper Class (1980). In his article, Levine explains the early intentions of the founders of the private boarding schools by introducing the Weberian concept of 'social closure' (sozialer Schließung). Social closure may be rudimentarily defined as the monopolisation by a social group of specific opportunities, in this case educational ones. Due to the fact that it was not just one or two private boarding schools that were founded between 1856 and 1910 suggests that we should see the appearance of American boarding schools as the start of a movement; and seeking out the underlying social and economic structure that might have caused this movement would be a worthwhile endeavour.

Levine’s thesis is that the rise of boarding schools in America can be derived from the threat, real or imagined, that the influx of immigrants and 'new' fortunes posed for the social, economic, and political position of the established upper class families of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Although the United States has never had any hereditary nobility with constitutional privileges, the old elite families of Boston, often referred to as the 'Boston Brahmins', have held a similar societal function. Oliver Wendell Holmes Sr used the Hindu term ‘Brahmin’ in an Atlantic

110 Baltzell, Philadelphia Gentlemen, 304-318
Monthly article in 1859 to describe this long-standing New England social elite.\footnote{Reprinted in Oliver Wendell Holmes, Elsie Venner: A Romance of Destiny (Boston: Ticknor & Fields 1861), 13-20.} Brahmins are members of the highest ‘Varna’ (caste) in Hindu society and as such hold the most power. Thus, as indicated by this social caste reference, the Boston Brahmins were a socially pre-defined and exclusive group. The socially enclosed reality of the old Protestant elite of nineteenth century Boston is illustrated in John Collins Bossidy’s famous poem A Boston Toast: ‘And this is good old Boston, the home of the bean and the cod, where the Lowells talk only to Cabots and the Cabots talk only to God’\footnote{The poem was written for an alumni dinner of Holy Cross College}.

The Boston Brahmin families – such as Lowell, Cabot, Adams, Peabody, Forbes, Higginson, Sears, Lee, Lyman, Saltonstall, and Coolidge – were an interwoven social, economic, and political elite. The fortunes of many of these families can be traced back to eighteen-century trade with the Far East, when they controlled eastern seaboard ports in Salem and Newburyport. Flexibility and the ability to change their revenues of income were the key to their success. The Embargo act of 1807, which made all export from the United States illegal, and the trade restrictions caused by the War of 1812 were obviously difficult setbacks for the shipping industry. Some of the Brahmin families therefore shifted their interest to banking and the manufacturing industries, and later on to the railroad industry too.

As described in Bossily’s poem – that the ‘Lowells talk only to Cabots’ – the Brahmins were a social elite that were highly socially integrated, recognisable by their distinct Boston Brahmin accent and home address at Beacon Hill. In many ways, the story of the Boston Brahmins – and for that matter also the ‘old money’ families of New York and Philadelphia – mirrors the history of the European nobility during the late nineteenth century. The research question one needs to ask regarding the Boston Brahmins is therefore the same one that Arno J. Mayer’s posed about the European nobility in his The Persistence of the Old Regime (1981): for how long did they remain a power to be reckoned with? As in the case of the European nobility, the outside ‘threat’ to the Brahmins’ position of power came primarily from an emerging economic haute bourgeoisie. This group of newly arised
millionaire industrialists were referred to as ‘Robber Barons’ in an article published in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1870, which compared this new aristocracy of swindling millionaires with the robber barons of the Middle Ages.\(^{114}\) This rather derogatory sobriquet came to stick, not least with the publication of Matthew Josephson’s book *The Robber Barons* (1934) and historian Howard Zinn’s widely read book *A People’s History of the United States* (1980)\(^{115}\) in which he devotes a chapter to the robber barons. The concept, and indeed myth, of the robber barons has in this way developed into a mainstay within American historiography.\(^{116}\)

Who, then, were the robber barons? Industrialists and bankers such as Andrew Carnegie, Henry Clay Frick, Jay Gould, James J. Hill, Andrew Mellon, John Pierpont Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, Charles Schwab, and Cornelius Vanderbilt are amongst the people who have been given this unflattering epithet. The knee-jerk reaction amongst the old elite of ‘Proper Bostonians’ to the rise of the robber barons was, accord to Levine, to close ranks and to deny members of these supposed *nouveaux riches* access to their social world. This social world became even more entrenched by the contemporary establishment of rural private boarding schools, country clubs, and gentlemen’s clubs located in the metropolis.\(^{117}\) Being true to Max Weber’s theoretical prediction, Levine then concludes that with time, it is unclear after how long, ‘the common class interest that the old established families shared with the *nouveaux riches* overcame the social differences that had separated them’.\(^{118}\)

A chosen sample of the sons and daughters of ‘new money’ – the ‘second generation’, to put it differently – was thereby, according to Levine, given access to the social institutions of the old upper class. The fusion of old and new money at the turn of the nineteenth century spawned a predominantly white, Anglo-Saxon,

\(^{117}\) Levine, *The Rise of the American Boarding Schools*,
\(^{118}\) Levine, *The Rise of the American Boarding Schools*,

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and protestant elite – commonly known by the acronym WASPs; a term popularised by E. Digby Baltzell in his book *The Protestant Establishment* (1864).¹¹⁹

There was undoubtedly angst amongst the Brahmin families when they started to lose their grip over the economic power during the 1830s and 1840s. This social anxiety was transformed into distaste toward the seeming vulgarity of the *nouveaux riches*, and into an outright hostility towards the Irish and other immigrant groups, which were arriving in large numbers during this time. These immigrant groups changed the electoral landscape in Boston, and thereby posed a threat to the political influence of the Brahmins. On top of this, there was a religious divide between the Catholic Irish immigrants who arrived in New England in the 1840s to escape the Irish famine, the East European immigrants, who consisted predominately of Jews, and the Brahmins who were of protestant faith. Was it this social anxiety that really drove the boom of private, rurally located, boarding schools?

If we trace the beginning of the American boarding school movement to 1856 when St. Paul’s School was founded, we note that the school was established by the Salem-born physician, George Cheyne Shattuck Choate (1827-1896). Cheyne Shattuck Choate donated his country estate, located near the city of Concord, New Hampshire, to St Paul’s. The Shattuck and Choate families were ‘old money’, and in 1896, the brother of George Cheyne Shattuck Choate, William Gardner Choate (1830–1921), founded the ‘Select-Sixteen’ Choate School in Wallingford, Connecticut. Six years earlier, in 1890, William G. Choate’s wife, Mary Atwater Choate, had also founded the prestigious all-girls boarding school Rosemary Hall on the same grounds.¹²⁰ Although families with ‘old’ money founded St. Paul’s School, Rosemary Hall, and Choate School, there are no evidence of any ‘social closure’. At least judging from the school registers and the people who donated large amounts of money to these schools. Indeed, these benefactors were often people with very newly acquired fortunes.

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The next school, chronologically, amongst the ‘Select Sixteen’ is St. Mark’s School. Joseph Burnett founded St. Mark’s in 1865 in his hometown of Southborough, Massachusetts. Burnett had made a considerable fortune from the large-scale production of liquid vanilla extract and his company, started in 1847, was the first in the United States to commercially produce this ingredient. Much of the fortune that this business garnered for Burnett was dedicated to the foundation of St. Mark’s. In other words, the foundation of St. Mark’s was not a product of the Boston Brahmins’ supposed wish for social closure.

John Cleve Green, born in 1800 in the city of Lawrenceville, New Jersey, had – as a partner in the Canton-based trading house Russell & Company, amassed a great wealth in the trade with Qing dynasty China. When Green died childless in 1875, the accumulated wealth that he left behind was used to found the Lawrenceville School in his hometown in 1883. The rich benefactor and founder of Hotchkiss School in 1892 was Maria Bissell Hotchkiss (1827–1901). Bissell Hotchkiss was from the Bissell family of Grand Rapids, Michigan, whose wealth had been built on carpet sweepers and vacuum cleaners. Bissell Hotchkiss’ husband, Benjamin B. Hotchkiss, had made a significant fortune from developing a revolving barrel machine gun called ‘the Hotchkiss gun’. After his death in 1885, part of their jointly accrued wealth was used to build a boarding school in the Litchfield Hills of Connecticut. A few years later, in 1896, Rev. Diman, who was part of the prominent Diman family of Rhode Island, founded St. George’s School near Newport, Rhode Island.

From this – albeit brief– survey of the founders and major donors of some of the United States’ most prestigious boarding schools, an important finding should be emphasised. Namely that the theory of the American boarding schools being first and foremost a product of the old established families appears to be mistaken.

123 Lael Tucker Wertenbaker and Maude Hill Basserman, The Hotchkiss School: A Portrait (Lakeville, Conn: Hotchkiss School, 1966)
Rather, the short review above illustrates that so-called ‘new’ money was closely involved in the funding of these schools from the very start.

The Making of a National Upper Class

The social web surrounding Groton School may illustrate the American boarding school’s role in merging ‘new’ and ‘old’ money – as well as cultural, economic, and political capital. Groton School was founded in 1884 and located among 355 acres of land in the small Massachusetts town of the same name. The founder of Groton School was Endicott Peabody (1857-1944) who was born in Salem, Massachusetts. Endicott Peabody was the product of the inter-marriage of two prominent Brahmin families, the Cabots and the Peabodys. His father was the merchant banker Samuel Endicott Peabody and his mother, née Marianne Cabot Lee, was the daughter of John Cabot Lee. Cabot Lee was the founder of Boston’s leading investment bank, Lee, Higginson & Company, which was a key player in the rise of General Motors.

The Peabodys were one of the families who had accumulated large parts of their fortunes from trade with China and other parts of the Far East. Their contact with the Far East is evident in the important collections of Chinese and Indian artefacts in the Peabody Museum in Salem. When Endicott Peabody was a child his father took up work at his cousin George Peabody’s (1795–1869) London-based banking firm, George Peabody & Company. Endicott and his brother were soon after enrolled at Cheltenham College, an English public school located in the county of Gloucestershire. Endicott later continued his education at Trinity College at the University of Cambridge, before returning to the United States to be ordained at the Episcopalian Theological Seminary in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1884. In the same year as his ordination, and after a brief stint as chaplain at St. Mark’s School, Endicott Peabody founded Groton School.125

Peabody made shrewd use of his social and economic connections in the process of raising money for this educational enterprise. Amongst the trustees and donors of Groton, apart from his father, was the bishop Phillips Brooks (1835-1893), long-servicing rector of Trinity Church in Boston, and John Pierpont ‘J.P.’ Morgan (1837-

125 For a detailed biography of Endicott Peabody see Frank Davis Ashburn, Peabody of Groton: A Portrait (New York: Coward McCann, 1944).
1913) of the influential Morgan family. The ties between the Peabodys and Morgans in general, and Endicott Peabody and J.P. Morgan in particular, went back to the banking world of mid-nineteenth century London and the firm Peabody, Morgan & Co., which was controlled by Endicott’s relative George Peabody and J.P. Morgan’s father Junius Spencer Morgan (1813-1890). And, as time would tell, the entangled histories of Groton, the Peabodys, and the Morgans would continue. The only son of J.P. Morgan, John Pierpont “Jack” Morgan, Jr. (1867 – March 13, 1943), was the lone heir to Morgan’s business empire. J. P. Morgan Jr. received his boarding school education at St. Paul’s School in New Hampshire prior to the opening of Groton School. However, the sons of J. P. Morgan Jr. – Junius Spencer Morgan III (1892-1960) and Henry Sturgis Morgan (1900-1982) – both attended Groton School. After Groton, Harvard, and service in the United States Navy, Junius Spencer Morgan III became director of the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company, and Henry Sturgis Morgan co-founded the Morgan Stanley Company. The educational tradition of the Morgan family continued well into the twentieth century, when Henry Sturgis Morgan sent all of his five sons to Groton school.

It can be said that the Morgan family represents the link between Groton School and the financial elite. Similarly, the Roosevelt family had the same function concerning the political elite, even though the Roosevelts first made their mark as a powerful business family. Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919), the 26th President of the United States, had been home-schooled by tutors before he entered Harvard College in 1876, at the age of seventeen. However, Theodore Roosevelt’s four sons – Theodore Jr, Kermit, Archibald, and Quentin – were all educated at Groton. The fifth cousin of Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882-1945) – the 32nd President of the United States – also attended Groton school. Moreover, President Franklin D. Roosevelt sent his four sons – James (1907-1991), Elliott (1910-1990), Franklin Jr. (1914-1988), and John (1916-1981) – to Groton school.

As illustrated with the case of the Morgan family, ‘new money’ was present from the very outset of the existence of Groton school. Nonetheless, it should be

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underscored that at the time boarding schools in America had reached a critical mass during the final decades of the nineteenth century, the so-called robber barons were no longer *nouveaux riches*. By way of illustration, Junius Spencer Morgan III and Henry Sturgis Morgan were the ‘third generation’ of the successful Morgan business empire at the time of their enrolment at Groton. The Morgans were once a family with a newly acquired fortune, but with time their position in the financial establishment was secured. A possibly even more convincing argument against the idea that the rise of private boarding schools should be regarded as driven by a desire for ‘social closure’ against the rise of newly accumulated wealth, is that the second generation of ‘new money’ were involved in financing and founding a majority of these boarding schools.

Moreover, from the Roosevelt case there is also some illustrative anecdotal evidence of the private boarding school years truly functioning as the ‘characterising point in the upper-class experience’, to put it in the words of Mills Wright. In 1934, Franklin D. Roosevelt said of his Rector at Groton, that ‘as long as I live, the influence of Dr Peabody means and will mean more to me that any other people next to my father and mother’.

**The Aristocratic Haute Bourgeois Fusion Writ Larger**

Even if not undisputed, the key role that the English public schools filled in the social fusion of ‘old’ and ‘new’ money during the ‘long nineteenth century’ is widely accepted in the general historiography. It is true that this has been more sparsely examined in the historical scholarship on the American boarding schools. Yet, the existing historical literature – although often written by sociologists – does indeed highlight the vital role that the American preparatory boarding schools played in the ‘marriage’ of ‘new’ and ‘old’ revenues of wealth. The same cannot be said of the handful of independent rural boarding schools that were founded in Sweden during the first two decades of the twentieth century. A closer look at the social function of the Swedish boarding schools would therefore reveal two important aspects.

First, if the independent boarding schools’ role in the fusion of new and old elites still needs to be writ large. Second, if the current national historiography of Sweden’s educational history – which tells the story of a twentieth century that saw the rise of ‘the worlds most centralised and socially egalitarian school system’ – should become much more nuanced.129

The first of the independent Swedish boarding schools to be established in the modern era was Lundberg. The Swedish-British businessman William Olsson (1862-1923) founded Lundberg in 1896. He was the son of the Swedish timber merchant Martin Olsson who, together with his English-born spouse, Elizabeth Tucker, had relocated from Sweden to England ten years prior to the birth of their son William. Although William Olsson spent his childhood in London, his ties to Sweden were revived when as a teenager he was sent to Sweden to receive his secondary education at a grammar school (Högre Allmänna Läroverket) in the small city of Karlstad, in the region of Värmland. After receiving his abitur, William Olsson moved to the southern port city of Gothenburg to continue his education at Göteborgs Handelssinstitut. Gothenburg had been a hotbed of commerce ever since the foundation of the Swedish East India Company in 1773. The Handelssinstitut was a natural reflection of this intensive trade and was founded by the merchant elite of Gothenburg. William Olsson then returned to London and joined the family business – Martin Olsson & Sons.130

During the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth century, William Olsson – with his strategic geographical position in London and his ties to the Swedish forest and iron industry – quickly emerged as one of the most successful and wealthiest businessmen in Sweden. Already in 1892, William Olsson had bought the Lundsberg estate from his father-in-law. When the Olsson family later decided to return to Sweden in order to be closer to the natural resource industries in the north of Sweden, William Olsson decided to transform the Lundsberg estate into an ‘English style’ boarding school for boys. Olsson had a passion for education. And this passion for education, combined with the fact that

he regarded the Lundsberg estate as ‘useless’ from an economic perspective, resulted in the founding of Lundsberg in 1896.\textsuperscript{131} Olsson’s personal ties to the industrial elite of the time convinced him that a boarding school located in beautiful countryside soundings would attract the interest of affluent Swedish families, both domestically and from abroad.\textsuperscript{132}

Even though Lundsberg had opened its doors to the first group of pupils in 1896, it was not until 1908 that Lundsberg had established itself as a ‘proper’ grammar school, that is, with the right to conduct school leaver examinations (Studentexamen). The year before, in 1907, two Lundsberg pupils took the abitur as ‘privatist’ at the nearby grammar school in Karlstad, and if you include these two, there were in total 23 pupils who matriculated between 1907 and 1912. One of the Lundsberg pupils who had already matriculated in Karlstad in 1907 was Count Lage Posse whose family is part of the Swedish Uradel. The other pupil, of this small 1907 cohort, was Lennart Biesèrt, son of the Liberal coalition government’s finance minister.\textsuperscript{133}

Among the first group of pupils who graduated from Lundsberg, we also find Lennart Biesèrt’s brother Olof, followed by Baron Gerard De Geer, the son of Baron Fabian De Geer, who was both a Member of Parliament and governor of Skaraborg County. Another pupil who joined Baron Gerhard de Geer and Olof Biesèrt in the celebration of their matriculation was Theodor Dieden, whose father owned the Karlslund mansion outside the city of Örebro.\textsuperscript{134} The Biesèrt family was an upper-class family that was intimately connected with the Swedish government and the state administration. The Dieden family, in turn, was as close as one gets in Sweden to what in Germany would be described as Wirtschaftsbürgertum – a commercial upper middle class whose social status, influence and power are not derived or dependent on the educational qualifications that are recognised by the state (grammar schools and universities). In other words, the pupils were drawn from families that had enjoyed very diverse elite positions in society.

\textsuperscript{131} Lundsbergs skolas historia, 1896-1946, 10-13.
\textsuperscript{132} Lundsbergs skola 1912, 16.
\textsuperscript{133} Matrikel Lundsbergs skola, 1896-1996.
\textsuperscript{134} Nordisk familjebok (1910), 1091-1092.
In total, during the first five years after Lundsberg’s opening, one fifth of the pupils at Lundsberg came from the Swedish nobility. In England, the boarding schools had been the educational choice for the nobility for several hundred years before the upper-middle class began to use these schools during the latter part of the nineteenth century. In the United States, conversely, the industrial parvenus started to send their children off to boarding schools only one generation after the opening of elite boarding schools, which initially attracted more or less exclusively ‘old’ money families (the Boston Brahmins, New York Knickerbockers etc.). It is noteworthy that the independent boarding school in Lundsberg managed to attract such a high share of highborn pupils during its first years of existence.

If we bear in mind the comparative situation in American and English boarding schools, it is perhaps even more significant that Lundsberg catered for both families of the Swedish nobility (‘old money’) and the sons of the emerging industrial elites (‘new money’) from the outset. The contemporary arrival of the sons of the aristocracy and the sons of owners of sawmills, shipping companies etc., indicates that the origin and social rationale of the independent boarding schools cannot be traced to a desire for ‘social closure’. At least not towards people from new streams of economic fortunes. This process of social fusion is furthermore an important testimony of the intermarriage (both in the literary and factual sense of the word) between the aristocracy and the economic haute bourgeoisie, which had already begun, albeit slowly, prior to the foundation of Lundsberg.

This proto-fusion is anecdotally illustrated if we return to the Lundsberg cohort of 1907 and the pupil Lage Posse. Apart from being a member of the noble Posse family, his maternal grandfather was the Gothenburg-based industrialist magnate Oscar Dickson (1823-1897), one of the most affluent Swedes of the nineteenth century. In other words, the shared social world of the aristocracy and the economic haute bourgeoisie, and the ensuing intermarriages between them, was a fact by the late 1800s. Yet, this social fusion took place primarily at the local or regional levels. That is, the fusion of these two social groups through marriage was

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135 These numbers are derived from Matrikel Lundsbergs skola, 1896-1996.
often confined geographically. A ‘new’ cohesive social elite on a national, or even international, scale had not yet emerged.

Since the creation of a national elite – and what role boarding schools played in this creation – during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century is something that is highlighted in the scholarship on the relatively contemporary situation in England and America, it would be illuminating to see if this is a pattern that is also applicable to Sweden. Both in England and America, home schooling by tutors followed by university had been a common educational trajectory before the independent boarding schools reached a ‘critical mass’. This observation raises the question of whether or not this was the case in Sweden, too. Put differently, where did the Swedish nobility and haute bourgeoisie receive their secondary education before the emergence of rurally located independent boarding schools during the first two decades of the twentieth century?

The Education of an Emerging Capitalist Elite

Among the many haute bourgeoisie families who have had their sons educated at Lundsberg, five of them might serve as Weberian ‘ideal types’ (Ideal Typos), both when it comes to how they accumulated their fortunes, and where they educated their children. The ‘micro history’ of these five families also captures Lundberg’s function in the creation of a nationally integrated social and economic elite (or upper class, if you will) during the first three decades of the twentieth century. The five families in question are Kockum, Broström, Dickson, Unander-Scharin, and Versteegh. The Kockum family was based in Malmö in the south of Sweden; Broström and Dickson in Gothenburg; while Unander-Scharin and Versteegh were in the northern parts of the country, primarily Umeå and Härnösand respectively.

The Unander-Scharin family had emerged as an influential family in the northern coastal towns of Umeå and Skellefteå during the middle of the nineteenth century. The double-barrelled name has its origin in the marriage between Ferdinand Unander (1829-1883) and Fanny Fredrika Scharin (1841-1911) – two influential, but by no means especially affluent families. In other words, Ferdinand Unander was to some extent a ‘self-made man’. His father had a large farm in the village of
Nordmaling, 55 kilometres south of Umeå, and Ferdinand managed to be elected secretary of the Royal Swedish Academy of Agriculture. The father of Ferdinand’s wife, Fanny, was the businessman Adolf Fredrik Scharin (1797-1877) who had a shipping company that transported tar to Stockholm. One of Fanny and Ferdinand’s eight children was Egil Unander-Scharin (1868-1910). If Ferdinand was the ‘patriarch’ of the successful family firm A. F. Scharin, Egil was the second-generation heir of the family fortune. In trying to understand the educational strategies of the emerging Swedish industrial bourgeoisie at the time, Egil’s education – in his role as the heir apparent – is the one we will come back to.

In the port city of Malmö, some 1,300 kilometres south of Umeå, another family story similar to the one of the Unander-Scharin’s ascent to affluence developed, namely, the Kockum family, who were in the shipping industry. The second-generation heir apparent of the Kockum family business was Frans Henrik Kockum (1840-1910). The story of the Unander-Scharins and Kockums could also be that of the Broström family in Gothenburg, whose patriarch, the shipping owner Axel Broström, had laid the foundation for what was to be the great Broström Concern. The successor of Axel Broström was to be his son Dan Broström (1870-1925).

What, then, were the educational trajectories of these three, geographically spread, scions of the second half of the nineteenth century: Frans Henrik Kockum, Dan Broström, and Egil Unander-Scharin? Unlike the contemporary situation in America, Sweden had a well-established system of state controlled secondary schools that were very well regarded by the general public. Compared to the situation in contemporary England, the social prestige of the Swedish state grammar schools outshone any private secondary school alternative. However, neither Frans Henrik, Dan nor Egil took the educational route from grammar school to the established universities in Lund or Uppsala. This route was well travelled for the Swedish cultural elite, or bildungsbürgertum to use the German terminology. The educational path for the emerging Swedish industrial elite, or Wirtschaftsbürgertum, during the second half of the nineteenth century, was found, in part, outside the geographical boarders of the Kingdom of Sweden. In other words, from a national perspective, there was an institutional vacuum in the education of the ‘second generation’ industrial elite.
Frans Henrik Kockum, for example, first attended a technical secondary school (Tekniska Elementarskolan) in Malmö. However, after this he moved to Niedersachsen in Germany. Between the years 1858 and 1960 he studied at the Polytechnische Schule in the German city of Hanover. After his two-year stint at the Polytechnische, Frans Henrik moved to Saxony to study at the Technische Universität Bergakademie in Freiberg, which is the world’s oldest academy of that kind – having been founded in 1765. After his two years in Freiberg, Frans Henrik continued his modern-day ‘grand tour’ to the Austrian city of Leoben, where he enrolled in the Bergakademie. After three years abroad, Frans Henrik returned to Sweden and began to work in the family business in Malmö – Kockum industries.\textsuperscript{137}

Egil Unander-Scharin received his secondary education in Sweden, but not at the prestigious state grammar schools. Instead, Egil studied business and commerce in Stockholm at the private Frans Schartaus Handelsinstitut (founded in 1865), which had been founded and was financially supported by the merchant society of Stockholm. Just like Frans Henrik, Egil then continued his educational journey abroad; two years in Barcelona and one year in Paris. In both cities he worked as an intern at firms specialising in the forest industry.\textsuperscript{138}

Dan Broström was the only one of the three scions of industrial family firms that received part of his education in the state controlled system. Broström studied in Gothenburg at högre realläroverket, which was an imported version of the German Realschule, i.e. more practical and with an emphasis on modern languages and less on Greek and Latin. Instead of attending university in Lund or Uppsala, Broström spent the year after secondary school as an intern abroad, in Hull, England and in the German city of Königsberg (present day Kaliningrad, Russia). He thereafter went into the family business.\textsuperscript{139}

The Broströms, Kockums, and Unander-Scharins were all born in Sweden, developed strong local ties, and successfully transformed small-scale family

\textsuperscript{137} Nordisk familjenbok (1911), 471-472.
\textsuperscript{138} Bo Sundin, Scharinska villan: historik (Umeå, 2007), 5.
businesses into national ones. As such, these three may represent one ‘ideal type’ Swedish bourgeoisie. Similarly, the Dicksons and Versteeghs serve as good examples of the numerous immigrant families that have left a lasting mark on the economic history of Sweden. James Dickson (1784–1855), together with his brother Robert Dickson (1782–1858), left Montrose in Scotland for the harbour city of Gothenburg during the first years of the nineteenth century. Shortly after the Dickson brothers’ arrival in Sweden, in 1816, James Dickson started the trading company James Dickson & Co. The trading company accumulated quite a substantial fortune through it import/exports business – English fabrics to Sweden and timber and iron ore from Sweden to England.140

As suggested above, the Dickson brothers’ emigration to Sweden, and their subsequent business success, was part of a larger pattern. Scottish businessmen such as David Carnegie (1772-1873), William Gibson (1783-1857), and Alexander Keiller (1804-1874), were three other prominent businessmen of the time. Also, William Gibson was directly involved in launching Sweden’s first savings bank, Göteborgs Sparbank, together with fellow immigrant, the German-native Eduard Ludendorff. It was also during the second half of the nineteenth century that the ‘patriarch’ of the Versteegh family, Arendt Versteegh (1849-1931), left Edam in the Netherlands for the northern Swedish coastal town of Härnösand. In Härnösand Versteegh quickly made a considerable fortune from his sawmill business; a profitable trade considering the northern region’s booming forestry industry.

Returning to the Dickson family, it may be said that within the stretch of two generations, the family accomplished a considerable class journey in Sweden. The Dicksons arrived at the very start of the nineteenth century, but it was not until the second half of the same century that the family consolidated their position in the Swedish society. The Dicksons were at this time to be regarded as a Swedish haute bourgeoisie family of the first rank. The sons of James and Robert Dickson, that is, the ‘second generation’ Dicksons, were relatively contemporary to the sons of the Kockums, Broströms, and Unander-Scharins. It would come as no surprise that their educational trajectories were also very similar to those described above; business

and commerce schools like Göteborgs Handelsinstitut followed Dr Klügmann’s Handelsschule in the German city of Lübeck.  

Why, then, is this educational trajectory of the emerging industrial elite so noteworthy? As I have touched upon before, one of the key concepts in our understanding of formal education in the period 1870-1914 – and its relationship to the state – is what Fritz Ringer calls ‘segmentation’. That is, bluntly put, different types of schools for different social classes. The relationship between the Gymnasium and Volksschule in Germany serves as a good example. The ‘segmentation’ concept is often used to describe, or measure, relations from a vertical perspective. That is, between the ‘elite’ and the ‘masses’. By way of illustration, Ringer argues that the Prussian school system was less segmented than its French counterpart at the turn of the nineteenth century. This was due to a larger presence of children from working class backgrounds.

Educational trajectories of the Swedish industrial elites, as described above, suggest that a type of ‘horizontal segmentation’ was emerging during the second half of the nineteenth century. The industrial elites were by no means dependent on the educational institutions of the state – which was not the case for the other elite group on the horizontal axe, the cultural elite, or bildungsbürgertum. Whilst the cultural elite derived their social position from, and were entirely dependent on, the grammar school-university combination, the children of the industrial elite were educated in private business and engineering schools, and often abroad.

To understand what the educational trajectory of the industrial elite during the second half of the eighteen century means from a larger societal perspective, Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of ‘structural homology’ might be useful. The concept, which Bourdieu borrowed from biology, essentially means that there is a shared genesis, or ancestry, between a pair of structures. In this case, the structures that shared a genesis were the rise of an industrial elite, or capitalist class, on the one hand, and the emergence of business and commerce schools on a larger ‘critical mass’-scale, on

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the other. The sheer fact that the sons of the Swedish industrial elite travelled abroad – to Germany, France, and England – is testament to the transnational dimension in the shared ancestry of business schools and the rise and consolidation of a capitalist class.

If we delineate this transnationally entangled history of business schools, we find that its origins can, by and large, be traced to private educational enterprises. It should however be mentioned that there had been attempts by states during the eighteenth century to start business schools, primarily in Austria and Portugal, but these attempts were brief and unsuccessful. A likely candidate for the position of ‘patriarch’ amongst the modern business schools is the Handlungsakademie, which was founded in Hamburg in 1767 by Johann Georg Büsch (1728-1800).\textsuperscript{143} The commercial academy that Büsch founded is also an illustration of the transnational web of connections at the time. Indeed, Büsch’s commercial academy in Hamburg was particularly influenced by the writings of the contemporary Scottish moral philosopher Adam Smith (1723-1790).\textsuperscript{144}

The close trading connections between Hamburg and Gothenburg had a contagious effect on the commercial schools in the two cities. This was illustrated by the fact that it was the same group of commercial teachers that had founded the Handlungsakademie in Hamburg that would in 1785 establish Wurmb’s Handelsseminarium in Öringe, just south of Gothenburg. Although this business academy was short lived, lasting for only five years, Gothenburg saw the founding of its own Handelsinstitut in 1826. Gothenburg’s Handelsinstitut would become an important educational institution for the scions of Gothenburg ship owners and merchants, attracting pupils from prominent industrialist families such as Dickson, Ekman, Kjellberg, and Waern.\textsuperscript{145}

Two other contemporary business schools, which became a source for emulation throughout Europe, were the Öffentliche Handelslehranstalt in Leipzig (1831) and Institut supérieur de commerce in Antwerp (1852). The educational landscape during

\textsuperscript{143} Jürgen Zabeck, Johann George Büsch: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und zur Methodologie der Wirtschaftswissenschaften und der Wirtschaftspädagogik (Hamburg, 1964).
\textsuperscript{144} Zabeck, Johann George Büsch, 157-160, 212.
\textsuperscript{145} Axel Ahström, Matrikel öfver Göteborgs Handelsinstituts elever, 1826-1885 (Göteborg, 1918).
the second half of the nineteenth century, when our five industrialist sons were trying to find the best education possible in order to be successful in running the family business, was diverse Many of the commercial schools around Europe were short lived. Moreover, there was no clear hierarchical progression, in the sense that one school gave access to the next level. By all means and measures, all of the commercial schools mentioned above should be categorised as being at a ‘secondary school’ level. It was therefore quite common for students to spend a few years at one commercial school, and then to move to another – even if both schools were on the same secondary school level. One example of this is Oscar Dickson, who studied at both Handelsinstitutet in Gothenburg and Klügmann’s Handlungsakademie in Hamburg.\footnote{Svenskt biografiskt handlexikon (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1906).}

The tertiary stage on the educational ladder, i.e. university, often consisted of internships. At the end of the nineteenth century, in the state school system, there was a process that the educational historian Detlef Müller has called ‘systematization’.\footnote{Detlef Müller, ‘The Process of Systematization: The Case of German Secondary Education’, in Müller, Ringer, and Simon, The Rise of the Modern Educational System (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).} Müller’s concept centres on the process in which loosely defined groups of schools become systematised into a highly organised ‘system’ of schools. In this system, completion of studies at one level grants access to another school on a higher level. A similar process occurred amongst this group of business schools that operated in the private sphere.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, this systematisation of the private commercial schools led to at least two major changes. First, the commercial schools moved up one notch in the hierarchical structure. Previously being considered secondary schools they now became part of tertiary education. Although the École spéciale de commerce et d’industrie, founded in 1819, was considered to be a tertiary institution, it was not until the 1890s that the business schools on university level appeared in Europe, America, and Asia (Japan) in any larger number. Second, this move up the hierarchical ladder meant, in some cases, that the state increased its control over these private institutions of higher learning. This state influence over the higher schools of commerce was partly enforced by regulating who would be
eligible to attend these schools, which often meant a state recognised degree from
the prior, secondary school level. Another way these commercial schools of higher
learning were reined in by the state, or region, was by making them into a branch of
the existing universities, this was the case with the first German Handelshochschule
in Leipzig – which were part of the University of Leipzig.

This was also the general pattern in Belgium, the USA, and England. This process is
illustrated by the London School of Economics and Political Science, which was
founded in 1890 and became part of the University of London in 1896. Another
example is the Wharton School of Finance and Economy (later Wharton School of
Finance and Commerce), founded in 1881, which was a department of the
University of Pennsylvania. However, there were several business schools that
remained independent from state control. This was the case with Università
commerciale Luigi Bocconi in Milano (founded 1902) and the Handelshochschulen in
Cologne and Berlin, to name but a few.

In 1896, at the time when William Olsson circulated his pamphlet about a new
English-style boarding school in Lundsberg, there existed already two commercial
schools on secondary school level in Sweden: Göteborgs Handelsinstitut in
Gothenburg and Frans Schartaus praktiska handelsinstitut in Stockholm. (A business
school on university level had not yet seen the light of day in Sweden). Either of
these two commercial schools – combined with a couple of years of studies or
internships in Germany or England – had during the second half of the nineteenth
century been regarded as a suitable education for sons of the Kockums, Unander-
Scharins, Dicksons, and Broströms. However, when we reach the first decade of the
twentieth century, a ‘shift’ was taking place in the educational trajectory of the
Swedish industrial elite. The reason behind this shift can be traced to the increased
status of the studentexamen – the degree that one was awarded upon the successful
completion of the school leaving examination at the Swedish Gymnasium
(analogous to the baccalauréat of the French Lycée or the Abitur of the German
Gymnasium).148

148 Christina Florin and Ulla Johansson, Där de härliga lagrarna gro-: kultur, klass och kön i det svenska
The *studentexamen* had also previously opened up occupational advantages, into the civil service, not least. But during the first decades of the twentieth century, there is an increased symbolic elevation of the studentexamen, which is observable in several contemporary writings on educational issues. A substantial number of educators and social commentators came to voice the opinion that this new hype over the *studentexamen* had gone too far.\(^{149}\) One man who had a particularly strong opinion on the topic was William Olsson. In his original plans for the kind of school Lundsberg should be, Olsson even had the idea that Lundsberg would not prepare its pupils for the school leaving examination – an idea he had to let go of in 1906 due to heavy pressure from the parents of the pupils.\(^{150}\)

Even though Egil Unander-Scharin, Arendt Versteegh, and Dan Broström, as well as the sons of other industrial elites of the nineteenth century shared a similar educational trajectory, they were never educated at the same school. Their sons and heirs apparent – Arne Unander-Scharin (1892-1963), Gerard Versteegh (1890-1977), and Dan-Axel Broström (1915-1976), would, however, do that – all three of them were educated at Lundsberg. Arne Unander-Scharin and Gérard Versteegh even lived together in the same boarding house (*Grönsäter*).\(^{151}\)

Arne Unander-Scharin had at the age of eight moved 760 kilometres, from Umeå to Lundsberg, and Gerard Versteegh had at the age of 15 moved 54 kilometres from Härnösand to Lundsberg. They were later joined by Dan-Axel Broström, who made the 276 kilometres journey from Gothenburg to Lundsberg in 1913. One decade later James Dickson and Gerard Dickson would make the same journey as Dan-Axel Broström. The Broströms and Dicksons were not the only families who made the journey from Gothenburg to Lundsberg – these boys were joined by the sons of all the prominent commercial families of the city of Gothenburg – Ekman, Carlander, Mark, Kjellberg, Waern, Bratt, Wijk, and Keiller.\(^{152}\)

Two points are to be taken from this rather detailed description of travelling distances in Sweden. First, that Lundsberg attracted pupils from the leading

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\(^{149}\) *Lundsbergs skolas historia, 1896-1946,*

\(^{150}\) *Lundsbergaren, 1906,*

\(^{151}\) *Matrikel Lundsbergs skola, 1896-1996.*

\(^{152}\) *Matrikel Lundsbergs skola, 1896-1996.*
industrial families from all parts of Sweden right from the beginning. Lundsberg was thereby to be regarded as a truly national educational institution. This fact had an interesting effect on its clientele. Namely, that even if the social worlds of the industrial elites had been interwoven on a regional scale in the past, these social worlds now became interwoven on a national scale. Second, the three cities mentioned above – Umeå, Härnösand, and Gothenburg – all had well-established and socially prestigious grammar schools of their own. In fact, instead of walking 250 meters (literally) from his family’s patrician villa in Umeå to the city’s prestigious state grammar school (högre allmänna läroverk), Arne Unander-Scharin travelled the 760 kilometres to Lundsberg, in order study the same curriculum that was available in Umeå. One pervasive interpretation of the decisions of the Unander-Scharins, Broströms, Dicksons et al. to opt for private boarding schools instead of state grammar schools is that this was primarily an act of social, or elite, distinction. Lundsberg gave access to the sought-after, state recognised, studentexamen. At the same time, the Lundsberg pupils received this degree in an educational environment that was distinctly different from the state grammar schools, both in terms of clientele and ethos.

The emergence of the Swedish boarding schools during the first decades of the twentieth century is therefore in line with what has been argued by educational historians such as Fritz Ringer, Detlef Müller, and Brian Simon. These historians have argued that changes within national educational systems (i.e. the founding of new schools), are often the consequence of the emergence of new social classes and their need for new institutions for social reproduction.153 However, in the case of Sweden, as we shall see, the economic haute bourgeoisie was not the only social group that was seeking new educational institutions.

In Search of a Modern Ritterakademie

As mentioned earlier, the arrival of the Broströms, Dicksons, and Unander-Scharins at Lundsberg coincided with the arrival of the sons of the Swedish high nobility such as Bonde, De Geer, Wachtmeister, Beck-Friis, Douglas, Trolle, Rålamb, Sparre, and von Essen. Indeed, the aristocratic presence at Lundsberg was

substantial throughout the twentieth century. If we trace the aristocratic presence at Lundsberg up until 1996, we can see that Lundsberg has educated 94 Counts and 63 Barons. But why did the Swedish nobility start to send their children to boarding schools? As with the story of commercial schools, the history of the education of the Swedish nobility is a transnationally entangled one, and these transnational entanglements stretch back, at least, to the seventeenth century.

On the more informal educational spectra, there were the transnational phenomena of study trips to royal courts abroad, which went by the name Grand tours in France, Sweden, and England. (In Germany these study trips were known as Junkerfahrt or Kavalierreise). The most intensive period of the grand tours is often pinpointed to the period between 1660 and 1840. This same period also saw the rise of ‘knight academies’ (Academies in France and Ritterakademien in Germany). The Collegium illustre in Tübingen (1589) and Collegium Mauritianum in Kassel (1599) serve as two early examples that were to be emulated throughout northern Europe. The outbreak of the Thirty Years’ War in 1618 temporarily halted the further expansion of knight academies. After the end of the war, in 1648, a number of new knight academies were established, namely, Kolberg (1653), Lüneburg (1655), Halle (1680), Vienna (1682), and Wolfenbüttel (1687).

Importantly, and unlike the rest of northern continental Europe, these types of institutions for chivalric education never managed to become established in England and Sweden. In Sweden, there were plans to establish a knight academy in the city of Vadstena, but these ideas never materialised. The only, albeit short-lived, knight academy in Sweden was founded in 1626 in Stockholm and was named after its predecessor in Tübingen, Collegium illustre. After only three years, Collegium illustre in Stockholm ceased to exist.

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154 This numbers are derived from the pupil register from 1896 up until 1996, see Matrikel Lundsbergs skola, 1896-1996.
156 August Willburger, Das Collegium illustre zu Tübingen (Tübingen, 1912).
157 Thomas Woody, Fürstenschulen in Germany after the Reformation (Wisconsin: George Bania Publisher, 1920).
Two aspects are worth highlighting at this chronological point in the delineation of the educational strategies of the nobility. The first is the national paradigm, and the second the curricular emphasis of these educational institutions for the nobility. The opening of Collegium illustre in Stockholm was a national response to the ‘grand tours’, that is, it was the product of a fear that the Swedish elites would leave the country for good; or, perhaps even worse, the fear of these protestant Swedish nobilities being ‘corrupted’ by their catholic counterparts.\textsuperscript{158}

With the closure of the Collegium illustre in Stockholm, there was yet again an educational vacuum that needed to be filled, or else the nobility would return to continental Europe. It was therefore decided, at the state level, that the universities in Lund and Uppsala would resume the responsibility for the education of the Swedish nobility. Therefore, special teachers were hired to teach the young noblemen in drawing, fencing, dancing, and riding. These activities were linked to the other factors, which are worth highlighting in the education of the elite during this particular time period (1600-1700). This future elite was not trained to be scholars, they were trained to be ‘men of action’, and this is something that foreshadows the important, and long lasting, dualistic relationships between physical/moral and scholarly/intellectual education. The nobility of northern continental Europe – Sweden included – was educated in accordance with the physical/moral ideal. Contrariwise, the education that the English nobility received at the public schools, Oxbridge, and Inns of Court, was during this time period more in line with the scholarly/intellectual ideal.

What is evident, even at the beginning of the eighteenth century, is that the educational trajectory of the Swedish nobility has experienced many ruptures and changes. This stands in contrast to the educational trajectory of the nobility in England. Here, the educational ladder consisted and continues to consist of attendance at a public school, followed by Oxbridge, and the Court of Inns. The next shift in the educational trajectory of the Swedish nobility took place towards the end of the eighteenth century. This is the point in time when the Royal War Academy (Kungliga krigskademin) in Karlberg (Stockholm) and the Royal Swedish Naval Academy (Kungliga Sjökrigsskolan) in Karlkrona were founded. This

emergence of military schools towards the end of the eighteenth century, and the nobilities' frequent use of them, is part of a larger European pattern with the contemporary establishment of institutions such as the *Preussische Kriegsakademie* in Berlin (1810), the *Theresianische Militärakademie* in Vienna (1751), and the Royal Military College in Sandhurst (1801).

However, since the middle of the nineteenth century, we can see a certain déclassement of the Swedish Royal War Academy and the Swedish Royal Naval Academy, at least in terms of the social background of the cadets. Another important shift took place in 1867, when the academy was reorganised (it also changed its name to the *Royal Military Academy*). The reorganisation took place in order to offer vocational military training in the modern sense. During the first half of the nineteenth century the cadets had been around thirteen or fourteen years old when they arrived at Karlberg. After 1867, instead, the successful applicants must have completed basic military service before they could enrol at the Military Academy. During the final decades of the nineteenth century, the Swedish nobility was therefore, yet again, without a clear educational trajectory.

The aristocracy was still overrepresented in the military profession – especially the title of officer – during the first decades of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, the Royal Military Academy was now on a tertiary level and not for thirteen or fourteen year-olds. It is therefore no coincidence that it is precisely at this time that we see the emergence of the private secondary boarding schools in Lundsberg, Solbacka, and Sigtuna. These private boarding schools did by no means market themselves as institutions for the education of the aristocracy. However, a private boarding school modelled on the English public school, which at the same time gave its pupils a state-recognised *Studentexamen*, gave the sons of the aristocracy a socially distinguished educational institution that at the same time gave them access to civil service jobs (where a *studentexamen* was a prerequisite).

This inter-generational education shift from the War Academy to Lundsberg (and later, the two boarding schools in Sigtuna and the one in Solbacka) amongst the

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Swedish nobility is evident in the student registers. During the nineteenth century, several generations from aristocratic families such as Staël von Holstein, Palmstierna, Nordenskjöld, Lilliehöök, Mörner, Lewenhaupt, von Kantzow, von Krusenstjerna, Klingspor, and von Post received their education at the War Academy at Karlsberg. In the beginning of the twentieth century, all of the above-mentioned families disappeared – or were at least significantly reduced – from the War Academy (then called the Military Academy) register. Instead they should reappear in the pupil register of Lundsberg.\textsuperscript{160}

One aspect of the latest change in the educational strategy of the Swedish nobility, i.e. the one that occurred at the turn of the nineteenth century, is particularly noteworthy. That is, the fact that it converged with the educational trajectory of the industrial elite. The symbolic capital of a boarding school education would however increase even more when the educational trajectories of the nobility and the industrial elite would also converge with the foremost of social elites in Sweden – the Royal Family.

**Boarding Schools and the Royal Connection**

Between the years 1918 and 1928, four royal princes were sent to Värmland to be educated at the boarding school in Lundsberg. First to arrive were the twelve-year-old Prince Gustaf Adolf (1906-1947) and eleven-year-old Prince Sigvard (1907-2002). At that time, Prince Gustaf Adolf was second in the line of succession, but he never ascended the throne as he died in an airplane crash in 1947. Eight years after their arrival at Lundsberg, the princes Gustav Adolf and Sigvard were joined by their fourteen-year-old brother Prince Bertil (1912-1997). Two years later, in 1928, the youngest prince, Prince Carl Johan (1916-2012), also arrived at Lundsberg.\textsuperscript{161} The seventeen years – between 1918 and 1935 – of princely presence at Lundsberg, made the school into a household name. The media coverage was, needless to say, extensive. A consequence of this was that from the 1920s, Lundsberg gained the epithet ‘the school of the princes’ \textit{(Prinsarnas skola)}. And, it

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\textsuperscript{160} Student register reprinted in Larsson, \textit{Från adlig uppfödran till borgerlig utbildning}, \textit{Matrikel Lundsbergs skola, 1896-1996},
is also during this time period that we find the first references to Lundsberg as ‘the Eton of Sweden’.\(^\text{162}\) With Sweden being a constitutional monarchy, hence with a monarchical head of state, the subtext was that Lundsberg was ‘the school which educates the future leaders of the country’ (at that time, fifteen Prime Ministers of the United Kingdoms had been pupils at Eton).

In 1996, Lundsberg published a *festschrift* to celebrate its centenary. In it, former Lundsberg pupil Count Nils Wachtmeister wrote a chapter about the princes’ time at Lundsberg. In explaining why the Royal Family chose the school, Nils Wachtmeister writes that ‘Lundsberg, at this time, was the only English-style boarding school in Sweden’.\(^\text{163}\) But why was the Swedish royal family looking for an ‘English-style’ boarding school to educate their four sons. The quote by Nils Wachtmeister raises more questions if we consider that the princes’ arrival to Lundsberg in 1918 marked the first time in history that the princes from the Swedish royal family were educated in ‘public’ secondary schools, that is, among ‘commoners’. The argument, that an English-style boarding school education was part of a royal educational tradition, is therefore not a plausible explanation for Nils Wachtmeister’s statement.

The four Lundsberg princes were of the House of Bernadotte, which has reigned in Sweden since 1818 (and Norway until 1905). In trying to understand the educational tradition of the House of Bernadotte, it is worth nothing that it is not very ‘Swedish’ and not particularly old. Its ‘patriarch’ Jean-Baptiste Jules Bernadotte (1763-1844) was a former Marshal of France (*Maréchal de France*) who was appointed King of Sweden under the name Karl XIV Johan. The formal educational history of the modern Swedish royal family thereby begins with Karl XIV Johan’s only son, prince Oscar (1799-1859). Prince Oscar (later King Oscar I), spent half a year at Uppsala University. His four sons – Carl, Gustaf, Oscar, and August – all received their education from private tutors at the Royal Palace in Stockholm, that is, home schooling in the exclusive sense. Carl, Gustav, and August then all spent brief stints at the universities of Uppsala and Oslo (then known as Kristiania) while

\(^\text{163}\) *Lundsbergs skola 100 år,*
Oscar went into the Navy. It was not until the ‘third generation’ that the Bernadotte family entered into some sort of ‘public’ education. The four sons of King Oscar II – Princes Gustaf (b. 1858), Oscar (b. 1859) Carl (b. 1861), and Eugen (b. 1865) – all received their elementary education at the private Beskowska skolan in Stockholm. This marked a shift in the royal family’s educational tradition. The royals now received their training away from home. At the same time, it was only a cautious first step as the school was located a mere fifteen minutes’ walk from the Royal Palace, and the head of the school was the court chaplain, Gustaf Emanuel Beskow, a close friend of Queen Sofia. The ‘third generation’s’ primary education amongst commoners was, however, not continued by the ‘fourth generation’, who were all schooled in the castle by private tutors and later studied at Uppsala or at the cadet academies in Karlberg or Karlskrona.

Viewed through this lens, the decision to send ‘fifth generation’ Bernadotte to a boarding school located 300 kilometres from the Royal Palace becomes even more intriguing. Indeed, the father of the four Lundsberg princes, King Gustaf VI Adolf, was himself educated by private tutors at the Royal Palace. His wife, on the other hand, came from a different background: Margaret of Connaught (1882-1920) was the daughter of Prince Arthur – who was the third son of Queen Victoria of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. In this light, count Nils Wachtmeister’s reference to Lundsberg being the only ‘English-style’ boarding school in Sweden makes more sense.

Before jumping to conclusions about the transnationally interconnected nature of elites and upper classes situated in different nation states, and the consequences in educational choice that stem from these connections, we need to examine the contemporary educational strategies of the British Royal Family. Even though the English public schools had been the primary educational choice of many hightborn aristocratic families during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they had not necessarily been the educational choice of the British Royal Family.

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The prince consort of the British Queen Victoria was Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha (1819-1861). Prince Albert grew up in the Ernestine duchies (today, roughly, the German Free State of Thuringia). He was schooled at home by tutors, and thereafter undertook studies at the University of Bonn. Prince Albert and Queen Victoria had four sons – Albert (b.1841, later King Edward VII), Alfred (b. 1844), Arthur (b. 1850, father of the above-mentioned Margaret of Connaught), and Leopold (b. 1853). All four of them were educated at the Royal Palace by tutors. Albert then went up to Christ Church, Oxford and later continued to Trinity College, Cambridge. Alfred joined the navy and Arthur was educated at the Royal Military College in Woolwich. Victoria and Albert’s youngest son, Leopold, followed in his oldest brother’s footsteps and studied at Christ Church, Oxford. In other words, not one of Queen Victoria’s four sons – all born in the middle of the nineteenth century – was educated at the famed Victorian public schools.167 Also worth notice is the analogous educational trajectory of the Swedish and British Royal families, as well as the aristocracy, during the middle of the nineteenth century.

It was not until the next British Royal cohort, born towards the end of the nineteenth century, that the British Royal Family made its entrance into the English public schools. And the first Royal prince to be educated at an English public school was Arthur of Connaught (1883-1938) – the brother of Margaret, Crown Princess of Sweden. Arthur of Connaught was educated at Eton College followed by the Royal Military College, Sandhurst.168 After a few years, Prince Arthur was joined by his cousin Charles Edward (1884-1954), who was the son of Victoria’s youngest son, Leopold.169

Prince Arthur seems to have had a very positive boarding school experience. At the age of thirty he wrote that ‘my life has not been a very long one, but my Eton days will always be one of my happiest memories, and in respect for other centres of learning, I feel the firm conviction of the Old Etonian that no other school can produce a better type of the true Englishman’.170 Prince Arthur was, in other words,

168 Ibid.
169 Ibid.
a very passionate old Etonian. From 1912 he was president of the Old Etonian
Association, and later Master of the masonic Old Etonian Lodge.\textsuperscript{171} Prince Arthur
would also often attend Lord’s cricket ground in London to watch Eton play. In
1933 he even brought the newly matriculated Lundsberg pupil prince Carl Johan
with him to a cricket game at Lord’s.\textsuperscript{172} Thus a picture emerges of an educational
experience of a British prince, which would influence the educational trajectory of
the Swedish princes, given Princess Margaret and Prince Arthur’s close relationship
and correspondence even after she moved to Sweden.

It was in other words this transnational concatenation of circumstances that changed
the educational trajectory of the Royal Swedish Princes. As commonly known, the
Royal Houses of Europe are deeply entangled through a web of transnational
marriage patterns. One such entanglement that is particularly worthy of note, and
that shows Arthur of Connaught’s love of Eton, was an incident in 1893 when the
Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha had died and his successor was yet to be
announced. Young Arthur was the main candidate, however he had no desire to
leave Eton and move to Germany. On Eton’s playing field, Prince Arthur – as
reported by \textit{The Telegraph} – had approached his younger cousin and fellow Etonian,
Prince Charles Edward, and said: ‘Look here boy. They want me to take that
blamed old German duchy, and I don’t want to. Now, the next in succession is
yourself, and if you don’t accept the offer when it is made, I’ll give you a jolly good
licking!’\textsuperscript{173}

Charles Edward, who indeed became the new Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha,
would also eventually become the maternal grandfather of the present king of
Sweden, Carl XVI Gustaf. In light of this, the influences of the transnational social
connections between the elites and upper-classes, is something which must be taken
into account if one wants to understand the relationship between education and
elite formation: their educational strategies are intertwined in the same way as their
social worlds and marriage patterns.

\textsuperscript{171} \textit{Eton College Chronicle}, 7 Nov. (1912), 226.
\textsuperscript{172} ‘Court Circular’, \textit{The Times}, 15 July (1933), 15.
\textsuperscript{173} Elbert O. Woodson, ‘Crowns Refused and Thrones That Went Begging’, \textit{The Telegraph}, 14 Nov (1902), 11.
It should be noted that there is some logic to the choice of educational institution amongst the royal families. This logic is also applicable for aristocratic and haute bourgeoisie families. And, what more is, it is not confined within the borders of one single nation state. However, this educational lineage is sometimes broken in the search for novelty. That is, the latest trends and ideas in the education of adolescents. This search for novelty gives the field of elite secondary education a dynamic dimension, and at the same time it can swiftly change the hierarchy of the field of independent boarding schools. Being associated with first rank families – whether they are royalties, nobles or industrial elites – is what gives the educational institutions prestige. Hence, the frequent publication of historical pupil registers. The pupil registers from boarding schools such as Eton, Groton or Lundsberg fulfil the function of Social Registers, which demarcate which families are part of ‘Society’, and for how many generations they have been so.

That the four Lundsberg-princes of the 1920s chose to send their own children to Lundsberg is therefore indicative that Lundsberg was joined by the two boarding schools in Sigtuna as the educational choice for the Court. However, the Bernadotte presence at Lundsberg remained strong in the period after the 1920s, with the son of Prince Sigward, Michael, enrolled at Lundsberg between 1956 and 1963, and Prince Folke Bernadotte between 1944 and 1950. In line with the increase in female pupils at Lundsberg from the 1960s onwards, Anna Bernadotte (1974–1976) and Sophia Bernadotte (1982–1983) also arrived at the school. The youngest of the four Lundsberg princes of the 1920s, Prince Carl-Johan, did however send his two children, Monica and Christian, to Stigtunastiftelsens Humanistiska Läroverk, and most importantly from a symbolic perspective, the present king of Sweden, Karl XIV Gustaf, boarded at Stigtunastiftelsens Humanistiska Läroverk.

There are two common explanations for the choice of Sigtuna over Lundsberg. The first was Sigtuna’s proximity to Stockholm and second, which is more noteworthy from a globally comparative perspective, it was regarded as more ‘modern’. We thereby return to the importance of novelty and the impact this ingredient has in the field of independent boarding schools. This is also evident in the case with the educational choice of the British Royal Family. As we have seen, Eton was the first choice of the royal family. There was however a traditional public school hiatus in
the royal family following prince Arthur’s and Charles Edward’s stay at Eton during the 1890s. And, it was not until 1913 when King George V’s second son Henry (1900-1947) began his studies at Eton that a member of the royal family was to be educated at a public school.\textsuperscript{174}

In the postwar period we see an intriguing shift in the educational tradition of the British royal family. Instead of sending the princes to Eton, the royal family started to favour the independent boarding school Gordonstoun in Scotland. Charles, Prince of Wales (b. 1948) arrived at Gordonstoun in the former cathedral city of Elgin in Moray, in May 1962, to begin the first of seven years at the school. Prince Charles was later joined by his two brothers – Princes Andrew (b. 1960) and Edward (b. 1964). The change from Eton to Gordonstoun was indeed something new in the educational trajectory of the British Royal Family. For the princes’ father, Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, it was not. Indeed, the German house of Glücksburg had been frequenting the Scottish boarding school for generations. Prince Philip had been educated at the English preparatory school Cheam School and underwent his secondary education at Gordonstoun. Before Gordonstoun, Prince Philip was educated in Germany, at the Salem Castle School (Schloss Schule Salem) overlooking Lake Constance (Bodensee) under the headmastership of Kurt Hahn (1886-1974).

As it turns out, Gordonstoun in Scotland could also be called Kurt Hahn’s ‘second’ Schule Schloss Salem. As a Jew and openly critical of Hitler and National Socialism, Kurt Hahn had to leave Germany for Britain in 1933. Kurt Hahn founded Gordonstoun shortly after, in 1934. This means that both the postwar educational tradition of the British royal family, and the very institution they were educated at, were imported from Germany. Gordonstoun has continued to be a key educational institution for the British royal family. At the time princes Charles, Andrew, and Edward attended Gordonstoun; it was an all-male boarding school. Their sister Anne (b.1950) was educated by a governess at Buckingham Palace. However, Princess Anne’s two children – Peter (b.1977) and Zara (b. 1981) – both received

\textsuperscript{174} Panton, \textit{Historical Dictionary of the British Monarchy}. 
their secondary education at Gordonstoun, which had since become co-
educational.175

When Prince William (b. 1982) and Prince Harry (b. 1984) were sent to Eton at the end of the 1990s, the link between Gordonstoun and the royal family was thus interrupted, at least temporarily. The reason behind this change in educational trajectory can most likely be traced to Prince Charles’ lukewarm feelings towards his old school in Elgin. Prince Charles has described Gordonstoun as ‘Colditz in kilts’, referring to the castle located just outside the German city of Leipzig, which functioned as a prisoner-of-war camp during World War II.176 It should be underscored however that the change from Gordonstoun back to Eton did not mean a break with the family educational tradition of the Princes William and Harry. Both their maternal grandfather, Earl John Spencer, and maternal uncle, Earl Charles Spencer had been educated at Eton.177

The examples given above illustrate an important transnational dimension in elite education. Namely, that the relationship between the royal families and the independent boarding schools had been limited to the diffusion of educational choice. With the exception of Prince Philip and the Schloss Schule Salem-
Gordonstoun connection, royals had been educated at exclusive domestic schools. What we have not yet described and analysed is the custom of royal scions being educated at boarding schools abroad. The tradition of sons and daughters of the royal families being educated abroad began with the outbreak of World War I.

With Belgium under heavy fire, King Albert I of Belgium (1874-1934) decided that it was safest for his children to be moved abroad. His first son, Prince Leopold (1901-1983) was enrolled at Eton College in 1915. Prince Leopold’s younger brother, Prince Charles (1903-1983) was educated at a preparatory school in Wokingham, Berkshire, and their sister, Princess Marie José (1906-2001) was sent to be educated at the Convent of the Ursulines of Brentwood, in Essex. From the perspective of transnational social entanglements amongst the upper classes, it is

175 Panton, Historical Dictionary of the British Monarchy.
176 David Arscott, Queen Elisabeth II: A Very Peculiar History (Brighton: Book House, 2012).
interesting to note that Leopold lived at the same boarding house as the son of British King George V, that is, Prince Henry.178

After the end of World War I, and the disenfranchisement and exile of many European royal houses, it is accurate to talk about a European field of independent boarding schools. The movement of adolescent royal scions now shifted to the international scene. The concentration, or top of the hierarchy, within this field was not the English public school, but the independent boarding schools in Switzerland, and in particular the Institut le Rosey (Le Rosey). During summer time its campus was located in the small town of Rolle, whereas in winter the school moved to the Gstaad mountain resort. The sons of Prince Leopold – Prince Baudouin (later king Baudouin I) and Albert (later king Albert) – were both educated at Le Rosey.

A similar institutional and geographical shift is noted among the Aga Khans, the honorific and hereditary title of the Imam of the Ismaili Muslim. While Aga Khan III was educated at Eton followed by Cambridge, his son, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan (1933-2003) was educated at Le Rosey, as was Aga Khan IV (b. 1936). The presence of the Aga Khans at Le Rosey was the dawn of the transformation of the independent boarding schools in England and Switzerland into ‘global brands’, if we are to use modern business terminology.

The emergence of this international brand is indicated by the fact that Prince Rainier of Monaco, Mohammad Reza, Pahlavi (the latter Shah of Iran), Prince Alexander of Yugoslavia, Prince Fuad of Egypt, and Vittorio Emanuele of Savoy, Prince of Naples, all arrived at the Institut le Rosey at the same time as the son of the Aga Khan. The British royal family was also attracted to Switzerland and Le Rosey, and this was at least in part for health reasons. The grandchild of King George V – Prince Edward, Duke of Kent (b. 1935) – transferred from Eton to Le Rosey because his mother believed he would benefit from the mountain air. As evident, the Institut le Rosey assembled royal families from diverse parts of the world. This meant that the social fusion between old and new money, which happened on a national scale in the United States, Britain, and Sweden etc., now also took place on a global scale. Aristocratic families from all over Europe, such as

Hohenlohe, Metternich, Borghese, and Radziwill, sent their children to Le Rosey, and to this list of prominent royal and aristocratic families alumni can be added the families of the economic elite such as the Rothschild, Botin, Niarchos, Benetton, du Pont, and Rockefeller. A telling anecdote of this upper class fusion of social worlds on an international level is that the double pairing that won the annual Le Rosey tennis competition in 1934, consisted of the future shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, and the Austrian Prince Paul Metternich.\textsuperscript{179}

The educational trajectories of the Scandinavian royal families also became more international during the postwar period. The sister of the four Lundsberg princes of the 1920s, Ingrid (1910-2000), later to become the Queen consort of Denmark, had a daughter called Margrethe (later Queen Margrethe II) who spent a year (1955-1956) at North Foreland Lodge – an all-girls boarding school in Hampshire, England. This made Margrethe the first member of the Danish royal family to be educated abroad. Similarly, Margrethe’s son Prince Joachim spent a year (1981-1982) at the French boarding school École des Roches (which we will return to in Chapter 2). In Sweden, Prince Carl Philip, the son of the current monarch Carl XVI Gustav, spent two years (1994-1996) at Kent School in Connecticut, USA. The schools that were chosen by the Danish and Swedish royal families must be regarded as relatively progressive. North Foreland Lodge was no Benenden School or Cheltenham Ladies College, which were at the top of the social hierarchy amongst all-girls boarding schools in terms of social prestige. Likewise, Kent School was certainly no Groton School or St. Paul’s School. Nor was École des Roches on the same level as the Institut le Rosey when it came to prestige amongst boarding schools in the francophone world.

Establishing Elite Educational ‘Tandems’

One curious and illuminating element of the early history of the English public school is that they were not founded as separate entities. Rather, they were formed as educational tandems, serving as the first step on an educational ladder.

Winchester College, which was founded in 1394 by the influential Bishop William of Wykeham – indeed, former pupils of Winchester are still referred to as Old Wykehamists – must be understood through its links to New College at Oxford University, which had been founded by William of Wykeham some fourteen years earlier. Originally, these connections were also evident in the names of the school at Winchester and the tertiary school at Oxford, the former being The College of the Blessed Mary of Winchester, near Winchester, and the latter The College of St Mary of Winchester in Oxford. In the same vein, King Henry IV laid the dual foundations of Eton College and King’s College at Cambridge University. Even if the connection between Winchester and New College, Oxford, and that between Eton and King’s College, Cambridge, is not as strong today as it has been in the past, it has not disappeared. And when it comes to our understanding of elite formation through education, we need to understand this point to truly comprehend the social function of educational institutions, in this case on the secondary level, we need to understand its relationship to the other part of the educational tandem.

During the twentieth century, one can even argue, and especially for the second half of the century, that the schools at a preparatory level need to be taken into account – with certain preparatory schools (for children aged 8-13) ‘preparing’ its pupils for certain secondary schools (ages 13-18) – which in turn, ‘feed’ a certain college and/or university.

As mentioned, this logic of a tandem was an early phenomenon in the United Kingdom, with Westminster School and Christ Church Oxford, and Merchant Taylor’s School and St John’s College Oxford serving as two other examples of elite educational associations. When discussing the underlying social circumstances which gave rise to independent boarding schools in the United States we encountered Levine’s explanation of the old elite’s social angst, which gave way to social closure-thinking, and Baltzell’s idea of the need to create a new national elite in the wake of the trauma of the Civil War and to better reflect the national nature of American industry. Both explanations are to some extent valid, although I would

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argue that, just as in England, the major force behind the expansion of independent boarding schools came from ‘new’ money families.

There were also national dimensions that were introduced to many regional elites and there was still a clear geographic and religious divide. Another key factor for understanding the rise of the American boarding schools during the second half of the nineteenth century was the perception of a decay of secondary education in the United States. The crucial institutional stepping stone that was missing ‘between the home of the American gentry and the universities’ – to return to the conversation between the American gentlemen and Thomas Hughes – was a widespread concern in educational circles in America.\(^{181}\) This concern was particularly large amongst the presidents of American elite universities such as Yale, Princeton, and Harvard – who feared a lack of high quality recruits coming up from the secondary schools. And, indeed, a few of the Elite Sixteen boarding schools are the direct result of university presidents trying to create a high-level first ‘half’ of the educational tandem in which they functioned as the second part.

The instances in which the involvement of American universities has been most visible is the part played by Yale in the foundation of Hotchkiss school and Princeton’s direct involvement in the establishment of Lawrenceville school. Previously, the Academies and English type Grammar schools, had fulfilled an – albeit rudimentary – function in preparing the American youth for higher education. What had changed during the nineteenth century was the quality and ambition of the American universities – especially Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Chicago, Johns Hopkins, and Cornell. These universities had all drawn heavily on the German university of the nineteenth century, most closely associated with the ideas implemented by Alexander von Humboldt at the university of Berlin from 1810 and onwards.\(^{182}\) And, the quality of training received at the American universities were during the latter half of the nineteenth century therefore conducted on a very high level – and during the first decades they rivalled or even surpassed the German examples they were modelled on.

\(^{181}\) Hughes, ‘English Public Schools’.

\(^{182}\) See for example Tanaka, *The Cross-Cultural Transfer of Educational Concepts and Practices*. 
The criticisms of the American secondary school during the latter half of the nineteenth century, were first addressed – or at least most famously – in 1873, by the Scottish philosopher James McCosh, who then served as the President of the University of Princeton. At this meeting of the National Educational Association in 1873, McCosh delivered a talk titled ‘Upper Schools’ in which he stated that the American secondary schools could not play the role in bringing ‘our brighter youth from what has so well been commenced in the primary schools, and may be so well completed in our better colleges’.\textsuperscript{183} Five years after his address, McCosh and Princeton had their opportunity to become involved in the formation of a secondary school that could supply Princeton with well-prepared students. McCosh received news that the trustees of the estate of the rich businessmen John C. Green – who had for a long time been a generous benefactor of Princeton – had plans to by the old academy nearby Green’s hometown of Lawrenceville, New Jersey. From 1879, Lawrenceville was run and transformed by a group of trustees, all with intimate ties to the university of Princeton, and since then, Lawrenceville has been one of Princeton’s most important ‘feeder schools’.\textsuperscript{184}

More than a decade later, Yale’s President Timothy Dwight, saw a similar possibility to the one that was presented to Princeton. That is, a rich philanthropist looking for a worthy ‘respectable’ cause. In this case it was the recently widowed Maria Hotchkiss. Agreeing to spend parts of her and her late husband Benjamin Hotchkiss’s fortune on a secondary school that would feed Yale with pupils took some convincing from Dwight – her original idea had been to use the money to macadamize all the roads in her hometown. Maria Hotchkiss was very hesitant about the idea of providing money for ‘the pampered sons of the rich gentlemen’.\textsuperscript{185} It was the suggestion that the school would offer free tuition for six local boys that swayed her and in 1892 the Yale alumnus, Edward Coy, became the first headmaster of Hotchkiss. Before taking the position as headmaster at Hotchkiss, Edward Coy had been the head of the Greek department at one of Yale’s organically established feeder schools, Phillips Academy in Andover – hence,

\textsuperscript{183} Cited in McLachlan, \textit{American Boarding Schools},
\textsuperscript{184} See for example \textit{Princeton Alumni Weekly} (October 29, 1919), 103.
\textsuperscript{185} Cited in McLachlan, \textit{American Boarding Schools},
Choate is still today an intriguing fusion of customs derived from Phillips Academy and Yale.  

In Sweden, by the time Lundsberg was founded in 1896, there was no clear link between the school and any particular institution on the next rung of the educational ladder. However, between the years 1906 and 1907, an elite educational tandem of the modern Swedish economic and social elite would be established. The economic and social elites’ control over this tandem is immense when viewed from a globally comparative perspective. It is the product of one particular family – the Wallenbergs.

This process began with the banking and finance ‘Panic of 1907’. The founder of Lundsberg, William Olsson, was one of many who were set back economically by the crises, and one of the areas he was forced to cut back on was his economic support of Lundsberg skola. Instead, the Lundsberg Foundation was created, with capital donated by parents, or future parents, of the school’s pupils. Among the donors we find aristocratic families such as Wachtmeister, De Geer, Berg von Linde, von Essen, Rålamb, Nordenskjöld, and von Platen. Amongst the industrial elite, considerable donations were made by the Broström, Dickson, and Ekmans from Gothenburg, as well as Versteeghs and Unander-Scharins. Among the largest donors of the Lundsberg school foundation we also find the politician and landowner Hugo Tamm, businessman and castle owner Theodor Dieden, and the prominent banker Louis Fraenckel.

In the institutional mythology of the Lundsberg skola, this moment, when William Olsson ‘gave’ the school to its pupils (all former students are eligible to vote when the board of the foundation is elected) is still referred to as the true foundation of the school. This means that from 1907 there was a secondary boarding school, with the right to award the state recognised school leaving diploma, which was controlled by large parts of the most influential and prominent aristocratic and haute bourgeoisie families in Sweden.

187 Lundsbergs skola 1912, 73.
There was however still a vacuum when it came to an educational institution on the tertiary level, the Royal Military Academy and the Royal Naval Academy had lost some of its social prestige, and the universities at Uppsala and Lund did not train its students in the subjects this new and emerging social class were seeking – engineering and business. All commercial and engineering schools were still at a secondary school level, which meant that the Lundsberg pupils needed to venture abroad to find a suitable education institution. Negotiations for a tertiary-level business school in Sweden had already begun – contemporary to the rise of those types of institutions in London, Leipzig, Budapest, and Milan.

When this plan was finally realised during the first decade of the nineteenth century, it was largely because of the Wallenberg family. Already in 1900, Marcus Wallenberg Sr (1864-1943) – the son of the ‘patriarch’ of the Wallenberg family, André Oscar Wallenberg (1816-1886) – gave the editor-in-chief of the newspaper Svenska Dagbladet, Helmer Key, the assignment of visiting Business schools around Europe. The conclusions drawn from Helmer Key’s studies of foreign business schools were presented the same year with the title ‘om betydelsen av handelshögskolor’ ['on the significance of business schools']. The Wallenberg’s managed to raise 1.5 million Swedish kroner, a quarter of which came from the Wallenberg-owned Stockholms Enskilda Bank.188

In 1909 the Stockholms Handelshögskola welcomed its first intake of students. The original idea was that the School of Economics in Stockholm should be modelled on the German Business School, however, and as its name reveals, it was inspired more by the more theoretically orientated London School of Economics than by the more practically orientated German Business School model.189 The first president of the influential Stockholm School of Economics Association was the son of Marcus Wallenberg Sr, Knut Agathon Wallenberg (1853-1938) – who held the post between 1906 and 1938. A survey of the following presidents of the Stockholm School of Economics Association reveals the immense influence the Wallenberg

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family has had over the School – Marcus Wallenberg (president 1938–1943), Jacob Wallenberg (president 1943–1968) and, Peter Wallenberg (president 1989–2001).

A similar process was taking place in Sweden’s other economic centre, Gothenburg. Through donations from the leading industrialists, such as August Röhss, Johan Ekman, and August Kjellberg, combined with money from family foundations – Carlander and von Sydow – the Göteborgs Handelshögskola was opened in 1923. From this time, the abbreviations DHS and DHG (Diploma from Handelshögskolan in Stockholm and Diploma from Handelshögskolan in Gothenburg) became the most common feature in the biographical information in the Social Registers and Who’s Who. However, the Business School in Gothenburg lost its independent status in 1961 when it was incorporated as part of the University of Gothenburg. That loss of independence also meant a loss of social prestige.

The influence of Knut Agathon Wallenberg over the development of the Stockholm School of Economics is arguably immense. K. A. Wallenberg was also one of the most generous donors of the Lundsberg foundation, at its inception in 1907. Born in 1853, and as the oldest son of the ‘patriarch’ A. O Wallenberg, K. A Wallenberg’s own educational trajectory further underpins the argument for an elite educational vacuum in Sweden during the latter half of the nineteenth century. His sister Cara was sent to an all-girls boarding school, Zanderska flickpensionen, run by Emelie and Hilma Zander in Bärarp, in the Swedish region of Halland.\textsuperscript{190} However, given the already described lack of this type of institution for young boys, K. A Wallenberg was, in 1864, sent to the Kornthaler Knabeninstitut, located in the small village of Korntal outside Stuttgart in the German region of Württemberg – which was run by Dr J. G. Pfleiderer. The younger brother of K. A. Wallenberg, Marcus Wallenberg Sr (the one who had tasked Helmer Key with researching foreign business schools), was educated at a Swiss boarding school in Lausanne, while his youngest brother, Wilhelm, would later join him at Kornthaler Knabeninstitut.\textsuperscript{191} In other words, the sons of the ‘patriarch’ A. O Wallenberg all received their secondary education at boarding schools in continental Europe.

\textsuperscript{191} Olsson, \textit{Finansfürsten}, 39.
Apart from being an indication of the educational vacuum in contemporary Sweden, the Kornthaler Knabeninstitut of the 1860s also illustrates that there was a transnational ‘market’ for pupils – which is reflected in the circulation of a pamphlet in English in which Kornthaler is described as a ‘Classical, Mathematical, and Commercial School of Young Gentlemen’ with the ambition to resemble ‘a well-regulated Christian family’. ¹⁹² K. A. Wallenberg was thereby educated at a German boarding school but amongst an international pupil body, twelve of which were from Sweden. Two families are particularly noteworthy amongst these Swedes at Kornthaler. The first was the Lagercrantz family, with two sons of the Swedish minister of finance (between 1866 and 1867), Carl Gustaf Lagercrantz (1816-1867), being educated at Kornthaler. The other was the son of the missionary Peter Fjellstedt (1802-1881), Richard.¹⁹³ Peter Fjellstedt would, in 1862, establish Fjellstedskas skolan, an independent secondary boarding school in Uppsala, whose mission was to supply the theology department at the University of Uppsala with well-prepared students.¹⁹⁴

When it was time for the Wallenberg sons of the ‘second generation’ to receive their ‘tertiary education’ joining the navy was part of the first step of the family tradition. When it came to the second step, however – the more formal training necessary to run a large bank – they, again, faced an educational vacuum on the national level. Therefore, K. A. Wallenberg began his internship at Crédit Lyonnais in Paris during the summer of 1878. K. A. Wallenberg’s time in Paris also contains a telling anecdote of the transnationally interwoven worlds of the economic and social elites, and the key role played by education in these entanglements: it was in Paris that K. A. Wallenberg met his future wife, Alice Nickelsen, the daughter of a prominent Norwegian shipping magnate from Oslo. The reason Alice Nickelsen was in Paris was to study at the Conservatoire National de Musique. When it was time for the third generation of the Wallenberg family to receive their higher education, the Stockholm School of Economics had been founded. K. A Wallenberg and his wife Alice were childless, however both sons of his brother Marcus Wallenberg Sr were educated at the Stockholm School of Economics. And when it was time for the

¹⁹² Olsson, Finansfursten, 28.
¹⁹³ Emmet E. Eklund, Peter Fjellstedt: Missionary Mentor to Three Continents [Augustana Historical Society, 1982], 17.
fourth and fifth ‘generation’ to start their elite school careers, independent boarding schools had been chosen – Marc Wallenberg (Sigtunaskolan 1943), Peter Wallenberg (Sigtunaskolan 1944), Peder Sager Wallenberg (Lundsberg 1954), Jacob Wallenberg (Sigtunaskolan 1974), and Marcus Wallenberg (Sigtunaskolan, 1975).

The claim made above – that no other family has played such an important role as the Wallenberg family in the making of a private elite educational system – can be made even more finely grained by pointing to K. A. Wallenberg as the most important individual in this process. Apart from being closely involved in founding the Stockholm School of Economics and Lundsberg, K. A. Wallenberg was also directly involved in the establishing of the first independent boarding school in Sigtuna. The boarding school in Sigtuna was the brainchild of bishop Manfred Björkquist and theologian Harry Cullberg who had transformed a previously existing co-educational folkskola into a boarding school with national and international (Swedish expats) reach. The school was the product of the upper strata of the region, and country, with the mayor of Uppsala, Johan von Bahr, the Duchess Anna von Essen, and the Duchess Sigfrid Rålamb forming the board of governors.

The school did however struggle to make ends meet economically and this is when the Wallenberg family entered – and if they were to donate considerable sums of money they demanded the same amount of influence. After some internal power struggles – which was the spark that created a second boarding school in Sigtuna, Sigtunastiftelsens Humanistiska Läroverk – K. A. Wallenberg bought, through the Wallenberg Foundation, shares for a value of 50,000 Swedish kroner and financed the construction of a complete and expanded school campus. And since then, the statutes regulated that the Wallenberg Foundation would always have one representative on the school’s board of governors.\(^\text{195}\)

The shift that appeared at the turn of the nineteenth century could be described as a ‘nationalisation’ of educational trajectory of the Swedish economic and social elites. The education that this group had previously received at German commercial and technical schools was by the time these schools was transformed into tertiary...

educational institutions also available in Sweden. Apart from the School of Economics in Stockholm and Gothenburg, the German-type of Technische Hochschulen was now also available in Sweden in the form of the Royal Institute of Technology (Kungliga Tekniska högskolan) in Stockholm and Chalmers University of Technology (Chalmers Tekniska högskola) in Gothenburg, both with an earlier history as ‘secondary schools’ which were now transformed into established institutes of Higher Learning.

Even if the independent rural boarding schools in Lundsberg and Sigtuna, and the higher education institutions of Economics and Technology were ‘modelled’, ‘inspired’ or ‘borrowed’ from Germany, France, and England, they operated within the borders of Sweden. During the first decades of the twentieth century it is therefore valid to talk about a shift from a transnational mode of elite formation through education towards a national one. This shift toward the national was a deliberate one, motivated by the fear of a ‘brain-drain’ – although, obviously, not articulated in those terms. We will analytically dissect the implication that the ‘modelling’ or ‘borrowing’ of foreign educational ideals might have for our understanding of the transnational dimension of elite educational institutions in Chapter 2. However, it is worth making one observation on whether in the modern (post the establishment of Lundsberg/Sigtuna and the Stockholm School of Economics Swedish) elite educational tandem there actually is a ‘physical’ transnational dimension – that is, the time these scions spent outside of Sweden’s geographical boundaries.
2 Provincialising or Globalising the English Public School?

The object of all schools is not to ram Latin and Greek into boys, but to make them good English boys, good future citizens; and by far the most important part of that work must be done, or not done, out of school hours.
Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown’s Schooldays* (1857), 69.

La supériorité des Anglo-Saxons

The modern French and English educational systems, and in particular their elite educational institutions, have often been viewed as antithetical, and rightly so. The French educational system is highly centralised while the English system is decentralised – both thereby mirroring national characteristics writ large. When it comes to the formation of elites through education in France, the image that springs to mind is drawn from the research done by Pierre Bourdieu, Jean-Claude Passeron, and Monique De Saint Martin – that is, a state controlled educational system that produces a ‘state nobility’ (*La noblesse d’État*), to put it into the words of Pierre Bourdieu. The French elite educational trajectory takes the students through a perceived meritocratic system of tests and trials, from the foremost public secondary schools, such as the Parisian *Lycées* like Henri-IV, Janson-de-Sailly, Saint Louis, Condorcet and Louis-le-Grand, which ‘feed’ the most prestigious *grandes écoles* such as the École Normale Supérieure, the École Polytechnique, Centrale Paris, and École des Hautes Études Commerciales de Paris – which operates parallel to the system of ‘proper’ French universities. In England, however, not just a considerable part of the ‘state nobility’ but also a large part of the ‘establishment’, in Henry Fairlie’s sense of the term – that is, the persons that are part of the ‘matrix of official
and social relations within which power is exercised’ – have been privately educated.\textsuperscript{186} The stark differences between the French and English system of education has, however, been more nuanced in recent scholarship – in particular through the work of educational historian Robert Anderson.\textsuperscript{187} In order to move even further beyond the perception that education in France and England are operating as hermetically sealed systems, it is fruitful to examine the pedagogical ideas that have managed to cross the English Channel.

The French preoccupation with studying the educational trajectory of the ‘state nobility’ has, however, created a minor blind spot in the study of the educational paths of the economic and social elites – that is, those who by and large are not dependent on the school as mediators in the social reproduction of their social position. Bourdieu captured the educational trajectory of the French social and economic elite with the term ‘sanctuary schools’, the condescending connotation of which becomes clearer in its original French form – \textit{école refuge}. What the economic and social elites are taking ‘refuge’ from is, in Bourdieu’s train of thought, the demanding academic selection of the state schools – which they do not want, or do not have the capacity, to compete in.

However, the reasons that the sons of rich businessmen or aristocratic families are educated, or are taking refuge, at one of the secondary school that Bourdieu has dubbed as ‘sanctuary schools’ – École des Roches, Collège Stanislas, Sainte-Geneviève, and Sainte-Croix de Neuilly – could be seen as twofold. First, the sons of families such as the Bourbon-Orléan, Polignac, Habsburg, Rothschild, Montalembert, Peugeot, Michelin, Schlumberger, Taittinger, Hermes, and others – who were all educated at one of the above-mentioned ‘sanctuary schools’ – are not necessary fleeing from the meritocratic state education system, rather, they have no clear use of it.\textsuperscript{188} Their mode of social reproduction is by and large still the ‘family mode’ – with the first son taking over the family business or aristocratic lineage. These sons would no matter what – albeit within reason – take over the helm of the family business; the rationale behind their educational choice is thereby focused on

\textsuperscript{188} The list of families is retrieved from the alumni webpage of École des Roches.
what educational institution best prepares them to take on this responsibility. These so-called ‘sanctuary schools’, which are used by economic and social elites, therefore often highlight that they are more than a school that instructs its pupils in academic subjects, rather, they educate the ‘whole person’, with an emphasis on the social and moral aspects of education.

One of the most intriguing aspects that is often overlooked in the reading of Pierre Bourdieu’s *The State Nobility* – arguably his most ambitious work on the relationship between the French elite schools and what he calls the ‘field of power’ (*le champ du pouvoir*) – is his argument about the dynamic dimension of elite education; that is, that the fortune and social prestige of certain *grand écoles* – and thereby also their relation to the field of power – have changed over time. The debates in France about how to educate future elites have also been – from a global comparative perspective – particularly vibrant with several changes over time – both the École Libre des Sciences Politiques (founded in 1872, and today most known as Sciences Po) and the École nationale d’administration (ENA), which was founded 1945, are institutional manifestations and examples of new ideas in the art of educating elites. In these ongoing discussions on how the future elite should be educated, a clear English public school moment, or even movement, can be detected. This moment took place, roughly, between France’s defeat in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71) and 1899, which was the year when the independent secondary boarding school the École des Roches was founded.

The humiliating loss that the French suffered in the Franco-Prussian War, and the ascent of the Third Republic in the aftermath of the war, were the stimuli that in certain intellectual circles provoked the question of what was behind France’s sudden demise. To add to this cocktail of insecurity was the sense that its neighbour on the other side of the English Channel was constantly expanding its empire. In intellectual circles this triggered a number of scientific studies on what the English were doing right, and consequently what the French were doing wrong. The key protagonists in the movement that sought to identify what it was that made the Anglo-Saxons superior were Frédéric Le Play, Hippolyte Taine, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, and Edmond Demolins.
One of the major figures cultivating the idea of a French decline from its position of power was the engineer, politician, and social thinker Frédéric Le Play (1806-1882). The narrative of an impending downfall of France was particularly present in his widely-read book of 1864, *La Réform Social en France.*199 Although Le Play’s main object of study was the family, he did also venture into the educational field as well, and it was in particular the meritocratic ideal in French education that Le Play found objectionable.

The absence of this meritocratic and egalitarian ideal is what Le Play greatly admired about the English schools (when Le Play spoke about the English schools he was referring to the ‘great’ public schools). In England, according to Le Play, schooling was adapted to fit different social groups and the education of the elites was thereby separated from the education of the ‘masses’. This was, according to Le Play, one of the reasons behind the societal stability and harmony in England, while contemporary France had been plagued by a steady stream of revolutions. In 1881, Le Play founded the widely circulated review journal *La Réform Social*, which continued to push the narrative of a French downfall and the idea that the philosopher’s stone that would stop this downfall was to be found in England.200

The first scholarly output on the English public schools, in the post-Franco-Prussian war period, was written by historian Hippolyte Taine, who in 1876 published a book called *Notes sur l’Angleterre* (1876).201 In it, Taine devoted a large part of his enquiry to education in England. In line with the naturalist that Taine was, his philosophy on educational systems were that they should resemble nature, and nature was hierarchal and unequal. Taine thereby believed in the need to create a strong and clearly demarcated elite, and the societies that did not allow this elite its position and room for manoeuvre would never achieve any form of stability. And in Taine’s *Notes sur l’Angleterre*, he argues that England has succeeded in the naturalistic educational structure in the form of their public schools, which produce a clearly defined governing class. Taine even describes the English public school

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system as the engine that drives the whole British Empire. The key ingredients, which Taine highlights as the secret of the English public school, were their training in morality and character. These two aspects are what Taine regards as distinct in the English boarding schools and lacking in the French secondary schools – which, according to Taine, place a larger emphasis on the training of the intellect. In the chapter titled *L’Éducation*, Taine illustrates how physical, moral, and character-building education takes precedence over intellectual pursuits by quoting a master he had spoken with at Eton. This master had told Taine, that at an English public school ‘Les jeux viennent en premier rang, les livres en second’ – freely translated as: the first priority is the games (sport) and after that comes the studies.\(^{202}\)

One of the intrigued readers of Taine’s *Notes sur l’Angleterre*, was Pierre de Frédy, Baron de Coubertin (1863-1937) – today mostly known as the founder of the International Olympic Committee. Pierre de Coubertin was born in Paris and educated at the prestigious Jesuit-run École Saint-Ignace, located on the rue de Madrid, and later continued his studies at the École des sciences politique – both key institutions of the elites of fin-de-siècle Paris. After completing his studies at the École des sciences politique, in 1883, he decided to travel to England to study the English public school system.\(^ {203}\) The function of the English public schools in creating a physically and morally strong elite, was something that drew the interest of the young Baron, who had already started to cultivate an interest in sport and education, and in the English public schools he found a way to combine the two.

Between 1883 and 1887, Pierre De Coubertin made frequent trips to England, visiting ten independent boarding schools: Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Wellington, Winchester, Marlborough, Charterhouse, Cooper’s Hill, Westminster, and Christ’s Hospital.\(^ {204}\) In 1888, Baron de Coubertin presented his thoughts and experiences from the English schools in his book *L’éducation en Angleterre: collèges et universités* (1888). Coubertin’s *L’éducation en Angleterre* was not meant to be read as a factual survey of education in England, it was rather a contribution to the ongoing debate about the state of education in France. In the following year, to make the possible

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202 Hippolyte Taine, *Notes sur l’Angleterre*
policy implications of his findings in England even more articulate, Coubertin outlined what France more specifically could learn from the English educational experience in a book titled *L’éducation anglaise en France* (1889). Since the well-established and prestigious publishing house Hachette Livre published both of Coubertin’s books, the books arguably served as the most penetrating study, written in French, on the English public schools. It is therefore of interest to take a closer look at what type of public school image Coubertin conveyed to his French readers. Both Le Play and Hippolyte Taine had focused on the aspects that occur outside the classrooms when they identified the essence of an English public school education. Coubertin followed in their footsteps, arguing that the French had very little to learn when it comes to actual classroom education. Coubertin naturally – given his sport agenda – lingers on the key role team sport plays in the English public schools, however, he also devotes considerable attention to the Debating Societies, and even more attention is given to the prefect-fagging system.

When describing the hierarchal structure amongst the pupils, Coubertin writes that there are three types of pupils at an English public school: *ceux qui obéissent; ceux qui sont indépendants; et ceux qui commandent* – ‘those who obey, those who are neutral, and those who govern.’ In Coubertin’s further elaborations of the prefect-fagging system lies a key aspect in the understanding of how institutions of elite education ‘travel’ from one country to another. This key aspect lies in Coubertin’s sugar-coated description of the prefect-fagging system, which is meant to appease any objection that might be made in France on meritocratic and egalitarian grounds. Coubertin stops in the text to admit that the English public schools mostly cater for the children of the aristocracy and haute bourgeoisie. However, Coubertin’s pointed out that within this hierarchal structure the son of an aristocrat could be the fag for a merchant’s son, and thereby would have to obey all of his commands. Coubertin then leaves the reader with the rhetorical question: ‘what can be more egalitarian than that?’

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208 Coubertin, *L’éducation en Angleterre*,
Le Play, Taine, and Coubertin did not make the argument that France should be seeking to build carbon-copy replicas of Eton, Harrow or Ruby in Paris’ hinterland. What they did, rather, was to use the English public schools as a springboard in their criticism of the French educational system. However, they all believed that certain aspects of the English public schools could, and should, be introduced into the French Lycée system. For Coubertin, for example, the main educational aspect of the English public schools that he wanted to bring across the English Channel was physical education. Therefore, the English public school image which Coubertin conveyed to a French audience, upgraded the role sports played at the English public schools and consciously downplayed the prominent role religion filled in the building of Christian gentlemen.

The word ‘consciously’ is used here because Coubertin often quoted Arthur Penrhyn Stanley’s book *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold* (1844), and the key role religion played in the writings of Thomas Arnold is impossible to miss for anyone that has read Stanley’s collection of Arnold’s writings. For Le Play, on the other hand, the idea of ‘individuality’ was the main aspect that he wanted to introduce at the French Lycées – which by this time were run like military institutions, with a frequent use of whistles to get the pupils attention. The emphasis in Le Play’s description of the secret ingredient in the English public schools was therefore focused on the ‘individuality’ and ‘freedom’ that its pupils enjoyed. Taine seconded Le Play’s opinion, arguing that in the English public schools a pupil grew as a person, while at the French Lycées a pupil was ‘a pure brain, a sedentary legless cripple’.  

The writings of Le Play, Taine, and Coubertin did not, however, produce a major shift in the approach of the French Lycées. Apart from creating detailed studies on the English public schools, which were widely read in intellectual and political circles, the ideas would however also become evident in concrete educational institutions in the next ‘generation’ of English public school admirers. The actual

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implementation of the English public school ideas in France was by and large the product of the work of one man, Edmond Demolins (1852-1907). Demolins was one of Le Play’s ‘disciples’ who had picked up his mantle regarding the question of what makes the Anglo-Saxons superior to the French, or rather the rest of the world. In his book *À quoi tient la supériorité des Anglo-Saxons?* (1898), Demolins compared the schools, private life, and public life in France, Germany and England. The unit of comparison when it came to the school system in each country was phrased in the question ‘does this schools system make men?’ Being one of Le Play’s disciples, the conclusion Demolins drew in his comparative study was far from surprising: the superiority of the Anglo-Saxons was derived from their ‘individuality’, which was fostered both in the English family and at the English public schools.

Demolins’ book did not only cause a stir in the intellectual circles of Paris – where in 1899 it provoked an interesting reply in the form of the book *À quoi Tient La Supériorité des Français sur Les Anglo-Saxons?* – it also resonated globally. Two years after the first French edition, Demolins’ book was translated into English, with the title *Anglo-Saxon Superiority: To What It Is Due.* In the same year, 1899, the Egyptian lawyer and nationalist Ahmad Fathi Zaghlul also translated it into Arabic. In his introduction Zaghlul described how the Arabs and Egyptians were backwards compared to everything modern, and therefore urged the readers of the book’s Arabic translation to emulate the Anglo-Saxon model.

On the other side of the Mediterranean, in the Ottoman Empire, Demolins’ book would also influence the Young Turks movement. It was a transnational educational encounter that brought the ideas of Demolins to the Ottoman Empire. Prince Mehmed Sabâhaddin studied medicine at the Sorbonne when he came into contact with Demolins’ *La supériorité des Anglo-Saxons*. In the prince’s Demolins-inspired book, *How Can Turkey Be Saved?* (1918), Sabâhaddin drew the same conclusions as Demolins and Le Play: more ‘individuality’ was needed and this was partly to be achieved through the introduction of English-type boarding schools. And, on the

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other side of the Atlantic, as evident in his book *The Rough Riders*, the future President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, was reading Demolins’ book with great interest.213

In France, Demolins started to receive letters from French parents asking where in France they could find the kind of schools he had described in his book. Demolins thereby realised that he had identified an educational vacuum and that there was a market for a new breed of school.214 Only two years after his *La supériorité des Anglo-Saxons* was published Demolins founded the boarding school the École des Roches, located on a large county estate in Verneuil-sur-Avre, Normandy. The ideas of Demolins’ new educational venture were outlined in his book *L’Education Nouvelle* (1898). In this book, it is clear that the École des Roches was heavily based on the English boarding schools. However, it is also clear that the traditional English public schools – Eton, Harrow, Rugby etc. – were no longer the main source of inspiration, rather, it was the new modern English public schools such as Abbotsholme School (founded in 1889) and Bedales School (founded in 1893) that served as the main source of inspiration. In other words, Demolins’ École des Roches was a response to the type of education that was being provided at the French *Lycées*, but it also marked the end, in France, of the tracing of the Anglo-Saxon superiority to Eton, Harrow, and Rugby.

We will return to this ‘modern turn’ in the global history of elite boarding schools in Chapter 3, it is however worth noting that the key areas in which the École des Roches made claims of being ‘modern’ was that it reduced the study of classical languages and replaced it with studies in modern languages. The physical aspects of education were also primarily devoted to practical manual labour and not to team sports. The overall ambition of the École des Roches was, however, in line with what had been preached by La Play, Taine, and Demolins: ‘to make strong boys, independent in character and masters of themselves – boys capable of standing the hardships of life, and even of outgrowing them’.215

The transnational dimension within the field of elite boarding schools had previously been limited to attempts to transplant certain educational ideas in a new national context. The rise of the modern stream of elite boarding schools also contained a ‘corporal’ transnational dimension through the movement of pupils between countries. The pupils at the École des Roches were, for example, encouraged to spend three to six months at a boarding school in England or Germany in order to learn a foreign language. These entanglements between modern boarding schools in England, Germany, and France are the key aspect to understanding the ‘modern shift’ in the global field of elite boarding schools (to which we will return in Chapter 3).

In the United States, the idea that the English public schools functioned as models for the American boarding schools is divided. On one hand, there is the ‘public conception’ that appeared in contemporary newspaper articles and magazines that cultivated the idea of the New England prep schools as imported from England. On the other hand, there is a master narrative in academic publications that refutes this reading of the origins of the American boarding schools. The narrative that appears in academic publications can be traced back to the already mentioned book by James McLachlan, *American Boarding Schools* (1970). McLachlan’s thesis is that the American boarding schools did not originate in the late nineteenth century and that they were not modelled on the English public schools. Instead, McLachlan traces their origin to the first part of the nineteenth century, and in particular to the foundation of the American boarding schools Round Hill School (1823) and the Flushing Institute (1828). These two schools owed – according to McLachlan, and accurately so – more to German Romantic ideas on the education of the ‘natural’ child than anything related to the English public schools.

Being one of few, if not to say the only, comprehensive history of the American boarding schools the McLachlan-narrative has been reproduced in the numerically richer field of contemporary studies on the American boarding schools. In sociologists Peter W. Cookson Jr. and Caroline Hodges Persell’s book *Preparing for Power: America’s Elite Boarding Schools* (1985), which is arguably one of the most cited works on the contemporary role of the American elite boarding schools, their

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description of the origin of the American boarding schools echoes McLachlan’s narrative. Cookson and Persell even name the pre-romanticist Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) as the global progenitor of the boarding school idea. In doing so, Cookson and Persell also emphatically dispute the idea that the modern-day boarding schools were conceived by a ‘proper Bostonian, an English gentleman, or even a right-thinking clergymen’. 217

Being almost fifty years old, and still very influential, it is worth revisiting and perhaps also revaluing, McLachlan’s thesis. Firstly, the Round Hill School closed its doors for the final time in 1834, and the Flushing Institute was closed in 1848. From an institutional perspective their lineage was thereby broken well before the number of American boarding schools rose to constitute critical mass. Secondly, well-informed contemporary observers have pinpointed the starting point for a new type of American boarding school to the founding of St. Paul’s School (Concord, New Hampshire) in 1856. According to contemporary educational critic Porter Edward Sargent, the founding of St. Paul’s school in 1856 ‘marked a new trend in education in America’. 218

The first headmaster of St Paul’s School was, however, Reverend Henry August Coit (1830-1895), who was educated by William Augustus Muhlenberg (1796-1877) at the Flushing Institute. There was, in other words, arguably a connection and continuation between St. Paul’s school and the previous Episcopal so-called ‘church school’ model, with which Muhlenberg at Flushing is closely associated. Key aspects of Round Hill School and the Institute at Flushing did continue to influence the Baltzellian ‘Select Sixteen’ schools such as St. Paul’s, St. Mark’s, and Groton, which all emerged during the second half of the nineteenth century. However, the characteristics mostly associated with the New England prep school throughout the twentieth century – such as team sports and pupil prefects – are a testament to the fact that there were also new influences introduced, which played a central part in the making of the American prep schools.

218 Sargent, A Handbook of the Best Private Schools, 41.
That these new influences were mostly derived from the English public schools is also evident. For example, eleven years into his headmastership at St. Paul’s School, the Flushing educated Henry A. Coit travelled to England to visit Rugby and Westminster. The ideas Coit brought home with him went beyond abstract influences. In fact, large parts of the school’s nomenclature was based on the English public schools he had visited. The different ‘grades’ an American pupil normally passes through were renamed as ‘forms’ (as they are known at English public schools) – this is also the case at Groton school and St. Mark’s school. English public school concepts like ‘evensong’, ‘removes’, and ‘matins’ were also imported and, when it came to sports, Coit encouraged his pupils to play cricket instead of baseball.

Phillips Academy Andover, established in 1778, was undergoing a process of reform at the time Coit made his English voyage – changing from a day school into a boarding school. The headmaster who was behind these reforms, Cecil Bancroft, attributes these reforms to the journey he made to England in 1878, when he visited Harrow, Eton, Winchester, and Rugby. Another headmaster who visited the English public schools was Harland Page Amen, whose Phillips Exeter Academy was going through a similar transformation to Phillips Academy Andover. In 1892, Page Amen therefore visited Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Rugby, and Cheltenham. Groton’s headmaster, Endicott Peabody, was himself a public school Old Boy (Cheltenham College). At Groton, there was therefore a system of pupil prefects – one head prefect responsible for the entire school and six other prefects whose responsibilities were confined to one of the six boarding houses. This was also the case at St. Paul’s and at St. Mark’s, where the prefects were called monitors.

Considering the examples given above, it could be argued that the American boarding schools – the ones that are, at the beginning of the twenty-first century,

still regarded as the most prestigious – drew a substantial amount of inspiration from the English public schools. They were not, however, carbon copies, but rather, as is often the case with cultural transfers, more of a hybrid. St Paul’s headmaster, Coit, reflected on the topic of transplanting foreign educational ideas to another country. In an article from 1891, titled ‘An American Boys’ School: What It Should Be’, Coit writes:

The school is American in the strictest sense of the word, on American soil, under American institutions, for American needs, and not an imitation, however good, of what cannot be reproduced on this side of the Atlantic – a great English public school. We cannot have Rugby, or Eton, or Harrow here, if we would. And certainly no one who understands our society, and the special character of our civilization, would wish for such transplanting… neither the German gymnasium nor English public school would suit us here.225

So even if headmaster Coit had imported ‘Forms’, ‘Evensong’ and ‘Monitors’ from England, he still firmly positioned himself by saying that St. Paul’s was a ‘proper’ American educational institution. An illuminating aspect of Coit’s article is, however, the fact that he is positioning himself, and his school, on a global scale. In comparing St. Paul’s school in the United States with the English public schools and the German Gymnasiums Coit’s article indicates that there was a ‘conversation’ and ‘debate’ on secondary schools – in particular those that are meant to prepare pupils for studies at universities – which had a clear transnational dimension. This global conversation and debate could be understood as a Bourdieusian ‘field’, which is united through the question of how best to educate young boys from middle- and upper-class families.

During the formative period of the American boarding schools, the first fifty years or so, it is evident that the English public schools were the institution that the American boarding schools were positioning themselves against. In the books written by headmasters and former students of the elite American boarding schools there is therefore always a reference to the English public schools, whether it is used

to illustrate how the American boarding schools in question differ from the English schools or what aspects of the school are in line with them. The use of the English public school’s nomenclature is one way of emphasising a connection to the American boarding schools. Other ways include seemingly banal things, such as how the former students of St. Paul’s school are referred to as ‘Concordians’. One former St. Paul’s pupil has explained that the origin and logic behind the word ‘Concordians’ was that ‘the pupils of St. Mary’s, Winchester, are known as Wintonians, from the city; those of Eton, as Etonians; of Harrow, as Harrovians’.226

These English public school references that the headmasters and pupils of the American boarding cultivated could be understood through the philosopher Charles Taylor’s concept of ‘social imaginary’. That is, a way for schools to ‘imagine’ their social surroundings in order to better understand how they stand in relation to others, how they got to where they are, and how they relate to other schools. The constant references the American headmasters and former pupils make to the English public schools thus indicate that they view themselves as part of a larger educational tradition, and most importantly, a tradition that is not confined within the borders of the United States.

This wish to be identified as being in the same realm, or ‘field’ to continue in the previously used terminology, did not only limit itself to the most prestigious American boarding schools, such as St. Paul’s, St. Mark’s school and Groton school. The Mercersburg Academy, for example, founded in 1893 and located in Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, northwest of Washington, D.C., is one of the boarding schools that has manifested its ‘imagined’ connection to the English public schools – they even carved it in Indiana limestone. In Mercersburg Academy’s entrance hall, immediately under the roof, there is the coats-of-arms of Andover, Exeter, St. Paul’s, Hotchkiss, Lawrenceville, and Mercersburg. Next to these, is the coats-of-arms of the English public schools Winchester, Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Westminster, and Cheltenham placed most centrally, above the arch, is the arms of Phillips Exeter, where Mercersburg’s first headmaster, Dr Irvine, was educated, and next to

it is the arms of Winchester College, which is accompanied by the explanation that it is ‘the mother school of all institutions of this type in the world’. 227

This balancing act of referencing the English public schools – and thereby underscoring a connection with them – and still highlighting that the school is a reflection of national traditions, is also a valid description when it comes to the Swedish boarding school Lundsberg. Given Lundsberg’s aristocratic clientele – whose position of power is entangled with Swedish history, in particular the period when Sweden was an Empire (1611-1721) – being educated at a replica transplanted from England would not do. However, flaunting references to the English public schools served both as a demarcation towards the state grammar schools and implied that Lundsberg aspired to fill a similar function for Sweden, as had Eton, Harrow, and Rugby for England and the British Empire.

One illustrative example from Lundsberg, which conveys the balancing act of referencing the English public schools and yet still conveying national pride, is when Lundsberg bought two coxswains from England. The introduction of rowing at Lundsberg took place during the zenith of the Swedish Ling Gymnastics movement, with is emphasis on harmony and its aversion to monotonous physical movement.228 Rowing therefore served as a socially distinctive sport that separated Lundsberg from the state grammar schools. In the 1930s, Lundsberg also started to compete in annual boat races against the boarding school at Sigtuna, which should be understood as a reference to the boat races between the English public schools, and even more so, toward the Boat Race between Cambridge and Oxford (which has been an annual event since 1856).229 Nevertheless, given the fact that both the tradition and the two coxswains themselves were imported to Lundsberg from England, a traditional Swedish seal was needed. This was achieved when the two

227 M. H. Murphy (ed.), Kraux: Published Annually by the Students of the Mercersburg Academy (Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, 1922), 16-17.
coxswains were christened Huginn and Muninn, that is, after the god Odin’s two
ingformation-bringing ravens in Norse mythology.230

These references to the English public schools are often minor, and yet so
consciously deployed that its only conceivable purpose is to cultivate the social
imaginary that they are a part of a larger and longer tradition of elite boarding
school education. For instance, at the church that was built in 1930 next to the
boarding school at Lundsberg, the prominent architect Bror Almquist had designed
an enclosed walkway which would connect the main school building to the church.
According to Lundsberg’s school chaplain, Verner Lind, the motivation behind this
enclosed walkway was that this was a common architectural feature of the English
public schools.231

References to the boarding school being in line with English public schools were
also invoked in the hope that it would help to attract the same kind of clientele.
This was the case, for example, at the Swiss boarding schools the Institut Le Rosey –
also known as the world’s most expensive boarding school. Le Rosey, then known as
the Institut Carnal, had been established in 1880 as a Handelsschule and was housed
in Château Rosey, a medieval castle close to the shores of Lake Geneva.232 Its
ambition was always to draw international pupils to the institute, which is evident
from the adverts it published in newspapers such as The Times from 1900 onward,
as well as the recruitment trips to England and Scotland that the school’s founder,
Paul Carnal, undertook.233 In 1911, however, Paul Carnal handed over the reins of
the Institute to his son Henri Carnal and it was he – or rather his wife, the
American Margaret Boorum – who suggested the Le Rosey should also try to target
American parents. Under Henri Carnal’s directorship, Le Rosey also started to
market itself by using the English public symbols of team sports – its brochures
show preppy-looking members of the Le Rosey Boat Club rowing on a placid Lake

230 Lundsbergs skola 1912,
231 Lundsbergs skolas historia, 1896-1946, 170-173. For the significance of architecture in the field of English
public schools see William Whyte, ‘Building a Public School Community, 1860-1910’, in History of Education,
32/6 (Nov. 2003), 601-26.
232 For a general history of Institut le Rosey see Louis Johannot (ed.), Le Rosey: Un siècle de souvenirs, 1880-
233 The Times, 1 June (1900), 2.
Geneva and highlight the other ‘English’ sporting traditions in which pupils compete against other Swiss boarding schools.\textsuperscript{234}

In her doctoral dissertation – Promoting the ‘Classroom and Playground of Europe’ – Michelle Swann has shown that the Swiss boarding schools in general, and Le Rosey in particular, managed to connect the rise of Switzerland as a major tourist destination with their internationally orientated educational ambitions.\textsuperscript{235} These conclusions further underline that the education and lifestyle of elites are hard to separate. It also underscores that the education and lifestyle of elites often move relatively effortlessly over national boundaries. For example, when Le Rosey established a second campus in Gstaad in 1919, which was used during the winter months for skiing, it was analogous with the interests amongst the social elite in England, with Henry Lunn establishing the Public Schools Alpine Sports Club in 1905 and Henry’s son Arthur establishing the Oxford University Mountaineering Club in 1908.\textsuperscript{236} Both of these were gentlemen’s clubs that were rather like travel agencies for the social elite of London, in that they offered hotel accommodation near the French and Swiss Alps, thereby foreshadowing the modern ski travel business.

Globalising the Prefect-Fagging System

As previously revealed by looking at the English public schools through the lens of American, French, and Swedish schoolmasters, pupils, and intellectuals, the aspects of the English public schools that were most admired all took place outside the classrooms. Very little could be learned, according to these foreign observers, from the English public schools when it came to teaching and the intellectual aspects of education.

\textsuperscript{234} Michelle Swann, Promoting the ‘Classroom and Playground of Europe’: Swiss Private Schools Prospectuses and Education Focused Tourism Guides, 1890-1945 (Un-published doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia, 2007).
\textsuperscript{235} Swann, Promoting the ‘Classroom and Playground of Europe’.
What was venerated about the English public schools was their ability to shape the morals and character of its pupils. In trying to gauge the influence that the English public school model has had on other educational institutions around the world the ingredient we are thereby looking for is related to the building of character and morals. That is, the self-government of boys by boys and the role sport and religion played in the fostering of character. In tracing the possible diffusion of the prefect and fagging system to boarding schools in other countries, it is important to keep in mind the underlying question of whether pupil self-government is a particular and exclusively English public school idea and custom.

The prefect, or monitorial, system is, simply put, the delegation of the school’s disciplinary powers’ to a group of older pupils. This power included the pupil prefect’s right to punish wrongdoers, often in a physical manner. This is the broad catch-all definition that is applicable to all English public schools that deploy a pupil self-government system, beyond that there is a wide variation between schools and over time. It is thereby more accurate to talk about the prefect system in the plural, with sometimes quite substantial differences amongst the English public schools. The fagging part of the prefect-fagging institution is usually thought of as the opposite and submissive side of the part the prefect system. Rudimentarily, it can be defined as forcing younger boys to do menial and unpleasant tasks for the older boys. What this menial work actually consisted of also differed widely between schools – from fetching stray cricket balls to cooking breakfast.\(^{237}\) It is also noteworthy that there can be quite substantial differences between the boarding houses of the same school. Fagging is intimately connected with residential living, at the ‘Clarendon schools’ that were day schools – Merchant Taylor’s School and St. Paul’s School in London – there was for a long time no fagging to speak of.\(^{238}\)

Historically, the prefect part of the prefect and fagging system predates the fagging part. Given the prominent place the prefect system holds in the mythology of the English public schools, tracing the school at which it first emerged has caused some bitter debates between members of the different schools. In this ‘race’ to be called


\(^{238}\) See for example Hughes, ‘English Public Schools’,
the progenitor of the prefect system lies the revelation that the authority of the prefect should be written into the school statutes. That the power of the prefect is officially delegated means that the prefect system goes beyond any ‘natural’ and ‘organic’ hierarchy that often emerges within a group – there is in other words no ‘survival of the fittest’ logic with the system, which is rather what the system is trying to prevent.

In tracing the historical roots of the prefect system the Winchester statutes of 1400 are often mentioned as the first appearance of officially delegated pupil self-government.\textsuperscript{239} In the Winchester statutes a couple of the older pupils were given the responsibility to supervise the younger ones. The key word here is supervises, they had no mandate to punish the malefactors themselves.\textsuperscript{240} However, the year 1400 by no means marks the ‘year zero’ for the prefect system, the secondary school St. Alban’s School had the same statutes from 1309 and William Wykeham’s New College at the University of Oxford also had the same ones – which they borrowed from the 1274 statutes of Merton College.\textsuperscript{241} At Eton, it is possible to trace the existence of a similar group of governing older pupils – here called praeceptors – to the sixteenth century and in the founder of Harrow John Lyon’s statutes, he writes that there should always be three pupil-monitors at the school.\textsuperscript{242} The point being, a rudimentary prefect system was in place at most English public schools in the period between 1400 and 1800, it did not, however, have the same prominent position – both in the public imaginary and at the schools themselves – as it was to have from the middle of the nineteenth century and onwards. And nor was the self-government of boys by boys at this time period (1400-1800) a uniquely English idea.

German Valentin Trozendorf (1490-1556), for example, who was the headmaster (rector) of the school at Goldberg in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, modelled his school after the Roman Republic. At his school at Goldberg, Trozendorf delegated part of the teaching to the older students, with the motivation that the only way to

\textsuperscript{239} R. Townsend Warner, Winchester (London: George Bell and Sons, 1900), 22.
\textsuperscript{241} Ibid.
learn, is to teach. At the English public schools, contemporary to Trozendorf’s Goldberg, the prefects also had teaching responsibilities, this did however fade away and pupils teaching other pupils is in England – and throughout the world – today mostly associated with the Dr Alexander Bell and Joseph Lancaster’s Monitorial System, which educated pupils that often came from more modest social backgrounds. Even though Trozendorf’s system of pupil self-government was contemporary to the one that was implemented at the English public schools, Trozendorf took it one step further. At his school republic at Goldberg, Trozendorf appointed himself to the position of Dictator in perpetuum, some of the powers were however delegated to his pupil-senate, which consisted of senators, censors, and consuls. There was, however, nothing that resembled the English systems of fags, and neither were there fags or fagging at the English public schools at this time. The emergence of the fagging system at the English public school therefore served as a clear divergence from similar contemporary educational movements abroad, like that of Trozendorf.

The fagging system – which etymologically has nothing to do with the British colloquialism for cigarette, nor the American slang for a homosexual – was not fully in place until the end of the eighteenth century. The word itself could be derived from two potential words. The first possibility is ‘fagged’, as in being exhausted – being ‘fagged out’, the first traced use in English is, however, from 1785. The second, and more probable, word that it can be derived from is ‘faggot’, as in ‘bundle’ (of sticks in this case). Getting up early in the mornings and with a faggot of sticks lighting the fire in order to cook breakfast for the older pupils was originally one of the main tasks for the younger pupils – with the school often serving only one meal per day. When sports were introduced on a wider scale in the nineteenth century – with the ‘cult of athleticism’ reaching its zenith during the second half of the same century – fagging extended into that activity as well, often in the form of retrieving stray balls on the cricket field.

246 Hughes, ‘English Public Schools’,
The prefect and fagging systems were, in other words, by and large born out of necessity; it was an answer to the logistical problem of too many boys and too few teachers and ‘service personnel’. The naming of prefects and the outlining of their responsibilities was, however, often marked by haphazard indifference. And as the conventional story goes, which is still a largely valid description, the English public school at the end of the eighteenth century, and continuing into the nineteenth century, underwent a period of decay and anarchy marked by recurring pupil riots – and by riots I mean ‘prison-style’ riots, with the pupils taking control of the schools by barricading themselves inside the main buildings. The sparks that ignited these riots often emanated from conflicts regarding the balance of powers between the pupils and the masters and headmasters of the schools.

At Harrow, for example, the young George Gordon Byron – later better known as Lord Byron – led a riot against what the pupils considered to be a wrongly elected new headmaster.\textsuperscript{247} And at Winchester, a riot broke out when the school’s governing body decided to turn a previously school-free day into an ordinary school day – this riot only ended after the headmaster enacted the Riot Act, which meant that they could call on the help of the army.\textsuperscript{248} The testimonies of former pupils, who were educated at one of the English public schools in the latter part of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries are filled with elaborate descriptions of violence and caprice.\textsuperscript{249} Thus, there was a contemporary narrative – in books and in journals – that spoke of chaos in the once venerable public schools of England and it was in the journey out of this chaos – into order – that the public school mythology was born. The man who brought order to this chaos – according to the myth and in certain respects also in truth – was the headmaster of Rugby, Thomas Arnold.

It is important to highlight the strong undertow of religious symbolism that surrounded the ascent of Thomas Arnold as the great reformer of the English public school system. Even before Arnold took the post as headmaster at Rugby school there was a Second-Coming narrative that surrounded him. One often repeated

\textsuperscript{249} See for example Gathorne-Hardy, \textit{The Public School Phenomenon}, 63–71.
story is how his colleagues at Oriel College strongly encouraged Arnold to apply for the vacant position as headmaster of Rugby, with the belief that he would change not just Rugby, but the entire English public school system.250

The famous book by Thomas Hughes, which depicts Arnold’s reform at Rugby, contains many thematic strains that were more important to Hughes than to Arnold – ‘muscular Christianity’ being one – however, Tom Brown’s Schooldays is foremost a classical origin myth, which tells the story of how the modern public schools were established, in part, through a reconstruction of the prefect and fagging system. The need to reform the prefect and fagging system was widespread at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the headmaster of Harrow, Dr George Butler, and Thomas Arnold’s old headmaster at Winchester, William Stanley Goddard, had both made valiant efforts at reform. However, in England and even more so in the eyes of foreign observers, it was Arnold who became most closely associated with this change. With the long descriptions of sport games in Thomas Hughes Tom Brown’s Schooldays – which mostly filled a narratological purpose – Arnold was also, inaccurately, attributed with the promotion of sports at the English public schools. What Arnold actually did, was to elevate to role of the prefects into a sort of moral aristocracy, Arnold handpicked and taught the prefects himself and many of these would become loyal disciples who would spread his creed as masters and headmasters at other public school in England and throughout the empire. While the fagging and the floggings continued under Arnold, there was, however, a level of accountability and a prefect could lose his stripes if he misbehaved.

As mentioned earlier, previously, pre-Arnold if you will, the prefects and fags had solved a logistical problem, albeit not very effectively. The key difference, which emerged in the nineteenth century, is that the relationship between prefects/fags and the education of leaders was formulated, or ‘invented’ in the Hobsbawmian sense of the term. These invented positive effects that the prefect-cum-fagging institution had on pupils were by and large a response to public criticism. In a steady stream of spirited articles from 1810 onward, the public schools in general and the prefect-fagging system in particular was heavily criticised. It should be noted that the authors of these articles – which were published in magazines such as

250 Stanley, The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, 42.
the *Edinburgh Review*, *Westminster Review*, and *Cornhill Magazine* – were themselves public school men, and their verbal attacks did not call for the abolishment of public schools but for the reconfiguration of the education they offered. And it is in the defence of the system against the criticisms voiced in the articles that we first encounter the narrative that sees this as the way to prepare pupils for future positions of leadership. The essence of this narrative is that ‘those who hope to rule must first learn to obey’. Parallel to this – and arguably connected – is the narrative of the importance of learning how to ‘rough it’. These two strands of thought are brought together in an article in the *Dublin Review* from 1865, when the author tries to summarise what a boy learns from being educated at an English public school:

No boy can elbow his way up from the lower remove of the fourth, to the upper division of the sixth, through the common system of ‘trials’ and ‘removes’, without being broken into many things, and hardened simply by a process of friction to endure, to suffer, to be patient, to bide his time, without having learnt, (as beings in a lower order of creation learn), to take care of himself, to hold his own, to fight his way, to trust to his own nous, his own determination, and coolness, and pluck, without, in a word, being prepared for ‘the great world of business and society’.251

The idea of learning to obey before one can rule and the fact this learning experience comes with some pain became globalised through the ‘Imperial diffusion’ during the latter half of the nineteenth century. This is most evident in the boarding schools known as ‘chief’s colleges’ – Rajkumar, Mayo, Sadul, Scindia, Daly, Colwin Tuluqdar, Jagirdar, and Aitchison – in British India, which were established as an antidote to the 1857 national uprising. These boarding schools were full-out prefect-cum-fagging institutions.

At the American boarding schools – such as St. Paul’s, St. Mark’s, Groton – the prefect system was introduced but the manly Christian character, which these schools also subscribed to, was to be achieved without the fagging system. At Groton school, for example, this took the form of the pupils receiving a black mark

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for each wrongdoing they committed – six black marks meant a trip to the headmaster’s office. The École des Roches in France, as we have touched upon earlier, drew more on the modern streams of ideas associated with Abbotsholme and Bedales in England, which meant that there were prefects but without fagging. Hence, amongst the schools that were not part of the imperial diffusion strand of the English public school philosophy, the Swedish boarding schools at Lundsberg and later at Sigtuna appear to be the only boarding schools that wholeheartedly embraced the English prefect-cum-fagging institution. In trying to look for traces of the English public schools in other countries it is, however, deceptively easy to fall into a Where's Wally trap, that is, to see and over-interpret the presence of English public school ideas in the customs of foreign boarding schools, when they in fact might be domestically derived.

In the large number of testimonies from the early decades at Lundsberg the delegation of power to the older boys is a recurrent theme. Prince Carl Johan – at Lundsberg during the 1920s – writes in his autobiography Det var en gång (1983) that the younger boys had to run errands for the older pupils, which the Prince found ‘useful and toughening’.252 Peter Nobel, of the Nobel Prize family, who was educated at Lundsberg during the 1940s, describes how the younger pupils were called tarmar and the older pupils storkisar, and among the latter there was a group of five elected tromän – one for each boarding house. These tromän, who had a similar function to prefects, had the right to discipline the younger pupils physically through floggings. Most commonly, however, according to Nobel, the punishment consisted of chores such as collecting firewood.253 At the boarding schools in Sigtuna, from the 1920s, this position of authority amongst the pupils was called the Swedish form of the word prefect – prefekt while the fags at Sigtuna are known as batts. Prince Sigvard Bernadotte, who was at Lundsberg during the 1920s, also wrote of his time at Lundsberg and his memories of the pupil self-government. According to Prince Sigvard the treatment of the younger pupils by the older ones was harsh, indeed he recalls that there were always some who enjoyed seeing the weaker boys suffer.254

254 Bernadotte, Krona eller klave,
The descriptions above appear to be a textbook example of an English public school prefect-fagging system. And knowing that the founder of Lundsberg – William Olsson – had the ambition to create an English public school-style boarding school in Sweden makes this case even more convincing. There is, however, a fairly large aber here. The word which Carl-Johan, Sigvard, and Peter Nobel use to describe the older pupils’ treatment of the younger ones is ‘pennalism’, which can be traced to the sixteenth century. A closer analytical look at this word not only raises questions about whether what we see at Lundsberg, during the beginning of the twentieth century, is truly an imported prefect-fagging system, it also questions if we need to rethink, or change, the chronology of our image of the prefect-fagging system as a uniquely English educational feature.

**Pennalism and Fagging**

The word *pennalism* is still in active use in the Swedish language – as is the German form of it, *pennalismus*. It is, however, used with the common misconception that ‘pennalism’ is derived from the English word ‘penalty’ and thereby that it often describes how an individual or a group is being penalised, often physically. The word’s etymology is, however, not traced to the Latin paean (punishment), the double ‘n’ is an indication that it is derived from the Latin word *penna* as in ‘feather’ – that is, ‘pencil’. The history of this concept reveals the transnational – or rather trans-imperial – connections of the idea and practice that the younger students needed to undergo a period of ‘roughing it’ before they could be confirmed as full-fledged members of the educational institution’s corpus.

At the University of Uppsala, a ‘pennal’ was the derogatory name used to describe a first year student. This terminology was imported to Uppsala during the end of the sixteenth century from the German Protestant universities in Jena, Leipzig, and Rostock. These newcomers were not full-fledged members of the community because they had not been accepted into one of the fraternity-type associations known as Nationer, or, Landskapsförening in Sweden – derived from the Landsmannschaft in Germany. The sixteenth-century customs at the universities of Uppsala, Jena, Leipzig, and Rostock – which were all founded in the fifteenth and
sixteenth centuries – had its predecessor in the *natio* of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century universities in Bologna, Paris, Oxford, Cambridge, Prague – in other words, this has been a truly Pan-European phenomena since the twelfth century. The marking of the different status levels a student went through was a highly ritualistic process at the seventeenth-century universities in Sweden and Prussia. The key here is, however, the exact similarities of the words used and practices performed at the Prussian and Swedish universities. Both custom and nomenclature was also connected to the university in Paris, where a first year student was called a *becs jaunes* (‘yellow beak’) and the word ‘beak’ was also used at the Prussian and Swedish universities. In fact, to make these transnational connections even more entangled and persistent, the direct translation of *becs jaunes* into Swedish, *gulnäbbbar*, was in frequent use at the Swedish grammar schools to describe a new pupil, and it is still in use in the prestigious Swedish-speaking grammar schools in Finland. Nevertheless, the pennal-period was a time of submission, all the menial tasks the older students from the ‘nation’ asked for had to be performed by the pennal. The intimate link between the pennal and the fag was more acknowledged during the nineteenth century. In the 1865 edition of the English dictionary *Chamber’s Encyclopaedia*, the word ‘pennalism’ is defined as ‘essentially the same as fagging in the English public schools’. 

Reflecting the transnational nature of the elite and elite education, this seventeenth century diffusion of student culture is very illuminating. Before a student even became a pennal, there was the rite of Deposition – the same word used in both Prussia and Sweden. The word is short for the Latin *deposito cornuum* – the ‘removal of the horns’. The new students were, in other words, regarded as wild animals that needed to be tamed by removing their symbolic horns.

In his dissertation on the origins of the initiation of newcomers into universities, from 1755, Dr Fryksell, offers a detailed description of the Deposition ceremony at Uppsala University, which he witnessed back in 1716, and his description is an exact replica, in every detail, of the Deposition at the Prussian universities. The pennals were dressed in animal hides and had their faces painted black and long ears

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and horns attached to their heads. In their mouths the new students had to hold two boar tusks – the key point was that they did not drop these tusks while the older students beat them. After that the new students, dressed as animals, were driven ‘like a heard of oxen or asses’ through the streets of Uppsala, Leipzig, Jena, Rostock et al.\textsuperscript{256} After returning to the Deposition chamber for some more beatings and for the protracted removal of the horns, the final part of the ceremony, which was also identical in Prussia and Sweden, consisted of a consecration of the \textit{pennal/beania} by the Dean of the Philosophical faculty, who would pour wine over their heads, cleansing them of their previous impure way of life, after which salt – a symbol of wisdom – would be put in their mouths.\textsuperscript{257}

The depositions were not only the same in many European universities, but having done the deposition in, for example, Charles university in Prague, meant that the student did not have to undergo the ordeal again if he moved to the university of Paris. And this is a crucial fact about the depositions and pennalism, rather than being an ‘underground’ movement amongst the students, it was officially mandated by the universities themselves and, moreover, it was a pan-European phenomenon. This is evident in the statutes of universities in cities such as Erfurt, Greifswald and Prague, where, for examples the statutes of the University of Erfurt read: ‘No one shall be enrolled as a student who shall not previously have undergone, here or elsewhere, the rite of Deposition, anciently established.’\textsuperscript{258}

The violent initiation of the student were thereby threefold; it began with the deposition which gave way to a year of submission, the pennalism, and it ended with the rite of Absolution – which freed the student from his \textit{pennal/beania} status. The ‘golden age’ – hardly the right word – of the \textit{absolution/pennalism} coincided with the Thirty Years’ War (1618-1648), towards the end of that century the criticism grew stronger – particularly towards the drawn-out pennalism process. ‘The deposition is finished in an hour, while the vexations of the Pennals last a year’, writes Weisius in his critical \textit{Ritum depositionis academica} (1697).\textsuperscript{259} This fairly

\textsuperscript{256} Karl von Raumer, \textit{Contribution to the Improvement of the German Universities} (New York: F. C. Brownell, 1859), 39.
\textsuperscript{257} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{258} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{259} Raumer, \textit{Contribution to the Improvement of the German Universities}, 40-41.
long period of submission was at Uppsala symbolised by the fact the student had to wear the same black gown that he wore at the deposition for six months.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century there was thereby a process that mirrored the nineteenth-century debates in England regarding fagging. The defenders of the deposition made arguments about its character-building dimensions, while its detractors criticised it – Martin Luther being one of these – for being cruel.\(^{260}\) Although the deposition and pennalism were seen as similar there were key differences between the two, with the first being officially endorsed by the universities and the latter existing only with tacit approval. Towards the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century, the rite of deposition was forbidden – which, in the case of Sweden, happened in 1691 after a Royal decree from King Karl XI. A twenty-first century visitor to Uppsala, Leipzig, Rostock, or Jena in the early autumn will however see students being dragged through the streets in ridiculous outfits, just as in the sixteenth century – although their walk of shame will not end in a deposition chamber, this is still a concern. It is also evident in the German saying *sich die Horner ablaufen* – ‘to run off the horns’, which is exactly what the pennal did during the deposition, towards a door.\(^{261}\)

The modern day depositions of the American universities – hazing – are an even more persistent problem, and the word ‘hazing’ itself is derived from the French word *haiser* – meaning ‘to irritate’ or ‘to annoy’.\(^{262}\) This illustrates the long unbroken history of the idea that the younger pupils or students needed to learn how to ‘rough it’, but in trying to delineate when the English fagging system became particular to the English public school it is important to trace the history of pennalism a step further. Because, although the rite of the Deposition was banned, a more ‘unofficial’ form of pennalism had already trickled down to the secondary schools – *Gymnasiums* – and continued to exist with tacit approval.

Therefore, if one were to visit a Swedish grammar school and an English public school during the eighteenth or the first decades of the nineteenth century, one

\(^{260}\) *The Academy*, (July 18, 1885), 37.

\(^{261}\) Paul Carus, “Hazing and Fagging”, *The Open Court* (1909, No.7), 433.

\(^{262}\) Carus, “Hazing and Fagging”, 431.
would find that at both these school the younger pupils performed menial tasks for the older pupils – with constant threats of physical punishment if they did not perform these tasks. The pennalism at a Swedish secondary school was in other words, at this time, just as established as the flagging system of the English public schools. The nomenclature to describe the hierarchal power structure amongst the pupils at the Swedish grammar schools ranged from *superiorer* to *inferiorer/priman*. And in reading through the numerous accounts, which chronicle the ordeals of the inferiorer in the nineteenth-century Swedish grammar schools, this mirrors the testimonies from the contemporary unrefomed English public schools.

Even though the contemporary observer of the English public schools and the Swedish grammar schools would see no difference in the government of pupils by pupils in these two countries, the great divergence was just about to occur. During the time when the philosophy of the English prefect-fagging institution was being invented in the midst of severe criticism in the first part of the nineteenth century, Sweden went in the opposite direction and banned absolutely all forms of pennalism in the Public School Act (*Läroverksstadga*) of 1820.

Both responses – that of the Swedish grammar schools and the English public schools – should be seen as different strategies to tackle the abuse of the authority of the pupils. For Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby School, the decision to retain the prefect and fagging system – and to enter into an alliance with the prefect – was for him a way to change the situation through stealth. That decision was by no means a testament of trust, whenever Thomas Arnold saw a group of boys he was convinced that the devil was hiding in their midst. The banning of the system of pennalism at the Swedish grammar schools primarily meant that the system went ‘underground’. That is, it continued to exist, but without the permission of the schools.

The contemporary Swedish educational historian, Bror Rudolf Hall (1876-1950), has marked the 1870s as the time when pennalism disappeared from the Swedish grammar schools.\textsuperscript{267} There are, however, numerous examples of institutionalised pennalism up until the 1960s. The Swedish film director Stefan Jarl has, for example, described how he had to shine shoes, iron shirts, and do the laundry for the older pupils at Skara grammar school in the 1950s.\textsuperscript{268} And as a punishment for not following these orders the older pupils made Jarl strip down to his underwear, climb on top of a number of stacked tables and stand up there on one foot, crowing like a rooster.\textsuperscript{269}

As previously mentioned, the American boarding schools of the late nineteenth century – such as Groton, St. Paul’s, and St. Mark’s – all had prefects, but no fagging. This did not, however, mean that the same practices did not exist with the tacit approval of the teachers and headmasters. At Groton at the turn of the nineteenth century there are several testimonies about older pupils punishing younger ones when they had broken the ‘Groton code’ by being too ‘fresh’ (as in ‘cocksure’).\textsuperscript{270} The two most common ways the older pupils punished the younger boys, at the turn of the nineteenth century, were either through ‘boot boxing’ – the less severe punishment – or through ‘pumping’. Boot boxing, as the term implies meant the pupils were locked into the looker where they stored their boots. ‘Pumping’ on the other hand, involved holding the face of the young pupil under the lavatory tap in order to induce the sensation of drowning.\textsuperscript{271}

Although the custom of pennalism was difficult to completely eradicate from the Swedish grammar schools, there was a sense that it was under control during the final decades of the nineteenth century. The last bastions of pennalism in the Swedish educational system were instead regarded to be the Royal Military

\textsuperscript{267} Bror Rudolf Hall Pennalism slutar 1870
\textsuperscript{269} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{270} James Chace, \textit{Acheson: The Secretary of State Who Created the American World} (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2008), 23.
Academy in Karlberg and the Royal Naval Academy in Karlskrona. This is interesting for couple of reasons. Firstly, from a global comparative perspective the naval and military academies – from Sandhurst and Lanvéoc to West Point and Annapolis – have been the hardest type of educational institutions from which to eradicate hazing or fagging. This is related to the fact that the rites of deposition, hazing, pennalism, or fagging are not primarily related to elite formation, but rather the formation of an *esprit de corps*. This is perhaps most evident in the persistence of the Deposition-like *Gautschen* amongst the German book printers; and through the fact that after the Swedish grammar schools became part of the comprehensive schools in 1972 – which meant that the well-established and prestigious social category of *Läroverkspojke* [Grammar school-boy] vanished – the last traces of pennalism completely disappeared.

The second interesting aspect regarding the persistence of pennalism at the Royal Military Academy at Karlberg and the Royal Naval Academy at Karlskrona, is that (as shown in Chapter 1) this was the primary educational institution of the aristocratic families who would later enrol their children at the boarding schools at Lundsberg, Solbacka and Sigtuna. There is, in other words, a five hundred year-long educational continuum of pupils governing other pupils when Lundsberg, Solbacka, and Sigtuna are established. Viewed from this perspective, pupil self-government was nothing new for the aristocratic families when they began to send their children to the Swedish boarding schools. However, this long tradition of pennalism was repackaged and remoulded in order to invoke a symbolic connection to the English public schools. And in the case of Lundsberg, those who were responsible for the repackaging were not the headmaster or the teachers, but the pupils themselves.

**Reconfigured Pennalism**

After a pupil from the Solbacka boarding school visited Lundsberg in the autumn of 1964, he wrote in the Solbacka pupil newspaper that is was surprising that Lundsberg had masters for everything – a laundry master, a sports master, a lavatory master etc.272 These ‘masters’ were senior boys, who were all responsible for different areas of school life, and most importantly a common custom in the English

public schools. Headmaster Coit at St. Paul’s school and Endicott Peabody at Groton school had both imported the nomenclature and customs of the English public schools to America, but at Lundsberg it was primarily the students who were behind this import. A legitimate question this raises is: from where did these pupils get their information?

The foundation of *Tromannarådet* [Council of Prefects] at Lundsberg took place in 1913, and the initiative came from the pupils themselves. One of the main actors in the process was the pupil Vilhelm Scharp, and he has written that he got the idea of a council of prefect after reading Thomas Hughes’ *Tom Brown’s Schools Days*.273 Scharp further writes that his wish was that the ‘Lundsberg-spirit would spread throughout Sweden so that Lundsberg might serve the same function for our motherland as Rugby has done for the powerful England’.274

There are a couple of aspects in Vilhelm Scharp’s statement that beg some further reflections. Firstly, there is the transnational nationalist-rationale.275 Even though these Lundsberg students admired the English public schools, the idea still centres on how to create an elite educational institution to serve Sweden the best. The second aspect is the lasting influence of *Tom Brown’s Schooldays* in spreading the myth of the English public schools. The first edition of Tom Brown’s Schooldays was published more than fifty years before Vilhelm Scharp conceived the idea of a prefect council.

Between 1910 and 1920 – that is, during Lundsberg’s formative period – the pupil-written school newspaper was filled with articles about elite schools abroad. Current and former students wrote long in-depth articles about visits to English public schools such as Christ’s Hospital School, Haileybury, the Imperial Service College, Eton College, and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. However, it was not only England that drew the attention of the Lundsberg pupils, a visit was also made to the elite Danish boarding school Herlufsholm and a long article

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273 Ibid.
274 Ibid.
dissects fencing at the German universities – *Mensur* – and the great honour with which the scars (*Schmiss*) from these duels were carried.

In 1912, a former Lundsberg pupil wrote a long feature article in Lundsbergaren, divided into two parts, about his visit to Eton College.\textsuperscript{276} In this article, all of the Lundsberg pupils could enjoy an insider’s view of school life at Eton College. The author of the article – who wrote under a pseudonym – highlighted the key function Eton had had for England: apart from the fact ‘the battle of Waterloo was won on the playing-fields of Eton’ the author also mentions that ‘1300 Etonians sacrificed their lives in the Boer Wars’.\textsuperscript{277} The author also conveys to his fellow Lundsberg pupils that at Eton the pupils are the custodians of a heritage and that they wish to leave this heritage to the next generation as unchanged as possible. This invisible construction of history and tradition has, according to the author, resulted in a sense of *noblesse oblige*, and this former Lundsberg pupil hopes that Lundsberg, like its ‘sister school’ Eton, will become a key link and driving force in the development of its country.\textsuperscript{278}

Noteworthy here is the fact that the Lundsberg pupils almost never mentioned the state-controlled grammar schools in their school newspaper, the social imaginary which was being cultivated, at least in the school newspaper, was that they are a part of a larger tradition and conversation – one which was taking place outside of Sweden.

The pupils of Lundsberg continued to search through all the periodicals, newspapers, and books that they could get hold of in order to gain more information about the prefect-fagging system. In 1941, for example, a long article in the school newspaper was devoted to the biography of the Oxford historian Charles Oman (1860-1946), titled *Memories of Victorian Oxford and of Some Early Years* (1941).\textsuperscript{279} And the interest of the Lundsberg pupils was in the ‘earlier years’ part of the book – especially the prefect-fagging system at Winchester, which Oman attended in the 1870s. Long extracts from Oman’s description of the prefect-

\textsuperscript{276} *Lundsbergaren*, 1912
\textsuperscript{277} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{278} Ibid.
fagging system were translated in the Lundsbergaren and commented on, with comparisons made to the troman-tarm relationship at Lundsberg.\textsuperscript{280} During the same time, a feature article in \textit{The Spectator}, concerning the prefect-fagging system at the English public schools, was also translated and published in Lundsbergaren.\textsuperscript{281}

Between Vilhelm Scharp’s readings of \textit{Tom Brown’s Schooldays}, before founding the prefect council at Lundsberg, and the close reading of Charles Oman’s experiences at Winchester during the 1870s there is a substantial time lag. That is, the pupils at the twentieth century Lundsberg were in large part seeking inspiration from the prefect-fagging system of the nineteenth century Victorian public schools. However, the prefect-fagging system of the English public school did not go through any major changes between the late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. And from the 1930s and onwards, the pupils at Lundsberg would get an updated view of the English public schools when they travelled to England to compete against these schools in different sporting events.

In 1936, a group of Lundsberg’s best athletes left the port in Gothenburg to embark on a trip they named the ‘Viking Voyage to the West’ (\textit{Vikingafärd i Västerled}) – obviously a very nationalistic play on the Viking trade and raid voyages to the British Isles during the Early Medieval Period.\textsuperscript{282} The name for this trip it is yet another example of the transnational nationalist-rationale of these Swedish boarding schools – they admired the English public schools and wished to learn from them, but at the same time they did not see themselves as second rate. The Second World War caused a temporary hiatus in these travels, but in 1947 a second ‘Viking Voyage’ was made. During this trip the Lundsberg pupils visited and competed against Bryanston School, Radley College and Marlborough College (Clifton College also participated during the competitions at Marlborough). The Lundsberg delegation also visited Oxford University and Eton College. Upon their return, as can be imagined, several issues of the Lundsbergaren were devoted to in-depth descriptions of these schools and their particular customs and traditions.\textsuperscript{283}

\textsuperscript{280} Lundsbergaren, 1941.
\textsuperscript{281} Lundsbergaren, 1936.
\textsuperscript{282} Lundsbergaren, 1947.
In the light of this, it is more understandable where the Lundsberg pupils got their in-depth knowledge about the prefect-fagging system. This system, as Thomas Arnold and others formulated it, also went beyond the old system of pennisalism. The year spent as a pennisal was an ordeal, as was fagging in many ways, however, the moral elevation and expectation – at least theoretically – placed on the older students went far beyond what was expected of the superiors in the pennisalism system. If a prefect misbehaved he was either relieved of his duties or even expelled from the school. The expelling of prefects/monitors who misbehaved was not mere rhetoric, as is evident in the sources – for example in this letter sent by a Harrow pupil to his father:

He [the monitor] then gave me thirty-one cuts as hard as ever he could across the shoulder blades with a cane more than an inch in circumference, which he paid 6d. for, and with such force that he had to stop almost every cut to bend back the cane, it was so curled with the violence of the blow. I almost fainted during it, but I cannot help being glad that I managed to get out of the room, without making the slightest movement to show him that I felt his brutality. I was immediately taken to Mr. Hewlett [house-master], who told me that he had never in the whole course of his life witnessed such an unmanly and brutal outrage. He immediately went to Dr. Vaughan [the headmaster], and the consequence is that Platt has been turned down, his monitorship taken away, and he himself, I hear, obliged to leave at the end of the quarter. I will give you my word of honour that I have told you everything impartially. In great haste, I remain, My dearest Papa, Your truly affectionate Son, Randolph.284

This stabilising force of the prefects, which was attributed to them from the second half of the nineteenth century and onwards, is therefore vital for understanding the convergence between the prefect-fagging system and pennisalism which took place during the middle of the nineteenth century. The prefect’s new role was meant to be an antidote to anarchy, brutality, bullying, and tyranny.

Whenever there has been a scandal at one of the Swedish boarding schools involving violence among pupils the knee-jerk reaction has been to compare the schools with William Golding’s *Lord of the Flies* (1954).\(^{285}\) Interestingly enough – and illuminating with regard to the original ‘benign’ philosophy of the system – is that what transpired on Golding’s fictional island was an illustration of what happens when a group of public school children – as Golding’s schoolboys were – are left to their own devices without the prefectorial system. In one illustrative passage of the book, the legitimate authority of one of the adolescents is questioned with the justification that ‘he isn’t a prefect and we do not know anything about him, he just gives orders and expects people to obey for nothing’.\(^{286}\) If we read the first statutes of the prefect council at Lundsberg from 1913, the obligations of the prefects to work for a good atmosphere and to protect the younger pupils are clearly emphasised. The clearly unique emergence – from a global perspective – of the new prefect-fagging system during the middle of the nineteenth century reflects a new attempt – but not, as we shall see, the last – to deal with the constant logistical problem of keeping order and discipline amongst a large group of adolescents living together twenty-four-seven.

Translating the Public School Mythology

The spread of the English public school model throughout the British Empire is best described with the word ‘export’; it was not strictly a transnational diffusion but a ‘domestic’ one within the Empire. Although much interesting hybridisation emerged when Eton and Rugby-type schools were being set up in such diverse places as Egypt, India, and New Zealand, the rationale was still of a diffusion from ‘above’ to ‘below’.\(^{287}\) As we have seen, with the import of certain aspects of the English public schools to sovereign countries such as France, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States, the picture becomes more complex. This spread is thereby better understood through concepts such as ‘imitation’. The French sociologist Gabriel de Tarde (1843–1904) is perhaps the scholar who used the ‘imitation’ concept most dynamically, as is

\(^{286}\) Golding, *Lord of the Flies*, 177.
most evident in his *Les lois de l’imitation* (1890). For Tarde, the process of imitation was far from mechanical – the dissection of the act of imitation was used as a prism to reveal deeper societal structures.

Two of Tarde’s observations might prove particularly fruitful to elaborate on for the purposes of this study: (1) individuals and groups are imitating their superiors in all stratified societies; and, (2) imitation eventually leads to standardisation. In the case of the elite boarding schools there is an interesting degree of imitation between societies that needs to be added into the context. Although it could be argued that the English public school would never have drawn so much attention if the British Empire had not been the world’s most economically and militarily developed power, the elites in France, Germany, the United States and Sweden would not subscribe to the image that they were imitating the educational institution of a country that was socially superior to them. However extensive the influence of the English public school might have been in these countries, there was a need to repackage this imitation and make it their own. In studying the possible reproduction of the inner life of the English public schools there is however one more methodological conundrum: was the imitation based on real public schools or the largely mythological fictional idea of an English public school that appeared in novels and magazines? And is it even impossible to entangle life and art when it comes to the English public school?

It is hardly possible to overstate the role played by fictional accounts of the English public schools in the global diffusion of the ethos and ideas of these institutions. It has functioned almost as a ‘soft-power’ tool for the English public schools – one is tempted to write ‘unintentional’ tool, however, for Thomas Hughes conveying his belief in ‘muscular Christianity’ through Tom’s experiences was a very active and deliberate choice. And Thomas Hughes’ *Tom Brown’s Schooldays* is naturally the prototype of this genre. It would be possible to undertake an extensive social history of ideas study, in the Yale historian Peter Gay’s sense of the term, on the global reception of Thomas Hughes’ seminal work. And to some extent there is already a ‘Tom Brown goes global’ genre within scholarly research, although not in a synthetic form.

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We have also seen examples of how Hughes' book was invoked by, for example, Baron de Coubertin in France, Lundsberg pupil Wilhelm Scharp when he set up the Council of Prefects at Lundsberg, and in America President Roosevelt – who sent all of his sons to Groton – advised that all boys should read *Tom Brown's Schooldays* and Thomas Bailey Aldrich's *The Story of a Bad Boy* (1870). In Roosevelt’s book suggestions to young boys there is also a trace of the exoticism with which the Americans – or Roosevelt at least – viewed fagging:

I think American boys will always feel more sympathy with Aldrich’s story, because there is in it none of the fagging, the account of which and the acceptance of which always puzzles an American admirer of Tom Brown.

Aldrich’s *The Story of a Bad Boy*, published only twelve years after the first edition of *Tom Brown’s School Days*, makes, however, no secret of his admiration for Thomas Hughes’ novel. To justify the fight the protagonist of the book has to take part in, Aldrich quotes a long passage from *Tom Brown’s Schooldays*, and the passage that is quoted captures much of the ‘muscular Christianity’ ideal that was strong on both sides of the Atlantic at this time:

As for fighting, keep out of it, if you can, by all means. When the times comes, if ever it should, that you have to say ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ to a challenge to fight, say ‘No’ if you can –only take care you make it plain to yourself why you say ‘No’. It’s proof of the highest courage if done from a true Christian motives. But don’t say ‘No’ because you fear a licking and say or think it’s because you fear God, for that’s neither Christian or honest. And if you do fight, fight it out; and don’t give in while you can stand and see.

Those who have wanted to emulate some part of the English public schools or their ethos have, as is evident, often used Hughes' novel as a source of knowledge. Thomas Hughes’ book was, however, just one – although arguably the most important – in a

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plethora of fictional accounts that together helped to create a mythology of the English public school. One key for increasing our understanding of the diffusion of the English public school model – and our understanding of the English public schools in their own right – therefore lies in the realisation that boarding school fiction cannot be disentangled from the ‘reality’ of boarding schools. This is not meant in a postmodern sense; rather, these impossible to disentangle entanglements are the result of a historical process. In The Decay of Lying (1891), Oscar Wilde stated that ‘paradoxically though it may seem, it is none the less true that life imitates art far more than art imitates life’, and in the case of the relation between boarding school fiction and boarding school reality, this is a fitting and illuminating description.293

Apart from Tom Brown’s Schooldays and Frederic William Farrar’s Eric, or, Little by Little (1858), the ‘golden age’ of public school fiction is usually placed between 1890 and 1930.294 In this process, British boy’s magazines like The Boy’s Own Paper (1879), Chums (1892), The Captain (1899), The Gem (1907), and The Magnet (1908) also fulfilled a key cultural hegemony-function in spreading the public school experience to the working class.295 One consequence of this overabundance of public school stories was that the public school mythology took on a life of its own and sometimes even started to operate on a metalevel with fiction referencing fiction. Sometimes these references were made as a homage and other times, in the hands of authors such as P. G. Wodehouse – who began his career writing public school fiction – it was done with wit and bore the mark of satire. In his book Mike (1909), for example, Wodehouse has his character Psmith ask Mike upon their first encounter at the boarding school, ‘are you the bully, the pride of the school, or the boy who is led astray and takes to drink in chapter sixteen?’296 And in Desmond Coke’s The Bending of a Twig (1906), it is described how wrong things can go when a first generation public school boy tries to prepare himself for Shrewsbury school by reading Eric, Tom Brown and St. Dominic’s.297

295 Richards, Happiest Days, 293.
From the beginning of the twentieth century it became more common that the authors of public school fiction had no direct experience of public schools themselves. The best, and most influential, example of a non-public school man writing public school fiction is arguably Frank Richards (the pen name of Charles Hamilton), who created the beloved character Billy Bunter who attended the fictional Greyfriars School. The adventures of the anti-hero Billy Bunter were published in *The Magnet* between 1908 and 1940, with spin-offs and re-adaptations in several films and theatre-plays.

It might seem trivial, and it is arguably difficult to measure, but the fact that a school like Eton not only educated nineteen Prime Ministers, John Maynard Keynes, George Orwell, Princes William and Harry etc., but also the fictional characters James Bond and Lord Greystoke, better known as Tarzan, adds to the prestige and symbolic capital of the boarding school. James Bond was expelled from Eton – after a dalliance with a school maid – and sent to Fettes in Scotland – however, even a negative fictional experience at a major public school serves as a symbolic modern day *mensur* scar, both for the individual and for the school.298

One of the most bizarre and telling anecdotes of the public school mythology taking on a life of its own is the story surrounding Captain James Hook, Peter Pan’s antagonist in the plays and books of J. M. Barrie. In 1927, the *Times* republished a speech given by Barrie at Eton College, titled ‘Captain Hook at Eton: A Strange Story’.299 Barrie was no public school man himself – educated at Glasgow Academy and Dumfries Academy in Scotland – he did, however, pay for the sons of the widow of the Llewelyn Davies family to be educated at Eton (the same five sons that served as inspiration for his writing of Peter Pan).300 In his speech, Barrie confirmed that Captain Hook had been educated at Eton and later went up to Balliol College at Oxford. Hook had also been a member of ‘Pop’, Eton’s elite boys’ society, and he preferred cricket over rowing – in Eton-lingo, therefore, Hook was a dry-bob and not a wet-bob. The Captain’s last words before he died were ‘*Floreat Etona*’ (‘May Eton flourish!’), which is the traditional – though unofficial – motto of Eton (and should be met with the reply, *Esto perpetua* – ‘may it last forever’). After the death of Captain

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Hook, his jungle cabin was searched and hundreds of issues of the student newspaper, *The Eton Chronicle*, were found – which Hook had evidently continued to subscribe to.⁶³¹

An article in the *Times* revealing that Captain Hook was an Etonian and that Ian Fleming chose his own alma mater for his young James Bond might seem quirky and anecdotal. However, the two key aspects in these examples are: (a) even though the public school mythology had long been written by men – and later women – who had never been to a public school, they still reproduced, consciously or unconsciously, the narratological form and archetypes that were created by Hughes in 1857; and, (b) the reproduction of these archetypes has persisted into the twenty-first century. In the case of James Bond and Captain Hook’s time at Eton, a new generation can now read about, and be exposed to these archetypes – in J. V. Hart’s *Capt. Hook: The Adventures of a Notorious Youth* (2005) and in the *Young Bond* book series (2005-2014), written by a former public school pupil (Sevenoaks School, Kent) Charlie Higson, in which a young James Bond develops his future potential as a spy, solving crimes and investigating mysteries.⁶³²

With all due respect to Hart’s *Capt. Hook* and Higson’s *Young Bond* series, the greatest champion of the English public school archetype has been J. K. Rowling’s *Harry Potter*-series. One of the most eloquent descriptions of ‘how much there is of realism, as well as magic, in the exotic tales of young sorcerers being trained at the Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry’, has been written by the British-born essayist and novelist Pico Iyer – who received his secondary education at Dragon School in Oxford and Eton College. In his *New York Times* article ‘The Playing Fields of Hogwarts’, Iyer writes:

> The heart of magic realism is that if you describe the features of one culture to another, radically different, they will seem as strange and wonderful as fairy tale...What J. K. Rowling has done, with considerable charm and inventive brio,

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⁶³¹ Barrie, ‘Captain Hook at Eton: A Strange Story’
is to take the traditional rituals of English public schools and show them in a light
in which they seem as curious to outsiders as the rites of passage of tribal Africa.
She makes it easy to overlook the fact that the most visible character going
through Harry Potter’s training even now is Harry Windsor.303

There has also been a ‘Harry Potter effect’, which is evident in the increased number
of applicants to English boarding schools.304 This Harry Potter ‘effect’ bears the mark
of another ‘life imitating art’ example. The logic of how life is influenced by art –
which in turn is influenced by real life – is also evident in Amanda Holman Brogaard’s
book *I et hav af lyeblå skjorter* (2015), which deals with her time as a first-generation
pupil at the elite Danish boarding school Herlufsholm.305 Brogaard stated that that she
wanted to go to Herlufsholm because ‘it was just like in Harry Potter’ – it should be
noted that Herlufsholm was founded in 1556 and the first Harry Potter book was
published in 1997.306

The narratological formula, which began with Tom Brown and was consolidated by
the flood of public school novels in the period between 1890 and 1930, and which has
been reproduced widely, was eloquently and wittily described by educational historian
Edward C. Mack in 1941:

A boy enters school in some fear and trepidation, but usually with ambitions and
schemes; suffers mildly or seriously at first from loneliness, the exactions of fag-
masters, the discipline of masters and the regimentation of games; then he makes
a few friends and leads for a year or so a joyful irresponsible and sometimes
rebellious life, eventually, learns duty, self-reliance, responsibility and loyalty as a
prefect, qualities usually used to put down bullying or over-emphasis on athletic
prowess; and finally leaves school with regret for a wide world, stamped with the
seal of an institution which he has left and devoted to its welfare.307

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304 Max Davidson, ‘Harry Potter Stardust Helps Boarding to Keep its Sparkle’, *The Telegraph*, 16 May (2014).
305 Amanda Holman Brogaard, *I et hav af lyeblå skjorter: kostskoleeleve på Herlufsholm* (Copenhagen: Nyt
Nordiskt Förlag Arnold Busck, 2015).
307 Edward, C. Mack, *Public Schools and British Opinion Since 1860* (New York: Columbia University Press,
1941), 201-2.
Additions to Mack’s formula could also be mandatory events like the first train-journey a new boy makes to school, where the whole school always seems to be on the same train; the just fight the hero has to undergo against an older pupil, who often is not a prefect (i.e., does not have the right to demand fagging) but acts like one. This fight is just and right because this antagonist has often harassed the physically weak bookish friend of the story’s protagonist. The most noteworthy feature of this formula, or, public school archetype, is that they are not confined to the fictional genre – they are also reproduced in the many autobiographical depictions concerning the boarding school years. One illustrative example of this is Prince Sigvard’s recollections of his time at Lundsberg.

Prince Sigvard’s account begins with him waking up one morning at Sofiero Castle, hearing the sound of a rake working the gravel path, a sound which makes him think of ‘summer, safety and continuity’. ³⁰⁸ He then realises that this is no ordinary day, in a few hours he will ‘start a new life’, which means ending a ‘remarkably protected existence’ and finally ‘cutting the umbilical cord with mother and father’. ³⁰⁹ Prince Sigvard also begins his autobiographical reminiscence with the long train journey to Lundsberg, which is located deep in a forest. When it was time to change to the narrow track train at Kristinehamn, Prince Sigvard recalls how the train was full of young boys wearing green caps with the letters L and S engraved in silver-lining and surrounded by a laurel wreath. They were ‘screaming, laughing and greeting each other’. ³¹⁰ There were, however, also a number of bareheaded boys not participating in the commotion and ‘standing by themselves feeling lonely’. Those were the new-boys, and Prince Sigvard recalls thinking that ‘this will not turn out well and wanting to ‘hold his mother’s hand in a firm grip’. ³¹¹

When the prince and his mother reached the boarding house that would be his new home, Gransäter, they saw the older boys standing outside the house gauging the new arrivals. The prince continues to reminisce about his initial period of homesickness but how he fairly soon became more comfortable in his new life, even though he was not a great athlete and at Lundsberg the skilled athletes enjoyed a privileged position.

³⁰⁸ Bernadotte, Krona eller klave,
³⁰⁹ Ibid.
³¹⁰ Ibid.
³¹¹ Ibid.
According to Prince Sigvard, the athletics teacher ‘loved his sport stars and regarded all
the rest as second rate people’. However, Prince Sigvard points out the very important
fact, for the boarding school narrative, that during his last couple of years at Lundsberg
he managed to be named captain of the boarding house Gransäter’s football team.

Nationalising the Public School Narrative

One important fact relating to the large amount of fictional, semi-autobiographical,
and autobiographical books which had been published about the English public
schools by the start of the twentieth century, was that there was already a ‘narrative’ in
place that a new pupil could relate to. And not too many years after the rise of the
American and Swedish boarding schools during the late nineteenth and early twentieth
centuries there would be ‘nationalised’ fictional boarding school-narratives that these
pupils could relate to – and often, the national formulas were borrowed from the
English public school story. However, the message, often imperialistic, which was
conveyed in English public school fiction, would at times also provoke a literary
counter-reaction.

This was the case in Ireland, where the imperialistic ethos of the late nineteenth
century English public school novels and magazines was considered ‘at best corrupting
and at worst invidious and anti-Irish’.312 In Ireland, a particular type of ‘Catholic-
oriented’ fictional account emerged, based on the author’s experiences at Catholic
boarding schools in Ireland, such as Clongowes Wood, Saint Stanislaus, and
Castleknock College. Although these Irish boarding school stories wished to escape the
message of the English public school stories, they could not escape their narratological
form and archetypes.313 And the most noticeable boarding-school books produced in
Ireland – Helen Elrington’s Schoolboy Outlaws (1904) and Shan Bullock’s The Cubs
(1920) – both follow the traditional narratological pattern of the English public school
novel.314

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314 Helen Elrington, Schoolboy Outlaws (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1904) and Shan Bullock, The Cubs:
In the United States, one of the first and most read books in the genre is arguably the former Lawrenceville school pupil Owen Johnson’s (1878 –1952) so-called ‘Lawrenceville Stories’ (1909-11). These stories follow the schooldays of Dink Stover in the books The Prodigious Hickey (1909), The Humming Bird (1910), The Varmint (1910), and The Tennessee Shad (1911).\(^{315}\) And like Tom Brown at Oxford (1861), the audience later has the possibility to follow Dink to university – in Stover at Yale (1912).\(^{316}\) One important aspect of the ‘Lawrenceville series’ is the persistence and ‘canonisation’ of these stories and, indeed, the school-day adventures of Dink Stover were in 1950 made into a motion picture by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer with the title The Happy Years and in 1986 the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) produced a mini-series based on the ‘Lawrenceville stories’.

The proximity between the American and English boarding school stories did, however, diverge from the publication of F. Scott Fitzgerald’s short story The Freshest Boy (1928) and onwards.\(^{317}\) This mirrors the passing of what had been the English public school ‘moment’ in the history of the American boarding schools. In their formative years, as illustrated earlier, the American boarding schools had looked to the English public school system as a reference point, from the 1920s and 1930s the American boarding schools take on their more distinctive ‘prep school’ format. This is evident in fewer references being made to English public schools in this time period which is also reflected in the fictional works that starts cultivating a more distinct prep school myth instead of reproducing the English public school myth.

Within literature, this New England prep school genre is most distinctive in Robert Anderson’s stage play Tea and Sympathy (1953) and books like John Knowles A Separate Peace (1959), Louis Auchincloss' The Rector of Justin (1964), and James Kirkwood’s Good Times/Bad Times (1968).\(^{318}\) In the media landscape in postwar America, this New England prep school-genre serves, in some respects, as the opposite

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\(^{316}\) Thomas Hughes, Tom Brown at Oxford (London: Macmillan, 1861) and Owen Johnson, Stover at Yale (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1912).


to the numerous television shows and movies set at the American Public High Schools – it can even be argued that the fictional descriptions of the American Public High Schools is the 1980s and 1990s equivalent, when it comes to global reach, to the turn of the nineteenth-century English public school fiction.

In 1996, Count Nils Wachtmeister was asked to write a chapter in a *festschrift* summarising the first fifty years of his old school, Lundsberg. In his chapter, Wachtmeister writes that although he only arrived at Lundsberg in 1933 he feels like he has been at the school since its foundation in 1896. Count Nils Wachtmeister was the second-generation of Wachtmeisters at Lundsberg, his father, Shering (Ted) Wachtmeister, was a pupil at the school between 1902 and 1911. When the old school friends from Lundsberg visited Shering, Nils and his brothers use to stay up and listen to their stories from school. It was, in other words, predestined that Nils and his brothers would one day make the 222 kilometre journey from their family estate Nääs to Lundsberg in the not to distance future. One of the most lasting impressions Nils took from Lundsberg, before actually arriving there, was when his father Shering read out-loud to him and his brothers the Baron Louis De Geer’s *roman à clef*, *Norrsättra* (1932) – which was a semi-fictional depiction of Louis De Geer’s years at Lundsberg during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Sometimes, however, Shering would intervene in his reading to correct details – as the contemporary pupil he was – in De Geer’s recollections.

In 1933 the semi-fictional book series about life at Lundsberg was expanded with the book *Det hände på Norrsättra* (1933) and two years later the final part of the trilogy was completed in the form of *Farväl Norrsättra* (1935). There was, in other words, already a mythological image that young Nils Wachtmeister had to relate to even before he first set foot at Lundsberg in 1934. A closer look at the authorship of the former Lundsberg pupil Louis De Geer, does, however, reveal that both his *Norrsättra* series and his literary production were heavily entangled in the English public school genre. The most popular depiction of the English public schools disseminated to a Swedish audience was Louis De Geer’s literary protagonist Gunnar Wigélius, who in

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319 *Lundsbergs skola 100 år*, 28.
320 *Lundsbergs skola 100 år*, 28.
six books, between 1929 and 1954, went from ‘fag’ to headmaster in the fictional English public school Singleton, located outside of Winchester. Given the profound effect the works of Louis De Geer has had in terms of spreading the English public school genre to Sweden, and the inner-mechanism this diffusion reveals, it is fruitful to take a closer look at Louis De Geer, both as a person and his literary production.

Louis Fabian De Geer was born in 1888; he was the son of Baron Fabian De Geer – who was a nephew of Prime Minster Louis De Geer. Louis Fabian and his brother Gerard grew up on the Bålby estate and were strictly raised in what was known in the family as the Stjernholmska method. This character-building upbringing included punishments - if the boys were late for dinner, they had to spend one hour locked in a dark closet. This strict upbringing was continued when Louis Fabian and his brother Gerard arrived at Lundsberg, where the slightest breach of the school rules meant a flogging by the headmaster. Perhaps understandably, given the description above, Louis De Geer had conflicted feeling towards his family in general and the Swedish aristocracy in particular, and this is evident in his literary production. His conflicted feeling towards the Swedish aristocracy is perhaps most evident in his book Branden ['The Fire'] (1936), which is a depiction of the decadent and anachronistic life of the Swedish landed aristocracy.

His first fictional depiction of Lundsberg, Norrsättra (1932) is also a frank and unsentimental account of his school experiences. ‘One you have finished reading the book [Norrsättra] you feel disappointment and wish that it was not true’, was the sentiment when the book was reviewed in the teacher’s journal Svenska Lärartidningen in 1933. And viewed from the outside the perception that Louis De Geer gives his readers a truly bleak picture of Lundsberg is understandable, however, it is in line with the public school genre, and should therefore not by understood as bleak but character building.

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323 Louis De Geer, Branden (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1936); Efter branden (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1937); Slutet på branden (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1939).
325 Nils Wikström, Svensk Lärartidning, 26 April (1933), 400.
In *Norrsätra* the two brothers Lennart and Tore arrive at the boarding school at the same time – as had Louis and his brother Gerard. After that the book follows in the E. C. Mack formula: the first period is marked by homesickness, confusion and difficulties adapting, and Lennart is ‘initiated’ cruelly by the older boys – they pour water down his trousers. However, the two boys later become accepted at the school because of their sporting prowess – track and football are the two sports in which the protagonist Lennart excels. Louis De Geer’s *Norrsätra* series was published by Sweden’s most prominent publishing house – Albert Bonnier– in fact, the two sons of publisher Karl Otto Bonnier (1856–1941), Åke and Gert Bonnier, were contemporaries with Louis De Geer at Lundsberg. The *Norrsätra* series did not, however, become as popular as his contemporary books about the English public school Singleton.

What is most striking about the *Singleton* series is both De Geer’s intimate knowledge of the English public school genre and of the English pupil school system per se. The simple explanation for this is that Louis De Geer spent thirteen years – between 1913 and 1926 – teaching at a minor English public school outside of Winchester. The subtitle of the first Singleton book, which was published in 1929, was ‘depictions of an English public school’ (*skildringar från en engelsk public school*).\(^{326}\) After the instant success of De Geer’s first Singleton book they were quickly followed by *Ett elddop på Singleton* (1930) and *Grådasken på Singleton* (1931).\(^{327}\) De Geer then took a ten year break from his *Singleton* series, during which time he wrote the *Norrsätra* series and the *Branden* series, where Gunnar Wigélius returns to Singleton as a teacher (master) and later headmaster in *Den nya läraren på Singleton* (1941), *Singleton och kriget* (1943), and finally *Stora händelser på Singleton* (1954).\(^{328}\)

During these twenty-five years, Swedish readers got an in-depth insight into life at an English public school viewed through the eyes of Gunnar Wigélius. And the readers of the *Singleton* series were numerous; indeed, literature professor Johan Svedjedal has shown the reach of the *Singleton* series by looking at the most popular books from the

\(^{327}\) Louis De Geer, *Ett elddop på Singleton: Skildringar från en engelsk public school* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1930) and *Grådasken på Singleton* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1931).
\(^{328}\) Louis De Geer, *Den nya läraren på Singleton* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1941), *Singleton och kriget* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1943), and *Stora händelser på Singleton* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1954).
Swedish state libraries. Up until 1960, De Geer’s Singleton series was ranked as the 30th most borrowed title, and Singleton was borrowed more the 50,000 times per year until 1970.\textsuperscript{329} The Singleton series were also translated into Danish, Norwegian and Finnish.

What type of public school image did De Geer convey to the Scandinavian audience? The answer to this question can be summarised in two words: laudatory and detailed. De Geer begins his first book by dedicating it to all ‘old’ Lundsberg pupils – thereby shattering any doubt that he still had positive feelings about his own school – the preface is a detailed description of what an English public school was, and that they cannot be compared to the Swedish grammar schools. De Geer lets his Scandinavian audience know that all parents who place their children at an English public school have made a huge financial sacrifice, they do this, however, because they are convinced that these schools will turn their sons into gentlemen who will spread the best of English character throughout the British Empire.

De Geer then goes on to inform his readers that the entrance exams which a young English boy takes to gain entry to these schools are mostly ‘just for show’ – the real entrance ticket is if your father and grandfather have been educated at the school. De Geer’s positive feelings towards the English tradition of education shines through in his explanation of the prefect-fagging system. De Geer writes that what both the minor and major public school have in common is their devotion to turning boys into the kind of men that have given England such a high esteem all over the world, and that this is mostly achieved through its system of prefects and fags.

If the preface notes are somewhat ‘dry’ and ‘filled with facts’, to put it in De Geer’s words, the rest of the book series lets its readers really experience this progressive and hierarchal journey through an English public school. It ticks of all the major archetypical story lines – from Gunnar Wigelius’s nervous excitement on the first train journey from London Waterloo station to his first year as a fag. De Geer does, however, also penetrate beyond these narratological archetypes and illustrate how the fortunes and athletic success of a boarding house depended on a strong and just prefect. In the introductory chapter of this thesis there was the open question of where Count Ian Wachtmeister, and the rest of the Lundsberg pupils, had picked up the

custom of the boy-call (where a prefect shouts-out ‘faa-aag’ and the last fag to arrive has to perform the task). They could of course have picked it up from Tom Brown’s Schooldays or any of the countless public school novels that were translated into Swedish. However, the ‘boy-call’ was also described in one of the most read books in Sweden – in Swedish – even before Ian Wachtmeister enrolled at Lundsberg.

The public school mythology was in other words already ‘translated into Swedish’, and this is the most fascinating aspect of the seemingly banal story of ‘boy-calls’ at Lundsberg – that they are not regarded as a classic English public schools tradition, but as a Lundsberg tradition. There is a ‘cultural hegemony’ power when the traditions and ethos of the English public schools is haphazardly transformed into the tradition and ethos of a school in another country. This translation of the English public school mythology into Swedish was even more consolidated through the books of Torwald Törnqvist, who first worked at the boarding school Solbacka and in 1929 became a housemaster at the boarding school Sigtunaskolan.

Torwald Törnqvist’s first book was Plugg, pojkar och pedagoger (1934); it follows three boys on their archetypical English-public-school journey through the boarding school hierarchy – from the first violent initiation rituals to a position of power.\(^\text{330}\) His second boarding school novel, Bergslagspojken (1935), is a depiction of how hard life can be for an artistically talented boy at a boarding school devoted only to the ‘cult of athleticism’.\(^\text{331}\) Törnqvist’s third book, Tok heller (1938), returns to the theme of the Swedish boarding schools’ preoccupation with athleticism.\(^\text{332}\) This time a socially awkward boy from the wrong social background – he is from the rural, densely forested northern region of Norrland – is accepted at school because of his athletic abilities. The fact that this boy, who is logically nicknamed ‘Norrland’, wants to sleep in the forest and spends all night howling like a wolf is thereby overlooked due to his abilities on the playing field.\(^\text{333}\)

\(^{330}\) Torwald Törnqvist, Plugg, pojkar och pedagoger: en bok om pojkliv på en svensk internatskola (Uppsala; Lindblad, 1934).
\(^{331}\) Torwald Törnqvist, Bergslagspojken (Stockholm; Lindblad, 1937).
\(^{332}\) Torwald Törnqvist, Tok Heller: pojkliv vid ett svenskt internatlåroverk (Uppsala; Lindblad, 1946).
\(^{333}\) Ibid.
One of the key aspects throughout this thesis is the persistence of the English public school ethos and mythology. Although Torwald Törnqvist and in particular Louis De Geer have had their fair share of readers they do not compare to the book *Ondskan* (‘Evil’) by author and journalist Jan Guillou – which is arguably one of the most popular Swedish novels ever written. Guillou’s *Ondskan* (1981) is the semi-autobiographical account of his schooldays at the Swedish boarding school Solbacka Läroverk, which he attended in the 1950s.\(^{334}\) The book has also had a global reach: it won the Prix France Culture in 1990 for ‘Best Foreign Novel of The Year’ and Mikael Hafström’s screen adaptation of the book was nominated for an Oscar (in the Best Foreign Language Film category) in 2004.

Guillou’s book is interesting on several levels. First, being almost a mandatory read in Swedish schools, its description of boarding school life at Solbacka (which is called ‘Stjensberg’ in the book) has become the knee-jerk association for most Swedes when they think of a Swedish boarding school. This is, of course, interesting because it follows the E. C. Mack formula in many aspects. Jan Guillou’s alter ego Erik Ponti arrives at school and is submitted to the ordeals of the prefects, he does, however, earn some respect by being a talented athlete. His closest friend is the bookish and un-athletic Pierre Tanguy (like George Arthur in *Tom Brown’s Schooldays*) and what the bully Flashman is to Tom Brown, prefect Otto Silverhielm is to Erik Ponti. Up to this point, the book follows the E. C. Mack formula quite closely, however, from 1914 onwards another formula had emerged and made its mark in the public school narrative, one which do not include the final stage – protagonist ‘leaves school with regret for a wide world, stamped with the seal of an institution which he has left and is devoted to its welfare’. This formula might be called the ‘Lunn formula’.

 Already in 1913, Arnold Lunn’s less laudatory novel, *The Harrovians: A Tale of Public School Life*, was published and it came to represent the starting point of another strand within the public school mythology.\(^{335}\) This strand of literature went against the rose-tinted depictions of English public school life and became the most common type of public school story throughout the twentieth century. Although, neither *Tom Brown’s*


Schooldays or Frederic William Farrar’s *Eric, or, Little by Little* are light and cheery reads. Alec Waugh’s – the brother of Evelyn Waugh – controversial *The Loom of Youth* (1917) – hints at homosexual relationships between the boys, and in his *Public School Life* (1922) he clearly states his admiration for Arnold Lunn’s *The Harrovians*.\(^\text{336}\)

It is within this strand of semi-autobiographical boarding school literature that Jan Guillou’s *Evil* should be understood. Guillou was not interested in Solbacka’s reputation, the goal for him and his alter ego was to shout-down the school. The Lunn-formula also reveals a transnational class-specific story about manliness and elite formation. *Evil* also illustrates how life and art are entangled in a rather complex way when it comes to elite boarding schools. In 1968, former Cheltenham College pupil and film director Lindsay Anderson released his film *if...* – which depicted a savage pupil revolt at an English public school. The film mirrored the counterculture of the 1960s and when outspoken left-wing sympathiser Jan Guillou went to see Anderson’s film at a cinema in Stockholm he admits that he nearly ‘broke [his] wife’s hand by squeezing it so hard’.\(^\text{337}\) This strong reaction was rooted in Guillou’s own experiences at Solbacka.

More than thirty years later, in another cinema, this time in the Danish city of Copenhagen, a former pupil of the Danish boarding school Herlufsholm, Kasper Hansen, had bought tickets to see the film adaptation of Jan Guillou’s *Evil*. Hansen only managed to stay in his seat for half an hour before he walked out of the cinema, went home and wrote a long article for the highbrow Danish newspaper *Dagbladet Information*, in which he explained that Guillou’s story was not fiction and that the 30 minutes he had watched had transported him back to his thirteen-year-old self in the 1990s and to the prefect system – *præfektorudning* – at the Danish elite boarding school Herlufsholm.\(^\text{338}\)

This entangled story of Lindsay Anderson in England, Jan Guillou in Sweden, and Kasper Hansen in Denmark is yet another indication of why this type of elite boarding school is best understood as an interrelated transnational or global field. It is also a


testament to how difficult it is to separate ‘fiction’ and ‘reality’ when it comes to our understanding of elite boarding schools. Those involved in the world of elite boarding schools also have a sense of this transnational connectedness. When the story of the Lundsberg pupil being branded by an iron became global news in 2013, the headmaster of Herlufsholm, Klaus Eusebius Jakobsen, told the media that he had been waiting for their phone-call. Speaking to the Danish newspaper Berlingske, Jakobsen said that he gives a copy of Guillou’s Evil to all those who work at the school and that he sees the movie adaptation of Evil at least once a year to remind himself of the dangers of turning a blind eye to pupil self-government.339

3 The Globally Entangled Genesis of Modern Elite Boarding Schools

The Global Rise of Modern Elite Boarding Schools

In 1946, Lundsberg celebrated its fifty-year anniversary and as part of the celebration the school published the book *Lundsbergs skolas historia 1896–1946*, which outlined the school’s first fifty years of existence.\(^{340}\) Whenever an institution decides to write its own history, important contemporary perceptions often emerge. It is a chance for an institution to position itself in relation to similar institutions and a way to try and shape how the outside world should view its history. With that being said, these types of institutional histories in *festschrift*-form are often mostly read by a close circle of former pupils and staff, and it is therefore difficult to stray too far from the collective, traditionally accepted account of a school’s history.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, references to the English public schools appeared quite frequently in the speeches and writings of Lundsberg’s founder William Olsson. These references mostly concern the ethos of the English public school, the love that the English public school pupils feel towards their school and the fact that the English public schools not only instruct their pupils academically but educate the ‘whole person’ – spiritually as well as intellectually. In the first chapter of Lundsberg’s own history book from 1946, Lundsberg’s first headmaster, Frits Danielson, wrote about the roots of Lundsberg’s educational ethos. In his account, Danielson deviated from the previous narrative that Lundsberg was an ‘English-style’ boarding school mixed with a ‘Swedish-style’ grammar school. Instead, headmaster

Danielson locates Lundsberg’s ideological origin in the Swedish boarding school Hillska skolan, which was opened in 1830 and located in the Södermalm district of Stockholm. Hillska skolan’s history was brief, it had already closed down for good by 1846, however, fifty years after the last pupils left Hillska skolan a new school, according to Danielson, ‘whose programme and ideas by and large were a continuation of Hillska skolan was now opened in the form of Lundsberg’.  

Frits Danielson’s decision to alter the master narrative of Lundsberg can both be interpreted as an attempt to nationalise the history of Lundsberg and to make its history somewhat longer – by connecting Lundsberg to an older educational institution, which stretches all the way back to 1830. Interestingly enough, this departure in the writing of Lundsberg’s official history only further reveals the transnationally entangled histories of elite boarding schools: Hillska skolan in Stockholm had itself been named after the Englishman Rowland Hill (1795-1879) and Hillska skolan was a near carbon-copy of Hazelwood School, which Hill had founded in the Edgbaston neighbourhood of Birmingham in 1819. By placing Lundsberg’s history as a continuation of Hillska skolan’s history, it also becomes more associated with what one might describe as the ‘modern’ or ‘progressive’ strand of elite boarding schools, given the fact that Hillska skolan was closely intertwined in the first globally interconnected moment of elite boarding schools.

This first ‘global moment’ began in 1799, when the Swiss educationalist and agronomist Philipp Emanuel von Fellenberg (1771–1844) founded a boarding school in Hofwyl close to Bern, and lasted until – approximately – the 1830s or 1840s, when Hazelwood School, the Round Hill School and the Flushing Institute in America, and the Swedish Hillska skolan all ceased to exist. Given the fact that none of these institutions have managed to survive until the present day – or for more than a couple of decades for that matter – this first globally interconnected moment could be described as part of a ‘dress rehearsal’ or ‘pre-history’ of the ‘modern’ or ‘progressive’ elite boarding schools. However, given the fact that many of the ideas and practices of the boarding schools of the first global moment have been central and have continued in the present day elite boarding schools this first global moment is best understood as ‘the rise of’ moment rather than a dress rehearsal. A closer look at this first global

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moment is therefore vital in order to understand the future development of the global field of elite boarding schools.

A Journey to Edgbaston

In 1829, the Swedish theologian, and later also Member of Parliament, Johan Adolf Säve (1800-1873) embarked on what was to be a year-long journey through England. His objective was clear: Säve was primarily there to conduct a close study of the Hazelwood School, which the social reformer Rowland Hill had founded ten years prior, in order to gauge if this type of school could be established in Sweden. Säve’s journey was not state funded, it was the product of a private enterprise founded by Count Fabian Wrede, politician Count David Fredrik Frölich, and the lawyer and politician Johan Gabriel Richter – in other words, individuals from the upper social and political echelons of Swedish society.

Johan Adolf Säve’s prior knowledge about Hill’s Hazelwood School was quite substantial, even before he left the port of Copenhagen for England. In 1822 Hill had already published a book outlining the general ideas of the Hazelwood School, which included an evaluation of how these ideas had panned out during the school’s first three years.342 This book, Liberal Education: Government and Liberal Instruction of Boys in Large Numbers Drawn from Experience, had already been translated into Swedish, as Allmän upphofstran: Styrelse och undervisning vid goss-scholan i Hazelwood, by Säve’s employer Count David Fredrik Frölich in 1828. In his introduction, Count Frölich explains that Hill’s book is one of the most innovative and creative texts he has come across concerning the education of boys.343

Before Säve travelled to Edgbaston in Birmingham – where Rowland Hill had moved his fathers ‘Hill Top’ school and renamed it Hazelwood – he made some eye-opening visits to educational institutions in London. First he visited the Military Asylum in Chelsea and then Joseph Lancaster’s school in the London district of Southwark.344 These visits were ‘eye-opening’ in the sense that they capture the main interest of Säve

342 Matthew Davenport Hill (translated by David Fredrik Frölich), Allmän upphofstran: Styrelse och undervisning vid goss-scholan i Hazelwood (Stockholm: Johan Hörberg, 1828).
343 Ibid.
344 Rudolf B. Hall, Manliga privatläroverk (Lund: Föreningen för svensk undervisningshistoria, 1935), 120.
and the aristocratic haute-bourgeoisie group he represented – that is, large schools with pupil self-government. The military asylum in Chelsea and Lancaster’s school in Southwark used the so-called ‘monitorial system’ (not to be confused with the type of monitorial system that were used at the English public schools, which did not involve teaching), which uses the more ‘advanced’ or most ‘able’ pupils as ‘helpers’ in the teaching of their peers.\textsuperscript{345} The schools that used the monitorial system often drew their pupils from the lower social strata of society because the ‘Bell-Lancaster method’ – which was another name for this particular monitorial system – was a cost-effective way of teaching a large number of pupils, thereby increasing the number of children who could receive a public education.

When it came to pedagogical ideas, like the monitorial system, it is worth noting that there was not always a clear demarcation between the education of the poor and the well off. However, these ideas were often repackaged, at least symbolically, when they were used for the education of the children of the upper strata of society. Even if Säve studied the schools that were devoted to public education, the school he was planning to found in Sweden was meant for the sons from the upper strata of society. This repacking mechanism is also noteworthy – as we will see later in this chapter – because the seeking of inspiration from educational approaches that were originally developed to educate poor children, the ‘mentally weak’, or even juvenile delinquents, and the later recycling and repurposing of these ideas for the education of elites is a recurring theme in the history of elite boarding schools.

This can be illustrated in the monitorial system of the contemporaneous Bell and Lancaster schools for the working class and the monitorial/prefect system of the contemporary Arnoldian public schools. At a working class school, being given the responsibility to teach one’s peers was not embedded in the discourse that these leadership experiences will prepare the pupils for important governance positions in the future. Being at a public school and, most importantly, being from an aristocratic or upper middle class background, the delegated power that gives the senior pupils the right to make younger pupils fetch stray cricket balls and prepare breakfast in the morning, are, on the other hand, important lesson for future leadership positions. Put

differently, the projected result of an educational method is related to the social background of the pupils that this method is applied to.

Hazelwood School can be positioned in the ‘modern’ or ‘progressive’ strand amongst the elite boarding schools primarily because it offered an alternative to the ‘traditional’ public schools. This alternative was to some extent evident in Hazelwood’s academic curriculum, but is even clearer regarding Hazelwood’s philosophy on upbringing and discipline. When it came to upbringing in the form of discipline and punishment, Hazelwood was modern in the sense that it used fines and imprisonment as punishments, while ‘impositions, public disgrace, and corporal pain had been discarded at the school’. The main novelty when it came to discipline and punishment was, however, that the pupils were expected to ‘do the right thing’ – without the threat of punishment – simply through moral goodness. This view of an inner goodness amongst the young boys is quite a leap from Thomas Arnold’s default position on young boys – whenever Arnold saw a group of boys he was convinced that the devil was hiding in their midst.

Hazelwood was also progressive, or even radical, in the sense that it was heavily inspired by the natural philosopher Joseph Priestley’s writings on education and his emphasis on the teaching of science – which served as a stark contrast to the prominent position the teaching classics had at the traditional public schools. Another radical thinker that Hazelwood drew inspiration from was Jeremy Bentham, in particular his book *Chrestomathia* – which outlines the ideas of a radically new day school for the middle classes. Bentham’s *Chrestomathia* was, for example, cited in the second edition of Hill’s *Liberal Education* (1825). When it came to classroom education, Hill’s Hazelwood School charted new territory within the field of elite boarding schools by emphasising the importance of what they called ‘self-education’. ‘So far from supposing education to cease at school or at college, we look forward to

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the moment when our pupils become their own masters’, is how Matthew Davenport Hill describes the objective of self-education in the preface of *Liberal Education*.349

When Säve visited the Hill family in 1929, they had two years earlier established a second Hazelwood school – through the backing of Jeremy Bentham – at Bruce Castle in Tottenham, London.350 With Säve being in London, Bruce Castle School therefore became the natural first stop for Säve, who was greeted in Tottenham by Rowland Hill’s father, Thomas Hill, and his two brothers, Arthur and Frederic. They informed Säve that Bruce Castle School had approximately seventy pupils; most of them from England but there were also pupils from Germany, Persia and Peru. After a visit to Hazelwood in Birmingham – during which every detail of the school was meticulously recorded and sent in a letter to Count Frölich – Säve returned to Sweden in 1830. During the same year Hillska skolan in Stockholm was opened.351

Before we take a closer analytical look at the organisation of Hillska skolan, and in particular its system of self-education and self-government, it worth highlighting that chronologically, Hazelwood predates Thomas Arnold’s reconfiguration of the prefect-fagging system. In this sense, the ‘government and liberal instruction of boys in large numbers’ at Hazelwood, was also a contribution to the ongoing conversation on how to best organise and maintain discipline amongst a large group of adolescent boys. And it is important to note that the Hill family – for this was by and large a firmly-run educational enterprise – contributes to this ongoing ‘English’ debate by bringing in examples from foreign boarding schools, such as Fellenberg’s school at Hofwyl, Pestalozzi’s school at Yverdon, outside of Zürich, as well as introducing the ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau into the debate. Bringing Pestalozzi’s boarding school at Yverdon – which is widely regarded as the first school in Europe to teach children from different social and economic strata together under the same roof – into the ‘English’ debate on boarding school education further illustrates that the were no clear firewalls between the pedagogical ideas of how to educate the poor and the well-off.

350 Hall, *Manliga privatläroverk*
Hill’s *Liberal Education* was, in others words, a key contribution to the ongoing debate concerning the perceived anarchy in the English public schools, but it was also widely read abroad. Reviews of *Liberal Education* did not only appear in the *Edinburgh Review*, the *London Magazine*, and the *Westminster Review*, but also in the French *Revue Encyclopédique* where it was reviewed by the former secretary of Maximilien Robespierre, Marc-Antoine Jullien de Paris – who also sent one of his sons to Hazelwood. The book also reached the highest echelons of American society; former president Thomas Jefferson had heard about the book from Matthew Davenport Hill’s friend, the Scottish social reform sympathiser Miss Frances Wright. Jefferson later wrote to Hill and asked for a copy of the book and subsequently drew inspiration from Hill’s work at Hazelwood when establishing the University of Virginia, which he had founded in 1819. Jefferson was particularly intrigued by Hill’s ideas on self-education; the students at the University of Virginia therefore always had greater freedom to choose what courses they wanted to study.

**A Global Conversation amongst Progressive Elitists’**

The pupil self-government at Hillska skolan, and thereby also at Hazelwood, was a rather complex system of penalty marks, fines and rewards, which were all managed by the pupils themselves. It was also a renaissance of Trozendorf’s sixteenth century idea of a ‘school republic’ – although there are no references to Trozendorf and his school in the German town of Goldberg. As in Goldberg, the headmaster was the president of the school republics at Hillska and Hazelwood. Every change of activity was marked by horn blowers and by drums, and drummer boy was also a position of responsibility a pupil could have. This elaborate system of delegated responsibilities was an ingenious way to establish discipline and order by giving many pupils a very minor and detailed role to play, thereby avoiding the over-concentration of power into a small group of prefects.

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There were, however, still positions of considerable responsibility at Hillska skolan and the conceptual history of the title of the top positions amongst the pupils truly reveals the transnational nature of the first global moment of elite boarding schools. In Harald Ericsson’s retrospective book *Hillska skolan à Barnängen 1830-1846* (1885) we learn that the most prestigious positions amongst the pupils were the elected group of *Gardianer*. In the published collection of letters by Matthew Davenport Hill we quickly learn that this position, hardly surprising, is a ‘swedefied’ form of the word and institution of ‘Guardians’ that was introduced at Hazelwood in 1825. It is important to note here that the idea of guardians was not included in the first edition of *Liberal Education* from 1822, but only in the second edition of the book that was published in 1825. The reason for this was that Hazelwood in turn took the idea of guardians from the Scottish-American social reformer Robert Dale Owen (1801-1877), who was in correspondence with Matthew Davenport Hill. Owen’s idea of guardians was in turn derived from Fellenberg’s Hofwyl in Switzerland – where Owen and his three brothers had received part of their education.

This delineation of the modern use of the term ‘guardians’ is one example of why Emmanuel von Fellenberg’s boarding school at Hofwyl makes a convincing case for being the global progenitor of the modern or progressive elite boarding schools. In 1854, the American educator Henry Bernard wrote that Hofwyl had ‘attracted more attention, and exerted a wider influence than any one institution in Europe or America’. During the first half the nineteenth century, more than one hundred reports were written about Hofwyl by foreign observers. The boarding school at Hofwyl would not only be linked to the English Hazelwood school and the Swedish Hillska skolan through its system of guardians, but it would also come to serve as a major influence for the ‘first wave’ of the American so-called ‘Church schools’. These Church schools would in turn influence the ‘second wave’ of Episcopal Church schools, such as St. Paul’s School and Groton School.

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354 Ericsson, *Hillska skolan à Barnängen*.
356 Ibid.
This connection between the modern European boarding schools and the genesis of what was to become America’s elite preparatory boarding school is most evident in Joseph Green Cogswell (1786-1871) and George Bancroft’s (1800-1891) Round Hill School, which was founded in Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1823. Already in 1819, Cogswell had travelled to Switzerland to study Pestalozzi’s boarding school at Yverdon. Cogswell was, however, not overly impressed by Yverdon and Pestalozzi – ‘Bad order – no obedience in scholars’, Cogswell wrote in his notes after his first visit to Yverdon.\(^{360}\) Cogswell was, however, more impressed with the boarding school that had been founded by Pestalozzi’s former protégé Emmanuel von Fellenberg. By the time Cogswell visited Switzerland Pestalozzi was not on speaking terms with his former protégé. Indeed, Cogswell wrote in his notes that Pestalozzi was filled with ‘hatred and envy of Fellenberg’.\(^{361}\)

Fellenberg’s Hofwyl was devoted to the education of both the poor and the rich, but unlike Pestalozzi’s Yverdon these groups was separated ‘physically’ into separate schools. Fellenberg was of the conviction that society was dived into three parts: the higher part was made up of the nobility and the wealthy, then there was a ‘middling’ part, and a ‘poor’ part. These parts were constant and would always prevail. It was thereby fruitless to try to change this natural, inherent division, and the best way to achieve harmony was to educate each group separately and to teach them to respect each other.\(^{362}\) As a result of this philosophy, Hofwyl resembled a complex of different boarding schools that were separated on social lines.

This modern and progressive strand of elite boarding schools, whose institutional genesis consisted of schools like Hofwyl, Hazelwood, Round Hill School, and Hillska skolan, should not be interpreted as ‘socially progressive’. The annual tuition fees at Round Hills School was, for example, more than twice as much as that of Harvard and the student register of Hillska skolan in Stockholm is mostly made up of surnames belonging to the nobility and haute bourgeoisie.\(^{363}\) These schools were, however, progressive and modern in the sense that they challenged the old established traditions

\(^{360}\) Quoted in McLachlan, *American Boarding Schools*,

\(^{361}\) Ibid.


of elite secondary education. They were often described by contemporary observers as ‘original’ or even ‘radical’, but they should foremost be viewed as ‘progressively elitist’ in that they proposed new and audaciously bold ways of educating the future elites of society. This dialogue and debate on finding new ways to educate the leaders of the future was constantly ongoing within the field of elite boarding schools and there was always a strong transnational dimension. Even though Hofwyl, Round Hill, Hazelwood, and Hillska skolan had all closed down by the mid-nineteenth century, the transnational conversation has continued.

Some of the important contributions to the debate that these schools passed on to the next generation of modern boarding schools include the idea of the boarding school as a republic of self-governing pupils; the importance of manual labour; the benefits of a more close, ‘family’ style, relationship between pupils and teachers; and an emphasis on the pupils’ own responsibility over their own education. Its contribution to the ongoing debate on how to educate a large number of adolescent boys – living together round-the-clock – is best summarised in Emmanuel von Fellenberg’s own words: ‘the great art of educating consists of knowing how to occupy every moment of life in well-directed and useful activity of the youthful powers, in order that, so far as possible, nothing evil may find room to develop’. A hundred years later, speaking at the centennial celebration of the American boarding school Lawrenceville, Woodrow Wilson’s take on what made schools like Lawrenceville successful still echoed the words of Fellenberg: ‘it organizes life from morning to night’.

‘Second Wave’ Modern Elite Boarding Schools

Just as the ‘second wave’ feminism of the 1960s was a continuation in the struggle for women’s rights, the ‘second wave’ of modern elite boarding schools was a continuation of the work of Rousseau, Fellenberg, Cogswell, the Hill family and others. Although there were traces of continuity, the ‘second wave’ of modern boarding schools marked a distinctively new period in this movement. The ‘second wave’ modern boarding

schools pushed the boundaries further and, perhaps most importantly, their ideas have continued to thrive and survive well into the twenty-first century.

In his seminal work on progressivism in American schools, Lawrence A. Cremin remarked that the progressive education movement is broad and often contradictory.\textsuperscript{366} This picture of a broad and often contradictory group of progressive educators and schools is also a valid description of the progressive movement in Europe, whose zenith was in the first decades of the twentieth century and which continued up until the 1960s. The ‘second wave’ modern elite boarding schools is generally dealt with in books on progressive education and the New Educational movement; or, written as a separate history of independent progressive boarding schools. It is, however, important to note that within this broad progressive education movement the modern elite boarding schools were not separated from the ‘traditional’ elite boarding schools, rather, they should be understood as attempts to modify the global field of elite boarding schools. And as with the ‘first wave’ of modern elite boarding schools, it is difficult to truly understand the ‘second wave’ of elite boarding schools from a solely national perspective. It might even be argued that the ‘second wave’ was even more transnationally interconnected. Nevertheless, as we shall see, there is always a national rationale that must be taken into account.

The starting point for this ‘second wave’ – or at least its first institutional manifestation – can be pinpointed to October 1899, when Dr Cecil Reddie opened his secondary boarding school for boys in Derbyshire, England. The name of Reddie’s boarding school was Abbotsholme and it was intended to be a new kind of English public school. Reddie was not an outsider trying to change the world of English public schools, he had himself been educated at the ‘Eton of the North’ – Fettes College in Scotland. It was, however, his reaction to his traditional English education at Fettes that inspired Reddie to set out to educate ‘a higher type of human being, able to cope with the increasing extent and complexity of modern knowledge and modern life, and able by a better development of the affections to develop a more wholesome type of human society’.\textsuperscript{367}

\textsuperscript{367} Cecil Reddie, \textit{Abbotsholme, 1889-1899; or, Ten Years’ Work in an Educational Laboratory} (London: George Allen, 1900), 16.
This educational goal was to be achieved, in part, through the pupils' participation in manual labour around the school – making a duck pond, draining roads, or growing crops. These tasks mirror the Hill family's ideas about voluntary labour at Hazelwood and even more at Fellenberg's Hofwyl, which were by and large devoted to agriculture. It was, however, a quite leap from how the sons of gentlemen were being educated at Winchester, Eton, and Harrow. That digging duck ponds was not a suitable activity for the education of a gentleman was also a common critique directed at Reddie's educational venture – which the critics called the 'gospel of potato digging'.

Four years later, in 1892, one of Reddie's teachers at Abbotsholme, J. H. Badley, founded Bedales school, which was to become known as the other 'patriarch' amongst the progressive independent public schools in England. Badley's departure from Abbotsholme was not down to a dispute over educational ideology, it was personally driven – Reddie had not allowed Badley to marry. Given this fact, Bedales subscribed to many of the ideas that were put into practice at Abbotsholme, it did, however, find its competitive niche in making Bedales a co-educational boarding school.\(^{368}\) Invoking the 'modern' or 'progressive' as a competitive advantage in the struggle over pupils and prestige within the field of elite boarding schools is a noteworthy constant. In the light of this, it is important to note that there were constant attempts to 'market' independent boarding schools by claiming a new and innovative take on the education of future elites and that this continued also between the 'first' and 'second wave' of modern elite boarding schools.

The best example of this, in the intermediate period between the first and second wave, is probably the changes in curricula (introducing music and smaller boarding houses, also known as the 'cottage system') that were introduced by the headmaster Edward Thring at Uppingham from 1853 up until 1887. Even though one should not question the authenticity and conviction of Reddie and Badley about the changes they introduced into their public schools, their function was mostly to demarcate themselves from 'traditional' public schools. The progressives and the divide between

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Abbotsholme and Bedales and the ‘traditional’ public school should not be over-emphasised. At Abbotsholme, for example, there was still the system of fags and prefects and the latter were empowered to beat the fags.

An insightful contemporary source that has commented on the relationship between Abbotsholme and Bedales and other English public schools is the Finnish-American cosmopolitan Laurin Zilliaccus (1895–1959). Born in Japan to a Finnish father, Konrad Zilliaccus, and his American wife Lilian Graef, Zilliaccus had been educated in Sweden, the USA, and England. In England, Zilliaccus studied at Badley’s Bedales school (between 1909 and 1912) and after receiving his engineering degree from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology he returned to Bedales to teach mathematics, chemistry and physics. Zilliaccus would later settle down in Finland, where he founded the co-educational, Beadles-inspired, Swedish-speaking school called Tölö Samskola, located in Helsinki.\(^\text{369}\) Speaking on the topic of ‘The Modern Movement in Education’ at a the Young Public School Masters’ Conference in England, in 1935, Zilliaccus addressed his former headmaster J. H. Badley’s self-conception of Beadles’ place in this movement: ‘Badley himself describes what he was doing as a modification of our Public School system, an attempt to keep what is best in the great tradition while enlarging its scope’.\(^\text{370}\)

The contemporary opinion that Abbotsholme and Bedales were an integral and natural part of the elite English public schools is also evident in Edmond Demolins’ \textit{A quoi tient la Superiority des Anglo-Saxons} (1897), which named Bedales as the best example of the much sought-after individuality of the English public school. When Demolins founded his École des Roches, in 1899, it was Abbotsholme and Bedales that functioned as its main prototypes. These connections are perhaps most evident in the fact that the École des Roches made the motto of Bedales – ‘Work of each for Weal of all’ – into its own. The École des Roches at Verneuil-sur-Avre was also joined by the Collège de Normandie at Clères in Seine-Maritime and together they formed a small

‘pocket’ which rebutted the type of education that was provided at the state controlled Lycées and instead subscribed to the reemerging ethos of the modern boarding schools.

In contemporary scholarly research, the achievements of the École des Roches and the Collège de Normandie were that they drew attention to the weaknesses of the French secondary school system and thereby sped up the reforms of this system in the first part of the twentieth century. Otherwise, there was the contemporary opinion that these modern French boarding schools were something of a failure. The 1919 edition of *A Cyclopedia of Education* uses the École des Roches to illustrate the interesting – for this thesis – ‘educational truth that a system cannot be bodily transferred from one country to another with any degree of success.’ Even if there is some truth in the fact that progressive elite boarding schools never really established in France it is important to keep in mind that the École des Roches has educated a disproportionally large amount of children from prominent French and foreign families. The few examples of this kind of independent boarding school does, however, suggest the difficulties these institutions encounter – just as in Sweden – in a highly centralised and state-controlled educational system, compared to the longer leash they are given in decentralised educational systems such as the English and the American ones.

**The Leipzig Connection**

Beyond Abbotsholme and Bedales in England and the École des Roches in France, there were from the very start close German connections in the genesis of the ‘second wave’ elite modern boarding schools. One key intermediary in bringing the German and English ideas on modern education together was Cecil Reddie. After his undergraduate studies, mainly in Chemistry, Reddie was awarded the Vans Dunlop Scholarship in Chemistry and Chemical Pharmacy, which meant that he was given the opportunity to undertake a doctorate at a European university. Reddie chose the University of Göttingen, Germany, and three years later, in 1884, he defended his doctoral thesis in Chemistry. Reddie’s years in Germany were not only the start of his life-long love affair with the country itself (which would later cause him and Abbotsholme problems during the First World War) it also introduced him to the

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philosophical and educational ideas of German thinkers – especially those of Johann Gottlieb Fichte.\textsuperscript{372}

Four years after Reddie had founded Abbotsholme he undertook an inspirational journey to Germany to visit the Laboratory School that was a part of the University of Jena. The Laboratory School in Leipzig was directed by prominent German educational theorist Wilhelm Rein (1847-1929) and when Reddie visited the school in 1893, two of Rein’s protégés were Paul Geheeb and Hermann Lietz. Paul Geheeb – who we will return to later – would go on to found two radically progressive boarding schools – the Odenwaldschule in Germany and, later, the École d’Humanité in Switzerland.\textsuperscript{373}

Herman Lietz and Cecil Reddie quickly developed a friendship and when Reddie wrote a letter to Wilhelm Rein, upon his return to England, asking him to recommend a suitable teacher, Rein suggested Herman Lietz. After spending a year at Abbotsholme, in 1896, Hermann Lietz summarised his experiences in his book (with an anagram of Abbotsholme in the title) \textit{Emlohostobba: Roman oder Wirklichkeit?} (1897), and was encouraged to start his own type of progressive boarding schools in Germany.\textsuperscript{374}

If Reddie and Badley had positioned themselves against the English public schools and Edmond Demolins against the French \textit{Lycées}, Lietz’s springboard became the German \textit{Gymnasiums}. The first of his so-called \textit{Landerziehungsheim} was established in 1898 and was located at the foot of the Harz Mountains in Ilsenburg. Lietz’s second boarding school, founded in 1901, was located in Haubinda in Thuringia and the third Landerziehungsheim was located in the Bieberstein Castle in Fulda and was founded in 1904. All of these schools positioned themselves as an antidote to what Lietz considered to be the dangers of the gymnasiums, which were often located in the middle of large cities. Instead Lietz wanted to ‘take the children from the deleterious

\textsuperscript{372} Cecil Reddie, \textit{Abbotsholme, 1889-1899}.  
\textsuperscript{374} Herman Lietz, \textit{Emlohostobba, Roman oder Wirklichkeit? Bilder aus dem Schulleben der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart oder Zukunft?} (Berlin: Dümmler,1897).
environment of the city’ and out into the bucolic countryside. Lietz also wanted to ‘free the children from the scholastic and medieval atmosphere which suffocates them’ at the gymnasiums.

This connection between Reddie in England and the group of progressive German educators, who all had close ties with the University of Leipzig, became a key transnational force in the further development of the modern boarding schools. It was in the social circles around Wilhelm Rein, Cecil Reddie, and Herman Lietz that further innovative educational ventures would be born. Paul Geheeb, Herman Lietz’s contemporary at the Laboratory school in Leipzig had been director of Lietz’s second Landerziehungsheim – the one in Haubinda. Geheeb later left Haubinda in order to establish, together with fellow Haubinda teacher Gustav Wyneken, the progressive free Schulgemeinde of Wickerdorf – with its somewhat problematic idea of a ‘Pedagogic eros’ (Pädagogischer Eros) – the ideal relationship between teacher and pupil. After a falling-out with Wyneken over educational issues Geheeb started his own boarding school called Odenwaldschule in 1910. Odenwaldschule was located between Heidelberg and Darmstadt and Geheeb took a page out of Badly’s book and created a niche for himself and his new school – it was to be a co-educational boarding school.

It was through Lietz’s Haubinda and Geheeb’s Odenwaldschule that a Swedish readership would come into contact with this particular English-German strand of progressive boarding schools. The mediator in this process was the Swedish suffragist and advocate of the child-centred approach in education Ellen Key (1849-1926). In 1900 the first Swedish version of her seminal book Barnets århundrade (‘The Century of the Child’) was released and later translations into French (1901), German (1902), and English (1909) turned it into an international success. In later editions, Key gave in-depth descriptions of the progressive German and English boarding schools; these accounts were derived from first-hand knowledge. Between 1903 and 1906 she taught at Lietz’s Haubinda together with Paul Geheeb and Gustav Wyneken and later followed Geheeb to the boarding schools in Wickerdorf and later Odenwald before she

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376 ibid.
377 Ellen Key, Barnets århundrade (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1900); Siècle de l’enfante (Paris, 1901); Das Jahrhundert des Kindes (Berlin: Fischer, 1902); The Century of the Child (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1909).
returned to Sweden in 1910.\footnote{Elisabeth Björnhagen, \textit{Pedagogiskt nytänkande: Per Sundberg och Viggbyholmsskolan} (Umeå: Mandatus, 2008).} Ellen Key and Paul Geheeb continued to correspond after she had returned to Sweden and many ideas from the German \textit{Landerziehungsheim} movement were introduced to the general educational debate in Sweden through the writings of Ellen Key.\footnote{Björnhagen, \textit{Pedagogiskt nytänkande}, \footnote{Quoted in Richard H. Samuel and R. Hinton Thomas, \textit{Education and Society in Modern Germany} (London: Routledge, 1949), 29.}  

In 1928, Sweden would also get its own Landerziehungsheim inspired boarding school when the co-educational and progressive Viggbyholmsskolan in Täby, Stockholm, was opened. The founder of Viggbyholmsskolan was the theologian and school reformer Per Sundberg (1889–1947) and he had visited Geheeb’s school at Odenwald and implemented many of its ideas at Viggbyholmsskolan. Just like Abbotsholme and Bedales in England, the Landerziehungsheim of Germany, and the École des Roches in France, it filled a progressive niche within the field of elite boarding schools and thereby mainly attracted the cultural factions within the bourgeoisie, or, what in the modern ‘pop’ sociological nomenclature would be referred to as the \textit{bourgeois bohémien}s (‘Bobos’). The progressive creed functioned as a dog whistle that drew the bourgeois bohémien to the modern boarding schools. This sentiment is echoed in the words of the German feminist and socialist Lily Braun (1865-1916), who wrote that they ‘had heard of a new school in the Harz were young people were able to develop freely and happily through a beautiful variety of play and work and through exercise of physical and mental powers, a school of which the headmaster had the courage to close his doors to the spirit of narrow-minded Prussianism. It was there we sent our children.’ \footnote{Quoted in Richard H. Samuel and R. Hinton Thomas, \textit{Education and Society in Modern Germany} (London: Routledge, 1949), 29.} 

In many respects this proved to be an over-interpretation of the intention and direction of these schools. The headmasters were firmly embedded in the traditional social elite and many of the traditional aspects – like fagging at Abbotsholme and Bedales – remained intact. Also Hermann Lietz, behind the patina of internationalism and progressivism, grew ever more conservative and nationalistic in his educational values and by the time of the nazification of the German educational system post–1933, Lietz’s numerous \textit{Landerziehungsheim} were easily harmonised into the Nazi
educational system. The protagonist in the harmonisation process was one of Lietz’s
closet collaborators, Alfred Andreesen (1886–1944), who had been a teacher at Lietz’s
boarding schools in Ilsenburg and Schloss Bieberstein and after Leitz’s death in 1919
took over the helm of the movement, expanding it with new boarding schools at
Schloss Ettersburg (1924) and Schloss Buchenau (1928).381

**Bucolic Reform Schools**

Even though these ‘modern’ or ‘progressive’ boarding schools could be lumped
together into a group they would be difficult to truly comprehend unless they are
regarded as part of a field which also had a ‘conservative’ or ‘traditional’ pole. It is also
important to note that these modern boarding schools were not socially progressive;
they are still firmly embedded in, and devoted to, the education of elites. This struggle,
or balancing act, between progressive and conservative ideas is the essence in an
ongoing conversation and debate in the field of elite boarding schools. The
mechanisms of these struggles is also evident within each boarding school, which in
this respect forms a sort of microcosm of the larger field of elite boarding schools. In
the American boarding schools, for example, McLachlan has illustrated that there was
a divide between the more progressive teachers and headmasters and with the
conservative element being represented by the pupils and parents.382

At the Swedish boarding school Lundsberg – as we have seen in Chapter 2 – the pupils
filled a key function in importing the customs and practices of the traditional English
public school, such as Winchester, Eton and Rugby. Lundsberg’s founder, William
Olsson, did mention the traditional English public schools in a number of speeches and
articles in the school newspaper during the early years, however, these references
would fade away in later decades. Given that Lundsberg was founded in 1896, in the
midst of the rise of the ‘second wave’ of modern elite boarding schools, it is worth
reflecting on the question of whether Lundsberg really should only be understood as
merely an imitation of Eton. The ‘second wave’ modern elite boarding schools were, as
we have seen, a truly transnational venture – albeit within a strong national paradigm –

382 McLachlan, *American Boarding Schools*,

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challenging the ideological genealogy of Lundsberg would also decentralise the narrative of the English public school as the only global model for elite boarding schools.

From the very outset, William Olsson had the idea of educating his pupils at Lundsberg through manual labour. Olsson later had to backtrack on his idea that Lundsberg would not prepare pupils for university studies but the emphasis on practical education over theoretical instruction has nonetheless remained a key feature within the school. Cecil Reddie, Hermann Leitz and Edmond Demolins had positioned themselves, respectively, against the English public schools, the German Gymnasiums, and the French Lycées and so did William Olsson and Lundsberg. The arguments were also the same – too much emphasis on theoretical learning and too little on practical knowledge. Olsson also willingly admitted that Lundsberg could not compete with the state grammar schools when it came to quality of education, its advantage was therefore to be the fostering of character and moral development that took place outside of the classrooms.383

Lundsberg also aligned itself with the progressive English public schools, the École des Roches, and Lietz’s Landerziehungsheim when it came to preforming manual labour in the school’s surroundings. Olsson even had the idea of a ‘working class’ (Arbetsklass) which meant that the pupils would take a sabbatical year and work in the fields, and even though this was never realised, working in the forest – called jordbök – still remains a task that is performed at Lundsberg at the beginning of the twenty-first century.384

Between 1910 and 1930, there were plans to found a second Lundsberg, this debate about creating a satellite-school captures many of the essential questions and features which were part of the global field of elite boarding schools at this time. In 1914, the Lundsberg teacher Emanuel Nylin wrote a long article in Lundsbergaren summarising his thoughts on the expansion plans. The proposed location for the second Lundsberg School was the small port village of Nynäshamn in the Stockholm archipelago. Nylin had reservations about this location because there were some shops and restaurants not

too far away from where the boarding school would be, and Nylin was of the firm conviction that the boarding school had to be completely isolated from any metropolitan activities in order to eradicate the temptation amongst the pupils to leave the school grounds. The discussions of a second Lundsberg in the Stockholm archipelago were later replaced with the idea of locating the new Lundsberg at Ekolsund Castle, also outside of Stockholm. Regarding the Ekolsund proposal, William Olsson echoed the opinions of Nylin; Ekolsund Castle was a good location because it was bucolic and foremost isolated from the rest of society. These thoughts of Olsson had appeared already in the English pamphlet he wrote together with headmaster Frits Danielsson in 1896, which were later circulated among middle class circles in England. In this pamphlet, titled Education in Sweden: Lundsberg School for boys – Olsson and Danielsson highlighted the advantages of the school’s location in the countryside and how this endows the school with ‘a safe isolation from the evils outside’.  

This narrative of the ‘dangers of the city’ was transnational and was rooted in the realities of increased urbanisation and industrialisation. Its consequences were the ruralisation of elite secondary schools. In New England, which we touched upon before, many day schools faced hard times during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In Boston, for example, the prominent Harvard preparatory day school Nobles, founded in 1866, saw a steady decrease in the number of applicants due to the emergence of the rural boarding schools. In 1922 it therefore moved out of the central parts of Boston into the suburban location in Dedham, Massachusetts. In Canada, the prestigious Upper Canada College, founded in 1829, moved in 1891 from its location on Kings Street in downtown Toronto to the suburban and leafy Deer Park suburb. When St. Paul’s school was investigated by the Clarendon Commission during the 1860s, the school was located in central London. In 1884 it moved to the more bucolic Hammersmith area. With London’s continual expansion, the school later continued its suburban relocation by moving to Barnes, on the other side of the Thames, in 1961.

385 Frits Danielson, Education in Sweden: The Lundsberg School for Boys (Kristinehamn, 1896).
In France, Baron de Coubertin voiced similar concerns regarding the conditions in the metropolitan Lycées, where the only exercise the pupils would take were shepherded walks through the hectic streets of the major French cities. This contemporary criticism of the conditions in the French Lycées – the lack of exercise and being locked up in the middle of large cities – is perhaps most evident in the 1867 book by the Catholic poet Victor de Laprade, with its telling and provoking title L’education homicide.

The rationale of keeping the dangers of the big city away also taps into another social function of these rural boarding schools, that is, their role as ‘reform schools’ for the sons of the upper echelons of society that had ‘lost their way’. This aspect is all the more profound in countries such as Germany, France, and Sweden, which all had prestigious systems of state controlled grammar schools. In England, on the other hand, the public schools were essentially the only alternative for these particular social groups. There is a recurring theme in the autobiographical material published by former boarding school pupils in these countries that they were sent to the boarding school as a punishment or remedy. ‘I was not sure why I was sent to Lundsberg, but I suspected that it had something to do with that I failed in everything apart from playing football at my previous grammar school in Gothenburg.’ This is what Fredrik Ohlsson, who was at Lundsberg between 1944 and 1952, believed to be the reason his parents sent him to Lundsberg. Contemporary to Ohlsson being sent to Lundsberg, the author Thomas Mann sent his children Erika and Klaus to the progressive boarding school Bergschule Hochwaldhausen in Hessen after they started playing truant and were eventually arrested for shoplifting.

If a school’s progressivism was one niche to find a competitive advantage in the field of elite boarding schools, offering this ‘reformative’ function was another. In the United States, the Military Boarding Schools filled this niche – they were by and large ‘normal’ secondary schools that were covered in a patina of militarism. In Sweden, the boarding school Solbacka Läroverk could not compete with Lundsberg and Sigtuna regarding its

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388 Pierre Coubertin
royal and aristocratic alumni, however, it could offer a reformatory function for the children from better-off families. The fees were almost the same at Solbacka as at the boarding schools in Sigtuna and Lundsberg, and Solbacka had its fair share of aristocratic and haute bourgeoisie families amongst its alumni. Its main selling point was, however, that it tuned underachieving pupils into well performing pupils. And the way it did this, through its own form of pupil self-government, causes us to revisit the question of the English prefect-fagging system as a global model.

Different Takes on Pupil Self-Government

The arrangement of a system of pupil self-government raises the suggestion that, sometimes, ostensibly similar arrangements at boarding schools in different parts of the world may not actually be the product of ‘borrowing’ at all. Rather, the similarities can simply be the result of that arrangement being the best response to a shared challenge. In the case of boarding schools, delegating some of the power to the older pupils seems to be the most common solution to solving the problem of maintaining order and discipline amongst a large number of pupils. An analogy to this phenomenon – albeit crude and faulty as most historical analogies are – is the appearance of pyramids in different continents, which predates the emergence of contacts between these continents, the answer to this puzzle being that a pyramid is the easiest way to build a tall and stable structure. Delegating power to some of the pupils can thereby simply be the best way to keep discipline at a boarding school.

At Solbacka, the foundation myth of the pupil council (Rådet) is that headmaster Folke Goding, in the 1940s, had just given yet another pupil a reprimand for spitting in the hallway. Realising all the valuable time that he wasted reprimanding his pupils, Goding gave a senior pupil – Lars Åhrén – the task of using his Christmas break to draft a proposal for a system of pupil self-government. Writing in the school-paper Solbacktidningen, twenty-five years later, Lars Åhrén noted that many presumed he had been inspired by the English public school model in drafting his system of pupil

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self-government, but claimed that he had no knowledge of the prefect-fagging system of the English public schools. As he explained: ‘my proposal was written to fit Swedish conditions.’

The ‘Åhrén-system’ of pupil self-government at Solbacka was an intriguing one. It consisted of a pupil council which had the right to punish the younger pupils, but not before they had been tried in a pupil court of law. This pupil council consisted of pupils elected from the group of senior pupils; and every pupil had a vote in the election of the council. Once a pupil had broken any of the rules of the school he would be summoned to a face the pupil court, which took place on a Thursday each week. The pupil had the right to receive the notice well before the court date and to be notified of the exact crime he would be tried for. The pupil also had the right to choose a public defender amongst the older pupils who would represent his case before the pupil court.

The punishments that a guilty verdict of the pupil court could impose included imprisonment (being locked in a classroom); revoking the pupil’s right to travel home at the weekend (hemresepörbud); stopping the pupil’s weekly allowance; and penal labour. The convicted pupil also had the right to appeal the verdict. The only verdict that the pupil council had to consult the headmaster on was for cases concerning expulsion from the school. At the beginning of the 1960s there were, on average, forty-three pupils sentenced to penal labour each week, and in 1963 the possibility to commute a sentence was introduced – that is, a pupil could exchange penal labour for a prison sentence, if the weather was bad.

Without questioning Lars Åhrén’s claim that he had no knowledge of the system of pupil self-government in the English boarding schools, the system he drafted for Solbacka is nonetheless connected to one of two competing versions of pupil self-government that had emerged by the turn of the nineteenth century – that of the boarding school as a Republic. The metaphor of a boarding school as a republic came to be the trademark of the progressive strand of elite boarding schools, while the

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396 Ibid.
prefect system of the traditional English public schools kept its more oligarchical form of pupil self-government. This is yet another argument for a less English public-school-centric form of writing elite boarding school history. From the late nineteenth century, then, there is a need to nuance, or even ‘provincialize’ – in Dipesh Chakrabarty’s sense of the term – the English version of pupil self-government and, more broadly, the narrative of the English public schools as the only global model of elite boarding schools.

In the case of Lundsberg, it is evident that the pupils wanted to subscribe to the more oligarchical form of pupil self-government, given that this model was embedded in a narrative of elite formation. The headmasters and teachers of Lundsberg, were, however, more interested in the Republic form of pupil self-government, which emanated from Germany and the United States, and whose function was to create ‘democratic citizens’.

In 1921, William Olsson Jr – the son of Lundsberg’s founder – wrote an article in the school paper, Lundsbergen, assessing how the visions of his father had been realised.\(^{397}\) The verdict of William Olsson Jr was harsh: the pupils at Lundsberg were ‘superficial’ and in no way possessed a stronger character than the pupils at the state schools. The remedy for this concerning situation was, according to Olsson Jr, that Lundsberg needed to be transformed into a school republic, with a clear separation between the responsibilities of the teachers and pupils. Lundsberg should therefore introduce a pupil parliament and pupil courts, all pupils should have a vote in this republic and the existing Council of Prefects (Tromannarådet) should be made into public defenders. The only time the teachers and headmasters should interfere in this system of pupil self-government was as members of a Supreme Court, which the pupils could appeal to if they felt they have been unfairly tried or wrongly convicted. When mentioning a school that could serve as the inspiration for this type of school republic, Olsson Jr did not name any of the elite boarding schools in England, France, Germany or the United States, rather he mentioned the George Junior Republic in Pennsylvania, USA, which had been founded as a rural reformatory for juvenile delinquents from the major cities of America’s east-coast.\(^{398}\)

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397 Lundsbergen, 1921
The founder of the Junior Republic in Freeville, Pennsylvania, was the New York businessman William Reuben George, who became fascinated by the idea of turning street-gang boys into responsible citizens. The details of William R. George’s daring educational experiment had been conveyed to a larger audience in his book *The Junior Republic: Its History and Ideals* (1909), which had been translated into Swedish by 1912.\(^{399}\) The fascination for the Junior Republic in Freeville was even more cemented amongst the teachers at Lundsberg when headmaster Einar Gauffin travelled to the United States to study the Junior Republic more closely. Headmaster Gauffin had received a Zorn Scholarship from the Sweden–America Foundation that allowed him to visit a number of American boarding schools during 1926. It is revealing to note that Gauffin did not choose to visit the most elite boarding schools – St. Mark’s School, St. Paul’s School, St. George’s School, and Groton School – instead he visited the progressive and experimental Horace Mann School (New York), George Junior Republic (New York), Kent School (Connecticut), and Antioch College (Ohio). The insights that headmaster Gauffin gained from his American journey were published in his book *Karaktärsdaning genom social fostran* [Character building through social upbringing] in 1928.\(^{400}\)

As is evident from the title of Gauffin’s book, his object of interest was not classroom education, rather everything that takes place outside the classroom. At father Sill’s Kent School in Connecticut, Gauffin observed the importance placed on manual labour. At Antioch College he observed that they had taken this a step further: there was a rotating schedule whereby three-hundred pupils were outside working for five weeks at a time, while the other three-hundred were being taught in the classrooms. At the Junior Republic Gauffin was fascinated by the fact that the school had their own monetary system, as well as prisons, a fire brigade, and a police force consisting of pupils. From the Junior Republic Gauffin brought with him and introduced a fire brigade at Lundsberg, as well as setting up a number of advisory committees consisting of pupils who had a say in matters concerning the school. There was, however, one novelty that Gauffin picked up in the United States that also spilled over into the

\(^{399}\) George, *The Junior Republic*  
classrooms of Lundsberg – the ‘honour system’, also called ‘the code of the Cavaliers’. The basic logic of the honour system was that the pupils pledge on ‘their honour as a Gentleman’ not to break any of the rules of the school. This was a radical way of enforcing order at the boarding school by trusting in the words of the pupils to do right. Already in the 1930s, the school tried to introduce the idea that the pupils took their examinations without a teacher present in the classroom, instead the pupils had to pledge on their honour not to cheat.  

As evident from the examples above, Lundsberg’s institutional genealogy could be placed within the modern or progressive strand of elite boarding schools. The ideas of its founder William Olsson and its prominent and long serving headmaster Einar Gauffin had more in common with Abbotsholme, Bedales, the École des Roches, and Lietz’s Landerziehungsheim then with Eton or Groton. Also nationally, they have more in common with the progressive Göteborgs Högre Samskola (founded 1901) and the girls’ boarding school Tyringe Helpension, which were founded in 1909 by Ester Boman and Ester Östrand outside of Gothenburg. Einar Gauffin also had his contemporary pedagogical kindred spirit in Ester Edelstam who founded the girls’ day school Annaskolan in Stockholm in 1924. At Annaskolan the pupils formed a council that had a say in the government of the school. The ideas of William R. George’s Junior Republic – a monetary-system, pupil court, fire brigade etc. – would also emerge in the summer school of the state grammar school Norra Latin from 1938 onwards.

However, the key word is that Lundsberg ‘could’ be placed in the progressive strand of elite boarding schools, and viewed from the perspective of the headmasters and teachers it should be. However, it is not part of the progressive strand of elite boarding schools. The reason for this is due to the fact that the pupils – former and present – had no wish to be a part of an educational model that was designed to turn juvenile delinquents into responsible citizens. The pupils not only rebutted headmaster

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401 Gauffin, Karaktärsdaning genom social fostran
Gauffin’s ideas at the time – by sticking with the traditional English public school model of fags and prefects – but his ideas have also been written out of the school’s history – literally. In the history books about Lundsberg, which were produced by the association of old Lundsberg pupils (Föreningen Gamla Lundsbergare), the latest being published in 1996, not a word is mentioned about Gauffin’s journey to America or the book the journey resulted in. The idea of Lundsberg being a school republic – which is a recurring theme in the school newspaper in the 1920s – in also not mentioned. Instead the master narrative in their own history is that the Lundsberg was inspired by the great English public schools but combined with their own distinctively Swedish traditions – a glorification of the countryside and forests and the long hikes the pupils undertook therein, and the school’s symbiotic relationship with the Swedish Royal Family. Previously we touched upon schools finding a niche or distinction within the field of elite boarding schools by invoking progressivism, the ideological trajectory of Lundsberg is a illustrative example of ‘distinction through conservatism’ (a fact that we will explore further in Chapter 5).

The mechanisms behind ‘distinction through conservatism’ can be found throughout the global field of elite boarding schools. In England, the challenge from progressive boarding school towards the traditional English public schools were ongoing from Hazelwood and onwards. Abbotsholme and Bedales were just the first in a steady stream of progressive challengers: there was Oundle school with its emphasis on science; Stowe school with its emphasis on the individual and its rejection of fagging; Bryanston School with its connection to the Arts & Crafts movement and its implementation of American Helen Parkhurst’s ‘laboratory model’ of teaching; and radically progressive schools like Darlington Hall and King Alfred School, which were schools that stretched the English public school system (and the global field) to its limits. In the face of schools like Darlington Hall and King Alfred School, there was not much traditional English public schools like Winchester, Eton, Harrow, and Rugby

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405 See for example Lundsbergs skola 100 år.
could do to distinguish themselves apart from further highlighting the high standard and prestige of the education they offered prospective pupils.

This distinction through conservatism is evident in a speech given by Eton headmaster Claude Elliot in 1934. On reflecting on the foundation of constantly new progressive English boarding schools Elliot stated that Eton was ‘one of the last strongholds of educational conservatism in these islands’. These traditional principles, to which Eton still subscribed, had, according to Elliot, been ‘perverted’ when ‘discipline, both moral and intellectual, was sacrificed on the altar of liberty’. Elliot also turned against the progressive boarding schools’ emphasis on ‘self-expression’, which ignored the fact that this quality ‘must be preceded by self-discipline and self-control’.  

By and large the traditional English public schools’ distinction through conservatism was also de facto reflected in the everyday life of these schools. However, it does also overshadow the changes that were actually taking place within these schools. These changes are, however, evident in the writing of the headmasters and masters of the ‘Clarendon schools’ which appear from the turn of the nineteenth century and onwards. One example of this comes from the above-mentioned Young Public School Masters’ Conference, were Zilliacus spoke on the ‘New Educational Movement’. This conference was a forum where young public school masters could discuss the challenges facing modern educators. The editor of the book that the conference resulted in was Edward Dalrymple Laborde of the ‘conservative’ Harrow School. Other speakers at this modern education conference included: Spencer Leeson, headmaster of Winchester College; C. H. K. Marten, Vice-Provost of Eton College; and the Etonian and former President of the Board of Education, Lord Eustace Percy.  

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407 *The Times*, 1934
408 Laborde, *Education of To-day*
409 Ibid.
Kurt Hahn and the German 'Public Schools'

Even though the boarding schools in this study are described as being part of a global field, it is important to emphasise that this global field is ‘semi-autonomous’. In other words, these elite boarding schools are both affected by changes within each national educational system and by larger historical events that take place outside the confined world of education. The two World Wars were, naturally, two of the major historical events that have changed the field of elite boarding schools in a profound way. In England, a large number of public schools boys were killed during the First World War and this dampened the social Darwinist and militaristic rhetoric at these schools. Contemporaneously in Germany, in the wake of its defeat in the First World War, a man named Kurt Hahn drew the conclusion that the war loss was in part caused by the decadence of Germany’s elite class. The remedy for this was, according to Hahn, to educate a new type of German elite. In order to understand how this new elite should be educated we first need to understand Kurt Hahn and his life story.

Kurt Hahn was born in Berlin on the 5th of June 1886 and belonged to a family that was rich in economic and cultural capital. His father owned a transnational business venture with branches in Russia, Austria, and England, and his mother belonged to a prominent Jewish family that could – it claimed – trace its lineage to King David of the United Kingdom of Israel and Judah. Kurt Hahn’s education reflected the cosmopolitan nature of his family. After finishing his secondary education at Königliche Wilhelm-Gymnasium in Berlin he received his university education at Heidelberg, Freiburg, Göttingen, and Oxford. Also typical of his social position, he never received any degrees from the four universities he studied at.

Two years before he started at Oxford, he had discovered the writings of Hermann Lietz, causing him to abandon his plans of becoming an art historian and instead devoting his energy towards becoming a teacher or headmaster. The first of Lietz’s

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411 For biographical information see for example Martin Flavin, *Kurt Hahn’s Schools and Legacy* (Wilmington: Middle Atlantic Press, 1996).
books that Hahn read was *Emlohtstobba*, with its description of Cecil Reddie’s Abbotsholme. Hahn’s introduction to Lietz’s book was also the result of a transnational encounter, at the age of sixteen he was hiking in the Alps with his uncle when he met a group of young English boys who had all been prefects at Abbotsholme and they gave the young Kurt Hahn a copy of *Emlohtstobba*.\(^{412}\) Eight years after his encounter with the former Abbotsholme prefects, Hahn published his first book on education.

The title of the book was *Frau Elses Verheissung* (1910), and just like the works and opinions of Hermann Lietz the book was mainly an attack on the German secondary school system.\(^{413}\) Hahn drew from his own lukewarm experiences at Königliche Wilhelms-Gymnasium in Berlin – which he described as a ‘torment box’.\(^{414}\) In Hahn’s book, *Frau Elses* (which was the name of Hahn’s mother) gives an alternative answer – in the capacity of a wise mother – on what education should be instead. If *Emlohtstobba* introduced Hahn to the ideas of Reddie and Lietz, the time Hahn spent at the University of Oxford also gave him an insight into the English public schools (with many of his friends at Oxford being public school men).

Hahn had returned to Germany just days before the outbreak of World War I and with his knowledge of English he began to work for the German Intelligence Agency, which brought him into contact with Maximilian von Baden (1867-1929). At the end of the war, Hahn served as Max von Baden’s personal secretary during the time when he briefly served as Chancellor of the German Empire. This is the circumstance that brought Kurt Hahn to Max von Baden’s Salem Castle in the Swabian Hills on Lake Constance. Hahn was officially there to ghost write the memoirs of Max von Baden – which he eventually did – but they also began drafting ideas for a new type of school that would educate a new type of elite.

In this collaboration, Max von Baden had the economic resources and Hahn had by this time been elaborating his educational ideas over a period of twenty years. As two


\(^{413}\) Kurt Hahn, *Frau Elses Verheissung: Erzählung* (A. Langen, 1910).

classically educated men they drew heavily on Plato’s Republic, they were particularly
drawn to Plato’s idea of an ideal state that was upheld by an elite group of intellectuals
(Guardians). The mixture of searching for a new type of school and the conservative
outlook of Max von Baden – but also Kurt Hahn – were the ingredients that created
the first fusion of the conservative and progressive strands in the field of elite boarding
schools. Even if Kurt Hahn had some novel ideas on education – as we will see in
Chapter 4 – he was primarily a first rate synthesiser. Being a synthesiser was something
Hahn took pride in, this is evident in one of his favourite anecdotes about how the
idea of a boarding school at Schloss Salem was conceived:

Shortly before he died Prince Max led an enthusiastic American friend around his
schools. The friend asked, ‘What are you proudest of in your beautiful schools?’
Prince Max answered, ‘I am proudest of the fact that there is nothing original in
them; it is stolen from everywhere, from the Boy Scouts, the British Public
Schools, from Plato, from Goethe.’ Then the American said, ‘But oughtn’t you
aim at being original?’ Prince Max answered, ‘In medicine, as in education, you
must harvest the wisdom of a thousand years. If you ever come across a surgeon
who wants to take out your appendix in the most original manner possible, I
strongly advise you to go to another surgeon’.415

Thus, in 1920 the progressive-conservative crossover boarding school of Schloss Salem
was founded. It was mainly regarded as progressive because it was new, in the midst of
an ever-expanding system of progressive schools founded by Lietz’s successor Alfred
Andreesen, and because it opened its doors to poor children as well. The fact that
Hahn gave children from more socially and economically humble backgrounds a
chance to be educated at an expensive boarding school can understandably be
interpreted as socially progressive. However, this was part of Hahn’s elite education
philosophy which meant that ‘the sons of the powerful were to be emancipated from
the prison of privilege’. This meant that around thirty percent of the pupils at Salem
ought to come from homes where life ‘was not easy but hard’. They were there
primarily as an educational tool for the pupils with the elite backgrounds, in order to
turn them into the new and improved elite that the ‘unstable and undisciplined’
Weimar Republic needed. The atmosphere of Schule Schloss Salem was characterised

by the building of character; the family atmosphere with a close relationship between pupils and teachers, which was the trademark of the Wyneken and Geheeb’s boarding schools, was not present at Salem. Historian George Bachmann Mosse, who was educated at Salem before he fled to America via England during World War II, illustrated this in his autobiography *Confronting History*. Mosse’s most lasting memory of Kurt Hahn was the image of Hahn leaning out of a window, when Mosse and his classmates were playing football, and shouting *Schlappschwanz* (‘weakling’, being the polite, approximate translation) at Mosse and his classmates.416

If Mosse’s memories of Salem and Hahn were lukewarm, historian Golo Mann, the son of Thomas Mann, had a more rosy view of the time he spent at Salem in the 1920s. In Hahn’s obituary, after he passed away in 1974, Golo Mann did, however, write that ‘the range of Hahn’s pedagogic writings is narrow, their content not over-impressive. He was no theorist. His success depended entirely upon his presence; it is scarcely possible in this context to void the banal expression power of the personality.’417 In Golo Mann’s obituary for Hahn, the headmaster’s admiration for the English also shines through. Golo claimed that he would ‘never forget his teaching of Latin, the way he presided over athletic contests, his improvised storytelling in which the stories generally had an English public school as their background’.418 The mere fact that Golo Mann – a member of the influential Hanseatic Mann family from Lübeck – was educated at Salem from its start is an indication of how embedded the school was both amongst the German aristocracy and the wealthy Jewish industrialists and bankers – one of Salem’s most important economic patrons being the Warburg family.419

At Salem character was, also, built through a system of pupil self-government. At Schule Schloss Salem the pupil self-government was a mixture of the English public school oligarchical form of pupil self-government and the more ‘democratic’ version that existed in the progressive boarding school’s ‘school republics’. On top of this mixture Hahn imported the nomenclature of Plato’s republic, with the Head-boy being called a *Wächter* (‘guardian’). Beside the position of Guardian, the pupils which best embodied the ‘Salem principles’ were given a violet stripe which meant that they

418 Ibid.
became a *Farbentragender* (‘Colour Bearer’) and these colour bearing pupils were members a pupil ‘parliament’ that met twice a year. Out of the group of colour bearers Hahn elected ‘ministers’ – for example, a Minister of Education and Minister of Sports. If we take a closer look at the ‘Salem principles’ there are again traces of both conservatism and progressivism. Each pupil was given a daily schedule which he had to follow, apart from the mandatory morning run before breakfast and the following cold shower (hot showers were allowed only in the evenings), the pupil were given a number of sit-ups and jump ropes which had to be done during the day. There was, however, no mechanism to check that the pupils actually completed these exercises, it all depended on the ‘honour code’ that said the pupils should report what they had done during the day truthfully.\(^{420}\)

This personal independence – which was a part of Hahn’s ideology of elite formation – also extended to ‘self-punishments’, that is, if a pupil had broken the rules he should himself do a couple of penalty laps around the school or go for a long walk before breakfast. One testimony of the ‘Salem principle’ in action comes from Jürgen Wittenstein (1919-2015), later a prominent residence fighter during World War II. Wittenstein was at Schule Schloss Salem between 1931 and 1937 and in a later interview he told the story of how one of his best friends had met Hahn the day after he was supposed to do a self-punishment. Hahn then asked if he had performed the punishment whereby Wittenstein’s friend replied that ‘you do not have the right to ask me that.’ And according to Wittenstein’s story, Hahn had replied ‘You’re right.’ \(^{421}\)

One of the things that Frédéric Le Play, Hippolyte Taine, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, and Edmond Demolins had most admired about the English aristocracy and their public schools was their continuity. The same goes for Kurt Hahn. Historical circumstances did, however, make Kurt Hahn’s Schule Schloss Salem into a story that lasted just thirteen years. In 1933, Kurt Hahn had to flee from Germany due to the rise of the National Socialists; indeed, Hahn had been one of the most vocal opponents of the National Socialists ever since the München-coup in 1923. In 1933 Hahn was arrested but through the help of his influential friends, both in Germany and England,


he managed to emigrate to England. The consequence of this, from the perspective of a global field of elite boarding schools, was that the essence of Schloss Schule Salem moved from Lake Constance in Germany to Scotland and instead became an ‘English’ public school. Everything from the ‘guardians’, ‘colour bearers’, morning runs, and cold showers thereby became part of the British public school tradition. And, as previously mentioned, Gordonstoun received a prestigious position early on when the royal princes Charles, Andrew, and Edward was sent to Hahn’s ‘British Salem’. An indication that Gordonstoun was, from its founding in 1934, an embedded part of the family of English public schools was that one of its first governors was Claude Elliot, who at the same time served as the headmaster of Eton College.422

At the same time in Germany, Hahn’s Salem continued to exist, although by harmonising the ideology of National Socialism into the curriculum of the school. The son of Max von Baden – Berthold, Margrave of Baden – even wrote to Hitler and said that the Salem principles were in line with National Socialist ideals as they were described in Mein Kampf. 1933 thereby marked the end of both Lietz’s boarding schools, at least in their original form, and Hahn’s synthesised educational experiment to educate a new German elite. It did not, however, mark an end of the idea of creating a new German elite through boarding schools. If 1933 marked the end of the previous attempt it also serves as the starting point of the National Socialist attempt to create a new elite through boarding school education, because this was the year that the first three Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalten (NPEA, or Napola) were opened in Plön, Potsdam, and Köslin.

Nazi Etons and Harrows

The Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalten were, from 1933 on, a part of what was to become a new school system controlled by the national socialists. The NPEA formed the elite secondary schools in this new school system and were the next step in the elite educational tandem was the NS-Ordensburgen. Initially, the Prussian Ministry of Education administrated the NPEA, however, from 1936 they were controlled by Heinrich Himmler’s Schutzstaffel (SS), with SS-Obergruppenführer August Heissmeyer as the head of all NPEA. At the start of the war, in September 1939, there were

nineteen NPEA and at the end of the War the number had risen to thirty-six. The aspect of interest to this study is, however, the NPEA’s connection to other elite boarding schools, and in particular the English public schools.

Amongst the National Socialist senior officers there was a fascination with the British aristocracy. Joachim von Ribbentrop had sent his son to the English public school Westminster and at the SS officer schools at Bad Tölz and Brunswick cricket was mandatory. Allegedly, Hitler was a devoted reader of Tatler, always insisted on a full afternoon tea at his retreat at Berchtesgaden, and one of his favourite films was the story of stiff-upper-lipped Englishmen in the British Raj called The Lives of a Bengal Lancer. In a handbook written by Walter Schellenberg – head of Nazi foreign intelligence – which was meant to prepare the Germans for life after they had invaded the British Isles, Schellenberg was fascinated by the fact that the 0.5 per cent of the children who attend public schools ‘will eventually occupy about 80 per cent of all the important social and political posts’.

However, in England there was also an interest in the Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalten, and from 1933 right up until the outbreak of World War II there was an exchange of pupils and teachers between the English public schools and the Nazi NPEA. This interconnection also extended to the field of sports, where the Nazified Schule Schloss Salem won the Public Schools Challenge Cup for three years straight in the lead up to the outbreak of World War II. And as late as 1938, the SS controlled NPEA-Oranienstein played football games against the English public schools Shrewsbury, Eton, Westminster, Bradfield, Bryanston, and Charterhouse. One of the English teachers who spent a year at an NPEA was J. W. Tate, and in 1937, in the London conservative daily the Morning Post, Tate reflected on his experiences under the title ‘Nazi Etons and Harrows’:

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423 For a general overview of the NPEA in English see (Lisa Pine, Education in Nazi Germany (Bloomsbury Academic, 2010), Chapter 4.
It was a pleasant surprise to find boys indistinguishable in appearance from English public school boys (perhaps if anything looking stronger and healthier) and having the same moods of reserve, subtle humor, and obstreperousness, the same courtesy mingled with suppressed amusement toward strangers and strange opinions.427

As is evident, the tone of Tate’s article is positive, even though he does highlight some of the negative sides of the NPEA – his main objection being that they are too militarised. Another English public school teacher who spent a year in Germany, in this case at the NPEA-Oranienstein in Hessen-Nassau, was G. A. Rowan-Robinson. In his comparative article of the NPEA and the English public schools, which was also published in the Morning Post, Rowan-Robinson described the many similarities between the two boarding schools – in particular how the physical and moral aspects are regarded as more important than intellect. However, Rowan-Robinson identifies that the NPEA does not have a proper prefect-fagging system and that there is a lack of individual responsibility in the NPEA compared to the English public schools.

In Rowan-Robinson’s reflections on what is missing in the NPEA, the often unspoken essence of the English public school educational philosophy appears. One being that there should be a mixture of different ages in each boarding house. At the boarding houses of the NPEA, called Zug, all the boys are of the same age. Instead of entrusting one of the pupils with power, each boarding house at the NPEA is in the hands of a Zugführer, who is not a pupil but an adult – which Rowan-Robinson finds problematic concerning the education for leadership. This Zugführer also organises the games, which is another point Rowan-Robinson opposes – thereby revealing the importance that English public school men placed on pupil organised games, which they saw as yet another part of the education for leadership. Apart from these remarks, Rowan-Robinson’s account on the state of the NPEA in 1937 is positive. Both English public school teachers also highlight how positive it is that the NPEA is not based on social class, so that everybody has a chance to attend (it should, of course, be added that admissions were primarily based on ‘race’).428

Even though these accounts of the NPEA were positive, it should be noted that there were several contemporary publications in English that did not paint such a rosy picture of the new German educational system. Arguably the most widely read of these was Erika Mann’s *School for Barbarians: Education under the Nazis* (1938), which had an introduction written by her father, Thomas Mann.429 Kurt Hahn also wrote several articles debating the educational politics of the National Socialists. In the postwar years Kurt Hahn would continue to be the most influential figure in the global field of elite boarding schools. Hahn’s conviction that elite boarding schools filled a key function in the education of future elites remained intact, however, World War II and the emerging Cold War altered Hahn’s (and that of the entire ‘field’) orientation from a national to a global perspective.

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4 Cosmopolitanism, Egalitarianism, and Reinforced Old School Ties

The Cosmopolitan Turn

The boarding school Hahn had founded in Salem in 1920 was meant to educate a new type of German elite, in the wake of Germany’s defeat in World War I. In the postwar period, Hahn now wished to use Salem to re-educate the Germans; or, rather, to educate a new German elite. Hahn had reopened his Salem school by Lake Constance in 1946 and had subsequently travelled to the United States to secure the economic support of American foundations in order to open a number of Salem Schools throughout the western controlled parts of Germany. In the United States, Hahn pitched his ideas about the need for a democratically chosen elite and that the planned group of Salem schools would be the institutions that trained the cadres of new leaders that Germany so desperately needed. When speaking to the German-born American historian Fritz Stern (1926-2016), who Hahn hoped would introduce him in the right circles in order to fund his new educational project, Hahn explained his by now well tested programme of how this new elite should be educated. Fritz Stern recounts that Hahn wanted to develop character through an austere regime consisting of ‘a heavy emphasis on physical endurance and with a tough inculcation of self-reliance’.\(^{430}\) Hahn’s idea of cold showers to ‘sublimate the more sensual desires of male youths’, was one aspect of Hahn’s sales pitch that Stern was less impressed with.\(^{431}\) Stern later coined the phrase *Vulgäridealismus* to describe Hahn’s idealistic attempts to re-educate the German elites and he found Hahn to be a ‘high-minded hypocrite that took himself too seriously’.\(^{432}\) Stern’s views on Hahn and his educational project reflects the contemporary divided opinion of Hahn – some took the same position as Stern while

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\(^{431}\) Stern, *Five Germans I Have Known*, 190.

\(^{432}\) Ibid.
others regarded him as a moral paragon. Despite submitting to the American financiers his leather-bound report – whose frontispiece was a picture of Prince Philip playing cricket at Gordonstoun – Hahn did not manage to secure any financial backing for his plans for a series of Salem schools throughout Germany.\footnote{Ibid.}

The idea that there was an imminent need to educate a new type of elite in order to avoid a Third World War did, however, continue to occupy Hahn. If he could not establish his system of Salem schools in Germany he would have to bring the future elites to England instead. With this came the idea that instead of educating a new type of national elite, Hahn would educate a cosmopolitan elite by bringing pupils from all over the world to his new schools.

The idea of educating a group of students from different countries in order to create a new supranational elite had already been realised through the establishment of the NATO Defense College in Paris in 1951 – in 1966 the school was relocated to Rome and renamed the NATO Defense College. Hahn therefore teamed up with Lawrence Darvall of the NATO Training College in Paris to found Atlantic College in 1962.\footnote{Ernest Stabler, \textit{Founders: Innovators in Education, 1830-1980} (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1986), 213. ‘The First Atlantic College’, \textit{The Times}, 27 January (1962), 16.} Located at St. Donat’s Castle in Glamorgan, south Wales, Atlantic College brought together boys of different nationalities between the ages of sixteen and nineteen, and their training was intended to ‘develop self-reliance, cooperation, regard for others, and deeper international understanding’.\footnote{‘Atlantic College in the United Kingdom: Foundation Appeal’, \textit{The Times}, 20 November (1962), 6.} Apart from Kurt Hahn and his son, notable members of Atlantic College’s first High Council included Eric M. Warburg of the prominent German-Jewish banking family.\footnote{Ibid.} There was, in other words, a continuation of economic support from the Warburg bank that stretches from Salem in the 1920s to Atlantic College in the 1960s.

By early 1962 there were already plans to establish a further five Atlantic-College-style institutions in America and Europe. That ambition was surpassed and today there are fifteen United World Colleges located in Wales, Malaysia, Canada, Swaziland, the USA, Italy, Venezuela, China (Hong Kong), Norway, India, Costa Rica, Bosnia and
Herzegovina, the Netherlands, Germany, and Armenia. In the further development and expansion of the United World Colleges movement, the narrative of education for global citizenship has by and large replaced the discourse of educating a new type of global elite. However, the educational mission is focused on using education to move beyond the destructive forces of nationalism.

The interplay between education of citizenship and the education of a new elite is one of two coexisting aspects that have emerged since the rise of the modern educational system in the middle of the nineteenth century. Since the emergence of the modern educational system, schools have both filled the function of socialising pupils into citizens, and by doing this, uniting the nation around a common set of values, as well as providing each nation state with an elite. If Hahn’s vision was to train and provide the world with a new elite, which had a deeper international understanding, there was also a contemporary project to do this on a pan-European level as well.

A Contemporary ‘Pan-European Turn’

The period that followed the war that almost annihilated an entire continent was a time of reconstruction and regrouping, and the venues for these activities were conferences – from Montreux (1947) to Lausanne (1949). This was the genesis of the European (EU) field of power, although both the community and the field were created in baby-steps. It was at this time and at these congresses that the idea of a modern pan-European university was first formulated. It is worth noting that the idea of a pan-European university had already been discussed at the Congress of Europe in The Hague in 1948, arguably the most famous of the postwar conferences on the topic of European unity.437

Following the Congress of Europe in 1948, three committees were put together: one on political integration; one on Economic and Social integration; and one, most importantly for the purposes of this thesis, on cultural affairs – which was the committee responsible for the re-education of Europe through a common culture.

The cultural affairs committee was chaired by the Spanish cosmopolite Salvador de Madariaga (often regarded as one of the founding fathers of the European Union). Madariaga appointed the Swiss philosopher Denis de Rougemont to write a report presenting the idea of a European Culture Centre, which would function as a propaganda machine for the European idea and stimulate cultural exchange and coordinate initiatives for education cooperation between the European nation states. In this first report Rougemont mentions that the Cultural Centre would support efforts tending towards a Federation of European universities, this project would, however, remain at the idea stage for the time being.\textsuperscript{438}

The next outline for the creation of pan-European universities was presented by the poet Jean-Paul de Dadelsen during a meeting of the cultural section of the European Movement in London in 1949. Dadelsen’s idea for uniting Europe through education was a series of lectures devoted ‘to teach[ing] universal disciplines in a European context’. By universal academic disciplines Dadelsen meant that it would, for example, be difficult to teach a specific ‘European physics’ seminar. This lecture series could in the future be expanded by creating several universities throughout Europe that were specialised in this new form of ‘European knowledge’. Dadelsen’s ideas for a lecture series that would lead to a future university became fast-tracked and at the same London meeting of 1949 it was decided that a university, institute or educational centre that specialised in ‘European education’ would be set up. In the draft report from the London meeting, one of the points that was to be communicated to the Executive Committee of the European Movement read: ‘the College of Europe as nucleus of a future European university’.\textsuperscript{439}

The Belgian Reverend Karel Verleye convinced key people within the European Movement to establish this college in Bruges, Belgium, and in 1949 the College of Europe was opened by its first headmaster Hendrik Brugmans, who had previously co-founded and served as the first president of the Union of European Federalists.

\textsuperscript{438} Palayret, \textit{A University for Europe}, 25-30.

\textsuperscript{439} Palayret, \textit{A University for Europe}, 21.
During the same year, 1949, the European Culture Conference was organised in Lausanne, Switzerland. At this conference, the recommendations presented were that professor chairs in European education would be established at different universities around Europe; the syllabus should be standardised between European countries; and, students should be able to spend a semester or two at a university in another European country. The overall sentiment of these early ideas of a Pan-European university was the ‘Europeanisation’ of national universities. The idea of creating a completely new university seemed ‘dangerously chimerical, both from a psychological viewpoint and considering the economic state of Europe’, to put it in the words of the French Cultural Commission for a United Europe.440

The plans for pan-European education institutions were thereby materialised during 1949-1950 in the form of the European Culture Centre in Geneva and the College of Europe in Bruges. Educational by-products of the European Cultural Centre in Geneva were, for example, the European Civic Education Campaign, the European Schools Day, and the European Teachers Association. Given the fact that Salvador de Madariaga and Denis de Rougemont were the ones responsible for making it happen, combining education and culture in order to unite and integrate Europe therefore became known as the ‘Rougemont method’.441

The analogy between how the nation-states and empires of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe used the educational system to both form loyal citizens and select new elites is not such a leap from the educational policies within the European community during the postwar period. They are many parallels that could at least serve as food for thought. For example, the enlightened rulers of eighteenth-century Austria, Maria Theresa and Joseph II used educational institutions to form citizens whose loyalty was to the supranational dynasty, overriding ethnic and confessional divisions, and using German as the common cultural language of the multinational empire. The importance of a common education in the forging of unity within an empire was also something that Napoleon understood:

440 Palayret, A University for Europe, 23.
There will be no fixed political State, if there is no teaching body with fixed principles. As long as men do not learn from infancy whether they should be republican or monarchist, Catholic or irreligious, etc., the State will not form a nation.\textsuperscript{442}

It is important to note that the discourse and rhetoric of ‘creating a new elite for Europe’ is totally absent in the case of the European Culture Centre – its goal was to educate a new kind of citizen that was loyal to the European integration project. The College of Europe, on the other hand, was designed both as an elite Cadre school and as a ‘finishing school’ in European studies. The College of Europe would thereby function as a modern day Graduate School that offered Master Degrees on European specific subjects on top of the specialised degrees (economics, law, etc.) that the students would already have obtained at other ‘traditional’ universities throughout Europe.\textsuperscript{443}

The idea of the founders of the College of Europe – Salvador de Madariaga, Winston Churchill, Paul-Henri Spaak, and Alcide De Gaspari – was to educate a new breed of European administrators, and in this respect it resembles the mission of the contemporaneously established École nationale d’administration (ENA), which would educate France’s state civil servants (Grand Corps d’État). The inspiration the College of Europe drew from the ENA is evident in the customs and nomenclature that the College of Europe borrowed from the ENA – for example, the ENA custom that each graduate class (promotion) be named after a prominent European ‘patron’ (Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, Fridtjof Nansen, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, etc.).

In France, the ENA prepared its students for general positions within the state civil service while higher education institutions like the École Polytechnique prepared its students for more technical positions within the state service. It is therefore worth noting that the ideas concerning the education of a future pan-European elite shared this ‘French’ state elite education logic in the sense that the College of Europe in


\textsuperscript{443} Leonce Bekemans, Dieter Mahncke, and Robert Picht (eds.), \textit{The College of Europe – Fifty Years of Service to Europe. Le Collège d’Europe – Cinquante Années au Service de l’Europe} (Bruges, 1999).
Bruges was meant to be a *primus inter pares* and other College of Europe-type colleges would later be established to cater to other parts of European life.

The College of Europe was also seen as a ‘nucleus’ – to put it into the words of the report on this topic that was presented at the European Cultural Conference – in the preparation for a future ‘proper’ European university, that is not just a Graduate School type of institution. However, since a ‘finishing school’ type of institution was more specific and more immediately feasible to launch than a full-scale university, the College of Europe filled a key function as social meeting place where the students boarded at the school in order to foster an *Esprit de corps*. This *Esprit de corps* was steeped in elitism, in an article from 1950, the first headmaster of the College of Europe wrote that the main function of the college was to ‘train an elite of young executives for Europe (*former une élite de jeunes cadres pour l’Europe*)’.\(^{444}\)

It should, however, be mentioned that although elite socialisation and social networking was, and still is, an important aspect of the College of Europe, the students have also – from the very first years – been prepared for the selection tests that regulated the annual intake of staff into the new institutions being set up in Luxembourg and Strasbourg – that is, the Council of Europe (1949), the European Coal and Steel Community (1952), and the Western European Union (1954).

Even though the idea of creating a European university was presented as early as 1949 and the topic was discussed at almost all major postwar congresses on European integration – in particular Rome (1956), where Walter Hallstein (the first president of the Commission of the European Economic Community) emerged as one of the biggest supporters of the idea – a ‘proper’ European University was not established until 1976 in the form of the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. However, even then it was not a ‘proper’ university in the classical sense of the term, with undergraduates, graduates, doctoral students and professors. In due course, however, it was to become a research institute with doctoral and post-doctoral

students, professors, fellows and a centre for advanced studies (the Robert Schumann Centre for Advanced Studies).

The histories of the College of Europe and the relatively long pre-history of the establishment of the European University Institute in Florence are far narrow institutional histories. The stories of these educational institutions encapsulate both the larger currents of a postwar ‘cosmopolitan turn’ (which Kurt Hahn mirrored on the secondary school level) within elite education and how imbedded educational institutions and nation states still were. The main source of conflict and obstacle in the creation of a pan-European university was the nation-states’ unwillingness to let go of their monopoly of awarding doctoral degrees. As the British-Czech social anthropologist Ernest André Gellner explains, the ‘monopoly of legitimate education is now more important, more central than is the monopoly of legitimate violence’.  

The Profound and Lasting Legacy of Kurt Hahn

With Gordonstoun educating the Royal Princes, Salem in Germany being reopened after World War I, and the Atlantic College expanding to form a group of United World Colleges, it could be argued that Kurt Hahn played a more important role in the global field of elite boarding schools during the twentieth century than even Rugby headmaster Thomas Arnold in the nineteenth-century English public school system. To Hahn’s global contributions to the field of education we can add his Outward Bound (OB) movement, which he launched together with Lawrence Holt in 1941. The Outward Bound movement began as an idea to train young pupils to be able to survive in harsh conditions at sea but later developed to encompass a more general philosophy around the advantages with outdoor education.  

In the globally interconnected field of elite boarding schools the idea of Outward Bound would be further developed at the Australian elite boarding school Geelong Grammar School, were the pupils spent one year at their Timbertop annex located in a valley in the foothills of the Victorian Alps. The idea of Timbertop, originally called

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‘project Sparta’, is a further illustration of the transnational spread and hybridisation of ideas within the global field of elite boarding schools – and that traditional English public school men were in the midst of this process.\textsuperscript{447} It was the Englishman Sir James Darling – educated at Repton School in England and later a master at the public schools Merchant Taylors’ and Charterhouse – that conceived of the idea of Timbertop in the early 1950s. He drew on the Hahn’s ideas that traditional academic training needed to be concomitant with physical and moral development. Increasing the practical knowledge, independence and self-reliance of the pupils would lead to higher self-confidence.\textsuperscript{448} This idea that was developed by the public school men Darling through expanding on the thinking of the Berlin-born Kurt Hahn would later be experienced by Charles, Prince of Wales, who spent the autumn of 1965 and spring of 1966 at Timbertop through a student exchange between Gordonstoun and Geelong Grammar School.\textsuperscript{449}

In the postwar period, Hahn’s version of a classic English-public-school form of character building, but with a new twist, became the main model used by that school to educate future leaders. The ‘Hahn schools’ thereby filled the same function in the postwar period as the English public school had from the middle of the nineteenth century and up to World War I. This meant that if one were to visit the Anavryta Classical Lyceum near Athens in Greece, during the postwar years, it would be like walking into Gordonstoun or Schule Salem. And not just aesthetically, with all the pupils wearing shorts, even in winter, but through the composition of the student body – with a number of pupils being drawn from poorer families in order to ‘emancipate’ the sons of the powerful from the prison of privilege.\textsuperscript{450} The powerful in the case of Anavryta, were the Greek royal family and other notable Greek families.

The similarities between Anavryta and Hahn’s Gordonstoun and Salem were not derived from a passive reading of Hahn’s writings. The first headmaster of Anavryta, between 1948 and 1959, was the Scottish Jocelin Winthrop-Young who had been educated at Salem’s annex-schools in Hohenfels and at the Spetzgart Castle between

\textsuperscript{447} Edward Hugh Montgomery and James Ralph Darling, \textit{Timbertop: An Innovation in Australian Education} (F. W. Cheshire, 1967), 34.
\textsuperscript{448} James Ralph Darling, \textit{The Education of a Civilized Man: A Selection of Speeches and Sermons} (F. W. Cheshire, 1963).
\textsuperscript{450} Renate Wilson, \textit{Inside Outward Bound} (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1981), 11.
1930 and 1933 and later followed Hahn to Gordonstoun.\textsuperscript{451} After Anavryta, Winthrop-Young continued to spread the ideas of Hahn by taking the headmastership of the English co-educational boarding school Box Hill School, which had been founded in Surrey just four years prior by the former Gordonstoun housemaster Roy McComish. Winthrop-Young later went full circle and ended his career as headmaster of Schloss Schule Salem from 1964-74.\textsuperscript{452} The influence of Hahn did, in other words, continue to spread in England and also abroad – with Hahn founding the International School Ibadan in Nigeria, in 1963, and the Hahn-inspired Athenian School in California, in 1965.\textsuperscript{453}

Kurt Hahn would also leave his mark on two further aspects of the global turn in the field of elite boarding schools. The first of these was in the development of the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme (IBDP). According to one of the originators of the IB idea, Alexander (Alec) Peterson (1908-1988), who was a former teacher at Shrewsbury School and later head of the Department of Educational Studies at Oxford University, the curriculum of Atlantic College and Hahn’s ideas about creating ‘mutual understanding between young people from different cultures’ served as important inspiration in the development of the IB programme.\textsuperscript{454}

Those who study the IB programme in one of the 140 countries in which it is taught today (2017) are carrying out one of Hahn’s ideas when they are fulfil one of the so-called three core requirements – creativity, activity, and service (CAS). The CAS requirements aim to ‘provide students with personal growth, self-reflection, intellectual, physical and creative challenges, and awareness of themselves as responsible members of their communities’.\textsuperscript{455} This idea goes back to Hahn’s concept of ‘Samaritan service’, which he developed at Salem in the 1920s and which in turn

\textsuperscript{452} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{453} Henry Lloyd Brereton, \textit{Gordonstoun: Ancient Estate and Modern School} (W. & R. Chambers, 1968), 221.
emanated from the fact that Salem Castle used to be a Cistercian monastery – an order famous for their devotion to communal service.\textsuperscript{456}

The second mark Hahn left on the postwar global field of elite boarding schools is the Round Square organisation which was a logical next step in the constantly expanding number of Hahn-inspired schools around the globe. The Round Square organisation was by and large the brain child of the former Anavryta pupil King Constantine of the Hellenes and the former Anavryta headmaster – and, by then, headmaster of Schule Schloss Salem – Jocelin Winthrop Young. The first Round Square conference was held in Gordonstoun in 1967 and derives its name from the famous building of the same name on the Gordonstoun campus. The organisation was originally intended to bring the ‘Hahn schools’ closer together in order to be able to quickly mobilise a large group of people that could help in aid projects for those in need – inspired by the help the pupils of Salem gave to Argostoli in the Ionian Islands following the devastating earthquake in 1954.\textsuperscript{457}

The Round Square has, however, developed into an organisation that connects 150 schools around the world, encompassing 90,000 pupils and a teacher/management workforce of around 7,500 in 2016. The Round Square schools are all committed to six pillars: Internationalism, Democracy, Environmentalism, Adventure, Leadership, and Service). These six pillars illustrate the reconfiguration of the English public schools’ take on leadership formation that occurred during the postwar ‘cosmopolitan turn’.

The first four pillars – Internationalism, Democracy, Environmentalism, and Adventure – can be regarded as new contributions, while in the final two – Leadership and Service – one can find traces of an ideological connection to the English and American boarding schools of the late nineteenth century. Leadership in the Round Square schools is still allocated to the senior pupils, however the Round Square view that ‘true leadership is found in those whose convictions are rooted in personal responsibility, kindness and justice’ might seem a foreign idea to the public school men


of the late nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{458} The final pillar, ‘service’, is a reconfiguration of the English and American boarding schools idea of \textit{Noblesse oblige} – that is, that with entitlements there are also social responsibilities. The official motto of Endicott Peabody’s Groton school is \textit{Cui servire est regnare}, ‘To serve is to rule’; and in the source material from Lundsberg the term \textit{Noblesse oblige} was frequently used during the first part of the twentieth century. This type of service was, however, more connected to serving the state in political leadership positions and not to building schools and community centres in countries such as Cambodia, Peru, India, and South Africa.

With the prefect-cum-fagging institution being dismantled by the official abolition of fagging during the 1960s and 1970s, the belief that ‘those who hope to rule must first learn to obey’ also lost its credibility. And with the education of future leaders being the English public schools’ educational raison d’être, the traditional public schools began to turn towards the Round Square inspired view of how to create leaders – as is evident by the fact that Eton pupils now help out at local community centres and travel to Africa to do humanitarian work as part of their reconfigured leadership education. The Round Square organisation has, since the postwar period, developed into a global version of what the Headmasters’ Conference has been to the English field of independent boarding schools from the second half of the nineteenth century and onwards. Many of the schools that are part of the Round Square organisation have historically been regarded as English public school clones, as in the case of the Indian Doon School, Daly College, and Lawrence School. For these schools, membership to the Round Square fills the symbolic function of distancing themselves from their ‘imperial diffusion’ origin.

However, despite these school forging a new and more international image, many aspects of the traditional English public schools remain in their institutional DNA. The combination of this, and the fact that the ‘traditional’ English public school have moved more towards the Round Square model has led to the emergence of a globally standardised type of elite boarding school model. The schools are of the ‘composite’ type in that they combine innovative educational ideals with a more traditional and conservative ethos. That is, one day they help construct a new community centre in

\textsuperscript{458} Round Square webpage, https://www.roundsquare.org/about-us/what-we-do/ideals/leadership/
Africa and on another day, as in the case at Eton, pupils decorate their boater hats with flowers to celebrate the birthday of King George III (who died in 1820). It is this balancing act between conservatism and progressivism that has been the trademark of the composite boarding school of the postwar era.

**Trying to Untie the Old School Ties**

One of the main upsides, or dangers – depending on the viewpoint – with being educated at an elite boarding school is the social network that comes with it. The boarding school as a meeting place between the arriviste and the aristocrat has been a constant theme from the second half of the nineteenth century until the present day. Although there have always been criticisms against the elite boarding schools from an egalitarian perspective, such criticisms became more frequently articulated following World War I and reached critical mass in the post-World War II period. In the postwar period, this backlash against the elite boarding school was largely a reflection of a more widespread societal discourse that emphasised more socially inclusive societies. In countries like England, Sweden, and France the criticisms towards the elite boarding schools were also often connected with the ascent of Social Democracy into a position of political power.

In the United States, on the other hand, the opposition towards the elite boarding schools was connected to a revitalisation of the American dream, of each man’s right to create their own success. The reproduction of elite families’ prominent positions through the boarding school and Ivy League universities therefore went against the so-called Horatio Alger myth, which told the story of a man’s journey from ‘rags to riches’. After the demise of the British Empire in the wake of World War II the position of the ‘Imperial public school’ had to be reconfigured in order to create a break between these elite boarding schools and the Imperial elite it had previously educated. In all these countries, the methods that were used to untie the old school ties differed and naturally so did the responses from the elite boarding schools. The *fil rouge* in the globally interconnected story of the position of elite boarding schools in the postwar period is the relationship between increased state control over these
private schools and the persistence of their autonomy. This postwar period also captures the attempts to create a new egalitarian society through state interventions in the educational system.

In the United Kingdom, there were two major reports devoted to the position of the English public school within the general national system of Education. The first one was the Fleming Report of 1944\footnote{The Public Schools and the General Educational System, Report of the Committee on Public Schools appointed by the President of the Board of Education in July 1942 (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1944).} and the second was the Newsome Report of 1968\footnote{The Public Schools Commission: First Report (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1968).}. The Fleming Report was commissioned in 1942 by the Board of Education and the Scottish politician Lord Fleming chaired the twenty-member commission. The stance the Fleming Committee took on the question of public boarding schools was positive: the Committee argued that the number of boarding schools should not be reduced, but rather increased. There was, however, a trace of social inclusiveness and egalitarianism in the recommendations of the Fleming Committee that both girls and boys who were capable of profiting from an English public school education should be given the chance to do so ‘irrespective of the income of their parents’.\footnote{The Public Schools and the General Educational System, 100.}

The next examination of the position of the independent English public school position within the English educational system was commissioned during Harold Wilson’s Labour government, which lasted between 1964 and 1970. Harold Wilson had won a scholarship to attend the grammar school Royds Hall in Yorkshire, and by not being part of the Old Boys Network he embodied a perceived change amongst the political elites in postwar England. His predecessors in the position of Prime Ministers, Harold Macmillan and Alec Douglas-Home, were public school boys – both educated at Eton. There was, in others words, real hope in the Labour camp that the Public Schools Commissions of the late 1960s would lead to real change. The 1960s survey of the English public schools was divided in two parts: the Newsom Report of 1968 would focus on the independent boarding schools while the Donnison Report of 1970 would examine the independent day schools, direct grant schools and maintained grammar schools.\footnote{The Public Schools Commission: Second Report (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1970).}
The Newsom Report of 1968 boldly proposed that half of the positions at the independent boarding schools should be filled by so-called assisted pupils who could gain from being educated at a boarding school.\textsuperscript{463} This proposal did not meet the wishes of those who wanted the public schools closed all together and it was a proposal that the public schools themselves were not willing to meet. The key word of the Newsom Report had been ‘integration’, as in integrating the public schools within the state system. One could thereby conclude that both the report of 1944 and that of 1968 hardly left a dent in the independent public schools system. The Donnison Report of 1970 did in fact expand the number of independent schools. The reason behind this expansion was that the Donnison Report suggested that the so-called direct grant schools had to choose between becoming ‘proper’ independent schools or be integrated into the state system of comprehensive secondary schools.\textsuperscript{464} These direct grammar schools that had existed since 1945 thereby ceased their operation in 1976. The direct grant schools had been a fusion between a private and state-controlled school, with one quarter of the places being paid for by the central government and the remaining three quarters was either paid by the families themselves or by the Local Educational Authority.

This egalitarian window in the history of secondary education in England was, in other words, open for a very short time – if it was ever truly open at all. It has, however, been argued that the period between the educational act of 1944 and the comprehensivisation of the mid-1970s, for a short time established a social and intellectual meritocracy. The institutional engine in the formation of this ‘meritocratic generation’ was not the public schools but the maintained grammar schools and the above-mentioned direct grammar schools. The maintained grammar schools were a system of selective state secondary schools which were free to anybody ‘who could benefit from them’. There was often nothing progressive about the teaching methods within these maintained grammar schools since they emulated the traditional English public schools. They did, however, produce ‘a kind of \textit{génération méritocratique}', to put it in the words of historian Tony Judt – who himself was the product of a maintained grammar, having won a place at Emanuel School.\textsuperscript{465} This ‘meritocratic generation’

\textsuperscript{463} The Public Schools Commission: First Report, 8.
\textsuperscript{464} The Public Schools Commission: Second Report, 166.
disappeared, according to Judt, in the 1970s through the dismantling of the Grammar schools, which was the selective tier of the Tripartite System of state-funded secondary education (the other two tiers being the less academic secondary technical schools and the secondary modern schools).\footnote{Ibid.} Although the 1970s saw the end of direct grant grammar schools there was still a small number of schools that allowed the most talented children from poor backgrounds to climb the social ladder by receiving a free or subsidised education at a fee-paying independent school. This Assisted Places Scheme was introduced in 1980 by Margaret Thatcher’s Conservative government and was abolished in 1997 by Tony Blair’s Labour government.

The core group of elite public schools was largely unaffected by the brief histories of the direct grammar schools and the Assisted Places Scheme, if anything they gained from the fact that they were viewed as the ingredient that could reverse the social fortunes of the poor. The number of independent boarding schools also rose from 4.4 per cent of the school population in 1977 to 6.2 per cent in 1981 – mainly because of previously semi-state funded school being transformed to ‘proper’ independent schools.\footnote{David Turner, The Old Boys: The Decline and Rise of the Public Schools (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).} According to the former Financial Times educational correspondent David Turner’s recent book on the English public school system, The Old Boys (2015), the failed attempts by the Labour government to integrate the independent schools into the state system even gave way to a ‘golden age’ for the public schools during the 1980s and onwards.\footnote{Turner, The Old Boys, 220-248.}

The subtile of David Turner’s book, ‘the decline and rise of the public school’, does however capture the fact that there was a public discourse of a decline of the public schools’ position of power from around the end of World War I and onwards. The public sentiment of a ‘decline of the public schools’ was, however, replaced by a ‘return of the public school boys’ narrative when former Etonian David Cameron became Prime Minister in 2010.\footnote{See for example the BBC documentary “Posh and Posher: Why Public School Boys Run Britain” (2011) and articles like ‘John Major is right to be shocked about the public-school elite’s grip on Britain’, The Guardian (11 November, 2013).} In truth, however, it is hard to pinpoint this period of ‘decline’. Tony Blair, for example, was educated at the exclusive Scottish boarding
school Fettes and the two more ‘meritocratic’ (i.e. without elite public school background) Conservative Prime Ministers that preceded Blair – Margaret Thatcher and John Major – had cabinets that were overrepresented by former public schools boys. In trying to understand the attempts that were made in England to make its educational system, and thereby also its society, more egalitarian from a global comparative perspective, the key take away is that they tried to do so by giving a more socially diverse clientele access to the elite public schools. The abolishing of the public school altogether was never a politically feasible option.

The transformation of elite boarding schools into more socially and ethnically diverse institutions has also been a theme in the contemporary history of the American boarding schools. In the elite American boarding schools this more socially inclusive approach has not been derived from direct ‘outside’ pressure from state authorities, rather, the schools themselves have cultivated it. Sociologist Shamus Khan has in his book Privilege: The Making of an Adolescent Elite at St. Paul’s School (2010) described how his former alma mater, St. Paul’s School, New Hampshire, has changed from previously emphasising ‘who you are’ (as in the social pedigree of the pupil’s family) to emphasising the more meritocratic ‘what you’ve done’.

The elite distinctions that were made, at the turn of the nineteenth century, by claiming that the boarding school was ‘educationally progressive’ has at the turn of the twentieth century been replaced by elite distinction through claiming ‘social progressivism’. What Khan observed during his ethnographical field studies at St. Paul’s was that the pupils had embodied the discourse of meritocracy – even though the meritocratic narrative is by and large a chimera – and thereby saw the reason behind their position at an elite boarding school as the result of talent and hard work. That the pupil’s family pay annual tuition fees of $60,155 does not seem to hinder this train of thought. A by-product of this frame of thought is that the pupils

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472 Ibid.
believe those in a less advantaged position are there because of their lack of talent and hard work.\textsuperscript{474}

Regardless of the consequences of this meritocratic framing, the postwar elite boarding schools in the United States differ from their English counterparts in the way that they have embraced the idea of social and ethnical diversity, and the fact they wear it as a badge of honour. The wider inclusion of pupils in the elite boarding schools also includes the admitting of girls into the previously all-male boarding schools. The co-educational turn of the elite boarding schools was part of a globally shared history, with the majority of the American, Australian, Danish, English, Swedish, and Swiss boarding schools going in this direction during the 1960s and 1970s. In England, amongst the top elite boarding schools, it is only Eton, Harrow, Radley, and Winchester that have remained as all-boys boarding schools. Although the importance of the introduction of co-education for the inner culture of the previously all-male boarding schools is not reflected in the number of words devoted to it in this thesis, it is hard to overestimate how much this change altered the ways masculinity was constructed within these schools.\textsuperscript{475}

Social Change by Remodelling the School System

The move towards Comprehensive schools was, just like the history of elite boarding schools, a truly globally interconnected history.\textsuperscript{476} The postwar rise of the Comprehensive schools reflected the strong egalitarian currents in many countries at this time and these schools did not select its intake on the basis of social background or academic achievement. These Comprehensive schools could also be regarded as a democratic antidote to the dominance of the elite independent schools when it came to the formation of elites. The Comprehensive schools were not an attempt to create a new elite – like Kurt Hahn and Edmond Demolins had wanted with their schools – but to create a democratic and inclusive system of schools where the future doctor, lawyer,

\textsuperscript{474} Khan, \textit{Privilege}.
\textsuperscript{476} For recent studies that have approached the history of the Comprehensive schools from a globally comparative perspective see Barry Franklin and Gary McCulloch, \textit{The Death of the Comprehensive High School? Historical, Contemporary, and Comparative Perspectives} (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Susanne Wiborg, \textit{Education and Social Integration: Comprehensive Schooling in Europe} (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
professor, politician, banker, industrial executive, labour union leader, and manual worker went to school together, between the ages of eleven and eighteen.

James B. Conant, President of Harvard University, eloquently phrased this goal when he spoke before the American Association of School Administrators in 1952. At this time, the United States was the only country to have this type of school and Conant had high hopes for what the American Public High Schools might mean for the American society writ large:

What the great public schools of England accomplished for the future governing class of that nation in the nineteenth century the American high school is now attempting to accomplish for those who govern the United States, namely all the people. That such schools should be maintained and made even more democratic and – comprehensive seems to me to be essential for the future of this republic. The false antithesis between education for the gifted and education for all American youth must be resolved. If this can be accomplished, then the demand for a further increase in private independent education will largely disappear.477

As is evident from the last sentence of Conant’s address, it was the fee-paying independent schools which were regarded as the hurdle in the creation of a more democratic and inclusive school system and society. However, just like in England, the private American boarding schools continued to thrive in the midst of increased comprehensivisation. Although, with the shift in narrative amongst the pupils that they were given a place at the elite boarding schools because of their talent and hard work.

In Sweden, the context differed sustainably from that of England and the United States. Sweden had a long history of a state controlled educational system and its public secondary grammar schools enjoyed a prestigious position both within the school system and society. With small and later non-existing fees the number of private secondary schools in Sweden has always been small. At the beginning of the twentieth century, before the Swedish boarding schools in Sigtuna had been founded, there were only, apart from Lundsberg, five private secondary schools that were

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entitled to furnish University entrance certificates. These were Beskowska skolan and the co-educational Palmgrenska Samskolan in Stockholm; Fjellstedtska skolan and Uppsala Enskilda Läroverk in Uppsala; and Lunds privata elementarskola in Lund. In 1976 Beskowska skolan closed down and so did Palmgrenska skolan the following year, and in 1982 Fjellstedtska skolan closed its doors for the last time. Uppsala Enskilda Läroverk was transformed into a comprehensive in 1960 and Lunds privata läroverk followed in the same path in 1968. With the private secondary schools barely reaching a critical mass, the state controlled academically selective grammar schools (Läroverken) became like a red rag to a bull for those seeking social inequality within the Swedish school system.

The Läroverk had up until the reform of the 1960s formed the selective elite tier in the Swedish parallel school system, with Folkskolan serving the opposite function. This division between Gymnasium and Volksschule still exists in countries such as Austria, Germany, and Switzerland. The Swedish comprehensive school reform, which began to be implemented in 1962, integrated the Läroverk into the system of comprehensive schools, which meant that the aura of prestige that had surrounded Läroverkets pupils, teachers, and the institution itself disappeared. This gave way to the widespread master narrative – both academically and publically – that the changes of the Swedish educational system in the 1960s created the world’s most centralised and socially equal school system.478 From a comparative perspective, the political decisions that the Swedish Social Democratic party took during the 1960s and 1970s mirror that of the British Labour party: both parties closed down the academically selective schools – Direct Grant Grammar Schools and Läroverken – while the socially and economically selective independent boarding schools continued to exist.

The Swedish independent boarding schools did not, however, escape the scrutiny its English counterparts faced from the Newsom Report of 1968. In Sweden there was also a political debate and state commissioned reports on where the independent boarding schools would fit into the comprehensive school system of the 1960s.479 The suggestions that were proposed also mirror the recommendations that were made in

478 For this view see for example Hartman, Det pedagogiska kulturarvet.
the Fleming Report, that is, to open up some of the places at the boarding schools for children in need of a ‘change of scenery’. Another role the independent boarding schools were supposed to fill was to educate the children of Sweden’s expatriates. With these expats often consisting of diplomats, industrial executives and bankers this suggestion drew the interest of the Swedish boarding schools. With the mandate of giving some of its places to the children of Swedes working abroad the two boarding schools in Sigtuna (Sigtunaskolan and Stigtunastiftelsens Humanistiska Läroverk) as well as the independent boarding schools Grennaskolan and the progressive Viggbyholmskolan in Stockholm were ‘integrated’ into the new Swedish school system with the name Riksinternatskolor (‘National Boarding Schools’). These schools received extra economic support from the state for the pupils whose parents lived abroad. Viggbyholmskolan would later close in 1972 and the two boarding schools in Sigtuna would merge into one in 1980. Lundsberg joined the group of National Boarding Schools in 1994, which thereby made the number of National Boarding School into three.

By and large, however, there was never a need for this many boarding schools to educate the children of Swedes living abroad. The creation of the National Boarding Schools should therefore be read as another examples of the pragmatism that was the trademark of the nineteenth-century Swedish Social Democratic Party – primarily its ability to reach compromises with important members of big business. This meant that the haute bourgeoisie who were the patrons of Lundsberg and Sigtuna – in particular the Wallenberg family – could keep their boarding schools provided that the Social Democrats could justify this by referring to these schools’ supposed function of educating the children of Swedes living abroad.

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Distinction through Conservatism

In the postwar period there was a convergence of the ‘composite’ type of elite boarding schools. Some of the ‘composite’ boarding schools highlight their progressive side while others highlight the school’s conservative element – often by referring to a long and illustrious history and a proven track record of educating future leaders. Although the contact between boarding schools in different countries – regarding pupil and teacher exchange and joint conferences – has increased in the postwar period, the interconnections linked to both the global diffusion of the English public school model and the transnational exchange of ideas which gave rise to the modern strand of boarding schools must not be overlooked.

Another aspect that must be accounted for is the national context in which these boarding schools operate. The global field of elite boarding schools is only semi-autonomous and the schools must operate within the rules and regulation of each nation. The national context and the unique situation of each boarding school has also taken some of the boarding schools away from the transnationally shared ideological origin – whether that was the English public schools or the modern progressive boarding schools – and onto their own historical trajectory.

One example of this is the fagging system, which was officially abandoned at the English public schools in the 1960s and 1970s, continued in the former British Colonies after they gained independence and up until present times. This is illustrated, for example, in a letter to The Times’ ‘Dear Tanya’ column in 2009, when a mother asked for advice because her son had won a scholarship to a prestigious South African boarding school but she had doubts because the school still used the fagging system.\footnote{‘Fagging’ at school is hell for my son, \textit{The Times}, (January 13, 2009)}

Also at the Swedish boarding school of Lundsberg, the English prefect-fagging system, which had been imported in the 1910s – essentially by the pupils themselves – has survived in fossilised form until today. This is evident in the court material from the trial that followed the infamous burning iron incident.\footnote{Värmlands tingsrätt. Mål nr B 3800-13. 2014-01-24. For court material regarding “fagging” at Sigtuna see Attunda tingsrätt. Mål nr B 2669-12. 2013-02-22.} One employee – the boarding
house supervisor – and nine pupils were charged for their involvement. The boarding
house supervisor was charged for complicity, as he knew what the older pupils were
going to do and allowed it to happen, while two of the nine pupils were sentenced to
community service. The extensive court material – which included everything from
testimonies to the preliminary investigation – gives an intriguing and illuminating
insight into one of these ‘fossilised’ boarding schools.

The Lundsberg case therefore illustrates a boarding school – whose genesis was
interconnected with both the English public school and the modern progressive
boarding schools – that became more isolated and has embarked on its own historical
trajectory. Lundsberg’s postwar history is also a textbook example of ‘distinction
through conservatism’ – that is, the school’s niche in the competition for pupils is its
traditions and the fact they have remained unchanged over the years. It does, however,
also illustrate that the preservation of a relative status quo within an educational
institution should not only be understood as a ‘marketing strategy’ and that it takes a
conscious decision and committed work to reproduce the tradition of an educational
institution across generations.

What makes Lundsberg unique from a global comparative perspective is the influence
the former pupils have over the school. At many boarding schools, the alumni – the
old boys – are often a vocal and influential presence in the running of the school; their
position is not, however, written into the bylaws of the foundation that controls the
school. When Lundsberg’s founder William Olsson, in 1907, donated the school to a
foundation (Stiftelsen Lundsbergs Skola) the discourse was that he ‘gave the school to
the pupils’. 483 This was not only part of an idealised narrative, in fact, every former
Lundsberg pupil would have a vote in the election of the board of the foundation and
the majority of the board had to consist of former Lundsberg pupils. One position on
the governing board was to be reserved for a parent of a current pupil, and given the
fact that this parent would also often be a former Lundsberg pupil the power of the
former pupils is even more consolidated. In a speech that William Olsson gave in
1906, explaining his decision to give his school to its pupils, Olsson said that ‘this
would, just like at Eton and Harrow, create a strong bond between the school and its
former pupils, so that at times when the old school suffers the former pupils suffer

483 Lundsbergaren, 1910.
with it'. The mention of the former pupils’ loyalties in times when the old school is ‘suffering’ should be understood in the context of Lundsberg having economic difficulties at this time – Olsson was thereby hoping for future donations from his pupils.

The consequence of this form of government at Lundsberg has led to a feeling amongst the pupils that they are managing a legacy that they should hand down to the next generation as unchanged as possible. The pupils are also always reminded of this fact when they pass the large stone inscription on the vestibule of the main school building which reads: ‘You own the school, feel your responsibility for its heritage’. The combination of a collective sense amongst the pupils that they own the school and that they should keep its traditions intact, are the two main reasons behind the fact that the prefect-fagging system has survived into the twenty-first century. It also highlights the recurring power struggles between a relatively progressive group of teachers and headmasters and a largely conservative group of pupils.

Even in the 1950s, teacher Erik Johansson and headmaster Martin Lidström tried to prevent the older pupils from using the younger pupils as their own personal slaves (‘fags’) and to stop the older pupils from disciplining the younger ones physically. Johansson writes that this custom was much worse at Lundsberg (in the 1950s) than at many of the English public schools he had visited. The joint forces of Erik Johansson and headmaster Martin Lidström did not, however, change this situation. The reason they could not end the fagging and the physical punishments the older pupils inflicted, according to Johansson, was that both the pupils and their parents (often former Lundsberg pupils themselves) defended it.

There have been three later incidents that have captured this power struggle between reformative headmasters and conservative pupils. The first was in the late 1990s, when Lundsberg’s headmaster Anders Lundin tried to reform the school by removing the power from the older pupils. This caused a conflict between headmaster Lundin and the pupils – the pupils, amongst other things, threw faeces at his portrait. This conflict

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484 Ibid.  
485 *Lundsbergs skola 100 år*, 93.
The second incident occurred in the beginning of 2000s, when a Lundsberg parent proposed that Lundsberg should also adopt the so-called Du-reform. The Du-reform is the use of the more informal second-person singular pronoun Du instead of the more formal second-person plural pronoun Ni. This linguistic reform was introduced in the late 1960s and reflected the reduced use of titles, and in turn the strong egalitarian discourse in Sweden at that time. At Lundsberg, however, this reform was never enacted and they still used the pre-1960 formal second-person plural pronoun Ni when the proposal was put forward. Although the du form had been the standard in all other parts of Sweden for forty years, the idea of its introduction caused major protests at Lundsberg, not from the teachers, but from the pupils. The pupils therefore unanimously voted against the proposal. The third incident came in the wake of the hot iron scandal. Lundsberg then, in an effort to change, for the first time elected a chairman for the Lundsberg foundation who had no prior connections to the school – the new chairman lasted for four months before she was replaced by a Lundsberg ‘Old Boy’.

Twentieth century Swedish history could, in a Hobsbawmian inspired manner, be labelled as ‘the age of Social Democracy’. From 1932, when Per Albin Hansson was elected Prime minister, the following five decades were marked by an almost uninterrupted period of Social Democratic rule. This has arguably left a large mark on the history of twentieth century Sweden. One consequence of this long lasting social democratic rule is that unlike the contemporary situation in England and America, the presence of the alumni of the often socially and politically conservative independent boarding schools within the political elite has been minimal. So, unlike the situation in twentieth-century England and the United States, the former boarding school pupils from Lundsberg and Sigtuna have been more narrowly confined within what would be described as an economic and social elite. This is in contrast to the alumni of the English and American boarding schools, who are spread throughout different elite groups – politics, economics, military, the media – and thereby resemble a textbook example of Mill’s ‘power elite’.

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It should, however, be noted that recent studies have indicated that the Swedish economic elite of the twentieth century has had considerable political influence, despite not occupying traditional political elite positions – that is, as Members of Parliament. However, that the road between the elite Swedish boarding schools and high political positions was a road less travelled is reflected in the political leaning the Swedish boarding schools. Peter Nobel, who was at Lundsberg in the 1940s, has written in his autobiography that ‘political issues were never discussed at Lundsberg because conservative values were taken for granted’.489

This one-sidedness regarding political standpoints was constant throughout Lundsberg’s twentieth-century history. In the 1930s, Lundsberg pupil Harald Dickson of the prominent haute bourgeoisie Dickson family from Gothenburg wrote an article in Lundsbergen concerning the lack of political interest amongst his fellow pupils. According to Dickson, the only strong political movement at Lundsberg during the 1930s was Fascism. He continued his article by writing that although the fascistic movement had a number of views that he agreed with he was concerned by the fact that his fellow Lundsberg pupils swallowed the anti-Semitic aspects of the fascistic political programme without reflection. This was concerning to Dickson, in particular because it galvanised a strong hatred amongst the Lundsberg pupils towards the Social Democratic Party.490 Contrarian political views amongst the Lundsberg pupils were later illustrated when the Conservative Youth Party was the only school party at Lundsberg during the anti-establishment youth culture of the 1960s and in 2003 when the liberal-conservative Moderate Party received ninety per cent of the votes in Lundsberg’s school election.491

There was, in other words, a genuine ‘conservative’ movement at Lundsberg and to a lesser extent also at the boarding schools in Sigtuna, which was independent from market forces. In the sector of private secondary schools there were no truly progressive alternatives apart from the boarding school Viggbyholmskolan, which eventually closed down in 1972. Both in the United States and England the progressive

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489 Peter Nobel, _I idealisk riktning: Mitt liv_ (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2004), 129.
490 _Lundsburen_, no 4 (1933), 7.
491 _Solbackatidningen_, Fall Issue (1964), 13.
boarding schools had a profound presence in the national fields of elite secondary education. In the United States these progressive alternatives often consisted of two types of school, either they were day school in the cities that were run as laboratory schools with connections to Teacher Colleges – such as the 1917 founded Lincoln School, which was under the ideological aegis of Columbia University’s Teachers College and economically supported by the Rockefeller-funded General Education Board; or they were boarding schools like the Palo Verde Ranch School (established in 1929) which, as the name suggests, combined a college preparatory curriculum with the experience of working and living on a Western-style ranch.492

The presence of these sometimes very radically progressive elite schools left the ‘traditional’ elite boarding schools which had emerged from the middle of the nineteenth century and until the turn of the twentieth century little option but to demarcate themselves educationally through conservatism. However, as we touched upon in the previous sub-chapter, these traditional boarding schools had already managed to successfully create a master narrative that they were socially progressive in that they were open to diversity in their student body – children from working class backgrounds and ethnic minorities could enter these schools through an extensive scheme of scholarship opportunities.

At the English public schools, the seemingly meritocratic element of Kings or Queens Scholars, whose tuition fees are reduced due to an outstanding result in the public schools’ own entrance exams, has filled the same function of creating a discourse that a spot at a top English public school can be earned through hard work. At the elite boarding schools in Switzerland, France, Denmark or Sweden this meritocratic narrative has never existed. If the American Ranch schools and other progressive elite schools forced the Select Sixteen schools to stay in their conservative niche so did the ever-expanding number of progressive independent boarding schools in England. The turn of the century dawn of Abbotsholme, Beadles, and King Alfred School in north London (which, it is important to note, was a day school under the patronage of influential Fabians) was followed by a new wave of boarding school being established after World War I. Inter-war progressive boarding schools like St. Christopher’s

(1918), Bembridge (1919), Rendcomb (1920), Summerhill (1924), Dartington (1925), Frensham Heights (1925), Beacon Hill (1925), Bryanston (1925), Gordonstoun (1934), and St. Mary's Town and Country School (1937) continued to give the traditional English public schools little room to manoeuvre.\

Their strategy thereby continued to be distinction through conservatism.

Even though the traditional English public schools went through major changes in the postwar period – opening their doors to girls and abolishing fagging – they continued to cultivate the idea of the status quo. This status quo narrative was cultivated both by the traditional English public schools themselves and reinforced by the image portrayed in the media.

This dual cultivation is, for example, evident in an article that was written by Hugh Mulligan, the Associated Press Special Correspondent in the United Kingdom, in 1973. The title of the article was ‘Eton Clings to Tradition’ and in it Mulligan writes that: ‘true, there’s closed circuit TV in the classrooms now, a computer in the math department and all sorts of gadgetry in the language lab, but the old oaken desks where Gladstone carved his initials and Shelly hid his cat’s skull for raising ghosts seem locked in the timeless tranquillity that shall forever be Eton’. Even though this article was written in 1973, the tone and the reproduction of the status quo discourse are the same in articles from the 2010s. The key is, however, that the pupils and staff of the traditional English public schools, like Eton College, mutually uphold this discourse. When Mulligan asked one of the Eton pupils in 1973: ‘what’s new at Eton these days?’ the reply from the fifteen-year-old Etonian was: ‘new sir? I do believe the college beagles are having a go after tea’.

It is, however, important to bear in mind that underneath this patina of distinction through conservatism several novelties were introduced. Eton College was in the 1980s, for example, the first secondary school in the United Kingdom to offer its pupils the possibility to study Mandarin Chinese and they have in recent years also

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495 Mulligan, ‘Eton Clings to Tradition’.
built a new high-tech theatre.\textsuperscript{496} Still, even though a constant stream of novelties have been introduced at Eton, the dust-cover of former Etonian Nick Fraser’s \textit{The Importance of Being Eton} (2006) still focuses on the fact that ‘the uniform is Dickensian, the sports arcane, the fees astronomical’.\textsuperscript{497} This outside view of a status quo that stretches back to the nineteenth century – if not longer – is something that the traditional boarding school do not dispute, rather they embrace it – even though the debates within these schools are far more dynamic and oriented towards change and novelty.\textsuperscript{498}

Although the clinging on to distinctions through conservatism was in large part the product of a mentality to preserve amongst Lundsberg’s pupils is was also during the last decade of the twentieth century and onwards a reaction towards changes within the Swedish educational system. The period between the end of World War II and the 1970s was – as previously mentioned – marked by the closing of many of the (few remaining) private secondary schools that still existed in Sweden. This did, however, change with the voucher reform that was introduced through a parliamentary decision in 1992. It saw the emergence of state supported, privately controlled schools called \textit{Friskolor} (‘Free Schools’) and it transformed the Swedish school system from one of the world’s most centralised school systems to one of the most decentralised.

This development mirrors the similar and interconnected contemporary development of Charter Schools in the United States and Academy Schools or Free Schools in the United Kingdom. Although these Charter, Academy, and Free Schools constitute an eclectic group and the majority of them do not serve the sociological function of differentiating the elites from the rest of the population, a handful of them do fulfil this function. In Sweden, the group of post-1992 elite schools falls into two categories, either they are former prestigious day schools which were transformed into Free Schools (for example Sigrid Rudebecks Gymnasium and Göteborgs Samskola in Gothenburg and Enskilda Gymnasiet in Stockholm) or they are new creations, established by influential elite groups within society, with Viktor Rydberg in

\textsuperscript{497} Nicholas Fraser, \textit{The Importance of Being Eton} (London: Short Books, 2006), book cover.
Stockholm being the most famous example from this category. Even though these elite Free Schools do not have any tuition fees they can control the intake of pupils themselves, where high grades and interview assessments are used to gauge if the prospective pupils are ‘right’ for the school. Schools that are without tuition fees, but that have an aura of social distinction, naturally present competition to the Swedish boarding schools that still charge hefty tuition fees.

It is in this context illuminating to revisit the incident at the beginning of the 2000s when a Lundsberg parent proposed that the school should also adopt the so-called Du reform – which was unanimously voted down by the Lundsberg pupils. The Lundsberg parent who made this proposal was by no means an arriviste, his name is Tord Magnuson and he is a former Lundsberg pupil as well as being married to Princess Christina, the sister of King Carl XVI Gustaf. The student body of Lundsberg at the turn of the twentieth century still consisted of many aristocratic families, but the position of the Swedish aristocracy was by no means as strong towards the end of the century. Many of the mighty industrial families with close connections to the Swedish boarding schools – Broström, Kockum, Dickson, Unander-Scharin and others – had also suffered the so-called ‘Buddenbrooks syndrome’ and they ‘went from clogs to clogs in three generations’. The unanimous vote against the Du-reform – and in a larger perspective the backlash against the removal of any tools which might help in the process of distinction through conservatism – was largely down to the first generation Lundsberg pupils.

In this seemingly banal vote on the implementation of the Du-reform therefore we find the seemingly timeless mechanism that social demarcations by invoking tradition are often more frequent when an elite group feels under threat or if their position of power is not solidly underpinned. The Social Register (SR), for example, which was first published in 1886 as a directory of names and addresses of the prominent American families which made up the social elite, was not the product of ‘old elites’ like the Boston Brahmins or the New York Knickerbockers. Rather, it was the product of the new industrial elite and their wish to create social boundaries in attempt to solidify their ascent to power and prestige.
Historian Christophe Charle has described a similar development among the French intellectual elite in his *Naissance des ‘intellectuels’ 1880–1900* (1990).\(^{499}\) Charle has shown that in the early nineteenth century the French intellectuals were drawn from a narrow strata of elite society, but with the broader recruitment to the universities which occurred during the Third Republic they became more isolated from the world of real power and social influence, which led to a more inward-looking academic world with its own hierarchies and demarcations.\(^{500}\) The combination of a broader social recruitment, and the increased competition from prestigious Free Schools, has led to a similar situation for the boarding schools in Sweden. The inward-looking aspects are here reflected in an even stronger commitment to preserve the traditions which had once set the schools apart.

In the wake of the scandals at Lundsberg and Sigtuna during the 2010s, the author Agnes Hellström, who wrote the semi-autobiographical book *Ränderna går aldrig ut* (2009) about her boarding school days at Sigtuna during the 1990s, was asked by the newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet* what would happen if the seemingly archaic traditions at the Swedish boarding schools were forbidden. Hellström answered that ‘they [the boarding schools] would then be just like normal schools but located in the middle of the forest, and who wants to study there?’\(^{501}\) Hellström’s answer captures the main rationale behind the phenomenon of distinction through conservatism, indeed, long held traditions and the persistence of the idea that character building is derived from pupils governing other pupils is the strongest competitive argument these boarding schools have for motivating parents in elite positions to choose them instead of the elite Free Schools – without tuition fees – in the city.


\(^{500}\)Ibid.

5  Elite Boarding Schools in the Second Gilded Age

A New Form of Diffusion

1996 marks a watershed moment in the global history of elite boarding schools. Ever since the second half of the nineteenth century boarding schools influenced by the English public school model have been founded throughout the British Empire. These boarding schools often bore the mark of the English public school of its founder or first headmaster, but when the English public school Dulwich opened a ‘satellite-school’ in Phuket Thailand in 1996 this marked a new form of diffusion of the English public school model. Dulwich College, founded in 1619 and located in south London was – like many other English public schools – established to educate a number of poor scholars, in the case of Dulwich this being thirty. It later followed the trajectory of its fellow English public schools and became a school for the upper middle- and upper classes. However, in the case of expanding the school abroad, Dulwich is the forerunner to the rest of the English public schools. Their first school in Phuket, Thailand – Dulwich International College – has, however, since 2005 become an independent venture, due to disagreements concerning curriculum issues, and is now called the British International School, Phuket.

Dulwich has nonetheless continued expanding its number of Satellite-schools throughout Asia: there is now a Dulwich College Shanghai, China (established 2003); Dulwich College Beijing, China (est. 2005); Dulwich College Suzhou, China (est. 2007); Dulwich College Seoul, South Korea (est. 2010); Dulwich International High School Zuhuai, China (est. 2010); Dulwich International High School, Zhuhai, China (est. 2010); and Dulwich College Singapore (est. 2014). It is important to emphasise
that for the elite of Asia being educated at an English or American elite boarding school in not the point, instead the value lies in the fact they are receiving a diploma from an English public school while still being educated in their home country. Indeed, the former prime minister of Thailand, Anand Panyarachun (born 1932), was educated at Dulwich College in London and later went up to Trinity College, Cambridge; but this new generation can receive a Dulwich ‘education’ without leaving their native country.

Yet this new form of global diffusion of the English public schools is not limited to Dulwich College. Two years after Dulwich opened its Phuket branch, Harrow School opened its first satellite school in the Don Mueang District of Bangkok, Thailand. Harrow has since expanded its presence in Asia by establishing the Harrow International School Beijing, China (2005) and Harrow International School Hong Kong (2012). There are a couple of visible trends in this new form of diffusion. First, the English public schools target countries where there is an emerging upper middle class; second, a part from Hong Kong, these satellite school are in areas that were not previously part of the British Empire – these now independent countries already have well established ‘English’ public schools dating back to the end of the nineteenth century. Therefore, there has also been an expansion of English public school ‘satellites’ in parts of the Middle East where no elite boarding schools were established during the period of British rule. This is illustrated by the English public school Repton establishing a ‘sister school’ in Dubai in 2007 and in Abu Dhabi in 2013 – where the English public school Brighton College has already a branch since 2011.

When it comes to curriculum these satellite schools follow the English language curriculum known as the International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE), which is meant to prepare students for either the International Baccalaureate (IB) or the British Advanced Level (A-Level). On a visual level, however, the import from the English public schools is even more evident. At Harrow’s satellite schools, for example, the pupils in Shanghai and Bangkok wear the same straw boaters that have been worn at Harrow in London since the 1880s. And for the satellite schools, being attached to the long and often illustrious history of the ‘mother school’ is arguably one of the most prominent gains. It is a way for both the school and the parents who send their children to the school, to give their history a patina. This is a fact that is eagerly
deployed for commercial and advertising purposes. For example, on the official webpage of Repton School Dubai it states that 'our school has 450 years of tradition', even though the Repton school in Dubai was founded in 2007. It is also evident that the English public schools' historical role in the production of leaders is something that is reconfigured to fit the new globalised age. This is illustrated in the joint mission statement of Harrow's satellite schools – 'Leadership for a better world'. Harrow’s argument for being the school which best educates leaders is drawn from 'the great tradition of famous leaders emanating from Harrow School such as Winston Churchill, Pundit Nehru and King Hussein of Jordan'.

This latest form of diffusion of the English public school model should, however, also be understood as part of a larger phenomenon in the field of education. Because Repton School and Brighton College are not, for example, the only foreign educational institutions in Abu Dhabi – since 2010 New York University has also run its New York University Abu Dhabi (NYUAD) which is part of the university's – or, primarily university president John Sexton's – idea of a Global Network University (GNU). The English public school satellite schools are, like NYU’s Global Network University, a challenge to the idea that a school or university can only deliver education at a single-base campus.

Without questioning the noble motives of the English public schools and American Ivy League universities in spreading their educational offering across the globe, one should also acknowledge that this is also big business. The big business side of the diffusion is evident in the fact that the foreign branches are the product of cooperation between the schools and large private companies. The Repton Schools in Dubai and Abu Dhabi are for example a cooperation between Evolence Knowledge Investments Limited (EKI) which is an education subsidiary of Evolence Capital Limited, and Harrow’s international venture is owned by the private company Harrow Asia Limited. In many instances, the fear of a ‘brain drain’ by the host nation galvanises local and national investors to finance a Bangkok, Shanghai or Dubai elite boarding school. The former Thai prime minister Anand Panyarachun’s previously-mentioned connection with Dulwich paved the way for Dulwich’s entrance to the private educational market in

502 Quoted from ‘The Harrow Philosophy', published at the official webpage of Harrow School Beijing, www.harrowbeijing.cn.
Thailand. In Qatar members of the Qatari royal family – such as the Emir, HH Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani – had attended the English public school Sherborne, and when Sherborne Qatar was founded in 2009 it was through a joint venture between Sherborne School and Sheikh Abdullah bin Ahmed Al Thani. Also in Kazakhstan the ‘brain drain’ rationale was behind the opening of a branch of the English Haileybury School, called Almaty-Haileybury, and as in the above-mentioned examples a private equity investor played a key role in this process – in the case of Almaty-Haileybury it was in the form of property developers Capital Partners. There is, in other words, still a national rationale behind the latest spread of the English public school model – it is used as a reference and inspiration in the education of a new national or regional elite. However, unlike the diffusion during the late nineteenth century, private investors now play an important role in this ‘multi-million dollar’ industry.

A by-product of the English public schools’ push into Asia and the Middle East – which follows the mechanisms of social and elite distinction – is that because there is now a Harrow, Dulwich, Marlborough, and Repton in China, Thailand, Singapore, and the United Arab Emirates, the highest elite distinction is having you children educated at the original school. In a report from the Independent School Council (UK) published in 2015, it is evident that one new English public school pupil in every five comes from abroad. Amongst the foreign pupils at English public schools 20.9 per cent of these pupils are from China, with Hong Kong coming a close second with 17.6 per cent.\(^{503}\)

One of the Chinese pupils to have studied at an English public school – which might seem paradoxical given his political affiliation – was Bo Guagua, the son of Bo Xilai, who was one of the highest officials within the Chinese Communist Party (until his corruption scandal). The educational institution chosen for the son of the Communist Party’s former Minister of Commerce was Harrow.\(^{504}\) The report from the Independent School Council also indicates that the boarding schools which have established satellite schools, like Repton and Brighton College, have increased the

\(^{503}\) The numbers from the report quoted in Javier Espinoza, ‘Record Numbers of Foreign Pupils at UK School’, \textit{The Telegraph}, 16 May (2015).

number of foreign pupils at their UK based school – with 5.3 per cent of Repton pupils coming from abroad in 2014 and 7.2 per cent in 2015.  

If the English public schools’ expansion into Asia during the second half of the nineteenth century was marked by a rhetoric of a need to create a new Indian elite which was loyal to the Empire – ‘brown Gentlemen’ – in the wake of the rebellion of 1857, this turn of the twentieth century expansion is framed in economic terms. The English public schools want to develop into ‘global brands’ and in Asia and the Middle East they see an emerging market ‘which can be tapped into’. In staying with their own economic terminology, the latest global expansion that started with Dulwich and has to date been continued by Harrow, Sherborne, Marlborough, Repton, and others, could be interpreted as ‘brand extension’ or ‘brand stretching’. In this logic, the Asian and Middle Eastern satellite schools could be regarded as spin-offs, with one of their functions being to make the brand and its original products stronger. And in the case of Repton and Brighton College’s rising number of foreign applicants, this might seem successful in that respect.

The risks with brand extension is that the brand might be overused – in particular, as in the case with elite boarding schools, when the product makes an exclusivity claim – which might dilute the value and prestige of the product. Several of the ‘great’ English public schools has also opted-out of expansion abroad with the concern of diluting their ‘brand’. Winchester College had plans to establish a satellite school abroad, but did not go through with it because they feared the loss of brand name security. Eton College has also had franchise offers, which were rejected by the governors of the school, and the same goes for Westminster and Stowe, which both rejected offers to set up satellite schools in Bangkok. There is thereby an evident risk involved in the English public schools’ recent venture into the Middle East and Asia. Those schools that make this economic investment might – to continue the economic analogy of brand stretching – end up with a water-downed reputation and with satellites schools that are the educational equivalents of Coca-Cola Vanilla.

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505 Espinoza, ‘Record Numbers of Foreign Pupils at UK School’.
A New Wave of Emulations

If the establishment of English public school franchises marked a different form of exporting the English public school model than that which occurred during the second half of the nineteenth century, the ‘new wave’ of emulations bear all the classic trademarks of previous times the English public schools have served as inspiration throughout the world. When France lost the Franco-Prussian War in 1871, intellectuals like Hippolyte Taine and Pierre de Coubertin turned their sights towards the English public schools and their moral and physical education and rejected the over-intellectualisation of the French Lycées. After Germany’s loss in World War I, Kurt Hahn did the same. With a stagnating economy and an education system where evening ‘cram schools’ were an almost mandatory part of schooling, certain influential groups in twenty-first century Japan also began looking to the English public schools for inspiration.

One example is the secondary boarding school Kaiyo Academy, which was founded in 2006 and is located by the sea in the city of Gamagori, in Aichi Prefecture, which is the home base of Toyota. Logically enough, it is mainly Toyota’s chairman, Shoichiro Toyoda, who – with financial support from, amongst others, the Central Japan railway Company and Chubu Electric – is the driving force behind Kaiyo Academy. The Academy is a boarding school where the residential buildings are, in line with the British tradition, called ‘boarding houses’, and with hefty tuition fees of approximately 3 million yen a year (25,350 EUR).\(^5\)

Apart from Shoichiro Toyoda’s open admiration of Eton College one might wonder in what way Kaiyo Academy can claim – as it does – to be the ‘Eton of Japan’. The connection between Kaiyo and Eton goes a step beyond reading Tom Brown’s School Days or translating autobiographical books written by English former public schools pupils, which was the case with Sweden’s Lundsberg. Before the opening of Kaiyo Academy, the would be headmaster Takeo Izuyama – a former professor of the university of Tokyo and previously headmaster of the prestigious Japanese secondary school Kaisei – visited Eton, and Eton’s headmaster Tony Little was also flown in to Japan to inspect the site where the Japanese boarding school was to be built and to

\(^5\) ‘No Fun for the Boys at Japan’s Eton Clone’, South China Morning Post, 9 April (2006).
offer his insights on boarding schools in his capacity as headmaster of Eton. Kaiyo Academy also ‘borrowed’ biology teacher George Fussey for its first year of operation. And, as mentioned, the turn against the over-emphasis on academic knowledge and the rhetoric concerns Kaiyo’s ‘aim to nurture people who will be able to lead Japan in the future’, to put it in the words of Toyota’s honorary chairman Shoichiro Toyoda.\(^{507}\)

However, the reference to Eton should foremost be regarded as the aim of the school to produce a future elite, and as we have touched upon through this dissertation, since the second half of the nineteenth century Eton has been the global short form for ‘the school that educates the future elites’. Invoking the Eton metaphor, which draws the attention of media and the general public, is thereby a successful marketing strategy. That it is successful is evident in the wide array of newspaper articles that merged even before Kaiyo Academy was open. In these newspaper articles the framing of ‘The Eton of Japan’ became the dominant narrative. And just by referring to Kaiyo Academy in the same breath as Eton makes the new school interconnected in a much longer and illustrious history. This is evident in the title of Bloomsbury’s article ‘Toyota’s Old School Ties’, in the Sydney Morning Herald’s ‘Japan looks to Eton’s playing fields’, and the Telegraph’s ‘Eton-style boarding school for Japan’.\(^{508}\) Put differently, the rhetorical link to Eton is stronger than the actual implementation of an Eton-style boarding school.

In both the ‘new form of export’ and the ‘new wave of emulations’ there is an interplay between the national and transnational. This interplay is, as we have seen through the dissertation, a constant ingredient in the global history of elite boarding schools, from when Emanuel von Fellenberg in 1799 established the boarding school in Hofwyl, Switzerland until Shoichiro Toyoda’s Kaiyo Academy and probably beyond. There have, however, naturally been several changes in the interplay between the national and transnational over these years. There has for example been a slight reconfiguration in the ‘elite educational tandems’ – Winchester College/ New College at Oxford, Eton College/King’s College at Cambridge University, Lawrenceville school/Princeton, Lundsberg/Stockholm School of Economics etcetera. In the past ten


years more pupils from English public schools have opted to continue their education at an American Ivy League university rather than taking the well-trodden path to Oxbridge. Although the connection between the English public schools and Oxbridge are still vital, its marks the emergence of transnational elite educational trajectories – secondary school in one country and university studies in another. Within the ‘satellite schools’ in Asia and the Middle East, as well as Kaiyo Academy, this trajectory is even more evident. At the Harrow and Dulwich branches in China it is clearly stated that they prepare their pupils to study abroad.\textsuperscript{509} Takeo Izuyama, headmaster of Kaiyo Academy, has said that the pupils will hopefully continue their education at the best universities of the world, and he used Harvard as an example.\textsuperscript{510} However, even if a transnational dimension has been infused in the elite educational trajectory the end product still follows a national or regional logic. That is, these students will go to the best universities abroad for a couple of years in order to later return better qualified to lead the nation and thereby contribute to its economic growth.

One of the best examples of this interplay between transnational and national – which is also connected to the ‘new wave of emulations’ – is King’s Academy in Madaba, Jordan. King Abdullah II of Jordan founded King’s Academy in 2007 and it does not seek its inspiration from Eton, Harrow or Winchester, but looks instead to the elite American boarding school Deerfield Academy. While his father, King Hussein of Jordan (1935-1999) was educated at Harrow School, King Abdullah received his secondary education at Deerfield Academy in the city of the same name in the state of Massachusetts. King Abdullah’s idea with King’s Academy was to bring the type of education that he and his father received in England and the USA back to Jordan so that his son, Crown Prince Hussein bin Abdullah, could receive the same type of education, but in his home country. Crown Prince Hussein bin Abdullah was thereby one of the first group of pupils to graduate from King’s Academy – he later continued his transnational elite educational trajectory at Georgetown University in Washington D.C.

Although King’s Academy is a school for the well off, King Abdullah was inspired by the postwar ambitions of the American boarding schools to include students from all

\textsuperscript{509} See for example Dulwich International High School Zhuhai, \textit{Information for Job Applicants} (2015), 1.
socio-economic backgrounds. In doing this, King Abdullah also reconnected with the six hundred year old English public school idea of having a number of King’s Scholars who, based on merit, pay reduced tuition fees. This means that at King’s Academy, there are a number of pupils that go by the name of King’s Scholar – although the number of King’s Scholars at King’s Academy is thirty while at Eton it is seventy. The connections between King’s Academy and Deerfield Academy goes beyond rhetoric, the first headmaster of King’s Academy was Eric Widmer, who had previously been headmaster of Deerfield Academy. There are also an extensive teachers exchange programme between King’s Academy and the elite American prep schools.

The Eton Biology teacher George Fussey teaching at the Japanese Kaiyo Academy and former Deerfield headmaster Eric Widmer serving as the first headmaster of King’s Academy also illuminates a new feature in the global field of elite boarding schools – that is, an ever increasing interconnection between both pupils and teachers from elite boarding schools situated in different countries. This increased integration between different elite boarding schools is a process which began in 1966 with the Hahn inspired Round Square network, but has in the last decade manifested itself in a plethora of transnational networks between elite boarding schools. One of the most prestigious of these networks is the Great 20 Schools (G20), which was formed in 2006 through an initiative by St. Andrew’s College (South Africa) and Wellington College (UK). The G20 network consists of schools such as Eton College (UK), Wellington School (UK), Stowe School (UK), Geelong Grammar School (Australia), Doon School (India), Phillips Exeter Academy (USA), Appleby College (Canada), Minjok Leadership Academy (South Korea), Brookhouse School, (Kenya), and recently the King’s Academy also joined this group. What binds this group together is their self-described commitment to ‘excellence and innovation’ in education. Representatives from these schools meet once a year to discuss matters relating to these two characteristics.

The Timeless Quest To Make New Money Old

Even though the histories of great English public schools like Winchester and Eton stretch back six and five-hundred years respectively, the system of English public schools is a nineteenth-century product. The driving force in their ascent, or expansion, was undoubtedly connected and driven by the rise of a larger upper middle class. Without a state controlled system of secondary schools, during a time that throughout Europe and America was regarded as the formative period of the national educational systems, the number of independent boarding schools in England became relatively large. However, viewed from an elite formation perspective a large number of these independent boarding schools can be regarded as the ‘tail’ of a much smaller group of truly elite boarding schools. This ‘tail’ is, however, insignificant in making the boarding school experience part of the adolescent memory of a larger part of the population. It should, however, be noted that today, the group which is educated at independent schools (not all of them boarding schools) only constitutes around seven per cent of the school eligible cohort.\textsuperscript{515} If we want to grasp how many of these schools serve the sociological function of differentiating the elite from the rest of the population, we would be measuring in pro mille instead of per cent.

For the men who made their fortune during the rapid industrialisation of England sending one’s son to one of the prestigious boarding schools was one way to buy respectability. It served as an act of social distinction, but this act was combined with other strategies, such as buying a county estate, a large apartment in a fashionable area of London, and gaining membership to one of the metropolitan Gentlemen’s Clubs. In the United States, the rise of the east-coast boarding schools during the second half of the nineteenth century was also closely connected with the rise of new fortunes. These first generation of wealth did not only send their sons and daughters to the same boarding schools as the Brahmins of Boston and Knickerbockers of New York, they also donated generously to philanthropic causes and built anachronistic castle-like estates in scenic rural areas such as the Hamptons and in Newport, Rhode Island. In

Sweden, the sons and daughters of the nobility and the emerging economic haute bourgeoisie had already begun to inter-marry when the independent boarding schools were founded in Lundsberg, Sigtuna, and Solbacka during the first decades of the twentieth century. These Swedish boarding schools did, however, go beyond being just the institutional manifestation of an ongoing fusion, in bringing the sons of aristocrats and haute bourgeoisie – from Malmö in the south to Umeå in the north – together at the same schools they also functioned as a catalyst in this fusion.

If this period saw the rise of the Hamptons and Newport in the United States, the Swedish equivalent was the ascent of exclusive residential areas such as the Wallenberg family’s pet project Saltsjöbaden in Stockholm, Djursholm in Stockholm, the sea-side resort of Särö outside of Gothenburg, and the patrician villas of Lorensbergs villastad in the central part of Gothenburg. The families that built large estates in these areas during the first decades of the twentieth century also began to send their sons to the boarding schools in Sigtuna or Lundsberg. If we return to two of our Weberian Swedish haute bourgeoisie ideal-type families, Unander-Scharin and Dickson – we see that sending one’s son to boarding school was just one part of the process of making new money old.

As well as sending their sons to Lundsberg, the family patriarch, Egil Unander-Scharin, hired one of Sweden’s most prominent architects of the time, Ragnar Östberg, to draw the plans for a patrician villa in the central parts of the northern city of Umeå. With its pink facade, built in the art-nouveau style, Scharinska Villan is a manifestation in stone of the not-so-subtle statement that this forest industry family is now part of the upper echelons of Swedish society. This is further marked by the engraving in stone over the main gate that depicts the faces of seven small children – the next generation of an emerging family dynasty. A thousand kilometres southwest of Umeå, just outside of Gothenburg, the Dickson family was involved in a similar construction project. The fortune and prestige of the Dickson family widely overshadows that of the Unander-Scharins, and this is also evident in the scale of their symbol of wealth. In 1904, the same year as the Unander-Scharins’ patrician villa was completed, Dickson’s anachronistic Tudor Castle ‘Tjolöholm’ was completed. Situated by the sea in the Bay of Kungsbacka and complemented by a gate-house in a Fachwerkhaus-style remnant of Alsace-Lorraine and a family mausoleum in white marble, it is a statement that the
Dickson family was not just one the richest families in Sweden but also in Europe. In the case of Tjolöholm Castel, the history of the project captures both the successful integration of this haute bourgeoisie family into the sphere of the Swedish nobility and the role the elite boarding schools played in this process.

Tjolöholm Castle was commissioned by James Fredrik Dickson (1844-1898), but it was his wife Blanche Dickson who completed it after his death. Being the grandchild of the patriarch of the Dickson family fortune, James Dickson (1784–1855), James Fredrik Dickson was already part of the highest social circles in Swedish society – as indicated by his friendship with King Oscar II. After Blanche Bonde died in 1906, her daughter Blanche took over Tjolöholm Castle. Blanche was married to Count Carl Bonde (1872–1957). With the Bonde family being part of the Swedish Uradel, it is hard to argue that this economic haute bourgeoisie family would need a private boarding school to further their integration into the highest circles of the Swedish social elite. Given the castle and her marriage into the nobility the decision Blanche Bonde (née Dickson) made to send her son Thord Bonde to Lundsberg in 1912 did not create the social fusion, it only consolidated it. Thord Bonde’s classmates came from noble families such as the Beck-Friis, Sparre, Douglas, Rålamb, De Geer, von Essen, von Kantzow, von Stockenström, and von Arbin. And these families came from all parts of Sweden, which meant that the social position of the Dickson family was not only consolidated, it was also expanded geographically.

The turn of the nineteenth century story of Tjolöholm and the Dickson family is a local one, but it might as well be about an economic haute bourgeoisie family in the United States, England, Germany or France. In other words, sending one’s son to an elite boarding school is only one piece in the puzzle of how to make new money old. Viewed from this perspective, the attraction of the elite boarding schools is connected to the larger story of how aspiring elites tend to imitate the lifestyle of the old elite in order to gain respectability and prestige. Architecturally anachronistic castles were therefore not only built by the nouveau riche in Sweden, Great Britain, and America but also in the western parts of Paris. In the United States, Sweden, and France the lifestyle of the English aristocracy was a particular source of inspiration for the aspiring elites, with, for example, British-style rowing clubs being founded on the shores of the river Seine. The process that in German is described as the Feudalisierung des
Bürge
tums has in the case of the English public schools been blamed – most famously by the American historian Martin Weiner – for the decline of the British economy.\textsuperscript{516} According to this thesis, the sons of the economic industrious bourgeoisie became perverted at the English public schools through exposure to aristocratic ideas of lives of ‘leisure’. Or as the British economist George Cyril Allen put it:

The [English public] schools proved to be an effective instrument for bestowing gentility on the sons of the rough and warty industrial pioneers ... The schools even instilled a distaste for the pursuits which had made the country rich and powerful.\textsuperscript{517}

Although this thesis has since been nuanced, or even debunked, by scholars such as Hartmut Berghoff, it illustrates that the debate of a fusion between ‘new’ and ‘old’ money is often controversial. However, if Weiner’s thesis took the perspective of the harm the old traditions of the English public schools had done to the industrial spirit of the sons of the haute bourgeoisie, this debate, within the boarding schools themselves, has often been reversed. That is, a fear that the vulgarity of the nouveaux riches might destroy the fine traditions and reputation of the boarding schools. This debate has been even more infected in the last couple of decades when the nouveaux riches are not just nouveaux riches, but foreign nouveaux riches. In the wake of English public school ‘satellites’ emerging in Asia and the Middle East (with plans for a Russian expansion as well), and with transnational networks like G20 and Round Square there has been a discourse – both academically and in general – that this is a reflection of an emerging global elite. According to this logic the pupils of, for example, Harrow in London, Beijing, and Bangkok would form a powerful Old Boys Network that extends beyond borders.

Educational scholar Fazal Rizvi has called this a ‘transnational space of privilege’.\textsuperscript{518} In his studies on the modern Indian boarding schools, Rizvi has tried to answer the

\textsuperscript{516} The thesis of a feudalisierung of the German bürge

\textsuperscript{517} Quoted in Hartmut Berghoff, Englische Unternehmer 1870–1914: eine Kollektivbiographie führender Wirtschaftsbürger in Birmingham, Bristol und Manchester (Göttingen, 1991), 96.

\textsuperscript{518} Fazal Rizvi, The Discourse of ‘Asia Rising’ in an Elite Indian school’, in Agnès van Zanten, Stephen J. Ball, and Brigitte Darcy-Kochlin (eds.) World Yearbook of Education 2015: Elites, Privilege and Excellence: The
question of whether the elite boarding schools in general, and the Indian boarding schools in particular are now no longer just attempting to produce national elites but also a ‘transnational capitalist class’. The concept of the ‘transnational capitalist class’ (TCC) was introduced by sociologist Leslie Sklar to describe a new form of global social class consisting of ‘corporate executives, globalizing bureaucrats and politicians, globalizing professionals and consumerist elites.’ The TCC is not only a product of globalization, according the Sklar the TCC ‘is more or less in control of the processes of globalization’. That a new global or transnational elite is also educated in transnational educational institutions, like the ever more interconnected global field of elite boarding schools, is therefore a tempting and persuasive conclusion to draw. This train of thought presupposes that the social distinction is between those who have been to a particular elite school and those who have not.

However, the autobiographical writings and academic case studies are filled with examples of being an ‘outsider’ on the ‘inside’. This could be a subjective feeling or manifested through outspoken criticism again individuals or groups that according to the ‘insiders’ do not really belong at the school. In the elite boarding schools, these groups or individuals can be divided into three groups: the day pupils, the nouveaux riches, and foreign pupils. The combination of nouveaux riches and foreign pupils is perhaps the joint group which has usually drawn the largest amount of criticism from the families with a long connection to the boarding schools. The pupils who board at the school often regard the first group, the day pupils, with suspicion. These day pupils often pay a substantially lower fee, due to the fact that they do not pay for food and housing. The day pupils are also often drawn from families living close to the school and with these boarding schools often being placed in rural areas this means families from a different socio-economic sphere.

At Lundsberg, the word tjás (not a ‘real’ Swedish word) have been used since, at least, the 1940s to describe the working class, and by extension anyone who has not been educated at Lundsberg. The adjective tjäsigt has therefore been used to describe

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National and Global Redefinition of Educational Advantage (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 126-140.

519 Ibid.


521 Sklar, The Transnational Capitalist Class, 5.
everything a Lundsberg pupil should avoid, like traveling second class on the train. However, the word tjås is also used to describe the day pupils at Lundsberg. Even if these day pupils leave the school with a degree from Lundsberg, the sheer fact that they do not pay full tuition and live in the boarding houses makes them tjås instead of proper Lundsbergare.

The experience of being educated at Eton in the 1960s differs widely if you are, for example, the son of an English Lord or a black man from Nigeria, which is evident if one reads Nigerian Dillibe Onyeama’s autobiographical book Nigger at Eton (1972). Even at one of the most globally orientated elite boarding schools, the Swiss Institute Le Rosey, the origins of your family’s money and in particular what country you are from decides if you will be fully integrated at the school. This is evident in the Greek-born journalist and socialite Taki Theodoracopulos concerns (which were raised in 2007) about the social decay of Le Rosey and the former playgrounds of the Jet set crowd:

The south of France, where David [Niven] and his wife Yordis had a beautiful house, was getting crowded and overbuilt and full of the wrong people. As was St Moritz and the French Alpine stations like Megève and Val d’Isère. Needless to say, as the dynasties crumbled after World War II, royalty and aristocracy at Rosey were replaced by sons and daughters of Bahama-based bankers, Middle Eastern entrepreneurs, Greek shipowners and African civil servants. Now there are mostly children of Russian kleptocrats – or to be more polite, “oligarchs”. As Le Rosey’s fortunes went, so did Gstaad’s. Just as the school’s student body deteriorated, so did Gstaad’s.

Taki Theodoracopulos’ remarks also capture the ‘timeless’ role elite boarding schools have played in the attempts to make new money old, and how the strategy of sending one’s children to an elite boarding school is just one part of this process, with Theodoracopulos touching on the other one by saying that the socially exclusive

522 See for example Nobel, I idealisk riktning, 129.
523 See for example Gunilla Bielke, ’Min syn på saken’, Lundsbergaren 78/79, 40.
Riviera towns and Alpine resorts were ‘full of the wrong people’. The aggressive push by Chinese and Russian investors into the high-end housing markets of London foreshadowed that they would soon also move in to the English elite boarding school market. Indeed, if one looks through old pupil registers of the Institut le Rosey one can also trace where new fortunes were being accumulated. The United States, Italy and Greece were over-represented in the 1950s and 1960s and with new discoveries of oil in the Middle East this group dominated the 1970s and the Asian tiger economies (Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan) emerging in the 1980s and up until the arrival of the Russians in the 1990s. Determining where new fortunes are being accumulated by looking at the pupil register of Le Rosey is, however, no longer possible. The concerns of Taki Theodoracopoulos and others were solved by the introduction of a quota that dictates that a maximum of 10% of the entire student body can come from the same country or group of countries.526 This quota was mainly introduced as a reaction to the fear that the Russians were ‘taking over’ the school.527

These historical examples would suggest a more nuanced reading of the discourse concerning the rise of a global old boy’s network. At least, it highlights that this is by no means a straightforward and unproblematic process. From the perspective of the school’s management groups, they are performing a balancing act between attracting new streams of pupils from rising economies and keeping the families that they have had long ties with content. The influx of pupils from Russia and China at the English public schools during the last decade has not therefore been seen as a positive development by all. Even at the Swedish boarding schools, which are arguably on the outskirts of the global field of elite boarding schools when it comes to prestige, there is a clear narrative – bordering on Xenophobic – about the Russians and the Chinese taking over the schools.528 By and large the elite boarding schools take the position of ‘transnational nationalists’ – where the emphasis lies on the national. In many instances the international elements – sport competitions with schools from other countries or doing humanitarian work in impoverished countries – never goes beyond being a minor aspect or even a ‘flirtation’ with the cosmopolitan way of life.

The national paradigm thus remains strong. This is perhaps most evident in the fact that a truly international curriculum, like the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme (IBDP), is not given at any of the most elite boarding schools in England or the United States. At Lundsberg, the IBDP was awarded in the 1990s, but has since been removed from the curriculum. This does not, however, mean that schools like Eton, Groton, Mayo, Geelong, and Lundsberg do not educate a disproportionately large number of pupils that would later be part of the so-called Transnational Capitalist Class. However, these new ‘global’ elites are largely nationally and locally constructed.

There is in particular one logistical element in the elite boarding schools that makes the appearance of global Old Boys Networks difficult to sustain – the autonomy of the boarding houses. Dividing the student-body into smaller and more controllable units was, as we have seen, a way to maintain order and discipline within the schools. The consequence of having small independent units – boarding houses – is that pupil loyalty lies as much with their boarding house – if not more – as with the school itself. The differences between boarding houses at the same school can also be extensive. When fagging began to be officially abandoned at Eton in the 1970s, for example, it did not affect all the boarding houses at once, with some boarding houses keeping the fagging system until the 1980s. However, and most importantly, when the ‘old school ties’ are described in the autobiographical material from former boarding school pupils in diverse countries, it is clear that the durable ‘ties’ are not to the school in general but to those pupils they had a close relationship with in their boarding house. The Bourdieusian definition of ‘social capital’ is ‘social relationships which will provide, if necessary, useful support’.\(^{529}\) In the autobiographical material a reoccurring description of this ‘social capital’ is the ‘first one I would call – day or night – if ever I were in trouble’.\(^{530}\) This type of ‘prison call’ always refers to friends from their own boarding house. And in viewing the old school ties as a social contact, which will provide, if necessary, useful support, it is worth to ponder if this support will ever also extend to a ‘satellite school’ on the other side of the world.


\(^{530}\) This particular quote appears in Falck & Bernal, *Prinsarnas skola*. 
Conclusion: A Global Field of Elite Boarding Schools

Historical scholarship is often a product of, or at least influenced by, contemporary trends and debates. That is also the case with this study, which charts the global history of elite boarding schools. When the work on this thesis began, there was a plethora of reports in international newspaper about the global export of one of the most English of all English institutions – the English public school. These private secondary boarding schools, some with roots that could be traced back six hundred years but which were shaped largely during the Victorian period, were now opening ‘satellite schools’ in Hong Kong, Beijing, Dubai, Abu Dhabi, Bangkok, and other ‘global hubs’ throughout Asia and the Middle East.

When one thinks of the global diffusion of a school model, it is mostly the export of a typical approach to classroom teaching or a particular form of academic curriculum that come to mind. However, paradoxically enough, the aspects of the English public schools that were being exported to the Middle East and parts of Asia at the beginning of the twenty-first century were instead the character-building activities that took place outside of the classrooms – the playing of team sports and the delegation of power to the older pupils over the younger ones within each boarding house. These features have been the essence of the English tradition of leadership education. At the same time as the international newspapers were reporting the increasing presence of English public school replicas throughout Asia and the Middle East, the attention of the national newspapers of Sweden was concentrated on the trial of nine pupils from the boarding school Lundsberg, who were accused of taking their delegated power over the younger pupils a step too far – by burning a younger pupil with a scorching hot iron. The fact that Lundsberg is not a twenty-first century ‘satellite school’ of one of the prestigious English public schools, but was founded in 1896, raised the question
of how far back in history the global influence of the English public schools went; and if England and the elite English public schools really were at the centre of this globally interconnected history of elite boarding schools.

A Transnational History Since 1799

1799 by no means marked the beginning of the custom of removing a group of adolescents from their families and educating them together in residential facilities in order to create a new elite. However, the argument can be made that 1799 was the beginning of the globally interconnected history of elite boarding schools.

The boarding school in question – that was founded in 1799 – was not any of the ‘great’ public boarding schools of England; instead the boarding school that was to be the first global model was founded on the Hofwyl estate, near Bern in Switzerland. Hofwyl’s founder, the aristocratic Emanuel von Fellenberg challenged the classical curriculum of Greek and Latin and instead introduced practical elements like agricultural training, which has survived within the progressive strand of elite boarding schools up until present times. Even though Hofwyl also educated the children from the lower strata of society, they were separated into different school houses within the complex of schools that existed at Hofwyl. Even if Fellenberg’s ideas on how the future elite should be educated were in some sense ‘original’ ideas – that it was important that they understood the conditions of the working class and that they should be respected – Hofwyl was by and large a manifestation of the contemporary, widespread opinion that the future elites should be educated separately – and differently – from the rest of society.

What makes Hofwyl the starting point in the global history of elite boarding schools is, however, that it drew the attention of foreign observers and served as a source of inspiration in the creation of new elite boarding schools. The interest Hofwyl induced in the American schoolmen who would go on to found the so-called Church schools – Round Hill School and the Flushing Institute – would therefore leave a lasting Hofwyl-imprint on what was to become the American elite preparatory boarding schools, which became intimately associated with the WASP (White, Anglo-Saxon Protestant) establishment in the period between 1850 and 1945. Round Hill School and the
Flushing Institute, whose headmasters had visited Hofwyl, did not survive, but many of their ideas lived on when the elite American boarding schools rose to form a critical mass during the second half of the nineteenth century.

There were also close connections between the boarding school at Hofwyl and the social reformer Rowland Hill’s boarding school in Birmingham, Hazelwood School. Established in 1819, Hazelwood marks the first major attempt to reform the traditional English public schools. The Hill family’s educational experiment was, however, short-lived and Hazelwood had closed down by 1833. Even if its existence was brief, Hazelwood had introduced a large-scale attempt to introduce a pupil-run school ‘republic’, instead of the ‘oligarchical’ system of pupil self-government at the ‘traditional’ English public schools – where the power was allocated to a small group of senior pupils.

Hazelwood School also contributed to making the world of elite boarding schools more interconnected by serving as the model for the institutional ‘matriarch’ of the modern Swedish boarding schools – Hillska skolan, which was established in Stockholm in 1830 and named after Rowland Hill. This first ‘global moment’ in the history of elite boarding schools saw the spread of ideas between Switzerland, England, the United States of America, Germany, Denmark and Sweden. The interconnected history of Hofwyl, Round Hill School, Hazelwood, and Hillska skolan could therefore be labelled as the ‘rise’; or, the dress rehearsal for what was to be the ‘second wave’ of modern and progressive boarding schools, which reached a critical mass at the turn of the nineteenth century. However, before this ‘second wave’ of modern elite boarding schools, there was a change that has had the most lasting effect on the global field of elite boarding schools – the global diffusion of the English public school model, which took place during the second half of the nineteenth century. To some extent, this global diffusion of the English public school model is still underway at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

The English Public Schools as International Gold Standard

There were two main factors behind the spread of the English public school model during the second half of the nineteenth century. One consisted of what J. A. Mangan
has described as the ‘Imperial diffusion’, that is the setting up of English public school-style institutions throughout the British Empire. The second, less explored form was through imitations of the English public schools that were established as private ventures in sovereign nations such as Germany, France, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. It is, however, important to bear in mind that both the ‘Imperial diffusion’ and the ‘diffusions through imitation’ did not produce direct replicas of Winchester, Eton or Rugby, rather, these school had an English public school patina but underneath there were several original features derived from local conditions.

Although it is possible to speak of an English public school model during the second half of the nineteenth century – with its emphasis on character building, the role of team sports, religion, and a system of pupil self-government – there were naturally also differences between the schools. These differences were also mirrored in the ‘Imperial public schools’, which tended to adopt the traditions and rituals of the English public school that had educated the founder or first headmaster of the ‘Imperial public school’. These differences between the Imperial public schools should, however, not be overestimated. They were often superficial and manifested in the nomenclature – such as whether the older pupils who were in a position of power should be called ‘prefects’, ‘monitors’ or ‘praepostors’. The main function of these Imperial public schools was the same everywhere – to educate a local and regional elite in a Gramscian ‘cultural hegemony’ manner, so that they would be instilled with a sense of loyalty to the British Empire and its ideology, and by creating this class of ‘brown gentlemen’ the risk for local uprisings would be reduced.

The Imperial diffusion was, however, not really a ‘proper’ transnational diffusion of the English public school model, it was rather a ‘domestic’ phenomenon that took place within territories that were controlled by the British. Although there are still several areas of the Imperial diffusion of the English public schools that remain to be explored in scholarly research – for instance, by moving beyond the clear divide between centre and periphery – the work that has been done has contributed to our understanding of the mechanisms that are involved when an educational model is transplanted into another cultural context.
One aspect that is virtually unexplored is the relationship between the English public schools and elite boarding schools in other sovereign countries. Although the English public schools did not operate in ‘splendid isolation’ between 1400 and 1850, the second half of the nineteenth century did see the English public schools emerge as a global model beyond the Imperial holdings. In this process of ‘proper’ transnational diffusion of the English public school model, there are a number of aspects that are illuminating and which should be highlighted. Firstly, this type of ‘emulation diffusion’ is related to the contemporary rise of modern educational systems, which is usually placed in the period between 1870 and 1914. During this era the French Lycées and the German Gymnasiums had become global models of the state controlled secondary school.

The Lycées and the Gymnasiums were public and secular institutions that were meant to prepare pupils for the universities. During the same period (1970-1914), the English public schools became a global model for private secondary schools. The English public schools also prepared their pupils for the universities, but they charged high tuition fees and they were not secular but had a clear religious dimension, with compulsory daily chapel services. If the Lycées and Gymnasiums was devoted to the formation of the intellect, the English public school model paid as much attention – if not more – to developing the pupils physically and morally. There were, in other words, some clear discrepancies between the state-controlled secondary school model (Lycée/Gymnasium) and the private secondary school model (English public schools).

When, German, Swedish, and American educators and intellectuals, during the second half of the nineteenth century, wanted to criticise the state system of education, the English public schools were often invoked as a positive alternative. Given the fact that the British Empire was at its zenith during this time, referencing how the world’s most powerful Empire was educating its future leaders was a persuasive argument. In the United States, the elite boarding schools emerged during the second half of the nineteenth century as a criticism against the existing secondary schools – which were the so-called Academies and Grammar schools that had been founded during the colonial period. In France, intellectuals such as Frédéric Le Play, Hippolyte Taine, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, and Edmond Demolins all looked to the English public schools in their search for inspiration on how to educate a new elite during a period
that was marked by a sense of depression in the wake of the country's humiliating loss in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. For these French intellectuals of the second part of the nineteenth century, the English public schools fostered individuality, morality and character, while the French Lycées were too devoted to intellectual training. These differences between secondary education in France and England were, according the Le Play, Taine, Coubertin, and Demolins, the reason behind the contemporary superiority of the Anglo-Saxons.

In Germany, at the turn of the nineteenth century, theologian and educator Hermann Lietz also looked to England for inspiration when he tried to create a new form of secondary schools, which were meant to be diametrically different from the German Gymnasium. During the first decades of the twentieth century, Lietz established a number of country boarding schools – *Landerziehungsheim* – throughout Germany. And in Sweden, the Swedish-British William Olsson founded the English public school-inspired boarding school Lundsberg in 1896, which was meant to serve as an alternative to the German Gymnasium-inspired, state controlled, Swedish secondary schools called the Läroverk.

The English public school-inspired schools that were founded in the United States, Sweden, France, and Germany, during the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century, were often based on first-hand experiences through visits to Winchester, Eton, Harrow, et al. However, one cannot underestimate the 'soft power' function the global success of Thomas Hughes' novel *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857) had in the global diffusion of the English public school ethos. Thomas Hughes' novel resembles a classical origin myth. It tells the story of how the modern English public school system was created at Rugby school by headmaster Thomas Arnold during the first half of the nineteenth century. The protagonist Tom's adventures at Rugby school capture the main features of the modern English public schools; the importance of a benign yet oligarchical system of pupil self-government; the idea of 'muscular Christianity', that character is built through team sports and chapel service; and that the years spent at boarding schools might be tough at times, but the journey through the many trials of the boarding school are able to transform a wicked boy into a manly Christian gentlemen.
Although there are discrepancies between Thomas Hughes’ description of Thomas Arnold and Rugby school and Thomas Arnold’s own thoughts – Hughes was, for example, more positive towards sports than Arnold was – is was primarily Hughes’ views – as they were portrayed in *Tom Brown’s Schooldays* – that spread to Germany, France, Sweden, USA, and the rest of the world.

The ‘traditional’ English public schools’ position as the international gold standard for elite boarding schools was, however, challenged already at the turn of the nineteenth century. Hermann Lietz in Germany, Edmond Demolins in France – who founded the boarding school École des Roches in 1899 – and to some extent also the founder and first headmasters of Lundsberg in Sweden, were no longer looking solely to the traditional English public schools for inspiration. These turn of the nineteenth century boarding school founders also drew their inspiration from the more progressive and modern English public schools – Abbotsholme and Bedales – which had been founded during the last decade of the nineteenth century.

**Second Wave Modern Elite Boarding Schools**

The institutional genesis of the ‘second wave’ of modern elite boarding schools can be traced to 1889, when Cecil Reddie founded Abbotsholme School in the town of Rocester in Staffordshire, England. Abbotsholme was soon followed by Bedales School, which was established in 1893 by the former Abbotsholme master John Haden Badley. Although the institutional genesis of the ‘second wave’ was in England, the ideas came from a creative cross-fertilization between Germany and England. In particular, these connections were derived from Cecil Reddie’s personal ties to Germany, where he did his doctorate in chemistry. During the formative period of Abbotsholme Reddie visited the University of Leipzig Laboratory School, which was directed by the prominent German educational theorist Wilhelm Rein. At the Laboratory School in Leipzig Reddie became friends with Hermann Leitz, who worked at the school, and Lietz would join Reddie at Abbotsholme as a teacher. Upon his return to Germany, Lietz begun to establish his system of country boarding schools – the Landerziehungshaim. In France, the intellectuals that spoke warmly about the English public schools had regarded Thomas Arnold and Rugby school as the main model to emulate. However, when Edmond Demolins founded his elite boarding
schools in 1899, the main prototypes were not Rugby or Eton, but the progressive Abbotsholme, Bedales, and Herman Lietz’s schools.

Two things are important to note in this apparent shift of ‘model institutions’ from the traditional English public schools – Winchester, Eton, Harrow, and Rugby – to the modern boarding schools. Firstly, although schools like Abbotsholme and Bedales were a part of the so-called New School, or, New Education movement, they also regarded themselves as a part of the classical English public school tradition. J. H. Badley, for example, describes what he was doing at Bedales ‘as a modification of our Public School system, an attempt to keep what is best in the great tradition while enlarging its scope’. Although these schools are often labelled as ‘progressives’, they were foremost progressive in that they proposed reforms of the traditional public schools system. They were not socially progressive, rather ‘progressive elitists’ in that they introduced new ways to best educate the future elite. The second aspect is that the second wave modern public schools opened up the so-called English tradition of education to influences from other countries on a scale that was previously unseen. The thoughts of Italian Maria Montessori, the Swizz Pestalozzi and Fellenberg, the German Fröbel, and the Americans John Dewey and Helen Parkhurst was now integrated within the English public schools. Even when it came to sports – with team sports like cricket and rowing being a trademark of the schools – German and Swedish types of Gymnastics were introduced at the English public schools.

In the ‘traditional’ English public schools there was a constant modernisation process that is evident in the books and articles written by headmasters and masters from the beginning of the nineteenth century and onwards. This modernisation process was, however, overshadowed by a steady stream of new and even more radically progressive independent boarding schools – Summerhill (1924), Dartington (1925), Frensham Heights (1925), Beacon Hill (1925), Bryanston (1925) – from the end of World War I and up until the 1960s. With these progressive boarding school already filling the niche of demarcating themselves within the field of elite boarding schools by being radically progressive, the traditional English public schools had to uphold that which separated them from the new schools: their commitment to traditions and the status quo. This position is, for example, illustrated in a speech that Eton headmaster Claude Elliot gave in 1934 in which he described his Eton as ‘one of the last strongholds of
educational conservatism in these islands’. Following World War II, the conservative and progressive strands of elite boarding schools would, however, move closer to one another and it could be argued that a new and globally standardised ‘composite’ elite boarding school model emerged, which combined and balanced traditional and progressive ideas.

The Composite Boarding Schools

One of the main architects behind the composite elite boarding school was the German-born educationalist Kurt Hahn. Although Hahn had some original ideas on education of his own he was foremost a first rate synthesiser. In his boarding schools at Schloss Salem by Lake Constance in Germany (est. 1920) and Gordonstoun (est.1934) in the most northern part of Scotland, Hahn combined the ideas of the traditional English public schools and the modern boarding school movement of Reddie, Badley, and Lietz. Above all, Hahn’s boarding schools were a synthesis between the progressive and conservative steam of elite boarding schools, permeated with the ideas of Plato, in particular his writings on education and leadership in The Republic. The thinking of Kurt Hahn, naturally enough, changes over time but there was, however, one conviction that was persistent – the key role educational institutions played in the formation of an elite. Hahn’s school in Salem had been an attempt to create a new German elite, since Hahn was convinced that Germany had lost World War I because of its decadent elite class.

When the National Socialists rose to power in 1933 they shared Hahn’s vision of creating a new elite rural boarding school; they did not, however, share his view of how pupils should be educated. The National Socialist party thereby began establishing their own system of elite boarding schools called Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalten (NPEA), these schools had a substantial exchange – pupils, teachers, and joint sport competitions – with the English public school right up to the start of World War II. The global trauma that was World War II caused Kurt Hahn to reconfigure his ideas on the education of elites. What was needed in the postwar period was not a new German elite, but a new type of global elite that would function as an antidote to a third World War. The secondary boarding schools called United World Colleges, which were established throughout the world from the 1960s and
onwards – were the institutional manifestation of this idea. The Round Square organisation (est.1966), which brought secondary schools that shared Hahn’s vision on education together, marked another key step in the further integration of a global field of elite boarding schools that all shared a more cosmopolitan ethos. It is, however, important to bear in mind that there is a conservative element built into this movement, even though it might, at first glance, seem cosmopolitan and socially inclusive. It is rooted in the idea that these schools educated the future elite – or what Plato, and therefore also Hahn, calls the ‘Guardians’.

The raison d'être of these schools is the training of new guardians, which has also been the articulated core assignment of the English public schools for, at least, the past two hundred years. The criticisms of the elite boarding schools from an egalitarian perspective rose in the pre-war period and were the most vocal during the 1960s, with Social Democratic governments in countries such as Australia, Sweden and the United Kingdoms. These criticisms prompted a number of state commissioned reports on how independent boarding schools could become more integrated into the state system and less socially exclusive. The reports were, however, quietly shelved and the recommendations, such as opening up the boarding schools to pupils from other socio-economic backgrounds, were never fully implemented. If anything, the egalitarian reforms of the Swedish Social Democratic government and the Labour Party in the UK that were introduced during the 1960s and 1970s primarily closed down the academically selective educational trajectories – Direct Grant Schools in the UK and the Lärverken in Sweden – while the socially and economically selective boarding schools were left without a dent.

Parvenus as the Constant Engine of the Elite Boarding School Machinery

Even though the so-called ‘great English public schools’ were founded between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, it was during the nineteenth century that they attained some of the features that they are now most closely associated with: team sports and a strong conviction in the advantages of pupil self-government. It is also during the second half of the nineteenth century that we see a numerical rise of English public schools, and also a rise in the number of pupils within each school. During this period, the English public school became the stage where the arriviste met
the aristocrat and thereby where their social worlds intertwined. It was, however, the arrivistes that were behind the expansion of English public schools.

In the United States, there was a contemporary and similar process of new and old elites mixing at rural independent boarding schools and Porter Edward Sargent (1872-1951), the well-respected contemporaneous educational critic, marks the starting point of this process to the 1856 founding of St. Paul’s School in Concord, New Hampshire. Sargent did not hesitate on the roots of this phenomenon. In his *A Handbook of the Best Private Schools* (1915) Sargent writes that St. Paul’s school ‘marked a new trend in education in America. The economic development of the country and the great increase in wealth had created a place for a new type of private school which should meet more nearly the requirements of a growing wealthy class who no longer wished for their sons the old type of democratic schooling’. At St. Paul’s School – and St. Mark’s School, Groton School, and others that followed – the sons of the ‘old’ elites of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia met the sons of the so-called ‘robber barons’, who had made their fortunes in boom-industries such as railway, steel, and finance. Those who most eagerly sent their sons to these newly established boarding schools – and donated hefty sums for the building of churches, libraries, and athletic facilities at their campuses – were the people with newly accumulated fortunes.

This fusion of children from ‘old’ and ‘new’ money at rural independent boarding schools during the ‘gilded ages’ also took place in countries such as France, Sweden, and Switzerland – with a time lag that mirrored the industrial development of each country. At the French École des Roches the children from aristocratic families such as d’Arenberg, de Broglie, Corbin de Mangoux, de Coubertin, d’Harcourt, de Habsbourg, de Lesseps, de la Tour d’Auvergne, de Montalembert, de la Panouse, de Polignac, Oberkampf de Dabrun, d’Orleans, D’Ormesson, de Rochambeau, Rocher, and Rothschild were educated together with the children of economic haute bourgeoisie families such as Bauche, Bollore, Bongrain, Breguet, Henessy, Hersant, Japy, Martel, Michelin, Panhard, Peugeot, Roussel, Schlumberger, and Taittinger. In Sweden, members of the nobility and those from haute bourgeoisie families had already started to intermarry before the ascent of independent boarding during the first three decades of the twentieth century. These Swedish boarding schools did therefore function as an
institutional manifestation of a social fusion that had already begun. However, by looking at marriage patterns, it is evident that the Swedish boarding schools also functioned as a catalyst that sped up and consolidated the fusion of the nobility and haute bourgeoisie, which created a new, socially integrated, upper class.

If the American, English, French, and Swedish boarding schools foremost played a role in the creation of national elites during the period 1850-1945 (although there was an imperial elite-dimension in the English case), the Swiss boarding schools catered to an international social elite. The Institut le Rosey brought the sons of exiled royal houses (Iran, Egypt, Yugoslavia, and the Imam of the Ismailis) together with the sons of international businessmen, and some of the most prominent noble houses of ‘old’ Europe (Hohenlohe, Metternich, Borghese, and Radziwill). The Institut le Rosey serves as an illuminating example of the argument that the elite boarding schools are sustained by the influx of the parvenus. The pupil register of Le Rosey can therefore be used to detect where new fortunes are being accumulated around the globe at different time periods.

Given the examples from France, Sweden, Switzerland, and the USA, the role of independent boarding schools in the fusion of ‘old’ and ‘new’ money during the second half of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century needs to be writ larger. This was, in other words, not just an English phenomenon. Rather, it was a phenomenon with a clear transnational dimension. It is also important to note that sending one’s son to a respected independent boarding school was just one way the parvenus tried to make new money old. One common denominator in these attempts to buy respectability was to try to associate oneself with institutions, buildings, and a way of life that had a long and illustrious history. Having one’s son educated at a prominent boarding school meant that the whole family was now connected with the long history of that school and all the prominent men that had been educated there were now interwoven within the often less prestigious family history of the parvenus.

The first generation of new money also bought the old castles or manor houses that had once belonged to the nobility, or built grand, new houses in an anachronistic ‘old’ style. Of course, marrying into a family with ‘old’ money was still a well-trodden path
to respectability. Although it is hard to gauge exactly how important spending one’s childhood at an elite boarding school was for gaining entrance to the narrow world of the social elite, two things can be noted with more certainty. First, being at a respected elite boarding school was a very common and regulated prerequisite for admission into the inner world of the social elite – most notably into the ‘dinner clubs’ at the universities (such as the Porcelain Club at Harvard and the Bullingdon Club at Oxford) and the Gentlemen’s Clubs of the cities, which only admitted former elite boarding school pupils. Being a member of this social world would naturally facilitate both business and marriage proposals with established members of this social world. Second, is the seemingly contradictory fact that receiving one’s secondary education at a prestigious boarding school did not automatically lead to acceptance into the social elite.

In the autobiographical material from former boarding school pupils from diverse countries and time periods – stretching from the 1850s to the present day – being an ‘outsider on the inside’ is a recurring theme. The reasons for not being, or feeling, fully accepted ranged from having the wrong ethnic or religious background to being *nouveau riche* or being a day pupil at a boarding school. Nevertheless, this has not stopped the parvenu from attempting to try to gain entrance to the world of the social elite through the elite boarding schools.

If the first expansion of the elite boarding schools was connected to the ‘gilded age’, that is, the great increase in wealth for a small portion of society that occurred towards the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, we are now at the beginning of the twenty-first century witnessing a new expansion, and this time it is again arguably connected to what some researchers have called ‘the second gilded age’. If the end of the nineteenth century saw the rise of new large fortunes in many parts of the Western world, the end of the twentieth century has seen a similar rise in parts of Asia and the Middle East, as well as in Russia. Again, at least on the surface, it is the ‘traditional’ English public school model that is now serving as prototype. Since the end of the 1990s, English public schools like Dulwich, Harrow, Marlborough, Repton and Brighton have been establishing ‘satellite schools’ throughout Asia and the Middle East, and prominent business leaders in Japan and Jordan are trying to establish their own versions of an English public school or
American preparatory boarding school. The language and intention is more direct now during the second gilded age than it was during the first gilded age, indeed, these schools articulate that they are trying to tap into an emerging educational market. Both the ‘satellite schools’ and the parents that send their children there are trying to associate themselves with the long and proud history of the English public schools.

Even though this process is still its early stages, a discourse has emerged that these schools will produce a global network of ‘old boys’, where the former pupils of, for example, Harrow in London, Bangkok, and Shanghai would use their transnational social connections as they emerge as a ‘transnational capitalist class’. However, an elite boarding school education did not mean a sure ticket into the world of the social elite at the beginning of the twentieth century, and it does not do so at the beginning of the twenty-first century either. One of the key institutional and socialising features of the elite boarding schools – which goes back to the beginning of the nineteenth century – is the autonomy of each boarding house, and in the autobiographical testimonies of former boarding school pupils it is evident that it is with their fellow boarding house pupils that they feel the strongest ties. If we view social networks as a resource – in the Bourdieusian sense of ‘social capital’ – which will provide useful support, only time will tell if this support will extend from, for example, the Park boarding house at Harrow in London to Kong Zi House at Harrow in Beijing, China. From a historically informed perspective, many signs suggest that the new global elites will continue to be constructed first and foremost at the national and local level.
Appendix: Prominent Families at Lundsberg, Sigtunaskolan, or Stigtunastiftelsens Humanistiska Läroverk (SHL)

Economic Haute Bourgeoisie Families (a selection)

Amelin (sausage industry; *abba*)
2 Lundsberg, 2 Sigtunaskolan

Ax:son Johnson (industry and shipping, *Johnsonkoncernen*)
2 Sigtunaskolan

Barkman (Barkman & Co)
13 Lundsberg

Behrn, with descendants Görtz and Stiernstedt (real estate in Örebro and other cities)
8 Lundsberg

Bernström (*Göteborgs bank, Separator*, Näsby and other estates)
11 Lundsberg, 1 Sigtunaskolan

Biesèrt (foundry proprietor; *Lennartsfors bruk*)
6 Lundsberg

Bolinder (*Bolinder-Munktell*)
2 Lundsberg, 2 Sigtunaskolan

Bonnier (*Bonnierkoncernen*)
4 Lundsberg, 1 SHL, 3 Sigtunaskolan

Bratt (Gothenburg-family, confirming house)
12 Lundsberg, 7 Sigtunaskolan
Broström (Gothenburg-family, shipyard and shipping, Broström-koncernen)
11 Lundsberg, 1 Sigtunaskolan

Carlander (Gothenburg-family, skf, Gamlestadens Fabriker)
5 Lundsberg, 1 shl, 6 Sigtunaskolan

De Verdier (foundry proprietor; Gustafsors bruk)
8 Lundsberg

Dieden (Malmö-family, confirming house, Karlslund castle and Broby castle)
7 Lundsberg

Dickson (Gothenburg-family, confirming house James Dickson & Co, Tjolöholm castle and other smaller estates)
8 Lundsberg, 3 Sigtunaskolan

Ekman (Gothenburg-family, confirming house Ekman & Co, Bjärka-Säby castle, Stavsäter estate, Årnäs estate and other smaller estates)
9 Lundsberg, 6 shl

Edstrand (Bröderna Edstrand AB, Skånska Banken)
4 Lundsberg, 1 shl, 4 Sigtunaskolan

Ericsson (AB Facit)
1 shl, 1 Sigtunaskolan

Fengen-Krog (foundry proprietor, Fengersfors bruk)
6 Lundsberg

Gibson (Gothenburg-family, Jonsereds Fabrikers AB)
4 Lundsberg, 1 Sigtunaskolan

Descendants of the Hallwyl family; von Eckermann, von Geijer and other families (forest industry)
11 Lundsberg, 4 Sigtunaskolan

Hedberg (wood industry; Köpmanholmen)
4 shl
Herlenius (foundry proprietor; Uddeholm)
7 Lundsberg

Herslow (Malmö-family; Skandinaviska Banken)
6 Lundsberg, 1 SHL

Keiller (Shipbuldning; Götaverken)
2 Lundsberg, 1 SHL

Kempe (forest industry; Mo & Domsjö)
2 Lundsberg, 3 SHL, 1 Sigtunaskolan

Kjellberg (Gothenburg-family, confirming house)
11 Lundsberg, 11 Sigtunaskolan

Kockum (Malmö-family, shipyard, iron-industry)
3 Lundsberg, 2 Sigtunaskolan

Kreuger (matches, real-estate)
1 Sigtunaskolan

Lithander (Gothenburg-family, confirming house, textile industry)
7 Lundsberg

Löfberg (Coffee; Löfbergs Lila)
4 Lundsberg

Magnuson (foundry proprietor; Sandviken)
12 Lundsberg

Malmros (shipyard, finance, Trelleborgs Ångfartygs Nya AB, Skånska Banken)
5 Sigtunaskolan, 1 SHL

Mark (Gothenburg-family, skf and Gamlestadens Fabriker)
10 Lundsberg, 1 SHL

Nisser (foundry proprietors; pulp, Grycksbo)
9 Lundsberg
Nobel (arms manufacturing; Bofors)  
3 Lundsberg

Olsson (Helsingborg-family, confirming house, brick industry, Ramlösa brunn, Rögle castle)  
6 Lundsberg, 2 Sigtunaskolan

Palme (Inteckningsbanken, Skandia)  
5 Sigtunaskolan, 2 SHL

Påhlson; together with the families Påhlson-Möller and Horn af Åminne (foundry proprietors; Rottners bruk)  
13 Lundsberg

Roos (Banking; Skånska Banken)  
2 SHL

Sachs (department stores; nordisk kompaniet)  
2 Lundsberg

Setterwall (finance; Carl Setterwall & Co)  
2 Lundsberg

Spendrup (brewery; Spendrups Bryggeri AB)  
1 SHL

Söderberg (finance; Ratos)  
1 Lundsberg, 1 Sigtunaskolan

Throne-Holst (chocolate; Freia and Marabou)  
3 Lundsberg, 1 Sigtunaskolan

Thordén (Gothenburg-family, shipping)  
4 Lundsberg

Unander-Scharin (forest industry, AB Scharin & Söner)  
3 Lundsberg, 3 SHL
Waern (Gothenburg-family, confirming house, foundry proprietors; *Billingsfors bruk*)
3 Lundsberg

Wahlgren (newspaper; *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*)
3 Sigtunaskolan

Wallenberg (finance and banking; *Wallenbergstiftelserna, Investor, SEB*)
3 Lundsberg, 6 Sigtunaskolan

Wehtje (concrete; *Skånska Cemengiuteriet AB*. Ellinge castle and Rydsgård Manor House)
19 Lundsberg, 2 shl, 1 Sigtunaskolan

Versteegh (forest industry; *Graningeverken*)
1 Lundsberg

Wijk (Gothenburg-family, confirming house; *Olof Wijk & Co*)
3 Lundsberg

Wingårdh (confirming house, concrete industry; *Gullhögens bruk*)
4 Lundsberg

Royal, County, Baronial, Untitled Nobility, and Unintroduced Nobility Families
(limited to families with at least three family members at one of the above-mentioned boarding schools)

Adelswärd (baronial family; Adelnäs castle)
4 Lundsberg, 2 SHL

Aminoff (untitled nobility)
4 Lundsberg, 1 SHL

Ankarcrona (untitled nobility; godsen Boserup och Runsa)
8 Lundsberg, 8 Sigtunaskolan

von Bahr (untitled nobility)
1 Lundsberg, 4 Sigtunaskolan
Barneow (untitled nobility; Sinclairsholm, Åraslöv, and other smaller estates)
10 Lundsberg, 1 Sigtunaskolan

Beck-Friis (baronial family; Börringekloster, Harg, and other smaller estates)
10 Lundsberg, 1 SHL, 5 Sigtunaskolan

Belfrage (untitled nobility)
2 Lundsberg, 2 Sigtunaskolan

Bennet (baronial family; Rosendal, Örtofta, and other smaller estates)
12 Lundsberg, 1 SHL, 2 Sigtunaskolan

Berg von Linde (untitled nobility)
7 Lundsberg, 1 SHL, 1 Sigtunaskolan

Bergengren (untitled nobility, textile industry; Borås Wäfveri AB. Ekenäs castle, Hjularöd castle, and other smaller estates)
2 Lundsberg, 7 Sigtunaskolan

Bernadotte/Bernadotte af Wisborg (royal family who married non-nobles, thereby given the title counts of Wisborg)
9 Lundsberg, 2 shl, 3 Sigtunaskolan

Bielke (countly family, Sturefors castle)
7 Lundsberg, 1 Sigtunaskolan

Bildt (untitled nobility)
3 Lundsberg, 3 Sigtunaskolan

von Blixen-Finecke (baronial family, Näsbyholm castle)
7 Lundsberg, 1 Sigtunaskolan

Bonde (baronial family, Ericsberg castle)
5 Sigtunaskolan

Bonde af Björnö och Trolle-Bonde (countly family, Bösjökloster castle, Hörningsholm castle, Trolleholm castle)
27 Lundsberg, 3 shl, 6 Sigtunaskolan
Braunerhielm (untitled nobility, Sandemar manor house)
1 Lundsberg, 4 Sigtunaskolan

Cederström (countly family)
12 Lundsberg, 3 Sigtunaskolan

Crafoord (untitled nobility)
2 Lundsberg, 4 Sigtunaskolan

Cronstedt (countly family, Fullerö castle and other smaller estates)
5 Lundsberg, 2 SHL, 6 Sigtunaskolan

De Geer af Finspång (baronial family, Hanaskog castle, 
*Lesjöfors bruk*)
14 Lundsberg, 1 Sigtunaskolan

De Geer af Leufsta (countly family, *Leufsta bruk*, 
Stora Wäsbry castle and other smaller estates)
1 Lundsberg, 5 Sigtunaskolan

Douglas (countly family, finance; *Wasatornet, Latour*, 
Securitas. Ekensholm castle, Rydboholm castle, Stjärnorp castle, 
and other smaller estates)
4 Lundsberg, 1 shl, 2 Sigtunaskolan

von Eckermann (unintroduced nobility, Södertuna estate 
and other smaller estates)
4 Sigtunaskolan

Ehrensvärd (countly family; Tosterup Manor House)
3 Lundsberg, 1 Sigtunaskolan

af Ekenstam (untitled nobility)
4 Lundsberg

von der Esch (unintroduced nobility)
6 Lundsberg

von Essen (baronial family; Kavlås Castle, Rydboholm Castle, 
Salsta Castle, Skokloster Castle, and other Manor Houses’)
21 Lundsberg, 6 SHL, 5 Sigtunaskolan
Falkenberg af Bålby (countly family; Brokind Manor House and other smaller estates m.fl. gods)
2 Lundsberg, 3 SHL

Falkenberg af Trystorp (baronial family, Lagmansö castle and other smaller estates)
4, Lundsberg, 3 SHL

Flach (untitled nobility)
6 Lundsberg

af Geijerstam (untitled nobility)
3 Lundsberg, 1 Sigtunaskolan

Gripenstedt (untitled nobility, Bystad Manor House and
Brevens bruk)
1 Lundsberg, 4 Sigtunaskolan

Grönhagen (untitled nobility)
3 Lundsberg, 1 SHL

Gyllenswärd (untitled nobility)
4 Lundsberg, 1 Sigtunaskolan

Hamilton (countly family; Barsebäck castle, Hedensberg castle, Ovesholm castle, and other smaller estates)
22 Lundsberg, 1 shl, 5 Sigtunaskolan

Hamilton af Hageby (baronial family; Boo Manor House)
7 Lundsberg, 8 Sigtunaskolan

Hermelin (baronial family; Gripenberg castle, and other smaller estates)
2 Lundsberg, 4 SHL

von Hofsten (untitled nobility)
3 Lundsberg, 1 SHL

von Horn (unintroduced nobility, co-founders of,
Investment AB Kinnevik)
5 Lundsberg, 1 SHL, 1 Sigtunaskolan
Horn af Åminne (countly family)  
9 Lundsberg, 4 SHL

Ihre (untitled nobility)  
6 Lundsberg, 1 Sigtunaskolan

af Jochnick (untitled nobility; finance)  
5 Lundsberg, 2 Sigtunaskolan

Kalling (countly family, Myrö castle, and other smaller estates)  
3 Lundsberg, 1 Sigtunaskolan

von Kantzow (baronial family, industry; Bulten-Kanthal, Ramnäs bruk, Facit)  
3 Lundsberg, 1 shl, 2 Sigtunaskolan

Klingspor (baronial family, co-founders of Investment AB Kinnevik, Hellekis castle, Stora Sundby castle, and other smaller estates)  
16 Lundsberg, 1 shl, 4 Sigtunaskolan

Koskull (baronial family; Engaholm estate)  
8 Lundsberg

Kuylenstierna (untitled nobility, Sperlingsholm castle, and other smaller estates)  
12 Lundsberg, 2 SHL

König (untitled nobility)  
1 Lundsberg, 3 Sigtunaskolan

Lagercrantz (untitled nobility)  
6 Lundsberg, 2 shl, 2 Sigtunaskolan

Langenskiöld (untitled nobility in Sweden/baronial family in Finland, finance)  
2 Lundsberg, 6 Sigtunaskolan

Leijonhuvud (baronial family; Gökholm castle, and other smaller estates)  
6 Lundsberg, 2 SHL, 2 Sigtunaskolan

Leuhusen (baronial family)  
3 Lundsberg, 3, SHL, 2 Sigtunaskolan
Lewenhaupt (countly family; Claestorp castle, Geddeholm castle, and other smaller estates)
9 Lundsberg, 5 Sigtunaskolan

Lilliehöök af Fårdala (untitled nobility)
3 Lundsberg, 4 Sigtunaskolan

Lilliehöök af Gälared och Kolbäck (untitled nobility)
6 Lundsberg, 3 Sigtunaskolan

Mörner af Morlanda (countly family; Björksund castle, Esplunda castle, Sonstorp castle, Thorönsborg estate and other smaller estates)
19 Lundsberg, 2 SHL, 4 Sigtunaskolan

von Otter (baronial family; Västanå castle)
2 Lundsberg, 1 SHL, 2 Sigtunaskolan

Palmstierna (baronial family; Maltesholm castle and Skenäs castle)
6 Lundsberg, 3 SHL

af Petersens (untitled nobility; Erstavik castle, and other smaller estates)
9 Lundsberg, 1 Sigtunaskolan

Peyron (baronial family)
2 Lundsberg, 1 SHL, 2 Sigtunaskolan

Piper (countly family; Engsö castle, Kristinehov castle, Krageholm castle, and other smaller estates)
12 Lundsberg, 1 SHL

Posse (countly family Bergkvara castle, Stora Dala manor house, Vreten Manor House, and other smaller estates)
5 Lundsberg, 2 Sigtunaskolan

von Post (untitled nobility; Rockelstad castle)
3 Lundsberg, 1 Sigtunaskolan

Ramel (baronial family; Övedskloster castle, and other smaller estates)
11 Lundsberg, 5 SHL
Rappe (baronial family; Strömsrum estate, and other smaller estates)
4 Lundsberg, 1 SHL, 2 Sigtunaskolan

Rehbinder (baronial family)
1 Lundsberg, 5 Sigtunaskolan

Reuterskiöld (untitled nobility)
4 Lundsberg, 2 SHL, 3 Sigtunaskolan

Reuterswärd (untitled nobility)
3 Lundsberg, 5 SHL, 6 Sigtunaskolan

von Rosen (countly family; Rockelstad castle, Örbyhus castle, and other smaller estates)
11 Lundsberg, 3 SHL, 1 Sigtunaskolan

Rosenblad (untitled nobility)
4 Lundsberg, 1 SHL

von Roth (unintroduced nobility)
4 Lundsberg

Rudbeck (baronial family)
3 Lundsberg, 1 Sigtunaskolan

von Schinkel (untitled nobility; Tidö castle)
5 Lundsberg, 2 SHL, 1 Sigtunaskolan

von Schwerin (baronial family; Skarhult castle, and other smaller estates)
8 Lundsberg

von Seth (countly family; Bratteborg castle)
2 Lundsberg, 3 Sigtunaskolan

Silfverschiöld (baronial family, Köberg castle, Gåsevadholms castle, and other smaller estates)
7 Lundsberg

Sparre af Söfdeborg (countly family)
6 Lundsberg
Stackelberg (countly family; Stensnäs castle)
3 Lundsberg, 2 Sigtunaskolan

Staël von Holstein (untitled nobility; Vapnö castle)
9 Lundsberg

Stjernswärd (untitled nobility; Sövdeborg castle, Vittekövle castle,
And other smaller estates)
8 Lundsberg

von Stockenström (untitled nobility; Berga manor house,
Ånhammar manor house)
5 Lundsberg, 3 Sigtunaskolan

Tamm (baronial family)
18 Lundsberg, 1 SHL, 4 Sigtunaskolan

Tersmeden (untitled nobility)
4 Lundsberg, 2 SHL, 1 Sigtunaskolan

Tham (untitled nobility; Häckeberga castle)
25 Lundsberg, 1 SHL, 1 Sigtunaskolan

Thott (countly family; Skatarsjö castle)
3 Lundsberg, 6 Sigtunaskolan

Tornärhielm (untitled nobility, Wrams-Gunnarstorp castle,
And other smaller estates)
2 Lundsberg, 6 Sigtunaskolan

Treschow (unintroduced nobility; Danish-Norwegian-Swedish industrial and
landowning-family; Hjuleby castle, Karsholm castle)
15 Lundsberg, 1 Sigtunaskolan

Trolle (untitled nobility, Kulla Gunnarstorp castle,
Trolleöns castle)
10 Lundsberg, 1 Sigtunaskolan

Uggla (untitled nobility)
2 Lundsberg, 2 SHL, 3 Sigtunaskolan
af Ugglas (baronial family)
4 Lundsberg, 3 SHL

Wachtmeister af Johannishus och Trolle-Wachtmeister
(county family; Johannishus castle, Knutstorp castle, Tistad castle,
Trolle-Ljungby castle, Wanås castle, and other estates)
53 Lundsberg, 2 SHL, 14 Sigtunaskolan

von Warnstedt and Wernstedt (untitled nobility)
4 Lundsberg, 1 SHL

Wrede af Elimä (baronial family)
4 Lundsberg

Åkerhielm af Blombacka (baronial family)
4 Lundsberg

Åkerhielm af Margrethelund (baronial family)
2 Lundsberg, 6 Sigtunaskolan
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