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**THE USE OF CHRISTIAN IMAGERY BY THE NATIONAL SOCIETY
OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
MATERIALS FROM 1884 UNTIL THE EARLY TWENTIETH
CENTURY**

BY

VIVIEN SHEENA HORNBY NORTHCOTE

IDC, BA (HONS), MA

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DECLARATION

I declare that the material in my MA Thesis, University of Warwick, 1996 has been the basis on which the decision to pursue this research was made. Some reference to this material has been made in this thesis and full references to this are given in the text and in the chapter references and bibliography. I also declare that some of this material was presented at a seminar at the Institute of Education, University of Warwick in 2001. I further declare that some of my ideas contained in the Conclusion to this thesis were discussed in two articles for *The Guardian* in 2000 and *Priests and People* in 2002. These are fully acknowledged as above.

SUMMARY

This thesis examines the work of the National Society of the Church of England in Religious Education, with particular reference to the use of illustrated material in Religious Education textbooks and pupils' books at the end of the nineteenth century. It begins with an outline of the National Society's early development and the start of its publishing house, The Depository, in 1845. It then looks at some aspects of teacher training, curricula for Religious Education and the importance attached by the National Society to the moral and Christian training of teachers who later taught in Board Schools as well as Church of England schools. The thesis briefly discusses the reasons for the National Society's publications in the light of contemporary Victorian ideas and then considers in detail the following publications: *The Life of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, *The Childhood of Christ*, *The Ministry of Christ*, *The Passion of Christ* and *The Resurrection of Christ*, the first of these being written by F.T. Palgrave and the others by an unknown author 'R.E.H.', all being illustrated with twenty-four chromolithographs of Italian Renaissance Christian paintings dating from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. Later materials, produced by the National Society and other publishers are then examined, in order to demonstrate the significance of *The Life* and *The Stories*. In revealing this part of educational history the thesis demonstrates that these publications were precursors for modern textbooks. The thesis concludes that the National Society published these books, considered a success by contemporary teachers, in order to meet their own standards and the demands of the government regulations. The method used has been archival research into written sources and art historical research into the illustrations, with historical and theological method applied where appropriate.

ABBREVIATIONS

N.S. A.R.	National Society Annual Report
N.S.G.C.	National Society General Committee
C.C.	Committee of Council (of the Privy Council)
<i>The Life</i>	<i>The Life of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ</i>
<i>The Stories</i>	Collective term for the four books: <i>The Story of the Childhood of Christ, The Story of the Ministry of Christ, The Story of the Passion of Christ, The Story of the Resurrection of Christ</i>
SPCK	Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge

Note on text

This thesis deals with literary material which is itself divided into chapters. As this may cause confusion between the chapters of *The Stories* in particular and the chapters of the thesis under discussion, the phrase 'of this thesis' has been inserted regularly to make the text clear.

INTRODUCTION

The questions raised by this thesis are twofold. First comes the question as to why the National Society of the Church of England decided to begin producing illustrated books for the religious education of pupils in its schools. Second is the question of how they did this and how they responded to the demands of the government of the day. In order to explore these questions, this thesis examines in detail the group of publications by the Depository of the National Society of the Church of England, which appeared between 1884 and 1886, together with some supplementary material published later. These key publications are *The Life of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ* edited by Francis T. Palgrave and four smaller books: *The Story of the Childhood of Christ*, *The Story of the Ministry of Christ*, *The Story of the Passion of Christ* and *The Story of the Resurrection of Christ*. These four books are by a different author, known only as 'R.E.H.' but use the same illustrations as those for the book edited by Palgrave. These illustrations were twenty-four beautifully coloured chromo-lithographs which were copies of Italian Renaissance Old Master Christian images of the life of Christ. For the purpose of simplification these publications, when discussed generally, will be referred to as *The Life* and *The Stories* in this thesis. The same illustrations were also used for wall posters and reward cards so that it was a complete educational programme. All these publications were originally intended for use with pupils in the schools in union with the National Society or schools which bought publications from the Depository. The Depository was the name of the

publishing operation of the National Society which was started in 1845 to meet the needs of their schools. The National Society itself had been founded earlier in 1811.

The thesis will argue that the National Society adopted the use of these Italian Renaissance Christian images in books designed for Church of England schools for two main reasons. First, the Society thought that, in so doing, it would produce educational materials of the very highest quality in response, in part, to the demands of the Government codes and inspections and, in part, to their own high standards. These are both outlined in Chapters One and Two of this thesis. Second, the Committee of the National Society wanted to produce materials which would provide very high moral and spiritual guidance for both the teachers and their pupils and which were aesthetically pleasing and of a very high standard. Evidence of this is given also in the first two chapters and in the analysis of the texts of *The Life* and *The Stories* in Chapter Four of this thesis. The thesis will then evaluate the success of these illustrations in fulfilling these expectations in the Victorian period, concluding that, within the context of that period, these materials largely succeeded in their intent. The Conclusion, however, will just raise the question as to the long term effect of these illustrations on religious education publishing and conclude that, in the modern context, these types of illustrations have some problems. This will link to work done earlier for an MA in Arts Education - a summary of which is given in Appendix II to this thesis. (Northcote 1996)

Methodology

After some preliminary reading in the ethnographic field, it became clear that the mid-nineteenth century was - for sociological reasons - a key period in the development of religious education materials. This is because of the importance of folk memory in the transmission of religious ideas, which was made clear in a BBC Radio 2 programme '*Jesus Bids us Shine*'. (BBC Radio 2, September 3rd, 1996) The Victorian period was also important because it marked the development of illustrated material with the advent of improved printing techniques.

It was then decided that a preliminary historical search should be made to establish which organisations were the important influences on religious education in the Victorian period. This produced the information that there were a number of religious organisations which published materials for schools. These included The British and Foreign Bible Society (founded in 1804) and The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK - founded in 1698). The SPCK was closely associated with the National Society in its early days and produced the materials for their early catalogues. As the nineteenth century progressed, however, the National Society became the key player on the scene with its publishing operation feeding a large number of Church of England schools and teacher training colleges. A search was, therefore, begun of the National Society archive, which is located in the Church of England Record Centre in Bermondsey, London. Through the good offices of the, then, Director, Dr. Brenda Hough, it was possible to search the actual archive so that a

comprehensive overview was obtained. Dr. Hough also arranged for the index of the National Society's own publications to be made available. This index was, at that time, just a simple, hand-written card index. The works were listed alphabetically by author and title. There was, however, no cross reference by date, although the dates of each publication were listed on every entry - except for some of the earlier works which were undated. The first task then was to re-write the index manually, by date, so that it could be established which works were in the late Victorian period. At this stage no firm decision had been made as to the precise dates to be covered by the thesis so the work on the index was wider than is finally discussed in this thesis. It then became clear that the history of the National Society was contained in the Annual Reports. At first, these were consulted from the photo-copied editions in the Record Centre's Reading Room. Very few of these photo-copies had the complete set of Appendices or the Catalogues of the Depository. The existence of the original bound copies of the Annual Reports had been established when the actual archive was searched so it was agreed that access could be had to these documents. They were in a very frail condition with very dried out paper and thus it would have been impossible to make photocopies of all the catalogues. As much detail as possible was transcribed by hand. The photo-copies shown in this thesis are, therefore, almost all from the editions available in the Reading Room.

This work revealed the establishment in 1845 of the Depository, the National Society publishing house, and the extensive catalogues of educational materials, including a large catalogue for religious education in church schools and Sunday schools. These catalogues revealed the existence of the publications of 1884-1885 of *The Life* and

The Stories which are the main subjects of this thesis. They were not listed in the card-index of the National Society archive but were located as follows: *The Life* in the National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum and The British Library in London and *The Stories* in the Bodleian Library in Oxford and in the British Library, in London. Their significance is the subject of this thesis which will demonstrate that the National Society created a type of publication with a very high quality of presentation which set a standard for other later publications. The thesis will show how these publications were designed to tie in with the main purpose of the National Society to promote the faith and practice of the Church of England. These publications were produced at a time when the Church of England was under great pressure from both the Non-conformists and the newly re-established Roman Catholic Church.

Searches were also made in the Minutes of the General Council of the National Society and the Minutes for the Depository. The Depository Minutes for the crucial years of 1884-1889 were, however missing at the time of the search and the later Minutes made no reference to the earlier publications. A search was made of the teachers' journal: *The School Guardian* and also of the Minutes of the Sunday School Institute to give some indication of the effects of the publication of *The Life* and *The Stories*. Further literary searches were made of contemporary writers such as are given in Chapter Three of this thesis. Again literary searches were made of the published history of the National Society and educational history and theory of the late Victorian period. Searches were also made of the literature relating generally to the publication of children's illustrated books in this period. Finally, the illustrations of Christian Old Master images having been identified in *The Life* and *The Stories*, searches were

undertaken to establish their provenance. This involved searches in the Print Rooms of the Victoria and Albert Museum and the British Museum. These searches revealed no references, apart from bare biographical details, of J. Edward Goodall who drew the copies of the original images for the chromo-lithographic process. The original images were then compared with the chromo-lithographs where reproductions of the originals were available. The only original painting that could be studied was *The Doubt of St. Thomas* which hangs in the National Gallery, London. All the other images are in foreign galleries. Overall these searches were successful but they also indicated a weakness in that they uncovered such a rich vein of material that this thesis can only reflect a small part of it. When all the material had been researched as far as possible, then it was analysed to assess the significance of this small group of works in the development of religious education materials in the nineteenth century.

Plan of the Thesis

The thesis will argue that the publications - *The Life* and *The Stories* - were an innovative and very carefully planned scheme for enhancing the quality of religious education, which was probably very important in that period. The thesis will use historical, literary and art historical methods to research these publications and assess their significance. The thesis will not discuss the later developments of text-books in the twentieth century, which is a large subject in itself. *The Life* and *The Stories*, together with a few publications which followed them, will, therefore, be assessed within the context of the late Victorian period. Certain aspects of modern religious education text-books were discussed in an M.A. in Arts Education which is

summarised in Appendix II. (Northcote 1996) The thesis will also show that the educational *method*, of using an image as a starting point for the discussion of a particular topic, was developed in this late Victorian period by the National Society.

The first chapter, therefore, outlines the early history and development of the National Society from its foundation in 1811 when it became the prime mover, in the nineteenth century, in the development of Church of England primary schools for poor children. This general history of the National Society is not new material, having been explored in an earlier thesis by Burgess, but the information relating to the development of the Depository and its publications is new. (Burgess 1958) This chapter makes clear the significance of the National Society in the educational developments of the nineteenth century and, therefore, the relevance of the various publications under discussion in this thesis.

The second chapter looks at the development of teacher training in the period in religious education. Again this is a subject which has been explored in the literature - for example by Rich - but as far as can be ascertained these studies do not explore the particular details of the religious education of teachers in the late nineteenth century and their training, at that time, in the principles and beliefs of the Church of England. (Rich 1972) The chapter underlines the importance of this by reference to the work of the Diocesan Inspectors whose responsibility it was to maintain standards in religious education. The chapter emphasises the importance of the role of the Church of England in teacher training at a time when most of that training was undertaken by one

or other of the main Christian denominations. The chapter also contains details of the curriculum which trainee teachers were expected to follow.

The third chapter deals with influences on the National Society and looks at the reasons why the Committee may have chosen to introduce high art, in the form of Italian Renaissance Christian paintings, into their publications. The chapter points to the reasons why the National Society chose images from that period rather than contemporary nineteenth century art. The chapter examines the contribution of some of the literary figures linked to the National Society and considers some of their writings in order to set the work of Palgrave and 'R.E.H.' into context. The chapter argues that the National Society were responding clearly to the prevailing trends of the period - in particular the influence of the Oxford Movement and the return of more Catholic practices to the Church of England.

The twenty-four illustrations to *The Life* and *The Stories* are inserted into the text before Chapter Four which then examines the texts of these publications. This chapter, and the next one, look at all these publications in some detail to show how the texts were developed in the books and how the text could have affected the reader. These two chapters also consider the relationship of the text to the illustrations. These books are very significant as being among the earliest religious education materials to use reproductions of Renaissance paintings as coloured illustrations in books for children. They started a trend of using Christian images in religious educational material to illustrate both narrative and doctrine, which is still evident

today. The chapter begins the exploration of the ideas behind the choice of these particular paintings by the National Society Committee responsible.

Throughout this thesis, but in Chapters Four and Five in particular, extensive quotations from the text have been given without severe editing. This is for three reasons. First, it is the texts themselves which are the primary source material. Second, as will be seen throughout the thesis, Victorian writers do not use short, sharp sentences. Too much editing of their beautifully balanced, long sentences with carefully placed subjunctive clauses, leads to a distortion in the meaning. Editing has, therefore been done, where appropriate and possible and where there is no consequent distortion of meaning. Finally, in Chapter Four, in particular, extensive extracts from the original texts of *The Life* and *The Stories* have been given because they expound the Christian theology contained in those books and the longer extracts will make the material more accessible for any reader of this thesis who is not very familiar with that theology.

Chapter Five uses art-historical method to examine a small selection of the twenty-four chromo-lithographs which were drawn for printing by J. Edward Goodall. The chapter discusses briefly the known history of chromo-lithography and its method of production. It then analyses the images in relation to their original sources from which they were copied and considers how effective they were in fulfilling the purpose for which they were made. The chapter also discusses briefly the presentation of doctrine through images and whether this is successful in *The Life* and *The Stories*. The chapter raises the question as to whether images which were designed for use in

worship in churches in Renaissance Italy can be effective when copied, much reduced and divorced from their original context in a Victorian or modern classroom.

Chapter Six outlines the reaction to these publications by contemporary nineteenth century sources and the peer group reviews by *The School Guardian*. It also looks at contemporary publications which used similar images. The chapter also considers some evidence of teaching practice linked to the use of illustrations in religious education. The chapter follows up the evidence of earlier literary writings on art by introducing some of the work of Dean Farrar who developed his ideas from those which were discussed in Chapter Three. This chapter will contain an assessment of the importance of these materials in the late Victorian period.

The Conclusion draws together the various strands of the thesis to show how important these publications were in the context of the late Victorian period. It also draws a preliminary conclusion as to why the National Society adopted these teaching methods, as outlined at the beginning of this Introduction. As some of the key material was missing from the archive at the time of the search, this must be provisional and could be affected by later discoveries. It will be shown that, from that date, Old Master illustrations continued to be part of religious education materials and that the National Society laid the groundwork for many later developments.

Research Issues

The main purpose of research is to unearth and place before the public new and significant material. That material, however, without interpretation, context and meaning becomes sterile. The problem is how to interpret the material correctly, in what context to place it and what meaning should be attached to it. History is not a precise science today. It has many facets and is open to several approaches. (Evans 1997)

In this thesis the approach to the material has been largely historical or art-historical. It became clear, however, as soon as the research was underway that the issues touched upon in the material were more than that. Intertwined with the main historical themes are questions of art history, literary theory, theology and most importantly educational ideas. The material could have led to an in-depth examination from the point of view of any one of these subjects. It, therefore, became imperative to decide on a basic approach.

An examination of historical theory was then made to decide the question of how the thesis should be written. In his book, *In Defence of History*, Richard Evans draws attention to the importance of post-modernist history writing which takes perhaps one small group or small event and gives it a larger importance to make clear a part of the broader social history. (Evans 1997, 244) In that sense this thesis is post-modern because it argues a larger significance from a very small group of materials. The

thesis is not, however, post-modern in its approach but has used the traditional historical method of the use of source material, set in context as appropriate, to determine the significance of the work of the National Society in religious education during the latter part of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

Sometimes it is not until a small but very significant event is brought to light that there is understanding of why certain classroom practices are undertaken. This thesis looks at the period in England when the Victorians began to re-introduce Christian imagery into the worship and into the churches by way of decoration - taking advantage of the great improvement in the developments of colour printing to bring these same images into the schools. There were a number of organisations, such as the Arundel Society and the Fitzroy Picture Society (Price 1996), which were producing illustrated material for the general public and for children. It was, however, the use by the National Society of Italian Renaissance Old Master Christian paintings which had the most profound influence on religious educational materials right up to the present time.

One of the factors to be considered in writing this thesis was the question of the amount of knowledge of Christianity which might be available to readers of the thesis. The research was undertaken initially from the point of view of a detailed and developed knowledge of the Christian faith. This was the result of a birth into a Christian family, a Christian marriage and then the training for and practice as a Deaconess in the Church of England. It became clear during the examination process that this had led to the original thesis being written from an 'insider' point of view. Sections of the thesis were, therefore, re-written to make it more accessible to those without that 'insider' knowledge. It also became clear that the thesis had also

originally been written from the point of view of an 'insider' in the art-historical discipline, following study for a BA in the History of Art, and again it proved necessary to elucidate some of the art-historical points to make the text accessible to those readers without that training. The thesis is, in the main, therefore presented from a historical point of view, with the insider knowledge of both the Church of England and art history being used to give insights into the use of Old Master Christian images in the religious education classroom. As Peter Collins says everyone experiences 'multiple belongings' and in this thesis it is hoped that the multiple knowledge base will help to illuminate the basic historical premise without undue personal opinion. (Collins in Ed. Arweck & Stringer 2002, 81) It is acknowledged that the scepticism with which the use of Old Master Christian images in the modern religious education classroom was discussed in the MA in Arts Education (Appendix II) was no doubt coloured by affiliations in both the world of the Church and of art history and that those affiliations made a neutral stance, at times, difficult to maintain. (Donovan in Ed. McCutcheon 1999, 241) It is hoped that in this thesis the whole approach is more detached and less influenced by these factors.

Recent books, such as Robert Jackson's *Religious Education - an interpretive approach*, have begun to explore the ways in which pupils can better be helped to understand the different religious perspectives and experiences from which they come. This is now not only significant for the general educational knowledge of different religious viewpoints but, in a multi-cultural society, is important for the general understanding and tolerance of that society. Christian imagery has played a very significant part in the history of Christianity and it is important to consider whether or

not it should be taught as part of the religious education curriculum. This thesis looks at the use of Christian imagery in National Society schools in the Victorian period in order to assess the significance of this teaching method. The thesis discusses how successful the National Society was in its quest to provide the best possible educational materials for religious education. The conclusion raises the question of whether that material should still be used as the exemplar or whether a new and very innovative approach to religious imagery is needed to answer some of the ideas discussed by Jackson. (Jackson 1997)

CHAPTER ONE

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY AND ITS MOVE INTO PUBLISHING

Introduction

In the eighteenth century education for the poor in England and Wales had largely been provided by charity schools. The greater number of these were under the auspices of the SPCK - The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge which had been founded in 1698:

‘...to promote and encourage the erection of charity schools in all parts of England and Wales; to disperse, both at home and abroad, Bibles and tracts of religion; and in general to advance the honour of God and the good of mankind by promoting Christian knowledge both at home and in the other parts of the world by the best methods that should offer.’

(Cross & Livingstone 1974, 1298)

In addition there were a number of schools founded locally by the clergy, such as Gurney, Vicar of St. Giles, London who opened a large parochial day school in 1802 or Dr. Briggs, Vicar of Kendal who reorganised the Kendal Blue Coat School in 1799 which then included a day school of industry for poor children (Burgess 1958,19). At this period it was assumed that the provision of education would

remain the prerogative of the Church - in the main the Church of England as the established church. In addition to the day schools there were the Sunday Schools, following the development of the Sunday School Movement at the end of the eighteenth century. These schools provided basic teaching in reading, writing and arithmetic, as well as religious instruction, to supplement the charity day schools for those children who were required to work during the week. In 1787 there were 201 schools with 10,232 children but by 1799 there were 1086 affiliated schools with 69,000 children. In 1803 the Sunday School Union was formed with a Committee which consisted of half dissenters and half Church of England members. At that time there were 7125 Sunday schools with 88,860 teachers and 844,728 pupils (Curtiss in Burgess 1958, 13).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, two organisations were founded which changed the face of education and laid the foundations of the system which we have in the twenty-first century. They were The British and Foreign School Society founded in 1809 by non-conformists and The National Society founded in 1811 under the auspices of the Church of England. It is interesting just to note in this context that, after Catholic Emancipation in 1829, a national co-ordinating committee was founded for Catholic Schools in 1849, but this organisation did not have the same effect on education as the earlier two (Sutherland 1971, 10ff). Both organisations used the monitorial system whereby the master taught one or more of the older boys who then taught the younger children. The British and Foreign School Society followed the ideas of Joseph Lancaster and the National Society followed those of

Dr. Andrew Bell, known as the Madras system because he first used it in India. This system was a very simple one where selected older pupils were appointed as monitors and taught directly by the master or mistress in charge. These monitors then passed on that knowledge to the younger pupils. (Burgess Ch.3 & 4) It is interesting to note that in this way a master might teach a whole school of 200 or more pupils. For example the Borough Road school had 1,000 pupils and 67 monitors. (Hopkins 1994, 134) This system worked where the education given was very simple and consisted of a great deal of rote learning. There was no question, at this stage, of educating the children of the poor to the same standard as those of the upper classes. All that was expected was that they would acquire a basic knowledge and essential skills. An interesting comment by Dr. Bell gives a flavour of the attitude at the time:

‘It is not proposed that the children of the poor be educated in an expensive manner, or all of them be taught to write and to cipher. Utopian schemes, for the universal diffusion of general knowledge, would soon realise the fable of the belly and the other members of the body, and confound that distinction of ranks and classes of society on which the general welfare hinges...there is a risque (sic) of elevating by an indiscriminate education the minds of those doomed to the drudgery of daily labour, above their condition, and thereby rendering them discontented and unhappy in their lot’ (Silver 1965 cited in Sutherland 1971, 10).

The history of education in the nineteenth century is a fascinating one as the system grew from its beginnings in the voluntary system, through the gradually increasing involvement of the state until the establishment of the board schools after the 1870 Forster Education Act. This history has been extensively written up in a number of

publications and it is not proposed that this thesis should recount all the details. Instead discussion will be limited to those matters which closely affected the National Society, in particular its publishing activities. The most important of these is the whole question of whether the churches, and the Church of England in particular, should have a monopoly on education and the right to teach the basic tenets of its faith to all children. In this context it will be necessary to look briefly at the management issues which affected the National Society because these tied in with the rights and authority of the Church of England in its exclusive relationship with the National Society.

The Establishment of the National Society's Depository

After its foundation in 1811, the National Society grew rapidly. By the middle of the nineteenth century schools were established throughout England and Wales and the system of education promoted by the National Society had also spread overseas. In order to meet the need for better trained teachers, training colleges had been established both centrally and in different dioceses of the Church of England. These colleges, as will be discussed in the next chapter, worked hard to raise the standard of teaching and introduce good practice. These endeavours were supported by the National Society's own educational publications which were sold, together with approved books from SPCK, from their own Depository which had been started in 1845. It is the work of the Depository around which this chapter focuses. By the time of the Forster Education Act in 1870, the catalogue of the Depository was

extensive and comprehensive. Thus, by the time the board schools were established, the National Society was a well-established organisation with a dominant position in the field of elementary education. The board schools and the provision of state supported education changed the face of education provision, but the National Society still holds an important position in relation to the Church of England schools in England and Wales.

The early history of the National Society is well-documented. The archive, situated in the Church of England Record Centre in Bermondsey, London, is almost complete. It contains all the Annual Reports from the foundation of the Society up to the present day; the complete set of Minutes of the General Committee, which was the main governing body; the Minutes of the Finance Committee and some 15,000 school files. Unfortunately, the Minutes of the Depository Committee prior to 1889 appear to be missing. This may be due to the fact that the Depository moved its premises about that time.

The archive also contains many of the publications of the National Society from all periods and, while not complete, is sufficiently wide to give a very good idea of the type of publication. Much of the material referred to in this thesis will be drawn from that archive. The key works, however, around which the main argument of this thesis is centred, are not in the archive. They are first *The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, edited by Francis T. Palgrave and published in 1885, entering the catalogue of the Depository in 1886. Second there are four books, using the

same illustrations as *The Life: The Story of the Childhood of Christ*, *The Story of the Ministry of Christ*, *The Story of the Passion of Christ* and *The Story of the Resurrection of Christ* all by the unknown author 'R.E.H.' and published between 1884 and 1886. There are copies of *The Life* in the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum and in the British Library. Copies of the four '*Stories*' can be found in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. No other copies of these books were traced although there may be copies in private libraries. These publications will be referred to throughout this thesis as '*The Life*' and '*The Stories*'.

In addition the history of the National Society has been written up at regular intervals and some material from these histories will be included. In particular there are two publications which have helped enormously in this research. First, Henry James Burgess produced the book, *Enterprise in Education*, based on his two theses for a Master's Degree and a Doctorate in Education at the University of London. (Burgess 1958) This is a detailed interpretation of the general educational and political history of the National Society up to 1870. This volume, however, does not cover the work of the Depository in any great detail, nor does it attempt to evaluate the significance of the educational material produced by the Society during the nineteenth century. I am, however, indebted to this history for the clear way in which it sets out the developments, so enabling me to search the original sources much more easily. Second, there is the survey by C.K. Francis Brown, *The Church's Part in Education, 1833-1941* (Brown 1942). This enabled me to supplement the archive for the later period, although, again, this work does not cover the Depository in any great detail.

The Development of the National Society Schools

In 1832 the Annual Report of the National Society included details of an 'inquiry' which had been sent to 'every parish and chapelry in the Kingdom'. This was not absolutely complete but it showed that of the 8,588 places to which the inquiry had been sent, some 6,730 had a Church school. Of these schools only 3,058 were in union with the National Society. The rest were schools set up within the local Church of England parish (Burgess 1958, 43). After the establishment of the Board schools following the Education Act of 1870, there were, in 1878, 10,910 Church of England schools which had increased to 11,794 by 1885 - the year of the publication of Palgrave's book. Even if all these schools were not in union with the National Society, it is still true that by that date the publications of the Society must have been reaching a substantial number of teachers and pupils. In contrast the Roman Catholic, Wesleyan and British schools together only totalled 2,701 in 1878 and 2,791 in 1885. These larger numbers were caused by the increase in Roman Catholic schools from 693 to 850 during that period, while the Wesleyan and British schools had both declined (Adamson 1930 cited in Chadwick 1987, 304).

These figures are interesting when contrasted with the census of 1851 which revealed that not less than 47% but not more than 54% of the population was in Church on the census day, Mothering Sunday. It is estimated by Best that some 35% of the population were church goers (Best 1985, 197). One of the stated aims of the

National Society was to ensure that all the children in its schools had a thorough grounding in the doctrines of the Church of England. Thus in the Plan of Union of 1815 it was stated:

‘That the Society itself being instituted principally for educating the Poor in the doctrine and discipline of the Established Church, according to the excellent Liturgy and Catechism provided for that purpose, it is required that all the Children received into these Schools, be instructed in this Liturgy and Catechism, and that, in conformity with the directions in that Liturgy, the Children of each School do constantly attend Divine Service in their parish Church, or other place of public worship under the Establishment, wherever the same is practicable, on the Lord’s Day; unless such reason for their non-attendance be assigned, as shall be satisfactory to the persons having the direction of that School; and that no religious tracts be admitted into any School but such as are, or shall be contained in the Catalogue of the SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE (sic).’

(N.S. A.R. 1815, 167)

Management Issues

It is this requirement in the Plan of Union that leads into the three management questions which it is necessary to consider very briefly here. The first of these was the problem of inspection (Burgess 1958, 98ff). In 1833 the government had made grants for building available to the voluntary schools. The National Society, being larger, had more of these proportionately than the British and Foreign School Society. In 1837, Lord Brougham brought in a bill to end sectarian teaching in schools supported by the state. Following this, in 1839, Lord John Russell

announced that there would be a Committee of Council (i.e. of the Privy Council) for education, with a paid Secretary, Dr. James Kay (later Kay-Shuttleworth). This Committee issued a minute in 1839 which announced that there would be inspections of all schools receiving a grant. These inspectors would not interfere with religious instruction. There was an immediate reaction by the National Society and the clergy who objected to the idea of Church schools being subject to government inspection. The plan deployed to frustrate the Committee of Council was to refuse grants. The National Society General Committee voted to give grants to schools that suffered badly as a result of this policy. Two government inspectors were appointed (Selleck 1994, 81ff) but did not work in schools in union with the National Society. After much heated debate the dispute was finally settled with a compromise. This was that inspectors would be appointed but would have to be approved by the Archbishops in each province of York and Canterbury and the Archbishops would have the right to terminate the appointments. The instructions for inspection of religious instruction were as follows:

‘the instructions to the inspectors with regard to religious instruction shall be framed by the Archbishops and form part of the General Instructions to the Inspectors, and the General Instructions shall be communicated to the Archbishops before they are finally sanctioned.’ (G.C. Minute Book cited in Burgess 1958, 88)

The final point insisted that future grants were to be in proportion to the number of children educated and to the subscriptions raised for school building. The National Society itself believed in inspections and, particularly in the field of religious instruction, developed a parallel diocesan system of inspection.

The next controversy was the question of management committees for Church schools (Burgess 1958, 145ff). In 1846/47 the Committee of Council demanded that each new church school should have a board of managers. Kay-Shuttleworth saw this as a way of limiting clerical power and consequently the imposition of religious instruction tied to the beliefs of the Church of England. The recommendation was that the Management Committee should consist of ‘the Minister, his licensed curates, if the Minister chooses to appoint them, the Churchwardens if members of the Church of England, and a number of other persons (according to the size of the parish) members of the Church of England, resident or having a beneficial interest in the parish, and subscribers to the amount of one pound, to be elected by subscribers to the amount of ten shillings being similarly qualified ‘ (Burgess 1958, 219). The Master or Mistress must be a member of the Church of England. The Committee was to appoint a Secretary. The Minister was to have the superintendence of the moral and religious instruction of the scholars. If there was any disagreement between the Minister and the Committee, then the Bishop was to be the referee (Burgess 1958, 219). There were then clauses governing the practical arrangements for setting up the Committees.

The National Society was inclined to come to terms with the Committee of Council but its efforts at a peaceful solution were sabotaged by the protests of the clergy galvanised by G.A. Denison, the Archdeacon of Taunton. He led a high-profile campaign to prevent the establishment of management committees, including

disruptive tactics at the Annual Meetings of the National Society. Despite this the General Committee continued negotiations with the Privy Council, culminating in a Memorandum in 1848 which was largely accepted by the Privy Council and which cleared the way for the establishment of management committees. The important point for this thesis is that the National Society schools were gradually being brought into some measure of state control, first with inspection and then with management. The fear was that this would lead to the end of the distinctive religious teaching of the National Society schools. This has proved not to be the case and still voluntary aided schools have the right to teach their own faith principles.

The following major point of controversy was the conscience clause. This concerned the teaching of the catechism and the liturgy to the children of dissenters and non-believers. This was primarily an issue in areas, such as rural communities, where the church school was the only available means of education for the poor (Burgess 1958, 157ff). Although the Plan of Union quoted above was clear that all children were to be taught the Liturgy and Catechism, in practice the General Committee of the National Society had taken a relaxed attitude to the education of the children other than those subscribing to the Church of England. This policy, however, was frustrated by the growth of the Oxford Movement and the insistence of the Tractarians that all children in Church of England schools be instructed in the Liturgy and Catechism. Archdeacon Denison again joined with the Tractarians on this issue. The Privy Council was not happy with this development but did not want at that time to provoke another controversy. In this context it is interesting to note

that one Government Inspector, Joseph Fletcher, in 1850, noted that it was the practice of at least half of the National Society schools to respect the consciences of dissenters (C.C. 1850 cited in Burgess 1958, 163). In 1852 the Privy Council began, quietly, to suggest that a conscience clause be inserted when building grants were given. Lingen, who had taken over from Kay-Shuttleworth as Secretary of the Committee of Council, was testing the policy of the General Committee of the National Society. For a time things were allowed to ride until, in 1860, the Privy Council began insisting on the insertion of a conscience clause, starting in Wales where some schools were refused grants when they would not insert a conscience clause. In direct conflict with this, the National Society refused its own grants to schools which wanted to insert a conscience clause. The Privy Council then began extending its policy to schools in England. The controversy continued with the National Society trying to protect its Terms of Union and the Privy Council inserting conscience clauses whenever it thought it necessary. This unsatisfactory situation continued until the 1870 Education Act.

This very brief sketch of some of the issues which faced the National Society before 1870, shows that it did not have an easy ride in its attempt to preserve the role of the schools in union with it. The issues outlined show the concern throughout with the instruction of children in the principles of the Church of England. This insistence on preserving this teaching meant that the National Society and the other church schools had a very powerful potential influence on the thinking of the children in their schools. How much they actually influenced the children is another matter.

Attendance was often sporadic due to the demands of the labour market and many children would have come away with a limited understanding. (Archer, 1966; Daunton, 1995) Compulsory education did not come in until 1870 and although such events as the Factory Act of 1844 which limited children under 13 to 6 and a half hours a day and the Factory Act of 1847 which limited work to a 10 hour day for women and children in factories, began to make it possible for children to attend school, many children still had to work long hours. If they were not needed in the workplace, they often had to mind younger children at home.

The Development of Educational Materials

Throughout the period described above the National Society was providing materials for this religious instruction - first through the SPCK and then after 1845 from its own Depository. It is interesting to contrast some of the books available for teaching as the system developed. In 1812 the Annual Report suggested the following books should be available for each school:

‘60 dozen of Leaves, or Cards, being the National Society Central School Book No. 1.

50 National Society Central School Book No2

50 Ditto No 3

50 Our Saviour’s Sermon on the Mount

50 Parables of our Blessed Saviour

50 Miracles of ditto

50 Catechism broken into short Questions

50 Ostervald's Abridgement of the History of the Bible

50 Chief Truths of the Christian Religion

4 dozen Arithmetical Tables

25 Psalters

25 Prayer Books

25 Testaments

25 Bibles (bound in calf)

And Mrs. Trimmer's Teacher's Assistant, 2 vols in double sets.

N.B. It is expected that the Prayer-Books, Testaments and Bibles will last at least three Years. Psalters and Testaments are afterwards, with Children who have made sufficient progress, exchanged for Bibles and Prayer Books.

'Of the same Booksellers may be had, the last Edition of

'Instructions for conducting Schools on the Madras System,' by

The Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell, price 2s 6d., by means of which those who are desirous to re-model old Schools, or to form new ones on the improved plan, will receive full and sufficient direction.'

'The Committee also recommend the following proportions of the undermentioned articles, viz -

Two or three Sand Boards, (see Dr. Bell's 'Instructions' p.57

Three dozen common Slates.

Three dozen Copy Books.' By Order of the Committee

T.T. Walmsley, Sec.'

(N.S. A.R. 1812, 90)

All these books are priced both at Booksellers' prices and from the SPCK. It will be seen from this list, given in full because of its significance, that from the very beginning a large part of the reading material to be used in National schools was of a religious nature. As the years progressed the catalogue of materials expanded to

cover a much broader curriculum as will be seen. In the Annual Report for 1815 instructions are given for using these books which will be discussed in Chapter 2 when teaching methods will be discussed.

In 1815 it is interesting to find that the National Society was finding the cost of supplying books too expensive and handed over this to SPCK:

‘The Committee have deemed it expedient to cut off this branch of expenditure as bearing too heavily on their funds, which are hardly adequate to the more important and appropriate object of encouraging the erection of Schools. Their intention, however, was previously communicated to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; one of whose benevolent objects it has always been to patronize Charity Schools and to supply them, at reduced prices, with Bibles, Testaments, Common Prayers, and all Elementary Books; and the Committee have great pleasure in stating that that venerable Body met the communication with that hearty desire, which it has always manifested to co-operate in every work calculated to promote the religious education of the Poor, and immediately passed an unanimous vote that it would cheerfully (sic) bear whatever increased expence (sic) the discontinuance of the National Society to supply Elementary Books might occasion; and it has thus added to the many claims which it is accumulating daily upon the Nation at large, to extend its means of usefulness, and to enable it to carry into more compleat (sic) effect its many pious and well digested measures, by which it is giving stability and support to that Reformed part of the Church of Christ, established in this kingdom, and is spreading the knowledge of pure Christianity throughout the World.’ ((N.S. A.R. 1815, 36)

This statement makes clear the didactic purpose of the National Society from its earliest days and underlines the missionary zeal with which the Society pursued its

objectives. It has been quoted in full to illustrate the tone of writing by the National Society which will be observed throughout the extracts from the Annual Report contained in this thesis and which have not before been brought into the public domain.

In 1818 the National Society did in fact make small grants to some schools as recorded in the Annual Report for that year. This also added some books to the recommended list: an Abridgement of the Old Testament and an Abridgement of the New Testament. In the same year it was noted that of some 497 children convicted of crime in the City of London, only 14 of them were receiving education in a National Society school. They went on to state, with the usual religious fervour:

‘With these impressions they will continue in the exercise of their best discretion, faithfully to apply the sums placed at their disposal, being fully convinced that the more they can plant this admirable System, with deep and strong roots, in every part of the Kingdom, the more they will advance the cause of true Religion, and promote the solid welfare of the State, together with the happiness present and eternal of those Individuals to whom its blessings are extended.’ (N.S. A.R. 1818, 25-26)

This indicates the conviction with which the National Society was working and thus the impetus behind the development of its publishing empire. This began with the foundation of the Depository in 1845. This at once began to make available a wide range of materials for schools. In the catalogue for 1847 there are, for example, a number of maps of the Holy Land at different periods, The Ten Commandments

mounted on billboard, Scripture texts, the 'Lords Prayer' and the 'Apostles Creed' - all three in large type, as well as a number of books published by SPCK which included a History of our Blessed Saviour and Our Saviour's Discourses, Parables, Miracles and the Sermon on the Mount. Of particular interest in 1849 is the appearance of a large selection of prints in response to the footnote in the Annual Report of 1846 which commented: 'Cheap, yet really good, sets of prints also are a desideratum' (N.S. A.R. 1846, 14). It is worth listing these in full because it gives a good idea of the way the Depository was expanding the available resources:

'Prints of Animals, with Reading lessons, large type & coloured
Scripture Lessons Illustrated by the Cartoons [presumably the Raphael cartoons now in the V&A] (obtainable in sheets, frames or mounted on millboard)
Scripture Prints (from Raphael, Old Testament Series) Parts I,II,& III, six prints in each, together with frames.
Scripture Prints in Outline (12 various, from Old Masters), together with frames
Wertheim's Bible Cartoons Nos. I, II, III, & IV, four prints in each.
Ditto - in one Part - (16 prints)
Prints illustrative of the Bible, after Raphael
Illustrations of the Scripture Prints
Scripture Prints Coloured in set of 40
Scripture Prints Coloured in set of 52 - frames, with or without glass were available for these.' (N.S. A.R. 1849, Appendix)

This list makes clear that the National Society were using illustrated material from an early date. So far no trace has been found of any of these prints so a full analysis of them cannot be made. The first illustrated material that is available for study is the

group of works *The Life* and *The Stories* which are the main focus of this thesis.

That this work of the Depository was eminently successful commercially is shown by the contrast drawn in the 1895 Annual Report when it was stated that the turnover for 1846 had been £3,000 while the turnover in 1895 was £51,854. The profit from this operation was ploughed back into the Depository.

The work of the Depository continued to expand the catalogue so that by the time Palgrave's book, *The Life*, was published, together with *The Stories* of Christ's life, in 1884/86 the catalogue was extensive and covered all subjects in the curriculum. They also provided the necessities needed for the classroom, such as rulers, paper etc. It is not possible here to list all the developing catalogues but some examples from the years just before these publications will show how much wider the scope became. In 1882, for example, the catalogue, under the heading 'Books for Religious Instruction', included *The Epistles for the Christian Year, with Notes*; *the Gospel according to St. Matthew, with Notes*; *Notes, Questions and Answers on Our Lord's Parables, Gospels and Collects*; *a Manual of Family Devotion*; *Questions on the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer, Patriarchal History, the Sabbath and the Catechism of the Church of England with, separately, the texts referred to in the Questions*. There were also *the Life and Travels of St. Paul*; *Prayers for children, for Sunday and Day Schools, for before and after Service, gummed on the back for sticking in Prayer Books, Prayers for Meetings of Sunday School Teachers*; *Readings on the History of Our Lord Jesus Christ and His Holy Apostles in two parts*; *the Types and Anti-types of Holy Scripture*; *the Apostles' Creed - being Notes of*

Lectures to Pupil-teachers and a series of How to Teach books on The Old and New Testaments, the Prayer Book and the Church Catechism. (N.S. A.R. 1882, Appendix)

Many of these items were still in the catalogue of 1904, which is the last one studied for this thesis. The catalogues for the years from 1882 until the publication of Palgrave's book were much the same. It is interesting to note that in 1883 a comprehensive list of 'Scripture Texts, Creed, Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments etc, Illuminated' was included. These included wall prints, some on board, some on calico, mottoes, good behaviour cards, certificate cards, Sunday School attendance cards and of particular note a 'Litany of the Name of Jesus, printed on Sheet, in large Type, Black and Red.' (N.S. A.R. 1883, Appendix) Thus there was plenty of illustrated material available for pupils by this date. There were, however, no books illustrated with Old Master paintings until the block of works surrounding Palgrave's book were published between 1884 and 1886. By the middle of the nineteenth century the catalogues also included a full range of items to cover all the subjects provided in the curriculum.

Despite the management problems with which the National Society had to deal during the years between 1845 and 1884, the Depository went from strength to strength. Due to the loss of the Minutes of the Depository Committee before 1889, it is only possible to track this development from the Annual Reports. Every year a report from the Depository was included which showed the ever-increasing turnover and recorded the general success of the operation. It was with this success in mind

that, no doubt, the General Committee of the National Society, must have supported the major publishing venture which the Palgrave group of works represented.

The later development of the Depository

It is interesting to note some of the comments about the Depository in the Annual Reports from the early years until just after the publication of the Palgrave works. Thus in 1846 there is the following report which confirms that the Depository has been founded and continues:

‘The chief aim [of the Depository] will be to enable members of the Society to purchase school apparatus at the lowest possible rate. It is hoped in this way to lighten, in some measure, the burden of maintaining National schools, and to render a proper supply of school requisites more generally accessible...

Moreover, your Committee hope in time to attach to the depository complete sets of books for lending libraries. A well furnished lending library should be annexed to every school. The education imparted to the poor within the walls of the National school must necessarily be very incomplete, inasmuch as the children are, for the most part, obliged to cease their daily attendance at school soon after the age of twelve years. The aim of the education, therefore, given in a National school, should be to impart a desire and a capacity for improvement, and to open to a youth a career of self-instruction, rather than to furnish him with a certain definite amount of knowledge which he may carry away from school, and consider

his education at an end. For this, and other reasons, it is highly desirable that there should be libraries attached to schools, to which those who have left school may resort, and thus be induced to pursue their studies, and to keep up a connexion with the schoolmaster and the clergyman.’

(N.S. A.R. 1846, 14-15)

This report made clear that grants were not to be given from the Depository so that it ploughed all its profits back into its own work as has already been stated. It also makes clear the lofty ideals with which the Depository was founded. It is interesting to find such an early reference to the value of libraries in schools. As the years progressed the catalogue shows how the stock was constantly upgraded to fit in with these ideals and, indeed, the publication of the prestigious volumes using Old Master paintings was part of this pattern.

In 1850 the Annual Report notes that the catalogue is expanding well and then goes on to note that they did not have sufficient warehouse room which was holding back further improvements. They hoped that soon they would have the funds to provide additional buildings. The Committee were aware that more books were needed for Elementary Schools and said that they were negotiating with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) to provide these. (N.S. A.R. 1850)

The next year’s report continues the theme of progress and reports that ‘elementary books are in type and will shortly be published; and they hope that the more advanced books will soon follow’ (N.S. A.R. 1851, xvii)

Over the intervening years the Annual Reports continue to give a picture of a steadily increasing and successful business. Every year sees an increase in turnover until the high level reached at the end of the century as given earlier in the chapter. Turning now to the years immediately prior to, during and after the publication of the Old Master group of works in 1884-1886 we also find some interesting conclusions. For example in 1882 the report noted that a large number of new books had been produced by 'writers of reputation who have practical experience as teachers as well as special knowledge of the subjects on which they have to write'. The report notes that responses are being made to the Code introduced that year with books of the required standard and that work continues with Sunday school material. (N.S. A.R. 1882, 32) It should be noted here that the 'Codes' were the regulations produced by the Committee of Council and approved by Parliament which set out the standards to which schools had to conform when they were in receipt of a grant. Thus the Code referred to here is the regulation produced that year. Earlier, however, in 1861, a Code had been produced by the Committee of Council which became known as the Revised Code. This Revised Code was produced by Robert Lowe following the Newcastle Commission of 1858-61. (Hopkins 1994, 143) This Commission had recommended economies should be made in the state grants given to schools such as those in affiliation with the National Society. The Revised Code, in response, cut the funding to the Training Colleges for teachers and also ruled that grants to schools were to be dependent on success in the examination by Inspectors of the pupils' ability in the three 'Rs', ie: reading, writing and arithmetic. The Revised Code met

substantial opposition from all those organisations associated with voluntary education. It caused problems for both the schools and the Training Colleges whose budgets were slashed. (Burgess 1958, 178-186); Francis Brown 1942, 102-104)

The report of 1882 thus makes clear that the General Committee of the National Society were working hard to comply with government requirements. It is also interesting to note that there was still great concern with the provision of materials for Sunday Schools as is revealed in the catalogues which always provide a section for that purpose.

The Annual Report for 1883 does not add much to this but it does record the usual rise in profits, noting that the sales for the past year were £51,162, showing an increase of £4,931 on the previous year. It puts this down to the fact that a 'large number of new works of a superior class...have been recently prepared for the Society by writers of high reputation.' These included Charlotte Yonge, Sir John Lubbock, Canon Daniel, The Rev. John Watson and Mr. Villiers Stanford.
(N.S. A.R. 1883, 31)

Also included in an Appendix to this Report, is an interesting note on the Book-Grant Scheme. This reveals the close relationship between the National Society and Diocesan Boards:

'The following is a copy of a revised plan, as now in force, towards the supply of books, materials, and apparatus to schools, voted by a Diocesan

or District Board out of a joint-fund contributed in equal sums by the National Society and the Board:

‘Grants are voted by the Committee of the National Society to Boards willing to contribute an equal amount; the Boards having the entire disposal of the joint-fund.

‘The Society’s *Block* Grants for Books and Certificated Teachers are voted for one year only, and can be renewed only on the application of the Secretary of the Diocesan Board, who must state the amount required for (a) Books and (b) Certificated Teachers respectively.

‘Any portion of a Block Grant that has not been taken up by the Diocesan Board before the 31st December in each year will be cancelled, and no fresh grants must be voted by the Board until the Society has renewed the Block Grant in the ensuing year.’ (N.S. A.R. 1883 Appendix XIX)

The note then continues with instructions for the issuing of grants and the number of forms that must be filled in to obtain the grants. This indicates the complexity of the grant application process.

The report for 1884 continues in the same vein, noting the increase in turnover between 1880 and 1883 and states:

‘Whilst this increase is to be attributed mainly to the publication of a large number of new books written by authors who combine practical knowledge of school work with literary ability, the increase of the past year is due, partly, to the New Code, which requires the use of Historical and Geographical Reading Books in every school... Amongst the

books published since the last report are a Reading Book on Natural History for the upper standards, by Sir John Lubbock, several of Shakespeare's Historical Plays, edited by Miss Yonge, a Handbook for Young Church Workers by Miss Woodall, a Manual on Sight-Singing, to meet the latest requirements of the Code, and a book of English School Songs, by Mr. Villiers Stanford. In the department of Sunday School Literature your Committee regard with satisfaction the very marked increase in the sale of the Leaflets which have been issued during the past four years for the use of Sunday School teachers and scholars.' (N.S. A.R. 1884, 31)

This extract from the Annual Report continues to make clear that the National Society was concerned to maintain standards and to provide what was required by the state. The references above to the 'New Code' and the 'Code' refer to the Code for that year - 1884. It is interesting to note that they were employing some of the leading figures of the time to write for them. As the two consecutive extracts make clear they were using regular writers who produced works for them year on year. The Annual Report for 1885 lists some sixteen Branch Depositories which had a nationwide spread including such places as Alnwick, Durham, Bradford, Cirencester, Llanelly, Manchester, Nottingham, Canterbury and Wells. The report itself for 1885 contains much the same elements as in previous years, mentioning the continuing work of Miss Yonge and Mr. Villiers Stanford. It does also, however, include the first mention of the Scripture prints which were part of the Palgrave package of works. These were described as 'six small pictures illustrating scenes in the childhood of Christ'. They were reported to have had large sale and to have been warmly approved. The Report expressed the hope that they would be useful in

impressing the important incidents in the life of Christ onto the children's minds.

(N.S. A.R. 1885, 27-28)

These prints are listed in the catalogue as 'The Story of the Childhood of Christ. Beautifully illustrated by Six pictures from the Great Masters'. This book cost 3 shillings at reduced price to members or 4 shillings at published prices. This was quite a lot for the time and, presumably, schools would only have purchased one copy each. The 1885 report also notes that the Depository supplies 'books of other publishers at the lowest possible prices.' It also comments on the National Society's in-house journal the School Guardian indicating that it is now in its tenth year of publication, with an increasing circulation and is proving a valuable aid to the Clergy and Teachers in Church Schools. (N.S. A.R. 1885, 28)

This makes clear that the local Clergy were still, at this date, a very important element in the way the National Schools were run. Later it became clear that the National Society did not always have the support of the clergy. The Annual Report for 1886 contains the first reference to the work of F.T. Palgrave, as well as referring to the Scripture prints of the previous year:

'In the last Report, reference was made to the new series of small coloured reproductions from the old Italian Masters, which have been warmly approved by a large body of the Clergy and Sunday School Teachers, and which have been widely used as prizes or reward cards for Sunday Schools. A fresh enterprise of still greater interest calls for special remark in this place. In response to many and oft-repeated demands, the Society has undertaken a

series of wall prints for Schools, which, it is hoped, will fill a place unoccupied by the prints from Scripture hitherto provided for children. The aim in this series is to offer greater attractiveness in design and colour, and a rendering of the inner soul and sentiment of the Life of our Blessed Lord more true and more deeply felt than has hitherto in feeling of the earlier painters with an avoidance of the strange and archaic forms which perplex the English child of the present day. In this undertaking the Society has had the advantage of the counsel and active co-operation of Mr. F.T. Palgrave, whose wide knowledge of art and fine critical discernment enable the Society to accomplish what would otherwise have been impossible. To him the Society and the cause of Religious Education owe a debt of gratitude which demands special acknowledgment.' (N.S. A.R. 1886)

Here we see the concern, expressed again and again in the Annual Reports, for the spiritual content of the works produced for the National Society. The style of writing in this extract expresses this clearly so it has been given in full. This extract does not mention the books, but in the catalogue for 1886 under the heading of 'Books for Religious Instruction' there is given '*The Life of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*' Illustrated from the Italian painters of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Centuries' at a price of 15s 9d reduced price for Members, School Committees and Teachers or 21s for published prices. There is also listed '*The Story of the Childhood of Christ*, Beautifully illustrated by Six Pictures from the Great Masters; *The Story of the Ministry of Christ*, ditto; *The Story of the Passion of Christ*, ditto and *The Story of the Resurrection of Christ*, ditto. All these listed at 3s. to members etc. and 4s at published prices. It would seem from this scant information that the images produced by J. Edward Goodall were used for reward

cards, wall prints and the group of books. This innovative publishing scheme set a precedent for using Old Masters in work with children to try and impart religious knowledge and feeling.

The 1887 Report makes clear that the Wall Prints took time to prepare and that they were progressing as quickly as was possible bearing in mind the care with which they were being prepared. By then four prints had been published and two more in the first series were nearly ready. The National Society believed it was meeting a real need judging by the comments they were receiving. (N.S. A.R. 1887, 24)

It is frustrating that no copies of these wall prints have survived so it is not possible to say that they were absolutely identical with those used in both sets of books. It is, however, very likely that the same material was used because it would have been very expensive to obtain the services of J. Edward Goodall and the printmakers. This is also indicated by the reference in the 1886 report to F.T. Palgrave's involvement with the scheme. The 1887 catalogue, as well as listing the series of books, also gives under a heading of 'Scripture Texts, Creed, Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments etc. Illuminated': '*Childhood of Christ, The, A Packet of Six faithful Reproductions of Paintings by the Old Masters, Ministry of Christ, The, A Packet of Six faithful Reproductions of Paintings by the Old Masters, Passion of Christ, The A Packet of Six faithful Reproductions of Paintings by the Old Masters, Great Forty Days, The a Packet of Six faithful Reproductions of Paintings by the Old Masters.*' These all cost 1s11d or 2s6d. This presumably is the entry for the reward cards mentioned earlier.

This part of the catalogue also lists 16 varieties of illuminated texts for wall display judging by the sizes given.

The 1887 Report also mentions the publication of School Prize-books by well known authors. A substantial number of these have survived in the National Society archive and they are all illustrated with black and white line engravings in the manner of Victorian children's books of the period. These are themselves an interesting study but outside the main scope of this thesis because the illustrations pertain to the stories which, while thoroughly moral, are not scriptural as such. They are worth mentioning, however, because they do indicate that the National Society was taking advantage of all the different methods of printing in both colour and black and white. (N.S. A.R. 1887, 7)

The 1888 Report confirms much of what had gone before but indicates that the number of Scripture prints had increased by nine new ones. It states that these filled a gap in the market. The Report was also pleased with the reaction to the prize books issued during the last two years. It pointed out that these were of the highest quality which can be confirmed from those books examined in the National Society archive. (N.S. A.R. 1888, 24-25) Throughout their time as publishers the National Society was very concerned to produce work of the highest quality. This will be seen, in particular, when *The Life* and *The Stories* are discussed in Chapters Four to Six of this thesis.

In 1889 there is no mention of the Old Master prints, but it is just interesting to note that, having extolled the continued publication of the prize-books, the Report gives the usual list of authors which this year include a Miss Palgrave.

(N.S. A.R. 1889, 30ff) It is also perhaps appropriate at this point to note that the catalogue for 1889 contains, under the heading of Books for Instruction, such works as: *'Practical Work in Sunday Schools; How to Teach the Old Testament; How to Teach the New Testament; How to Teach the Prayer Book; How to Teach the Church Catechism; English Church History; The Epistles for the Christian Year, with Notes; The Gospel according S. Matthew with Notes; Notes, Questions, and Answers on our Lord's Parables, Gospels and Collects and Notes on the Proper Psalms for certain days.'* (N.S. A.R. 1889, 160) All these are listed just above the list of the books illustrated by Old Masters by Palgrave and 'R.E.H.' so it is clear that these works were intended to be instructional. It is not clear whether they were only intended for Sunday School work or whether they had a general application. They are given in this general section rather than the following one which is headed 'Church Teaching for Sunday Schools.

The 1890 Annual Report makes no mention of the Old Master series and it can be assumed that they had passed into the regular stock of the Depository and did not merit further comment. There is, however, an interesting reference to the constant attempt by the National Society to maintain standards. Although the books were not affected by the New Code the National Society were always introducing new works which at this time included a new set of Reading Books. It is interesting to note that

these were 'entrusted to writers who have a practical knowledge of the work of elementary schools.' (N.S. A.R. 1890, 30)

Moving on to 1895, there is no mention at this date of the Old Master series but there is an entry in the Annual Report which gives an insight into the spread of influence of the Society although the Conclusion gives an indication that the National Society by this date was not so well supported by 'churchmen' in England and Wales. This Report again expressed satisfaction with its Sunday School Literature which was always improving and had now produced fifteen 'distinct series of lessons'. These lessons were used not only in England and Wales but also 'in several of our most important colonies'. It is outside the scope of this thesis but there remains a fascinating story to be told of the influence of the National Society on schools throughout the Empire and their long-term effect on the local populations. The Report of 1895 also claims that the Judicial statistics reflect its influence for the good and uses this as an appeal for the support of 'English Churchmen'.

(N.S. A.R. 1895, 32-34)

Before leaving this brief overview of the National Society's work in the Depository it is important to note that in 1904, just after the period considered by this thesis, the extensive catalogue still lists *The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, together with the four smaller books by R.E.H. These are listed under the heading 'Illustrated Publications of the Life of our Lord.' In the same catalogue, under the heading 'Christmas and Reward Cards' there are listed as 'The Life of our Lord' the same paintings as are included in the books again in four sections: The Childhood of

Christ, The Ministry of Christ, The Passion of Christ and The Great Forty Days.

These are described in the list as 'Illustrated by highly finished Pictures, being faithful Reproductions of Paintings by the Old Masters.' The catalogue continues 'The Four Sets, which are suitable as Christmas, Lent, and Easter Cards, and for Reward Cards, are issued in neat Wrappers, and sold separately, price 1s 6d each. Size, 6 by 4 & half inches.' This corresponds to the pictures as measured in *The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five of this thesis. The catalogue also says that 'The separate Pictures may also be had as follows, the price in each case being net:- Mounted on millboard and varnished, price 3d each; Framed in glass, with mount, price 5d. each or In gilt frame, with mount, price 1s 4d each.' (N.S. A.R. 1904, 81-82)

Earlier in this catalogue there is a listing 'New Series of Scripture Prints' which is described in the Annual Report for 1904. This states that following demand the National Society has issued these Wall Prints for schools which again fill a gap in the market. The report confirms that these prints were chromo-lithographs done from drawings by J. Edward Goodall after the Old Masters. They express the hope that the prints will be found suitable for Mission Chapels as well as schools. Again there is this emphasis on mission. The prints listed are *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, *The Flight into Egypt*, *The Blessing of the Children*, *Our Lord walking on the Sea*, *The Raising of Lazarus*, *The Entry into Jerusalem*, *The Crucifixion*, *The Entombment*, and *The Holy Women at the Sepulchre*. (N.S. A.R. 1904, 33ff)

Some of these prints, as can be seen from Plates 1-5, are the same as those illustrated before Chapter Four and discussed in Chapter Five, others are different. If these Scripture Prints are the same as those discussed in the earlier Annual Reports in 1886-1888, then it is obvious that the programme given to J.E. Goodall was more extensive than just the drawings for the series of books and reward cards. Although there is no mention that this is all part of the same commission there is no reason to believe that it was not so. It would be unlikely that the National Society would have commissioned the work in two stages. It is just disappointing that the Minutes of the Depository Committee are not available for the earlier period which would have clarified this point.

Conclusion

This very brief look at some of the activities of the National Society and the Depository in particular indicates that the National Society was growing and developing in influence throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. It faced management problems, financial problems and some lack of support latterly but, nevertheless, it progressed steadily establishing a firm groundwork for church education. Central to all its work was the conviction that children should be trained in the principles of the Church of England which is why there is such a heavy emphasis in its publishing on materials for religious instruction and Sunday School work. In this context it was appropriate to use Christian imagery because this linked

directly to the work being undertaken in the schools. This will be seen when the work of training teachers for religious education is considered in Chapter Two.

By the end of the nineteenth century the Depository covered all aspects of need for National Society schools providing a much needed financial help in the provision of materials. The position of the National Society by the end of the nineteenth century as a leading educator meant that these materials had a wide influence. As will be seen in the next chapter the majority of teachers were still trained in Church of England colleges at the end of the century so they would be accustomed to using these materials. It is, therefore, possible to assume that the pattern of publishing in religious materials set by the National Society was one which became the accepted norm. The work of the National Society in producing high quality materials for schools set a standard which was to have a lasting effect as well as an important influence on teaching methods during the late Victorian period. It is clear that the National Society adopted the policy of producing very high quality educational materials to meet a recognised need.

NEW SERIES OF SCRIPTURE PRINTS

In response to many and oft-repeated demands, the National Society has issued a series of Wall Prints for Schools, which, it is hoped, will fill a place unoccupied by the prints from Scripture hitherto provided for children. These prints, which are executed in the best style of chromolithography, are from drawings, based upon the Old Masters, by Mr. J. E. Goodall. It is hoped that works of this high-class character will also be found suitable for home use and for Mission Chapels, as well as for Schools.

The Series, which is now complete, consists of the following prints:

- The Adoration of the Shepherds.
- The Flight into Egypt.
- The Blessing of the Children.
- Our Lord Walking on the Sea.
- The Raising of Lazarus.
- The Entry into Jerusalem.
- The Crucifixion.
- The Entombment.
- The Holy Women at the Sepulchre.

Price of each Print, 3s. Size of Print, 27 inches by 21 inches, with margin, 35 inches by 29 inches.

The Prints may also be obtained in the following forms:

	s.	d.
Canvas, Rollers, and Varnished	5	0
Stretcher and Varnished	6	0
Black frame, with gilt edging inside, and with glass	12	6
Flat oak frame, with gilt edging inside, and with glass (Picture and white margin but no cut mount)	12	6
Framed as an Oil Painting (without margin), gilt frame and glass	10	0
Flat oak frame, with gilt edging inside, and with glass (cut mount either in white card or in oak)	18	0

PACKING FRAMES FOR PRINTS ON STRETCHERS, per pair, 1s. 6d. net.

PACKING FRAMES FOR FRAMED PRINTS, per pair, 2s. net.

NOTE.—Photographic reproductions of the whole of the above series are given on pp. 35-38.

A discount of 25 per cent. from the prices quoted (except for Packing Frames) is allowed to Members of the National Society, and to the Clergy, School Managers, and Teachers.

Photographic Reductions of the
National Society's
New Series of Scripture Prints.



THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT



THE BLESSING OF THE CHILDREN



THE ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS

Plate 2



THE RAISING OF LAZARUS



OUR LORD WALKING ON THE SEA

Plate 3



THE CRUCIFIXION



THE ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM

Plate 4



THE ENTOMBMENT



HOLY WOMEN AT THE SEPULCHRE

Extracts from Opinions of the Press on the foregoing Series:—

The *Guardian* says:—'A new and important series of wall prints. * * * They are decidedly the boldest and, we think, the most successful attempt which has been made to meet a very real and general want.'

The *Monthly Packet* says:—'Beautiful coloured sacred prints * * * endeavouring to the utmost to accomplish that difficult matter, the combination of correctness of detail, reverence, instructiveness, and beauty. * * * So reverent and noble that they ought to teach a great deal insensibly. It is a great thing to have solemn beauty associated with sacred things.'

The *Church Times* says:—'A distinct improvement on the wretchedly drawn and ill-coloured pictures hitherto supplied for school and mission-room use, and will even bear comparison with some of the Arundel Society's pictures. * * * These very successful prints are worthy of a place in our churches. We congratulate the Society on its step forward, and hope Churchmen will support what must be a costly work.'

Church Bells says:—'A great advance on those which are often seen on the walls of parochial schools. * * * Pictures which we cordially commend for use in schools or mission chapels.'

CHAPTER TWO

THE NATIONAL SOCIETY AND THE PROVISION OF TEACHER TRAINING WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Introduction

The last chapter outlined the development of the National Society and the start of its publishing operation, the Depository. The chapter made clear that the National Society was responding to an identifiable need when it started its own publishing house. This need was to supply the schools with appropriate materials in response to their curriculum and the demands of the government. It was also seen in the last chapter that in the early days the emphasis was on materials with a Christian bias. The catalogue developed into a much wider field in later years, covering all aspects of classroom work but still retained a heavy emphasis on the provision of materials for religious education and the Sunday school. This chapter will show how this material fitted in to the needs of the curriculum both for use in schools and teacher training colleges.

The chapter will also show what a heavy emphasis was placed on the proper moral and spiritual training of the teachers and their pupils. It was this training which gave the National Society schools their special emphasis on Church of England spirituality and which also influenced many of the teachers in the Board schools after the Education

Act of 1870, who were trained in Church of England colleges. It will be seen in Chapters Four and Five of this thesis that there was a heavy emphasis on these moral standards and spiritual training in both *The Life* and *The Stories* and that the National Society decided to publish these books with these aims in mind.

The development of teacher training

By the middle of the nineteenth century the National Society was well-established in the field of teacher training. St. Mark's College for men had been established in 1840 and Whitelands, for women, had been established in 1841. In addition in 1843 the Battersea College which had been founded by James Kay-Shuttleworth was transferred to the control of the National Society (Connell 1950, 6ff). There was also a network of Diocesan Colleges but, although these were supplied with materials from the Depository, they were not directly under the control of the National Society. The general history of the development of the Victorian training colleges has been well-recorded (Rich 1972). The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to draw out from the National Society archive some of the material which relates specifically to the religious instruction of teachers both from the point of view of their own spiritual development and their responsibility as instructors of the pupils in their care. The word *instruction* is used advisedly because it was the concern of the National Society that teachers should be fully instructed in the doctrines and history of the Church of England as will be seen from the extracts that follow. This was in order that they could fulfill the terms of the Plan of Union (as set out in Chapter One of this thesis) and ensure that all children in National schools were given a proper religious education. As will be seen

in this chapter the moral character of teachers was also of great concern. This is interesting when compared with the general moral tone of Palgrave's book - see Chapter Four of this thesis.

Development of teaching methods

When the National Society schools were first founded in 1811, the monitorial system of teaching was adopted. This was also used by the non-conformist British and Foreign School Society where it was known as the Lancastrian system after the founder of that Society, Joseph Lancaster. The National Society scheme was known as the Madras system after the work in Madras by Dr. Bell. The monitorial system worked by the teacher giving information, mainly by rote, to the older children in the school who then took a group of younger children and passed on the information. Thus the teacher mainly filled the role of supervisor. This system was worked out in some detail in the National Society's Central School at Baldwin's Gardens in London which later moved to Westminster (Rich 1972, Ch.1 & Chapter 1, p.2-3 of this thesis).

The National Society's Annual Report for 1815 provides some interesting insights into their methods at that time. First there is a description of the Central School at Baldwin's Gardens which provides a verbal picture of what life in an early school must have been like:

‘ARRANGEMENT.

The Central School is divided into two rooms, well lighted and ventilated: one for 600 Boys, and the other for 400 Girls, allowing six square feet for each Child.

The Building is perfectly plain, and fitted up in the simplest manner, the walls white-washed, and the floor level. Writing desks, having in front a single row of benches on which the Children sit to write in successive portions, are placed round each School against the wall, with the top ledge about three inches from it, so as to admit the Slates on which they write to hang from hooks fixed 14 inches asunder in a slender deal rail, fastened to the wall about half a foot above the ledge. At the lower end of the School are placed the sand trays, extending across the room, at which the alphabet and stops are taught, and the under classes write a portion of their reading lessons. The rest of the room contains only a desk, on which lies a book for the insertion of Visitor’s names, and a few moveable forms in the Boys’ School, and two large work tables and forms in the Girls’ School; the area being left as open as possible, to allow full space for the classes to form, and the Children to pass freely to and from their places.

The Schools, - in which the Madras System is strictly observed as well in the mode of tuition, as in discipline, - are divided into aisles, and each aisle into classes of not more than 36 in each; the only rule for classification being the qualifications of the Children.

To each *class* are attached a teacher, and an assistant teacher, who have the entire management and direction of such class: the teachers being selected from a superiour, (sic) and the assistants from their own, or the class immediately above them, and, in whatever class they have charge, reading a portion of the lesson in turn with the other Children.

To each aisle is appointed a sub-usher, who sees that the teachers do their duty; and over each School presides a head-usher, or monitor. (N.S. A.R. 1815,173)

This vivid picture of a National Society School shows how regimented the teaching was at that time. It is also likely that the layout of the schools was not very different later when the project discussed in this thesis was in use because as late as the early twentieth century children were being described as *marching round* the teacher's desk to look at pictorial material (see Chapter Six of this thesis) In this extract from the 1815 Annual Report there follows a description of the pattern of lessons which reveals a key emphasis on religious teaching. This must have been the reason why the early catalogues as outlined in Chapter One contained mostly Christian texts:

'EMPLOYMENT

MORNING

The Schools open precisely at nine with *Prayers*, consisting of the 2nd and 3rd Collects of Morning Service, the Lord's Prayer, and "the Grace of our Lord", read by one of the Children; and every Child not present at Prayers, and not assigning a satisfactory reason for absence, is detained after School-Hours from five to thirty minutes.

After Prayers the first aisle *cipher* till ten - learn by heart *Religious exercises* till half-past ten - *write* till eleven - and *read* till the Schools are dismissed, at twelve.

Second aisle *write* till half-past nine - learn *Religious exercises* till ten - *read* till eleven - and *cipher* till twelve.

Third aisle learn *Religious exercises* till half-past nine - and *read* and *write* alternately till twelve.

AFTERNOON

The Schools re-open at two. The Girls' School, still in classes with teachers, assistants, &. learn *knitting* and *needlework* till half-past four, and *arithmetical tables* till five.

The Boys's School- first aisle *cipher* till three - *write* till half-past three - *read* till half-past four- and learn *arithmetical tables* till five.

Second aisle *write* till half-past two - *read* till half-past three - *cipher* till half-past four - and learn *arithmetical tables* till five.

Third aisle *read* and *write* till half-past four, and learn *arithmetical tables* or *cipher* till five; at which hour both Schools are dismissed with the Gloria Patri, *sung* by the Children after Prayers read by one of the Children, as in the Morning, with the substitution only of the 2nd and 3rd Evening Collects for the two Morning Collects.

The *Religious exercises* learnt by heart are - The Lord's Prayer - Grace before and after meat - 2nd and 3rd Collects of the Morning and Evening Service - Prayer on entering and leaving Church - the Catechism entire - and the same broken into short questions.

The Books in *reading*, for which the Children are prepared by previous instruction on the *sand trays*, are - National Society Central School, No. 1 or Cards (taught Card by Card, first by previous spelling, then by words) - National Society Central School, No. 2 - National Society Central School No.3 - the Sermon on the Mount - the Parables - the Discourses - and the Miracles of Our Blessed Saviour - Ostervald's Abridgement of the Old Testament - and Mrs. Trimmer's Abridgement of the New - all taught in the usual way, except that the spelling columns No.3 are first read syllabically and then by words: then follow the Bible and Prayer Book, to be put into the hands of such as by means of this initiatory course have attained to good reading.

The *ciphering* exercises begin with "Arithmetical Tables for the use of Schools on the Madras System" in order, viz. the Tables of Numeration, counting as far as 100 forwards and backwards, of Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication, and Division, and Tables of Money, after which the Children proceed in the same order to the practice of the rules on slates, ending with compound Multiplication and Division.

The *writing* exercises begin with the letters, figures, and stops, in the *sand trays*, and then proceed to writing on Slates, until sufficient progress is made for occasional writing in Copy-books.' (NS.AR.1815, 173-175)

This extensive extract has been given in full because it makes very clear the system of education used in a school where teachers were trained in the early days of the National Society. This outline of the school day contains several references to the pupils learning their lessons. This would have given them a good grounding in many texts but they no doubt found it very difficult and boring if they were not blessed with a good memory so that the learning was easy. Later in Chapter Six it will be seen that children's teaching was dependent upon this learning by rote. It will be noted that the list of books for reading corresponds to those recommended as available from SPCK in Chapter One and that children at this date were expected to learn to read from Christian texts. It is important to remember this when later in this chapter we consider the religious education curriculum used by the later training colleges. This is further emphasised in the 'Rules and Regulations for Training Masters' where, after instructions for their attendance we find the following:

'That as the object of the attendance of Training Masters upon the School, is their speedy and perfect attainment to a knowledge of the Madras System, every Master be desired on his first entry to attend one of the junior classes for his more ready initiation in the manner of giving out and saying a lesson, there to remain until such time as he is perfectly master of it, or rises to the top of the class, &.

That no Master be on any account allowed to take charge of any class, or be placed in any responsible situation, until he has been examined as to his competency, and pronounced sufficiently acquainted with the Madras System to be qualified for such charge, and that none be entitled to receive his

Certificate until he has been at least a week in such charge, and conducted himself therein to the satisfaction of the Superintendent.

Note.- The same rules may be applied *mutatis mutandis* to the Mistresses in Training.' (NS. AR. 1815, 177)

In the Annual Report for the following year, 1816, there is from the General Committee a report on the progress of Baldwin's Gardens which includes the following remark which underlines the authoritarian nature of the teaching at that time and gives an insight into the attitudes towards children at that time:

'...that under the discreet and indefatigable superintendence of the Rev. Mr. JOHNSON, the National System of Education is there exhibited in all its efficiency upon the moral sense, and intellectual powers of Children - subduing their unruly habits - fixing their attention - engaging their affections - and calling forth all the energies of their minds - in short, realising every thing which Dr. BELL's ardent mind has prompted him to anticipate, even to his own satisfaction.' (NS. AR. 1816, 9)

Later in the report there is an interesting description of the appointment, in the absence of the Master of the School, Mr. Johnson's assistant, of a boy of 14 to a supervisory role which proved entirely satisfactory (N.S. A.R. 1816, 10). There is no doubt that during this period the older children acting as monitors under the Madras System were expected to carry considerable responsibility. The same report also carries a note of the numbers of Training Masters and Mistresses who had passed through the school. There were some 52 Training Masters and 86 Training Mistresses. It also records that some 18 Boys and 14 Girls from among the children of Baldwin's Gardens had been employed in various parts of the country to extend the knowledge of the Madras

System (N.S. AR. 1816, 13). Clearly, at this time, the Madras System was proving effective and efficient in bringing into education some of the more deprived sections of the community allowing as it did the National Society to build up its organisation very rapidly.

The development of teacher training colleges

The Madras System, however, did not last beyond the middle of the nineteenth century. By 1846 the pupil teacher system had begun and the monitorial system was phased out (Rich 1972, Ch.1) By this time the Central School at Baldwin's Gardens had moved to Westminster in about 1830, a Model School had been established in 1837 and the teacher training colleges of St. Mark's (for men) and Whitelands (for women) had been established in 1840 and 1841 respectively. In 1834 and 1839 the Select Committee on Education gave evidence of the state of training and recorded that in addition to the Central School, training was carried on in 35 provincial centres. In 1840 James Kay-Shuttleworth had opened the Battersea College which was transferred to the National Society in 1843 (Selleck 1994, 10). Thus by the middle of the century the National Society was well-established in the field of teacher training. In considering the material about that training which follows, it is very important to bear in mind a key remark made by Rich:

'It is very easy to criticise with supercilious condescension the academic work of the early training colleges, but it must be realised that they were embarking upon something quite new in English education, something that was not to be found in any other type of educational institution. They were trying to do the

work of the secondary school before such a school was contemplated, and working out a curriculum quite unlike that of any school or university of the time.’ (Rich 1972, 77-78)

The pupil teacher system was established by the Minutes of the Privy Council in 1846. This was, in effect, a form of apprenticeship. In schools which were approved by Her Majesty’s Inspector, children of 13 and over could be apprenticed to the teacher for five years. These children did some of the teaching following instruction from the teacher. In addition they had extra instruction from the teacher. Grants were awarded to the pupil-teacher and the teacher at the end of the year if the inspector judged their work satisfactory. The pupil teachers were eligible to sit for the National examinations set by the HMIs and the Principals of the denominational Normal Schools. Those who obtained the best results were awarded Queen’s Scholarships to attend a Normal School (training college). Those who did not achieve this standard but did reach a certain lower standard could be awarded a Certificate of Merit. This meant they would receive a special annual grant towards their salaries at whatever school they taught. These Minutes also established a pension scheme. The result of this was an improvement in standards (Sutherland 1971, 21ff; Rich 1972, 119ff; Hopkins 1994, 136ff; Wardle 1976, Ch.6)

Inspection of schools

By this stage also, as was discussed in Chapter One, there was an established system of inspection of schools. Of particular note to this thesis, which is concerned primarily with the progress of religious education in National Society colleges and schools in

relation to the need for materials for this subject, are the reports of the Diocesan Inspectors. These chart the progress of religious studies in the training colleges. In this context it is interesting to note just what was required of the child at this stage. The Rev. James Fraser, who later became the Bishop of Manchester, said that by ten years a boy should be able to read and write and continued:

‘...and underlying all, and not without its influence, I trust, upon his life and conversation, he has acquaintance enough with the Holy Scriptures to follow the allusions and the arguments of a plain Saxon sermon and a sufficient recollection of the truths taught him in his catechism, to know what are the duties required of him towards his Maker and his fellow men. I have no brighter view of the future or the possibilities of an English elementary education floating before my eyes than this.’ (Parliamentary Paper, 1861; xxi, I, p.243, quoted in Sutherland 1971, 24)

It was this concentration upon a fully Christian education following the principles of the Church of England that was the particular contribution of the National Society. This determination to provide this type of education was reinforced by the establishment of the non-denominational board schools after the Forster Education Act of 1870. The significance of the National Society’s training colleges in this respect was that during the early years of the board schools almost all their teachers were trained by the Church of England, either in their own or the diocesan training colleges. Thus, although the board schools only taught a general Christian grounding, which was not compulsory, the teachers in those schools were coming from a background of training in religious education which will now be outlined.

The religious education syllabus in National Society Schools

The Annual Reports of the National Society regularly quote the religious education Syllabus in use for the Training Colleges. The Syllabus for 1882, just before the key dates in this thesis of 1884-1886, is worth quoting in full for the insight it gives into the thorough nature of the religious training:

‘CHURCH OF ENGLAND TRAINING COLLEGES

Syllabus for 1882

1. FOR THE COLLEGES FOR MASTERS

Holy Scripture

FIRST YEAR - Old Testament: The Book of Joshua, with the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Haggai (for 1882). New Testament: One Gospel - the Gospel according to St. Luke, with St. John xviii. and xix. (for 1882)

SECOND YEAR - New Testament: The Acts of the Apostles. The Epistle to the Philippians and the First Epistle to the Thessalonians (for 1882).

The Book of Common Prayer

FIRST YEAR - The Catechism, illustrated from Holy Scripture. The Order of Morning and Evening Prayer, including the Ember Prayers, the Prayer for all Conditions of Men, and the General Thanksgiving, but not including the Lectionary. The Litany.

SECOND YEAR - The three Creeds compared with one another, and illustrated from Holy Scripture (for 1882), together with Articles i.-v. (inclusive), illustrated from Holy Scripture. The Services of Baptism, Confirmation, and Holy Communion.’ (N.S. A.R. 1882, Appendix No: XXVIII, 106-107)

The syllabus for Mistresses is exactly the same but the syllabi for Acting Teachers and Candidates for Admission into Church Training Colleges, which are slightly shorter, have the same emphasis on the bible and the Church of England Book of Common Prayer:

ACTING TEACHERS
SYLLABUS FOR 1882

Old Testament: Genesis and Exodus. New Testament: The Gospel according to St. Matthew; the Acts of the Apostles.

Book of Common Prayer

The Church Catechism, illustrated from Holy Scripture. The Order for Morning and Evening Prayer, including the Ember Prayers, the Prayer for all Conditions of Men, and the General Thanksgiving, but not including the Lectionary. The Litany.

CANDIDATES FOR ADMISSION INTO CHURCH TRAINING
COLLEGES

SYLLABUS FOR JULY 1882

Old Testament: Narrative Portions of the Old Testament. New Testament: The Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles.

Book of Common Prayer

The Catechism, illustrated from Holy Scripture. The Order of Morning and Evening Prayer, including the Ember Prayers, the Prayer for all Conditions of Men, and the General Thanksgiving, but not including the Lectionary. The Litany.' (N.S. A.R. 1882, Appendix No. XXVIII, p.106/107)

It should be noted that, when the word *illustrated* is used above, this does not mean the use of pictorial illustrations but rather the use of examples taken from Holy Scripture. It is interesting to note that in the previous year, 1881, of 1,140 candidates for the 'October examination in religious knowledge of students in Church training

colleges,' some 250 gained a First Class pass, some 657 gained a Second Class pass, some 231 gained a Third Class pass and 2 failed.(N.S. AR, 1882, Appendix No. XXVIII, 107).

The influence of the National Society on teachers and pupils

With this in mind it is important that in Archdeacon Darby's Report on the Training Colleges there is the following statement which underlines the concern that the moral quality of the teacher was more important than exam results:

'All the Principals, *prima facie*, desire to get those who stand high in the Class List. But other considerations must be allowed to have weight; such as moral character, health, *bona fide* intention to serve as a Teacher. I will venture also to say that those who stand highest in the List of Queen's Scholars are by no means certain to become the best Teachers. Dash and brilliancy are not always combined with the patience and sympathy which are so much required in a Teacher...'

The report then quotes a critic of a Principal who insisted on moral character and continues:

'...If circumspection as to moral character is to be counted 'a mere phrase', and Religion is to be washed out of the daily life of our Training Colleges, the near future of our country is dark. It is a sad, even a bitter comment on the controversy, that in one College the only First Class in the Government List on admission had to be sent away for immorality...Long may our Church Training Colleges continue to be what they are, and prove themselves even yet more worthy of our Church and Nation! As a rule, our Teachers do carry with them

an influence both moral and religious in the best sense.’(N.S. A.R. 1882, 25-26)

Archdeacon Darby was reporting on the Training Colleges and laying down what was to be the watchword for the National Society schools and their teachers: a solid grounding in Christianity combined with a high standard of spirituality and morality. Later in the same Annual Report we find the Rev. F.J. Woodhouse reporting on the work of the schools in the Diocese of Rochester. He argues that the spiritual and moral training of the children is a reason to keep the National Society schools going and his words underline the beginning of the fear of that time that the Christian religion would be overwhelmed by other forces:

‘I do believe the religious lessons given in our Schools grow year by year more spiritual, more pertinently directed to the lives and surroundings of the children, speak more and more to them of their Heavenly Father’s ever present care for them, and send them out into the world with a clearer insight into the things which concern their eternal welfare. And these impressions can never be altogether effaced from their hearts, and they are the best safeguard they can have amidst the dangers which surround their young lives.’ (N.S. A.R. 1882, 28)

This emphasis on the moral and spiritual welfare of the pupils needs to be borne in mind when the writing of Palgrave and ‘R.E.H.’ is considered in Chapters Four and Five of this thesis. The joint Inspectors for Durham also underline the importance of religious instruction in their report in 1882 where they comment that ‘religious instruction’ is more than learning the facts and that ‘spiritual truths and practical

lessons' are equally important. Their comment on the way teaching is undertaken ties in directly with the attitudes which resulted in the publishing project of 1884-1886:

'But there is something higher still to aim at, and that is, so to excite their interest and draw out their intelligence that the Scripture narrative itself should suggest its own lessons and truths to their minds, and thus be truly and permanently useful. No doubt this is a great deal to expect from children, and requires time and pains and careful teaching, but it will be as interesting to the teachers as it is valuable to their scholars...' (N.S. A.R., 1882, 29-30)

Grants used to support the quality of religious education

This extract acknowledges that skilful teaching is required to make the scriptures interesting and it is clear that the use of art was intended to fulfill this purpose. In the same Annual Report for 1882 we find that the National Society decides to take on the full expense of the Inspections of Church of England Training Colleges which were to be undertaken:

'... by an Inspector nominated by the Archbishops and sanctioned by the Bishop of the Diocese in which the College is situate, (sic) under such Instructions as the Archbishops with the concurrence of the Bishop of the Diocese may from time to time think fit to issue...' (N.S. A.R. 1882, 92)

The resolutions then cover the cost of examinations and certificates and continue that there will be a Capitation Grant from the National Society where colleges are in financial need and have been inspected, linked to the examinations results in Religious

Subjects. Once again we find the National Society using the standard of religious education as a yardstick to measure their success.

Following this resolution we find in 1883 that the Capitation Grant was £3,063 'in addition to £1,124 which was expended in special grants to the Society's own Colleges at Chelsea, Battersea and Whitelands.' The cost of examinations in that year was £905 and the cost of securing 'a competent Inspector in Religious Knowledge, whose duty is to visit each of the Training Colleges' was £250. (N.S. A.R. 1883, p.22)

These were considerable sums at the time. In his report for 1883, the Inspector, Archdeacon Darby, continued his plea for continued moral training for teachers and argued that if the present system of religious based standards were replaced by a structure which just had lectures and examinations then it would be a great loss. He argued that the 'home life' of the colleges was a great advantage to the inculcation of this moral sense and commented that:

'No one who has to convey the truth could long continue to do so if he was bound to withhold that which he was convinced God intended him to impart, not as his own opinion, but as the expression of the Divine Will. The mind of those who teach under such conditions must lose force, and from the very property of truth conscience would itself be weakened.' (N.S. A.R. 1883, 23)

This comment is made at a point where the move towards the establishment of schools entirely unconnected with the Christian faith had begun with the board schools established after the 1870 Education Act. By this time the National Society was fighting a sustained battle to retain the right of schools to try and impart the Christian faith to its pupils. Clearly they were beginning to look for any educational means by

which they could do this and the publishing project of 1884-1886, with its emphasis on the attractiveness of the illustrated material, was part of this attempt to justify the position of the National Society.

At this juncture it should be pointed out that the various extracts from Inspector's reports are themselves taken from the extracts printed in the various Annual Reports. In the time available for research at the National Society's archive it was not possible to work on these full reports. If future research were undertaken they would be a valuable source for the ideas which underlay the Church of England training colleges during the nineteenth century - ideas which are still in essence present in the modern colleges.

The National Society's attempts to influence the home life of pupils

The Annual Report of 1883 finds The Rev. F.B. Lawson reporting on the work in Northampton and pointing out that he wanted pupils to lead more pious lives with a description of what he felt children should be taught:

'Persons ignorant of Bible History are often most devout; whilst those thoroughly well versed in Scripture may lead very indifferent lives. Could not then more be done in the way of stimulating the children's religious affections, awakening their consciences, and teaching them how to examine themselves? or (sic) again, in showing them how they should pray, when to pray, what to say in their prayers; how to read the Bible at home, when to read it, what to read in it, how much to read of it? or (sic) once more, could they not receive more definite instruction as to what is required of them as God's children, and

more plain directions as to the way in which they may cultivate the fruits of the Spirit, practise self-denial, do little needs (sic) of charity, and be cheerful and courteous?' (N.S. A.R. 1883, 25-26)

As will be seen in the discussion of Palgrave's approach to the introduction of high art into teaching practice in Chapter Four, it seems almost as if he were trying to answer this plea with his constant references to the power of holy art to inspire devotion and spiritual awakening. Likewise, in the text of *The Stories*, 'R.E.H.' is constantly emphasising the way in which children should be 'holy' and 'good'. The National Society was determined to provide children with a religious grounding which would permeate their whole lives and it was this to which the non-conformists and non-believers objected so strongly.

Teaching methods subordinated to religious instruction

The significance of religious instruction as a method of education is also emphasised in the very significant Annual Report of 1883, coming as it does just before publication of *The Life* and *The Stories*. In this The Rev. J.E. Parsons, who was the Diocesan Inspector in Hampshire, argues that systematic study of religious ideas makes for a well organised mind among pupils:

'...Memory is naturally the lowest faculty employed. Order and sequence of incidents require arrangement, and forbid confusion, of thought. Careful classification of the good, the doubtful, and the bad, in a character under observation, forms an intellectual as well as a moral exercise. Comparison and contrast are indispensable to the drawing forth of the lessons from various biographies; whilst the judgment upon a whole character demands close

observation, reflection, and analysis, with a thoughtful study of motives, as well as of moral and spiritual progress or decline...' (N.S. A.R. 1883, 27)

This extract indicates that many of the concerns of modern teachers as to the value of fact and memory work over imaginative teaching were also under discussion in the nineteenth century. It is an interesting comment on teaching methods of the period and once again emphasises that the religious instruction permeated every aspect of work in the National Society schools and Church of England training colleges. This particular report contains another comment by The Rev. F.J. Woodhouse, quoted earlier, who praises the National Society for continuing to keep Christian teaching in its schools. He also again points out the importance of the moral influence on children:

‘...coming as so many of them do from homes where, if drunkenness and open depravity are absent and exterior decorum is preserved, yet too often callous apathy, not to say sullen scepticism, prevails. And without wishing in the least to be uncharitable to one’s neighbours, one cannot be blind to the fact that the School Board system does lend itself only too kindly to, and does harmonise only too readily with, this increasing feature of our age, viz., indifference or hostility to religious truth.’ (N.S. A.R. 1883, 27-28)

Again and again it is clear from the comments in these Annual Reports of that period that the National Society felt itself threatened by the humanism that was becoming a much stronger force in society. Clearly the publication of a prestigious set of books would help their reputation in society at large.

The response of the teacher training colleges

With these reports in mind it is not surprising to find that in the report of the Reunion Day at Whitelands College in 1883, these thoughts are echoed in the Bishop's sermon which says that teachers need three things 'Knowledge, Goodness and Duty' and that they should always follow '*the* Teacher, the Saviour' (N.S. A.R. 1883, 57)

Likewise, it was reported that, when he distributed the prizes in the same year, Mr. Mundella, the Vice-President of the Privy Council, urged the trainee teachers to 'be mindful of the Religious Training of the children'. (N.S. A.R. 1883, 57) It is important to note the language used in all these reports such as 'instruction' and 'training'. The National Society was seeking to impose a particular faith viewpoint on their teachers and pupils and could not accept that there might be alternative ideas. This was, of course, in line with the ideas of that section of the British community which still believed that they had an overwhelming duty to impart the Christian faith to the whole world. As will be seen in Chapter Six of this thesis, where some late material is considered, the missionary attitude was fully part of the teaching in National Society establishments.

In Archdeacon Darby's report on religious instruction in the training colleges in 1883 we find interesting statistics which indicate that the religious instruction in board schools was considered to be inadequate for the standards required by the training colleges. (N.S. A.R. 1883 Appendix No. VI, p.60ff) In that year ninety-three First

Year Students at the Training Colleges for Mistresses (nationwide) came from Board Schools and ninety-five in the Training Colleges for Masters came from Board Schools. The report also records that of that number in the first year some 13 had received no religious instruction at all. In the Colleges for Mistresses, therefore, it is not surprising to find that when 1,435 came from Voluntary schools and 368 from Board Schools, of that number 16 per cent of those from Voluntary schools achieved a First-Class pass in Religious Knowledge while only 6 per cent of those from Board Schools achieved the same result. There are similar statistics for the Colleges for Masters. The report lists some 13 Colleges for Masters, including Battersea, St. Mark's and the Diocesan colleges. It lists 17 Colleges for Mistresses, including Whitelands. The report points out that the women do better at the entrance examinations than the men with 7 per cent of the men achieving a first class pass and 13 per cent of the women achieving the same. Of the 278 men who applied from Board schools only 1 achieved a first class pass while of the 954 who applied from voluntary schools 82 achieved this result. The report, therefore, contains the plea that pupil teachers should be encouraged to read and that their religious teaching should be improved. (N.S. A.R. 1883, Appendix No. VI, 67)

The report had earlier argued the importance of continuing religious instruction for the well-being of the schools in refutation of the non-denominational principles of the board schools. The point was made that it would be very difficult for teachers if they were made to withhold their faith from pupils. (N.S. A.R. 1883, Appendix VI, 61) It is interesting to find concern at such an early date with the position of teachers, who held strong views, being unable to communicate them to pupils. The National Society was,

of course, at this date, working on the premise that teachers not only had a right but had a duty to share their Christian faith. The 1883 report emphasises then that the Church of England colleges do admit pupils from board schools despite accusations to the contrary.

Issues affecting teacher training

The Annual Report of 1884 records the concern with the continued importance of religious instruction in schools and the position of the National Society in relation to the Board Schools. The main report is concerned with the way in which the money and attention being given to the Board schools is putting pressure on the Voluntary schools. They argue that schools supported by the rates are at an unfair advantage and that many people will find it difficult to complain about this. By this time teachers' pay in the Board Schools was higher than in National Society schools and often teachers trained by the Church of England with its high religious principles found themselves teaching in Board Schools because they could earn more. In this report the National Society argued that this was preserving the standards of religious education, such as it was, in the Board schools (N.S. A.R. 1884, 11-12).

Curriculum pressures

This Report in 1884 also records that an appeal has been made to the Prime Minister for increased help for Voluntary Schools. This was to take the form of an increase of the attendance grant allowed to all elementary schools. There is no doubt that at this

time the National Society schools were suffering financially. The Report continues with one of the results of this situation, namely the over-pressure felt by teachers and pupils. They conclude that the evidence is overwhelming that the demands of the New Code (i.e. the latest Code to be adopted) and the requirements of Inspectors are causing over-pressure which is affecting teachers as well as children. They find the New Code of Mr. Mundella a great improvement on the earlier Revised Code but are still concerned at its effects. (For detailed information on the Revised Code see page 22-23 in Chapter One of this thesis.) One of their concerns about this over-pressure was its effect on religious teaching as is set out in the comments of The Rev. R. Blight who was the Diocesan Inspector for Chichester (ie. responsible for inspecting religious instruction). He expressed his concern that 'Religious Teaching' was being pushed out of schools and that it was only the Diocesan Inspections which were ensuring that standards were maintained. He pointed out that teachers and managers of schools were very anxious and that government requirements for the curriculum were causing excess pressure. He also pointed out that, in this respect, the Board schools were under equal pressure and finding it difficult to 'see the children of the land trained on wise and liberal lines.' (N.S. A.R. 1884, 26)

The Rev. A.S. Stokes continues the argument later in this report and points out that the Clergy have a duty to ensure the continued importance of religious education. It is interesting to note that here the word *education* is used rather than *instruction* so it would appear that a subtle change is taking place although the report elsewhere does use the word *instruction*. He ends his report with the following sharp comments which emphasise that the debate about Church and State, Church and School was as

important in the nineteenth century as it is today, with the problem of grants affecting the influence of the government:

‘...And it would be far better for the Church to withdraw from all connection with Primary Education, as carried out by Government, than to acquiesce in a state of things in which religious instruction should be only a name and a sham. But the remedy is really in our own hands. If the Clergy will only let it be known, with no uncertain sound, that the sole *raison d’etre* of Church Schools is that sound and thorough Church Teaching should be therein given, and that they will give no countenance to Schools where this is omitted or tampered with, the object aimed at might be easily gained. (N.S.A.R. 1884, 27)

These concerns sound all too familiar in this modern day and age and make us realise that the National Society has been grappling with all of the main concerns of educational policy from its inception. In the same year it is interesting to note that the prizes at Whitelands College were presented by an MP, The Rt. Hon. W.H. Smith, and that he was reported as saying that the trainee teachers should understand the importance of ‘Religious Instruction’ and that ‘Education’ was only worthy of its name if it was based on ‘Religion’. (N.S. A.R. 1884, Appendix IV, 52)

The Annual Report for 1885 returns again to the question of over-pressure and brings to attention the difficulty of framing a Code to suit all requirements. In a telling passage they present an argument which is, again, all too familiar to modern ears, that it is impossible to frame a Code which will suit all children in Elementary schools:

‘The well-fed and carefully-nurtured children of well-paid artisans and tradesmen may, not infrequently, be able to make more rapid progress with

their studies than is required by the Standards of the present Code, whilst these are found far too difficult for many of the ill-fed children of very poor parents, who enjoy none of the advantages which conduce to the acquisition of knowledge.’ (N.S. A.R. 1885,13-14)

It is clear from this that the education of the very poor was very much the concern of the National Society and that they did not want their schools simply to meet the needs of those who were well-established in life. This makes it very significant that, when they produced materials for their schools, they were determined that the pupils should have the very best quality as was seen in Chapter One of this thesis and that they did not want the poorer pupils fobbed off with second best. For these deprived pupils the materials to be discussed in Chapter Four, Five and Six of this thesis, must have opened windows into their narrow worlds.

This report also returns to the question of pupil teachers and the religious instruction which they receive. There is a plea for them to receive support and help from the local clergy to relieve the pressure on the masters and mistresses. There is a particular plea by The Rev. A.G. Adamson, a Diocesan Inspector, for pupil teachers in Board schools to receive religious instruction because they receive none from their head teachers.(N.S. A.R. 1885, 24) This then hinders them when they try and take the entrance examination to the Church training colleges. This is picked up later in the Report of the Church Inspector of Training Colleges, Archdeacon John Darby when he notes that there are first year students who have been pupil teachers for four years ‘who are unable to find their places in their Bibles.’ Archdeacon Darby goes on to urge the Clergy to assist in the teaching of these pupil teachers because the number of pupil teachers coming from Board schools to Church of England training colleges is on

the increase. He also raises the question of pupil teachers being replaced by Assistant Teachers and suggests the establishment of two training colleges, one for men and one for women, which would be fee paying and would take the most promising students and would answer the need for Assistant Teachers. This report also notes that the Department (of education) had recognised as Assistant Teachers 'Graduates of any University in the United Kingdom, and women, over eighteen years of age, who have passed examinations such as the Oxford Local and Cambridge Local Examinations, or the Durham Examination for Senior Candidates not Members of the University'. (N.S. A.R. 1885, 55ff) Archdeacon Darby also comments on the satisfactory state of the colleges but is so concerned about the pupil teachers from Board Schools that he goes on to urge the Clergy to give them instruction because:

'The refinement which comes from intercourse with an educated mind, and the sympathy which is awakened by study of those things which are eternal, would tend to raise the tone and character of those who are hereafter to be placed in posts of wide influence.' (N.S. A.R. 1885, 54)

Archdeacon Darby also draws attention to the pressure on pupil teachers and suggests that they are relieved of their teaching duties for four hours in the week in order that they can study better. This is borne out by his statistics for that year in which of the 266 applications for admission to training colleges from Board schools only 2.2 per cent were in the First Class and 32.95 per cent failed to pass. (N.S. A.R. 1885, 58) This report ends with a plea for further effort to keep up the standards of the Training Colleges. (N.S. A.R. 1885, 59-60)

Conclusion

This chapter has set the scene for the materials which were produced for religious education by the National Society from 1884 onwards. It has given some indication of the life of an early National Society School and its curriculum to give an idea of what the setting would have been for the materials produced by the Depository. This has revealed, from an early stage, the emphasis on the incorporation of Christianity into the heart of the curriculum. The chapter has then given some indication of the development of teacher training in religious education and included some detail on the curriculum at that time which trainee teachers were expected to follow. This made clear that trainee teachers were expected to have a very thorough grounding in biblical studies and the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. This grounding was, of course, not only expected of teachers who would later work in National Society and other Church schools but also those who would later teach in the Board Schools after 1870.

The second half of the chapter revealed the mores behind this religious education part of the training. Through the medium of the various Inspectors reports, recorded in the National Society Annual Reports, their insistence upon the proper social, spiritual and moral values expected of teachers has been made clear. This has laid the ground for the way in which Palgrave and 'R.E.H.' insisted on these same values in their texts of *The Life* and *The Stories*. The chapter concluded with a discussion of some of the pressures facing teachers at the end of the nineteenth century. All this has made clear

the care which went into the training of teachers and the high hopes and aspirations which the National Society had for them. The importance which the National Society gave to the moral and spiritual training of teachers makes clear that they wanted these teachers to have the best possible resources for their work. This is why the success of the Depository and the publication of *The Life* and *The Stories* were key elements in the work of the National Society in its training programmes.

It has been, necessarily, a very brief look at some of the issues surrounding the religious education of teachers at this period but it makes clear some of the over-riding concerns. At this time teachers were expected to leave college with a substantial grounding in religious knowledge. They needed this not just to pass on the information learned to their pupils but also to inform their demeanour and life-style. The National Society still took the stance outlined in its Plan of Union that the precepts of the Church of England were a vital part of the fabric of society and that all their teachers should subscribe to this position. Even when they were forced to recognise that part of their intake was coming from the Board schools and, therefore, did not have the same religious grounding as those coming from voluntary schools the National Society saw themselves in a 'missionary' position educating those pupils in such a way that they would return to the Board schools with a profound understanding of and sympathy with the precepts of the Church of England. Clearly this was a position which would have to change over the coming years. From the point of view of the works produced by the Depository it is clear that the block of materials using the Old Master illustrations were designed to respond directly to the call of Archdeacon Darby at the end of his report quoted above. As will be seen in Chapter

Four, Palgrave was very clear that the Old Masters chosen had the power to lead the viewer into a sense of what was holy and true. Presumably it was hoped that such images would so inspire the readers that they would be encouraged in their studies to learn more and more deeply. The question, of course, is why Old Masters were chosen rather than contemporary works. The next chapter will show that the National Society productions fit within the general pattern of art appreciation at that time and that, while it might have been considered more modern to use contemporary artists, the trend was to return to the earlier art. Thus in trying to help its students, both children and trainee teachers, to live a life of exemplary Christianity undergirded by a thorough scriptural knowledge, the National Society turned to the influence of some of the leading writers in this field of the time.

CHAPTER THREE

THE NATIONAL SOCIETY AND THE RE-INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIAN IMAGERY INTO ENGLAND - SOME INFLUENTIAL FIGURES

Introduction

Chapter One outlined the development of the National Society with particular reference to the growth of the Depository. This chapter also drew out from the material the desire of the National Society to produce books to satisfy the demands of first the restrictive Revised Code and later the New Code. The Depository did this by trying to publish a very high standard of books using the latest methods and significant modern writers. Chapter Two revealed some of the teaching methods used by the National Society and the curricula for religious education. Through the various Inspectors' reports quoted it also gave an insight into the expectations raised by that religious education, in particular the importance of a good moral, doctrinal and scriptural education. This chapter, therefore, shows how the National Society responded to these demands with one particular publishing project between 1884-1886 which, it claimed, used Italian Old Master Christian images for the first time in religious education. The chapter shows that the General Committee of the National Society, in deciding to use this particular material, was clearly influenced by a number of prominent writers in the field of Christian art and by some of the leading figures that surrounded the Society.

Questions surrounding the choice of material

As was seen in the last chapter from the Inspectors' reports, there was far more to the religious education training of teachers than just the presentation of facts about Scripture and Christian belief and practice. The intention of the training colleges, both diocesan and national, was to produce a teacher fully committed to the principles of the Christian Church - in particular the Church of England - who had a rounded and sophisticated moral background. With this in mind the question arises as to why did the National Society, when it planned the major publishing project culminating in the publication between 1884 and 1886 of four small illustrated books for children on the life of Christ, the book *The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* and later reward cards and posters, decide to use illustrations based on original Italian Old Masters so closely tied into the beliefs and practices of the Roman Catholic Church? This question cannot be answered conveniently by reference to appropriate records at the National Society archive because the Minutes of the Depository Committee for the relevant years were not there when the archive was searched and because the Minutes of the General Committee do not make specific reference to this project. The Annual Reports do mention the project (see Chapter One, p.18 ff) but only to comment with approval and without reasons for the decision to use this illustrated material. It is, therefore, only by inference that a possible explanation can be given. This chapter will show how several prominent writers in the field of Christian art may have had a profound influence on the work of the National Society. The two main questions are: why did the National Society turn to Italian Old Masters for their material and why did

they ask Professor Francis T. Palgrave, Professor of Poetry at Oxford, to write the Introduction and Notes for the main book *The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ?* It would also be interesting to find out why they chose 'R.E.H.' to write the text for the four small children's books on the life of Christ but at the time of writing there is still no indication as to who this mysterious author might be. The reason for asking these questions is important. This group of publications were the first to use Italian Old Master Christian imagery in religious education material.

Influences on the National Society

a) The Oxford Movement

The Oxford Movement was founded to bring back to the Church of England, in its doctrine and practice, the truly 'catholic' nature of its inheritance and to defend the Church from the growing liberalism of the times. Its inception was said to be a sermon preached by John Keble in 1833 in the University Church at Oxford on the subject of national apostasy. It is sometimes known as Tractarianism from the series of *Tracts for the Times*, written mainly by John Newman, which propagated the movement's ideas. (Murray eds. 1996, 361) The Movement, however, had its origins rather earlier than John Keble's sermon when a group of like-minded men began to take action to counteract the growing liberalism of the Church of England. These men included John Keble and his pupil Hurrell Froude and John Newman, later Cardinal Newman. Froude became a close friend of John Newman when he was elected as a Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford while Newman was Tutor there in 1826. In 1828

Newman became Vicar of St. Mary's Church in Oxford and from then became increasingly vocal in his determination to defend the liturgy and enforce the Apostolic Succession. (Martin 2000, 57) Newman in his autobiography, *Apologia pro vita sua*, commented on his views at this time:

'First, was the principle of dogma: my battle was with liberalism; by liberalism I mean the anti-dogmatic principle and its developments...Secondly, I was confident in the truth of a certain definite religious teaching, based upon this foundation of dogma; viz. that there was a visible Church, with sacraments and rites which are the channels of invisible grace. I thought that this was the doctrine of Scripture, of the early Church, and of the Anglican Church.'

(Newman, Ed. Ker, 1994, 61-62)

These views by Newman followed the passing of the Roman Catholic Relief Act in 1829, often referred to as Catholic Emancipation, and the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England. This act finally removed most of the restrictions on the practice of the Roman Catholic faith and allowed Roman Catholics to be admitted to public offices. 'Earlier Roman Catholic Relief Acts in 1778 and 1791 had allowed Roman Catholics to hold property and have Roman Catholic Schools. They had also freed Roman Catholics from the Statutes of Recusancy and the Oath of Supremacy. The effect of these acts was to allow Roman Catholics to play a full part in the life of the country. (Cross & Livingstone 1974, 255-256)

John Newman continued as a staunch Anglican and in 1840 went so far as to publish first an article in the *British Critic* and then Tract 90 both of which argued that the 39

Articles of the Church of England could be reconciled to the position of the Roman Catholic Church. These writings provoked a storm of protest from the Church of England and Newman was asked by his bishop to desist from writing further on the subject. Tract 90 was, therefore, the last of the Tracts. Newman himself, from that moment began to move steadily towards the Roman Catholic Church and was received into that Church in 1845. During the years of his move to conversion there was a steady and growing stream of conversions to the Roman Catholic Church by leading figures in the Oxford Movement. John Keble never converted and, as will be seen later in this chapter, he became an influential figure who knew the author Charlotte Yonge. Those like Keble who remained within the Church of England spearheaded the move to restore those liturgies and doctrines which were truly 'catholic and anglican'. This group became known as Anglo-Catholics and became a powerful and significant force in the Church of England in the way the liturgy was conducted and in social awareness. Although there is no documentary evidence available it is known that leading members of the National Society were on the Anglo-Catholic wing of the Church of England. (Information supplied by Dr. Brenda Hough, former Director of the Church of England Record Centre) It would, therefore, have been natural for them to have considered using images from the Roman Catholic Church. In particular, this would be so bearing in mind the art historical analysis of the period by Jameson and Lindsay as discussed later in this chapter.

The Church of England by this time was under attack from free-thinkers and the non-conformist movements but it was the threat of Roman Catholic domination which drove the Church of England into defending its 'catholic' heritage. In books on the

history of education generally detailed information is given on the relationship between the Church of England and the non-conformists but little attention is paid to the influence of the renewed presence of Roman Catholicism (Rich 1972, Sutherland 1971 for example). This question is, however, discussed by A.N. Wilson in his recent book *The Victorians* where he makes clear the growing strength of the Roman Catholic Church in England and the sometimes harsh reaction to this. (Wilson 2002, 59, 139 & 371ff) In this question of the type of materials produced by the National Society for its schools it is crucial. It is inappropriate in this thesis to go into this conflict in any great detail but two short quotes from the two leading cardinals, Wiseman and Manning, will give an indication of the dilemma that faced the Church of England at this time and the necessity of providing children with materials which would both underline their 'catholic' heritage and give them a sense of the significance of the Church of England. In a pastoral letter Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman stated:

'...the greatest of blessings has just been bestowed upon our country, by the restoration of its true Catholic hierarchical government, in communion with the see of Peter...

'Catholic England has been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament, from which its light had long vanished, and begins now anew its course of regularly adjusted action round the centre of unity, the source of light, and of vigour.' (Wiseman in Arnstein 1982, 45-47)

In even more triumphalist mode Manning stated that the reconversion of England was about to begin:

'It is yours, Right Reverend Fathers, to subjugate and to subdue, to bend and to break the will of an imperial race...

‘You have to call the legionaries and the tribunes, the patricians, and the people of a conquering race, and to subdue, change, transform, transfigure them.’
(Manning in Arnstein 1982, 60)

Arnstein then continues with the following paraphrase of Manning’s sermon:

‘England still stood at the head of Protestantism, ‘the master-heresy of these latter days’, but once weakened, once conquered in England, that heresy would be conquered everywhere. Restored to true faith, England would become ‘ the evangelist of the world’. (Arnstein 1982, 60)

The National Society was determined to prove that this charge of ‘heresy’ was unfounded and that the form of Christianity propounded by the Church of England was truly ‘catholic’ but protestant in its foundation.

In 1770 there were just 80,000 recorded Roman Catholics in England. In 1847 there were 284,000 which rose to 758,000 in 1851 due to Irish immigration. This was a very large increase. (Arnstein 1982, 40ff) In addition there were some celebrity converts such as John H. Newman, the author discussed earlier, 27 peers, 417 members of the nobility, 205 army officers, 39 navy officers 129 lawyers, 60 doctors, 162 literary men and women, including Pugin. (Arnstein 1982, 40ff). It was part of the Roman Catholic policy to try and convert leading figures and the precision of these numbers indicates the importance they attached to this process.

This brief snapshot of the increasing pressure felt by the Church of England to underline its claim to be truly ‘catholic’ in its doctrine and practice, indicates one of the possible reasons why the National Society decided to draw upon some of the Christian

imagery which had been produced for the Roman Catholic Church provided it did not offend any particular Protestant principles. This decision was taken at a time where there was little imagery in Church of England churches and where there was little tradition of Christian art. As will be seen in Chapter Four, Palgrave was at pains to emphasise the proper moral nature of the images chosen and the analysis of the images themselves in Chapter Five will reveal how carefully these particular images were chosen to take what was permissible from the Roman Catholic tradition without offending a staunchly protestant audience. That these images were taken from Italian art created for the Roman Catholic Church rather than contemporary English Christian art, such as that produced by the Pre-Raphaelites, is a question which is probably answered by the fact that many of the leading members of the National Society were on the Anglo-Catholic wing of the Church of England, as mentioned above. It is also probably due to the influence of the Grand Tour and some of the literary figures of the period as will be discussed below.

b) The Grand Tour

The Grand Tour had been well-established since the eighteenth century (Black 1997, 1ff) when both John Ruskin and Francis T. Palgrave went abroad with their families. (Hilton 1985, 25; Dictionary of National Biography, 1114) This concept that, for a full education, young men - and less often women - should spend a year or two travelling on the continent had become engrained in the upper-class and middle-class mores by that time. The trail was a well-established one which led through France, Switzerland and Germany to Italy and sometimes Greece. The subject of the Grand Tour is well

recorded in the literature (Black 1997; Hearn et al 1998; Wilton & Bignamini 1996) and, in detail, is well beyond the scope of this thesis. The purpose of these few paragraphs, therefore, is simply to show that educated men and women were very familiar with European art and that it would have been quite natural for them to turn to Italian art when they chose illustrations for the National Society publishing project in 1884-86.

That said, when eighteenth century travellers abroad encountered Christian art in churches and cathedrals, they were not always appreciative of it. Sometimes their comments were scathing. A tourist in 1721 was very sceptical of the miracle working powers of an image and two years earlier a Dr. Joseph Atwell scorned the relics of eleven thousand virgins in Cologne and commented unfavourably on the trumpery of the images in Aachen. (Black 1997, 239) It was this scepticism which led the National Society to emphasise the educational and moral importance of the images they used rather than their miraculous powers. In this they were being highly selective and ignoring a large part of the Roman Catholic Church's relationship with images.

It is important to remember this sceptical attitude when considering later the images used by the National Society. These included images from Varallo which was very much associated with the experiential nature of Roman Catholic belief and practice. (Macgregor 2000, 139-142) Palgrave, however, is very much concerned in his notes to the images to emphasise their pictorial and moral qualities rather than any miraculous content.

Other later visitors to Europe were more attracted by the painterly quality of the art. For example Lord Nuneham wrote that he was longing to see the finest galleries in order to improve his taste and skills (Black 1997, 260). As Black points out many British artists also travelled in Europe and were, no doubt, much influenced by what they saw there. Travellers also commissioned contemporary European artists to paint pictures for them. (Black 1997, 261) This is interesting when set alongside the National Society decision to go back to the Old Masters for their illustrations rather than copy this habit by engaging contemporary artists. Perhaps one of the reasons for their decision can be seen in this reaction of Thomas Brand in 1779 on a visit to Antwerp:

‘The instant I got into the Cathedral of Antwerp I lost my breath and stood still with wonder. The superb altars, the colossal statues, the pictures, the solemnity of the people and all together deprived me of all my faculties; I gaped and stared...The descent of the Cross in the Cathedral by Rubens and the Christ in the Church of the Beguinage by Vandyke and either of them worth a journey from England.’ (Brand in Black 1997, 269)

Although this description is about Northern art it does demonstrate that by the late eighteenth century it was becoming possible for people to admit to the possibility of art having a moving effect on the soul. It is this quality which Palgrave constantly comments on in *The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* as will be seen in the next chapter.

A great number of older pictures were bought by those who had been on the Grand Tour and extensive collections of art had been built up in England by the middle of the

nineteenth century. A very high proportion of these came from Italy so it is more than likely that those members of the National Society who chose the images for their project would be familiar with at least some of these collections. (Black 1997, 262ff) This makes it all the more interesting that of the twenty-four images they chose only one could be found in an English gallery or collection. This was *The Doubt of St. Thomas* by Cima da Conegliano (Plate 18a) which was bought by the National Gallery, London, in 1870 and is still there. All the rest were either still in Italy, France or Vienna. In the absence of modern reproductions these images must in part have been chosen because they had been seen *in situ* by those making the choice. At this period the National Society was more concerned with the spiritual and moral qualities of the pictures (as will be seen in the next two chapters) than with the accessibility of the images. Children did not visit galleries and museums with the frequency which is encouraged today and, in any case, the National Society considered their copies to be of such a high standard that it did not matter that the originals could not be seen. The modern understanding of the importance, in the study of art, of seeing and experiencing an original image had not been developed.

c) Literary influences

As well as the more general influences of religious tensions and the history of the Grand Tour, the National Society was almost certainly influenced by some of the writers on art of the nineteenth century. Some of these were continental writers such as Rio and Kugler both of whose works were translated into English in the nineteenth century. There was also an important group of English writers which included Anna

Brownell Jameson, Lord Lindsay (Alexander Crawford), Dean Farrar, John Ruskin, Charlotte Yonge and Francis Palgrave himself. Others did write on the subject but these are people who were directly connected with the National Society either through a practical relationship or because Palgrave quotes them in *The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*. There is a wide literature about these figures, particularly John Ruskin, and again it is not the intention here to go into their lives or writings in great detail. The purpose of the following short comments on these writers is to demonstrate that by 1884-86 the subject of Italian art and its application had become well-known and that, in the light of the work of these writers, it was natural for the National Society to turn to Italian Old Masters for their illustrations. In other words, by the middle of the nineteenth century the long-established Protestant objection to images had been broken down.

1) Anna Brownell Jameson 1794-1860

Anna Brownell Jameson was part of a well-known literary group from 1830-60. She published 20 books during her career, including a number of volumes on Italian art. The last of her works, *The History of our Lord*, was published posthumously in 1864. This volume was the final volume of her series *Sacred and Legendary Art* which had first been published in 1845 as articles in the *Athenaeum*. (Johnston 1997, 1) As well as her extensive reading of earlier writers on Italian art such as Vasari, 1511-74, whose *Lives of the Artists* was well-known to Victorian readers, Anna Jameson was able to draw on her own travels to the Continent when she travelled as a governess and on later occasions with her father. Her influence must have been extensive and she was

referred to by John Ruskin, when discussing the question of truth in *Modern Painters* Volume III, in a not altogether flattering way:

‘For instance, Mrs. Jameson, somewhere mentions the exclamation of a lady of her acquaintance, more desirous to fill a pause in conversation than abundant in sources of observation - “What an excellent book the Bible is!” This was a very general truth indeed - a truth predicable of the Bible in common with many other books, but it certainly is neither striking nor important...’ (Ruskin in Cook & Wedderburn 1903, 150).

Anna Jameson used careful arguments for a new appreciation of Christian art which was by then pouring into England. She pointed out that Christian religious imagery had become strange to the English people since the Reformation and described it as a ‘form of *Hero-Worship*’ related to the ‘once popular legends of the Catholic Church’. She said that it was regarded as far removed as the fall of Babylon but that, in reality, it was only two or three centuries away from that period. She comments, however, that:

‘Of late years, with a growing passion for the works of Art of the Middle Ages, there has arisen among us a desire to comprehend the state of feeling which produced them, and the legends and traditions on which they are founded; a desire to understand, and to bring some ever critical test, to representations which have become familiar without being intelligible.’ (Jameson 1866, 1)

This reference to the love of all things from the Middle Ages refers to the ideas of such people as Pugin (1812-52) and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood founded in 1848 just at the time Anna Jameson was beginning her series of *Sacred and Legendary Art*. Later

in this volume Jameson argues that what God has permitted in the past should be a foundation on which later generations can build and that it was right that there should be a return to the use of Christian imagery, commenting that Protestants should not feel this is wrong:

‘As a Protestant, I might fear lest in doing so we confound the eternal spirit of Christianity with the mutable forms in which it has deigned to speak to the hearts of men - forms which must of necessity vary with the degree of social civilisation, and bear the impress of the feelings and fashions of the age which produced them; but I must also feel that we ought to comprehend, and to hold in due reverence, that which has once been consecrated to holiest aims, which has shown us what a magnificent use has been made of Art, and how it may still be adapted to good and glorious purposes, if while we respect these time-consecrated images and types, we do not allow them to fetter us, but trust in the progressive spirit of Christianity to furnish us with new impressions of the good - new combination of the beautiful.’ (Jameson 1866, 6)

These comments are almost an *imprimatur* for the Protestant churches to return to an appreciation of Christian art and an acceptance of it in their churches. Palgrave, as will be seen in the next chapter, refers to Mrs. Jameson and much of his Introduction follows the tone of her writings. It is just interesting to conclude this section with some of the remarks made by Lady Eastlake in her Introduction to the *History of Our Lord* by Anna Jameson, published after her death in 1864. These too would have been known to Palgrave and the National Society. Lady Eastlake sounds a cautious note arguing that the search must be for images that are ‘most Christian’ and that, in the past, the pursuit of artistic ideals has superseded the Christian purpose:

‘There are none who feel deeply the intention and power of Christian Art who will not confess, on looking at the works of the greatest masters of the sixteenth century, that the sense of religious edification keeps no pace with that of their technical beauties; but that, by a strange paradox the excellence of the means has become apparently fatal to the sacredness of the end.’ (Eastlake in Jameson 1865, 1-2)

It is clear from the way in which Palgrave wrote that he was well aware of this sentiment, which was published before the National Society project was being undertaken between 1884 and 1886. As will be seen in Chapters Four and Five of this thesis, Palgrave was at pains to emphasise the spiritual and moral qualities of the images and their closeness to the bible texts. Lady Eastlake continues her discussion by reminding readers that often Christian images had been based on legend rather than the biblical texts. She comments that during the Renaissance it was the habit to add to the scriptures but that since then it had been the policy to stay close to the original text. She argues that the integrity of art was important:

‘... it may be at once laid down as a principle that the interests of Christian Art and the integrity of Scripture are indissolubly united. Where superstition mingles, the quality of Christian Art suffers; where doubt enters, Christian Art has nothing to do.

It may be averred, that if a person could be imagined, deeply imbued with aesthetic instincts and knowledge, and utterly ignorant of Scripture, he would yet intuitively prefer, as Art, all those conceptions of our Lord’s history which adhere to the simple text.’ (Eastlake in Jameson 1865, 5-7)

Eastlake does, however, accept that some legendary additions can have spiritual and moral significance:

‘...On the other hand, additions to Scripture given in positive images, if neither prejudicial to Art nor inconsistent with our Lord’s character, are not in themselves necessarily objectionable; but will, according to their merits, be looked upon with indulgence or admiration... even such imaginary episodes will silence the most arrant Protestant criticism, by their overpowering appeal to the feelings; since in neither case is the great duty of Art to itself or to its Divine object tampered with.’ (Eastlake in Jameson 1865, 5-7)

These last comments are interesting in a general sense in that they opened the way for many modern interpretations where the basic gospel story is elaborated. For example there are today books for children which tell the story of the of Christ’s life in a variety of ways including one book where the story of the ‘miracle of five loaves and two small fish’ (St. Matthew Ch 14 v 14-21; St. Mark Ch 6 v 35-44; St. Luke Ch 9), for example, is told through the eyes of a young boy. (*The boy who gave his lunch away* by D. Hill 1967) For the purpose of the understanding of the National Society’s original project it is important to note that all the images correspond to gospel accounts of the narrative of Christ’s life. It seems that the National Society was prepared to see the value of Christian art but not to depart too far from the most accepted images.

A final important point to note is that when Jameson first published her writings on sacred and legendary art they were entitled *The Poetry of Sacred and Legendary Art*. Johnston implies that this was deliberate because Jameson wanted to emphasise that in her writings she took the ‘aesthetic rather than the religious view’.

(Johnston 1997, 160) Jameson first used this type of allusion in 1826 when she referred in poetic terms to a portrait she attributes to Huysman. This pre-dates the

same type of link being made by Ruskin in *Modern Painters* I in 1843. Whether or not it was Jameson and her source Rio, author of *De La Poésie Chrétienne*, who influenced Ruskin or whether it was Ruskin who influenced Jameson's later works it is hard to disentangle. The important point is that the link had been made and that this is perhaps one pointer as to why the National Society chose Francis T. Palgrave, an established poet and the editor of *The Golden Treasury*, a collection of poetry, for the important role in its publication *The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*. Palgrave was made Professor of Poetry at Oxford in 1885, the year of this work's publication.

2. Alexander Crawford, Earl of Lindsay, 1812-1880

Alexander Crawford is usually referred to in the literature as Lord Lindsay. He is, however, catalogued under Crawford because he did not succeed to the family title until 1869. In the 1830s there was increased enthusiasm for early Christian art, following the publication in 1836 of the book by A.F. Rio, *De La Poésie Chrétienne*. This book influenced a number of writers including Jameson as was noted above and John Ruskin. Rio's main point was that art should not be judged on its position in the historical development of art as had been set out by Vasari, but according to its moral and spiritual qualities. (Brigstocke in Weston-Lewis Ed., 2000, 17-24) It should be noted briefly, however, that Vasari was often concerned to draw attention to the spiritual qualities of a work. Alexander Crawford, as he was then, decided at that time, during a tour of Italy to write his own book on the subject. This was published in 1847 as *Sketches in the History of Christian Art*. In an introduction entitled

'Memoranda', Lindsay argues that there is a balance in nature between the beauty and strength of the body and the power of the intellect which should be reflected in art.

He continues that despite the fall of Adam there was a continuing moral sense:

'Nevertheless the Moral Sense, although comparatively deadened, still survives, witnessing to what is pure, holy and fitting; and the struggle between Imagination and Reason (marvellously overruled) still reveals to the calm intelligence the vision of Truth important in the heavens - of Truth in the Abstract or Universal, inclusive both of particular Truth and of that beauty which, being antithetically opposed to it, is falsely deemed its enemy - in a word, of the Ideal, that point of union between God and Man, Earth and Heaven, which, crushed and crippled as our nature is, we can recognise and strive after, but not attain to. Nevertheless it is in this striving that we fulfil our duty and work out our salvation.' (Crawford (Lindsay) 1847, xi)

It is this argument about the place of art in the striving of the human race for salvation which runs through much of the Victorian writing on the subject. Certainly, as will be seen in Chapters Four and Five of this thesis, 'R.E.H.' and Palgrave were concerned that the art they were using was enabling the viewer to come closer to that pattern of salvation. Lindsay then goes on to argue that there are three great patterns of development in the human race: the material development by what he calls the race of Ham, the intellectual development by the Greeks and the highest spiritual development by the race of Shem - the Jews and the Christians. He continues by arguing that the development of art corresponds to these three divisions and that, therefore, he can argue that Christian art is greater than Classic art. He then makes an argument that Christian art was the greatest expression of spiritual integrity

undergirded as it was by the individual's relationship with God - a view which was later upheld by Palgrave:

'It is not, in a word, symmetry of Form or Beauty of colouring, apart or conjoined, that is required of us and that constitutes our prerogative, but the conception by the artist and expression to the spectator of the highest and holiest spiritual truths and emotions, - and - this the vantage of the Bible over the Iliad is not more decided than that of Christian over Classic Art - than the depth, intensity, grandeur and sweetness of the emotions at the command of Christian artists, has compared with those elicited by the ancients.' (Crawford (Lindsay), 1847, xv-xvi)

He concludes this passage by describing the enormous power of Christian images to move the viewer, citing Fra Angelico and Perugino - among others - as examples of the pure spirituality of great art. It is interesting to note here that Lindsay extolls the Christian virtues of Fra Angelico who was the source of ten of the twenty-four images chosen by the National Society for their project. Fra Angelico was later beatified by the Roman Catholic Church and is often referred to as Blessed Fra Angelico. It is this sense of the superiority of the Christian vision which imbues both Lindsay's writings and Palgrave's Introduction to *The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*. In his *Memoranda* Lindsay continues the argument that Christian art demonstrates a striving towards an Ideal of Christian perfection. He argues that this striving affects the way the artist works and draws an analogy between the doctrine of the Trinity and the place of art:

'Meanwhile we may at least observe - with the deepest reverence - that the three Arts, considered in a Christian sense, as a manifestation of the Supreme

Being through the Intellect of Man, his Image, present a sort of earthly shadow of the ineffable and mysterious Trinity in Unity, in Its relations with the Material Universe, - Architecture symbolising the Father, known to us chiefly by the harmony and proportion of what we term his attributes - Sculpture the Son, the Incarnate Form or Outline (so to speak) of the Invisible and Infinite - Painting the Holy Spirit, the smile of God illuminating creation; while the Three Arts are One in essence, co-equal and congenial, as manifested by the inseparable connection and concord observable throughout the whole history of their development, and by the greatest artists in every age of Christendom having almost invariably excelled in all three alike. - There is no impiety, I trust, in vindicating this analogy. (Crawford (Lindsay) 1847, xvi-xvii)

These fairly lengthy quotations from the writings of Jameson and Lindsay begin to make clear that during this period there was an extensive interest in equating Christian ideas and principles with the importance of the development of art and Christian art in particular. It was not, therefore, at all surprising that the National Society decided to produce a series of publishing projects which underlined what they perceived to be the excellence, for moral and teaching purposes, of certain Old Master Christian images. These attitudes are continued in the next two figures to be considered Frederic W. Farrar and John Ruskin.

3. Frederic William Farrar - Dean of Canterbury (1831-1903)

Frederic W. Farrar was a prolific writer and author of the well-known novel *Eric, or Little by Little*. He became Dean of Canterbury in 1895 and was associated with the National Society for two reasons. First, as a Canon of Westminster Abbey he worked close to the National Society's Depository in Westminster and secondly his daughter,

Hilda, married Sir Stafford Northcote's third son in 1881. Sir Stafford Northcote, a Tory M.P., and later Chancellor of the Exchequer in Disraeli's government, was on the Committee of St. Mark's College, the National Society's training college for men, in the 1880s and is also recorded, during that period as proposing motions at the Annual General Meeting. This connection makes it likely that Dean Farrar, as he is generally known, was close to the members of the National Society. Again, due to lack of records of the Depository, we do not know if he advised the National Society. It is interesting to note, however, that in 1874 he published a *Life of Christ* which had as its frontispiece *Interior of a Carpenter's Shop at Nazareth* by Holman Hunt. This is an indication that writers were beginning by this date to produce versions of the life of Christ for the general reader. There is also held in a private collection the proof pages of a *Life of Christ in Art* by Farrar, which is undated. This contains, in the margins, hand-written comments on Farrar's text by Holman Hunt. It is worth recording just one of these exchanges because it centres round the artist Bernardino Luini who is included in the selection made by the National Society for their project. Farrar describes Luini in the following terms:

'Bernardino Luini was a truly exquisite painter, some of whose best works - for instance the *Christ Disputing with the Doctors* in our National Gallery, and the *Vanity and Modesty* in the Sciarra Colonna Palace at Rome - have been attributed to Leonardo da Vinci, by whom, whether he was ever Leonardo's pupil or not, he was deeply influenced. If he did not equal Leonardo in consummate genius, he surpassed him not only in the multitude of his pictures but also in the winning loveliness, in the pure and holy spirit of peace, which breathes through them all.' (Farrar, undated in unpublished m/s, 88)

To this Holman Hunt replies somewhat sharply in his margin note:

‘The Christ Disputing with the Doctors, if by Luini, does not seem a worthy example of his genius.’ (WHH, [Holman Hunt] margin note in Farrar, undated unpublished m/s, 88)

This exchange of views is included here because it makes clear that, had the National Society turned to one of the Pre-Raphaelite artists, such as Holman Hunt, they might have produced a very different set of publications. It is clear, however, as will be seen in the next chapter, that the National Society and Palgrave himself were more concerned to follow the views of such writers as Jameson, Lindsay and Farrar in their slightly awe-struck attitude to Old Master Christian art than the views of the Pre-Raphaelites, although they did employ Burne-Jones and the William Morris workshop to execute a set of windows for the Chapel at Whitelands. (N.S. A.R. 1883, 57)

This fact, that the National Society were in touch with Pre-Raphaelite artists, indicates that it was a conscious decision on their part to follow the route of using Old Master Christian images rather than those contemporary ones produced by a wide range of artists, including the Pre-Raphaelites.

In 1891 Dean Farrar published a book *Social and Present Day Questions*. This includes a whole chapter on Art which picks up on many of the ideas already quoted above. As it was published *after* the National Society project it will, however, be discussed in Chapter Six of this thesis, when the influence of this project is considered together with the reactions to it.

4. John Ruskin 1819-1900

John Ruskin is such a giant among the leading writers on art of the nineteenth century that it may seem strange to have left him to this stage in the chapter. The reason for doing so is that, in the literature, the influence of writers such as Jameson, Lindsay and Farrar is not mentioned extensively in connection with Ruskin's views on Christian art. (For example Dixon Hunt 1982, Hilton 1985 & 2000, O'Gorman 1999) It is hoped that by placing these other writers first, the few comments on the subject by Ruskin which can be included in this chapter will be placed in context. John Ruskin was born into a middle class family. His father was a wine merchant who became increasingly prosperous during his son's early years. John Ruskin, therefore, never had to work for a living and spent his whole career writing and commenting upon art and other contemporary issues. He was what would now be described as a polymath and one of the most influential figures in the world of art of that time. He was an influential supporter of the Pre-Raphaelites and was friendly with Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882) and Sir Edward Burne-Jones (1833-1898). Despite his support for the Pre-Raphaelites and Joseph William Mallord Turner (1775-1851), Ruskin was also very conscious of the value of the great Italian artists. He was particularly moved by the work of Tintoretto (1518-1594) and earlier by the great St. Ursula cycle paintings by Carpaccio (1460-1525/6). He was able to experience the Old Masters on his many trips to Italy and the rest of Europe with his parents, which commenced when he was only a schoolboy and continued throughout his life. On these trips he made drawings and notes which were later incorporated into his many writings. Ruskin's life has been written up extensively and most recently by Hilton and Batchelor and there is only

space, in this chapter and the following chapter, to draw out those aspects of his prolific writings which relate directly to the subject of this thesis. (Hilton 1985, 2000; Batchelor 2000)

John Ruskin began his comments on this subject with the publication of *Modern Painters Volume I* in 1843. The main theme of this book was the argument for the integrity of good art. This was a theme which recurred frequently during his lifetime and was particularly important. It was an essential element of his seminal book *Elements of Drawing*, published in 1857. This will be discussed in the Chapter Four of this thesis.

An important point to note here is that Ruskin used illustrations for his lectures while Slade Professor at Oxford (Penny 1997, 7). He also prepared his own illustrations for his books such as *The Stones of Venice*, published in 1852, and believed that these illustrations should be of the very highest quality. (Wildman, unpublished lecture, 2001) This importance given to the quality of illustrations was, no doubt, an influence on the National Society when they came to produce their own volumes.

John Ruskin was almost certainly a literary influence on the National Society but he also had direct connections with the Society through the training college for women, Whitelands. Ruskin had already shown great interest in the education of young women with his connections to the girls' school, Winnington, (Dixon Hunt 1982, 284, Hilton 2000, 1-7) so it was not surprising that, after he began a correspondence with the Revd. John Faunthorpe, Principal of Whitelands, about 1880, he also began to

take an interest in Whitelands. This relationship is well described in Hilton and it is also well-known that Ruskin suggested the May Queen festivities which are still practised today. (Hilton 2000, 441-443) He also gave the College gifts and every year donated volumes of his works as prizes for the students. In the literature this information is deduced from Ruskin's correspondence with Faunthorpe rather than the archives of the National Society, so it is perhaps interesting just to include a short extract from the National Society's Annual Report on Whitelands for 1883:

'On the May Day the Students held their second Ruskin May Day Festival, and duly elected their Queen of May (Gertrude Bowes) who had the privilege of accepting one of Professor Ruskin's Books (*Queen of the Air*) and of distributing other 28 volumes (in his special binding of purple calf, gilt) to her fellow Students, at her own pleasure. The Students owe this festival entirely to Mr. Ruskin, who gave to the Queen a solid gold cross and necklet of original design and great beauty.

The Council have gratefully to acknowledge further gifts and loans of Pictures and Books from Professor Ruskin. They have had a Catalogue prepared and printed for the use of the Students, notes on the Pictures having been written by the Professor.' (N.S. A.R. 1883, 58)

In the literature no mention is made of this catalogue of the pictures and no trace of it has been found during this research. It is interesting that, while Ruskin was writing notes on art directly for the National Society at Whitelands, the Committee did not ask him to undertake the task of writing the Introduction and Notes for *The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*. It should also be noted that in the Annual Report of the National Society for 1885, which included the Whitelands College Annual Report for 1884, Ruskin is listed as one of the Members of Council for the College for 1885

(N.S. A.R. 1885, 42). Again it is not mentioned in the recent literature that Ruskin was a Member of Council. The National Society publishing project using Italian Old Master images was begun in 1884, and must have been in preparation for a year or so before that so it is surprising that it was Palgrave and not Ruskin who undertook the work.

One possible explanation for this is that Ruskin, by that date, had suffered several bouts of severe mental illness and was being protected from undertaking too much work by his family. It is, therefore, possible that he could not undertake the work required even if the National Society had wanted him to do so. Another reason, however, could be that by this date Ruskin had launched his attack on the Bishops of the Church of England in the *Fors Clavigera* of January 1875. This continued in further editions and, although the Bishops are not recorded as responding, they no doubt took some exception to Ruskin's barbed comments. (Hilton 2000, 296-298) In 1884, for example, the President of the National Society was the Archbishop of Canterbury, one of the Vice-Presidents, the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Bradford was on the Committee.' It is clear, therefore, that, in an organisation closely run by senior members of the bench of Bishops, Ruskin would not be altogether popular. In addition in 1870 Ruskin had been extremely rude about National Society schools in one of his lectures as Slade Professor at Oxford. These are not in the printed version but are quoted in a letter from the historian J.R. Green to the historian E.A. Freeman. (Hilton 2000, 180) Hilton quotes this letter and it is worth reproducing here because it gives a good insight as to why Ruskin might not have been too popular with the National Society Committee:

‘Everybody is going in ‘for strong forms’. Ruskin lectures on Art at Oxford, and tells 1,000 people (Stubbs gets 20) that a chalk-stream does more for education than 100 National Schools ‘with all their doctrines of Baptismal Regeneration into the bargain’. (Hilton 2000, 180)

Without the necessary National Society records the reasons why Ruskin did not work on their project cannot be finally determined. It does seem likely, however, that, while his writings overall must have influenced their thinking and decision to use Italian Old Masters, there were several possible reasons why Ruskin was not included in the project. That said, however, Ruskin’s writings are obviously very important. Some mention of them will therefore be made. Again, this can be but a snapshot of the whole because Ruskin was so prolific. The following quotations, therefore, concentrate on two of Ruskin’s works in particular because they were always among those given to the trainee teachers at Whitelands at their Prize Giving. These were *Sesame and Lilies* published in 1865 and *A Joy for Ever* published in 1880 following its earlier publication as *The Political Economy of Art* in 1857. In her Introduction to the Blackie edition of *Sesame and Lilies* Alice Meynell says:

‘John Ruskin wrote the earlier part of *Sesame and Lilies* first in praise of books and of reading, next in warning against idle reading, and thirdly in protest against all the arts of literature - luxuries of the mind to which the happy hardly have a right whilst the unhappy live and die unsuccored.’ (Meynell in Ruskin, undated edition, v)

Ruskin himself argues for the hard work that is required in good reading, likening the good reader to a miner armed with his pickaxe trying to get at the essence of the writer's message. (Ruskin, undated, 15) He prefaces this with an important point that:

‘A book is essentially not a talked thing, but a written thing; and written, not with the view of mere communication, but of permanence. The book of talk is printed only because its author cannot speak to thousands of people at once; if he could, he would - ... But a book is written, not to multiply the voice merely, not to carry it merely, but to preserve it. The author has something to say which he perceives to be true and useful, or helpfully beautiful.’ (Ruskin, undated, 10-11)

It would seem that the book produced by the National Society, *The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* tries hard to fulfill this requirement to be ‘true, useful and helpfully beautiful’. This chapter, however, continues with one of Ruskin's attacks on bishops where he comments:

‘Nearly all the evils in the Church have arisen from bishops desiring *power* more than *light*. They want authority, not outlook. Whereas their real office is not to rule; though it may be vigorously to exhort and rebuke; it is the king's office to rule; the bishop's office is to *oversee* the flock; to number it, sheep by sheep; to be ready always to give full account of it.’ (Ruskin, undated, 25)

Ruskin then goes on to indicate that most bishops fall short of this ideal. It is significant that Ruskin was giving this book to a college which was part of the National Society closely associated with the bench of bishops. These quotations come from the

first part of the book *Of King's Treasuries*. The second part *Of Queen's Gardens* is directed at girls and includes this comment on girls' education:

'I believe, then, with this exception, that a girl's education should be nearly, in its course and material of study, the same as a boy's; but quite differently directed. A woman, in any rank of life, ought to know whatever her husband is likely to know, but to know it in a different way. His command of it should be foundational and progressive, hers, general and accomplished for daily and helpful use.' (Ruskin, undated, 83-84)

It is important to note that the National Society in common with the Board Schools after 1870, was attempting to fulfill this stricture by giving girls a broadly similar curriculum but with the addition of practical domestic skills. (Horn, 1989, 35ff)

In "*A Joy for Ever*" Ruskin discussed matters concerning art, its commissioning, purchase and production. He pointed out the durability of older art and contrasts contemporary water-colours with the lasting quality of, say, Durer's works. (Ruskin, 1899, 48) This book is, in the main about the production of contemporary art and Ruskin comments on the training of artists and the need to produce art of a high quality. (Ruskin 1899, 24-43) He then continues with an extended complaint against cheap illustrated publications, in particular the bad woodcut. He says:

'There is a certain quality about an original drawing which you cannot get in a woodcut, and the best part of the genius of many men is only expressible in original work, whether with pen or ink - pencil or colours. This is not always the case; but in general, the best men are those who can only express themselves on paper or canvas;...'

 (Ruskin, 1899, 46)

This insistence on good, original work is reflected in the comments by Palgrave, in the Introduction to *The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, on the commissioning of J. Edward Goodall to undertake original drawings for the illustrations. This will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters. Ruskin also argues in *A Joy for Ever* that books should not be too cheap:

‘Nay, I will even go so far as to say that we ought not to get books too cheaply. No book, I believe, is ever worth half so much to its reader as one that has been coveted for a year at a bookstall, and bought out of saved halfpence; and perhaps a day or two’s fasting. That’s the way to get at the cream of a book. And I should say more on this matter, and protest as energetically as I could against the plague of cheap literature, with which we are just now afflicted...’ (Ruskin, 1899, 73-74)

This comment is interesting in that the publishing project by the National Society was not cheap - the *Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* retailing for 21 shillings - the price recommended as a minimum by Ruskin at the end of the above passage. (Ruskin 1889,74) The National Society, who were, of course, producing books for schools, no doubt heeded this stricture and tried to provide books of a very high quality which pupils and their teachers could see and use in school even if they could not own them personally. Ruskin later comments that copies are bad and should never be bought although he does concede that copies need to be made for preservation purposes. He argues that the original picture is far more significant and that galleries ought to be provided for people to see the originals. (Ruskin, 1899, 106-108) The National Society’s publishing project did, of course, use copies and this may be another possible

reason why Ruskin was not involved in the project. From the general comments contained in a *Joy for Ever* he would have preferred good quality illustrations by contemporary artists, rather than copies of Old Masters which he would have argued could not properly represent the originals.

In *A Joy for Ever* Ruskin also has an extended argument for the provision of good illustrated material in the decoration of schools. He is referring to illustrations which touch directly on the educational curriculum or pictures of great beauty:

‘...but I believe the notion of fixing the attention by keeping the room empty, is a wholly mistaken one: I think it is just in the emptiest room that the mind wanders most; for it gets restless, like a bird, for want of a perch, and casts about for any possible means of getting out and away...and many a study appears dull or painful to a boy, when it is pursued on a blotted deal desk, under a wall with nothing on it but scratches and pegs, which would have been pursued pleasantly enough in a curtained corner of his father’s library, or at the lattice window of his cottage.’ (Ruskin, 1899, 125-126)

This was first written in 1857. By the time of the National Society’s publishing project there were a number of pictures published in poster form for use in schools and private homes. Those produced by the Arundel Society after 1856, (it had been founded in 1847), were of a very high quality. A number of the posters, which were taken from paintings and frescoes by Fra Angelico, were the same images as those used by the National Society. John Ruskin was closely associated with the Arundel Society, supporting their fund, set up in 1859, to record decaying works of art. The Arundel Society came to an end in 1897 by which time it was competing with a huge market in reproductions, including those produced by the National Society.

John Ruskin's writings are so extensive and the sources so rich that it is only possible here to give a few examples of his thoughts. The quotations chosen reflect those comments which most closely tie in to the National Society project. In this connection it is perhaps important to note that Ruskin, on several occasions, refers to the excellence of paintings by Fra Angelico who was, of course, the principal artist in the National Society selection of images. Ruskin says of Fra Angelico:

'The life of Angelico was almost entirely spent in the endeavour to imagine the beings belonging to another world. By purity of life, habitual elevation of thought, and natural sweetness of disposition, he was enabled to express the sacred affections upon the human countenance as no one ever did before or since. In order to effect clearer distinction between heavenly beings and those of this world, he represents the former as clothed in draperies of the purest colour, crowned with glories of burnished gold, and entirely shadowless.'
(Ruskin in Barrie Ed., 1987, 321)

If the illustrations, set before Chapter Four of this thesis - Plates 6 -18b, are considered, it will be seen that the National Society illustrations were most successful when reproducing Fra Angelico's works and managed to capture something of the originals. Then describing one of Fra Angelico's works Ruskin writes in a passage which may well have been in Palgrave's mind when he wrote his own Introduction:

'No subject has been more frequently or exquisitely treated by the religious painters than that of the Annunciation; though as usual, the most perfect type of its pure ideal has been given by Angelico,...but, in the fresco of the corridor of St. Mark's, the concomitant circumstances [of the Annunciation] are of exceeding loveliness. The Virgin sits in an open Loggia, resembling that of the

Florentine church of L'Annuziata. Before her is a meadow of rich herbage, covered with daisies. Behind her is seen, through the door at the end of the loggia, a chamber with a single grated window, through which a starlike beam of light falls into the silence. All is exquisite in feeling, but not inventive nor imaginative.' (Ruskin in Cook & Wedderburn Eds. 1903, 263-264)

It is this image which was used by the National Society for their representation of the Annunciation. One of the points made by Palgrave in his Introduction, as will be seen in the next chapter, is the truthfulness of the images used so it is interesting to note these comments by Ruskin on truth in art:

'Finally, then, it is to be remembered that all truths, as far as their being particular or general affects their value at all, are valuable in proportion as they are particular, and valueless in proportion as they are general, or to express the proposition in simpler terms, every truth is valuable in proportion as it is characteristic of the thing of which it is affirmed....

'And the real truthfulness of the painter is in proportion to the number and variety of the facts he has so illustrated; those facts being always, as above observed, the realization (sic), not the violation of a general principle. The quantity of truth is in proportion to the number of such facts, and its value and instructiveness in proportion to their variety. All really great pictures, therefore, exhibit the general habits of nature, manifested in some peculiar, rare and beautiful way....

'He, therefore, who has neglected a truth of form for a truth of colour has neglected a greater truth for a less one.' (Ruskin in Cook & Wedderburn, Eds. 1903, 154, 157, 159)

This extract is significant not only for its comments on the quality of a painting but because it touches on one of the main themes of Palgrave's Introduction to *The Life* and that is the quality of the paintings chosen by the National Society and their

capacity of conveying the truth of the Gospel to the reader. One final comment by Ruskin which ties in with Palgrave's comments is his argument that only true beauty will stand the test of time and that much of what 'surprises by its brilliancy, or attracts by its singularity' will be 'winnowed away'. (Ruskin in Cook & Wedderburn Eds. 1903, 99)

This has been a very brief look at the writings of Ruskin on the subject of art, using only those comments which directly link in with the work of the National Society. Clearly Ruskin's writings, by 1884 when the project began, would have had an enormous general influence on all those interested in the subject. Ruskin was not employed to write the Introduction and Notes for *The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* but he must have affected the way in which Palgrave prepared his own writings. At that period a number of the relationships between individuals in the world of art, education and literature were intertwined. It is perhaps, therefore, appropriate to end this section by noting that John Ruskin was a close friend of the painter George Richmond who painted Ruskin's portrait for the Royal Academy in 1843 - this portrait being described as of 'the author of Modern painters' (Wildman, unpublished lecture, 2001) George Richmond was also a close friend of Sir Stafford Northcote's wife and painted many family portraits. (Northcote family archives) So there is a direct common link between one of the Trustees of St. Mark's College and a Member of Council of Whitelands and therefore with the National Society. Ruskin may not have been directly involved with the National Society project of 1884-1886 but there is no doubt that he had a general influence on different aspects of the Society's work in education.

5. Charlotte Mary Yonge 1823-1901

Charlotte Yonge, who wrote extensively and much of whose work was published by the National Society, was the only daughter of William and Francis Yonge. After her brother married she continued to live at home with her parents and never married. They lived in the village of Otterbourne where Charlotte Yonge taught in the village Sunday School. As the only daughter she lived a sheltered life with only a few friends. Significantly, however, one of these was John Keble who lived in nearby Hursley and had the joint living of that parish and Otterbourne. He had a profound influence on Charlotte Yonge, going so far as to correct her books if he felt they were indelicate. John Keble was, of course, closely involved in the Oxford Movement and that, no doubt, had a major influence on Charlotte Yonge. A short extract from a letter from Charlotte Yonge to her friend Marianne Dyson gives a flavour of her religious faith and relationship to Keble both of which affected her writings for the National Society:

‘I should like you to know the comfort and peace I had in the little study at Hursley Vicarage yesterday. It is too precious to have him to bring all one’s fears of vain-glory etc. to, and hear him say, ‘Yes, my dear I have been thinking a great deal about you now,’...I wish I could give you the effect of the peacefulness and subduing happiness of it, especially when I asked for the blessing, and he said, ‘You shall have it, such as it is,’ and then he took the words he never used with me before, ‘Prosper Thou her handiwork,’ which seemed to seal a daily prayer, and make all bearable and not vain.’ (Yonge in Battiscombe, 1943, 77ff)

Filial devotion was one of the themes of Charlotte Yonge's writings. (Briggs in Battiscombe & Laski Eds. 1965, 20ff) This comes through in her writings and would have been apparent to the children who read her novels, often given as prizes. These novels included such titles as *The Wardship of Steepcombe*, *The Constable's Tower*, *The Cook and the Captive*, *The Cunning Woman's Grandson*, all listed in the catalogue of her books held in the National Society archive. She also wrote Church history for the Society such as *English Church History* and historical lives such as *The Slaves of Sabinus*. There were a number of other authors who wrote for the National Society as mentioned in Chapter One, but they are largely forgotten now and it is only Charlotte Yonge who has made a lasting impact. Charlotte Yonge also provides another link with influential figures mentioned earlier. It is recorded that the height of a visit to London was visits to Westminster Abbey and 'meetings with Dean Farrar'. (Battiscombe, 1943, 143ff). Thus again we find that there are circular links between the various people who might have influenced the National Society in its choice of publications.

Charlotte Yonge did not write specifically on art under her own name. There are, however, sections on art in *The Monthly Packet*, which was edited by Charlotte Yonge from 1851 for thirty-eight years. This was a collection of Sunday readings for 'Members of the English Church' This was, of course, a time when many families did not allow anything except 'improving' reading on a Sunday. One of these discussions on art in *The Monthly Packet* is to be found in 1884 under the title *Symbolism in Art - A Discussion*. This is a discussion between Aunt Dorothy, Emily and Sylvia. There is no explanation as to whether these are real people or fictional characters but given to

them is quite a learned discussion of different forms of symbolism in art. A few lines from this discussion give one or two insights into the thinking of the National Society at that time:

'Aunt D. ...Modern artists deal largely in these, (emblematical or allegorical meanings) but I do not remember one who deals adequately with a great religious subject, and I set it down to their want of symbolic power. But remember our derivations; I do not mean emblem and allegory when I speak of symbol - an outward sign of an inward truth, Emmie, that's not an emblem.
E. No; but we should have told you that our debate arose from an argument among ourselves *a propos* of the stone griffins at Verona, and whether Mr. Ruskin was right in assigning such deep meanings to the composite creature.'

The debate then continues with further definitions of symbolism and then introduces the idea of Ruskin's diminishing popularity:

'E. I begin to see what you mean by symbolism. But seriously, auntie, do you not think that Mr. Ruskin and his followers often put fanciful interpretations of their own, when the artist had probably no occult meaning in his work?
'Aunt D. (smiling). Giving him more meaning than he would have known what to do with, as Sir Thomas Bertram did to poor Mr. Rushworth in *Mansfield Park*. Well, Emmie, you belong to the 'young school,' (sic) who are going through the reaction from what was possibly extravagant worship of Mr. Ruskin, a quarter of a century ago. The pendulum must swing, of course. But, even granting that you could prove the 'too much meaning' - and the proof would be difficult - I myself believe that really high art contains all possible meaning that good and noble criticism can discern there. Would not that be a shallow art that had but one message for every type of human spirit? It must surely speak afresh to each generation of interpreters, for each comes with a fresh eye, with perceptions quickened by the march of history, the

increase of literature, the discovery of new art-treasures, of records hidden in the dust. That art-work lives, and pours out fresh stores of meaning, is due to its being beyond mere beautiful *technique* - a body like our own, instinct with living spirit.' (Yonge Ed. 1884, 77-80)

This highly sophisticated discussion on art actually runs for some seventeen closely printed pages and makes clear that in the circles which read such publications as *The Monthly Packet* the meaning and truth of art was of interest and concern. Charlotte Yonge, therefore, not only contributed to the literature published by the National Society but also probably influenced some of their thinking on such subjects as art. If the reference to Ruskin is typical of that thinking this, again, is another reason why the National Society may have decided not to ask him to contribute to their project.

Conclusion

Francis T. Palgrave himself will be considered in the following chapters which will look at the National Society's project in detail. The five literary figures considered above give some idea of the opinions surrounding the National Society at the time they decided to develop the publishing work of the Depository by producing very high quality illustrated materials for teachers and pupils. These five writers have been included because they are, obviously, very significant but there were, no doubt, other writers and thinkers of the period who might have had an influence on the decision to use Italian Old Masters to illustrate these books. In addition, as has been shown, there were the influences caused by religious movements such as the re-emergence, as a

power, of the Roman Catholic Church and the consequent development of the Oxford Movement.

The publications which are analysed in the following chapters were extremely significant. Products as they were of a late Victorian sensibility they nonetheless had a lasting influence. Not least they started the use of art in National Society materials as will be seen from Chapter Six of this thesis. It will be seen from the following chapters that the National Society's project very closely evolved from the ideas of the late Victorian era. It was an era where photography was used increasingly and where printing techniques developed rapidly allowing publishers much greater scope in the ways they illustrated books. As will be seen in the following chapters the National Society did everything in its power to produce materials which were of the very highest quality and which fulfilled the ideas of writers such as John Ruskin. This chapter has argued that one of the reasons why the National Society adopted the use of Italian Christian images designed for the Roman Catholic Church in Church of England educational materials was the influence of the Oxford Movement. Another reason was the influence of the various literary figures of the time and in particular those who wrote on art such as Anna Jameson, Lord Lindsay and John Ruskin.



Plate 6



THE ANNUNCIATION, by FRA ANGELICO.

Plate 7a



THE NATIVITY, by FRA FILIPPO LIPPI.

Plate 7b



THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI, by BERNARDINO DE LUINI.

Plate 8a



THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE, by FRA BARTOLOMMEO

Plate 8b



THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT, by GENTILE DA FABRIANO.

Plate 9a



CHRIST AMONG THE DOCTORS, by FRA ANGELICO.

Plate 9b



THE BAPTISM OF OUR LORD, by GAUDENZIO FERRARI.

Plate 10a



THE MARRIAGE AT CANA, by FRA ANGELICO.

Plate 10b



THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT, by FRA ANGELICO.

Plate 11a



OUR LORD WALKING ON THE SEA, by CIGOLI.

Plate 11b



THE TRANSFIGURATION, by FRA ANGELICO.

Plate 12a



THE RAISING OF LAZARUS, by GAUDENZIO FERRARI.

Plate 12b



THE ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM, by FRA ANGELICO.

Plate 13a



THE LAST SUPPER, by DUCCIO DI BONINSEGNA.

Plate 13b



THE AGONY IN THE GARDEN, by GAUDENZIO FERRARI.

Plate 14a



THE BETRAYAL, by FRA ANGELICO.

Plate 14b



OUR LORD BEFORE PILATE, by DUCCIO DI BONINSEGNA.

Plate 15a



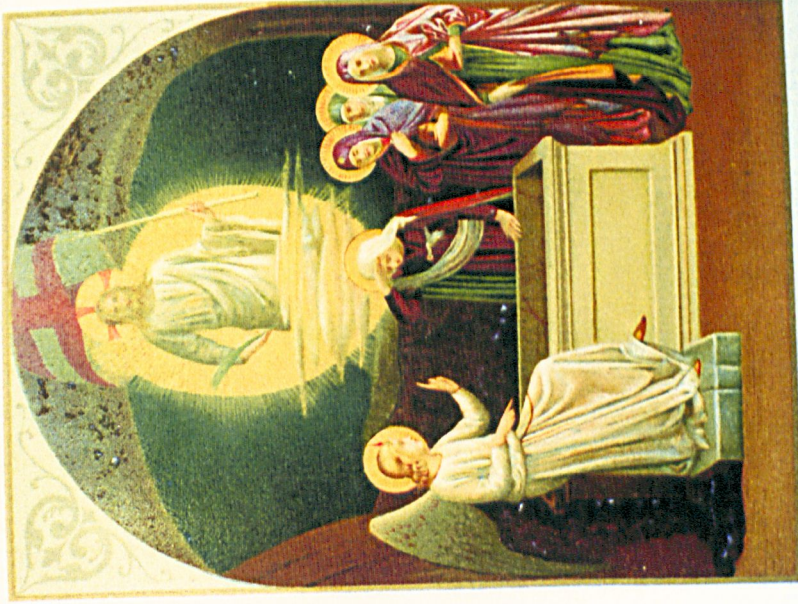
THE CRUCIFIXION, by FRA ANGELICO.

Plate 15b



THE ENTOMBMENT, by PIETRO FERUGINO.

Plate 16a



THE WOMEN AT THE SEPULCHRE, by FRA ANGELICO.

Plate 16b



OUR LORD'S APPEARANCE TO ST. MARY MAGDALENE, by FRA ANGELICO.

Plate 17a



THE JOURNEY TO EMMAUS, by Duccio di Boninsegna.

Plate 17b



THE DOUBT OF ST. THOMAS, by CIMA DA CONEGLIANO.

Plate 18a



THE ASCENSION, by PIETRO PERUGINO.

Plate 18b



THE NATIVITY, by FRA FILIPPO LIPPI.
Louvre, Paris

Plate 19



THE BAPTISM OF OUR LORD, BY GAUDENZIO FERRARI
Sb. Maria della Grazie - Vercelli

Plate 20



20. Fra Diamante (?), Anbetung des Kindes
Paris, Louvre

Plate 21

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION MATERIALS PRODUCED BY THE NATIONAL SOCIETY BETWEEN 1885 AND 1886

Introduction

The previous three chapters have set the scene in which the publications, to be discussed in the next three chapters were published. It has been made clear that, as well as the basic education of the poor, the driving force behind the work of the National Society was the inculcation of the clear faith of the Church of England. This was a faith and teaching based on the Book of Common Prayer of 1662 and the knowledge of the Bible. It has been shown in Chapter Two that, in its curricula for schools and teacher training colleges, the National Society was quite clear in its purpose. It will be seen from the next three chapters that the illustrated material published in the late nineteenth century and presented below was designed to fit in with these aims and to further the policies of the National Society.

This chapter will present the texts of these publications, showing how they were imbued with the ethos of the National Society. The chapter will show that these publications were much concerned with truth - truth in the quality of the text and truth as expressed by the best and most valid expressions of Christianity to be found in Old

Master paintings. It was assumed in the late Victorian period that such images could reflect truth. The next three chapters will assess the material within the Victorian context. The chapter will continue to present extended extracts from this primary material because it is only in the detailed text that the flavour of the Victorian teaching technique can be properly assessed. This chapter and the following chapter contain a number of technical Christian theological terms. The reader will find that these can all be found in either the Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, edited by Cross and Livingstone 1974 or in the Oxford Companion to Christian Art and Architecture by Peter and Linda Murray 1996. (See Bibliography for full details of these publications)

Where a term is particularly difficult the reference will be given in the text to whichever of these publications is appropriate.

The Key Publications

This chapter will consider the block of materials produced by the National Society between 1885 and 1886 for use in religious education in National schools. The chapter will describe the two main groups of publications which were the book *The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, edited by Francis T. Palgrave and illustrated with twenty-four chromo-lithograph copies of Old Master Christian paintings and the four smaller books for children *The Story of the Childhood of Christ*, *The Story of the Ministry of Christ*, *The Story of the Passion of Christ* and *The Story of the Resurrection of Christ*, all with a text by 'R.E.H.' and using the same

illustrations as in the *Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*. These books will from now on be described as *The Life* and *The Stories*.

The Story of the Childhood of Christ was the first to appear in 1885 when it was listed in the National Society catalogue. (N.S. A.R. 1885, 139) *The Life* was also published in 1885 but did not appear in the catalogue until 1886 when it was placed on the same page as the four smaller books for children listed above. (N.S. A.R. 1886, 136) In the copy of *The Passion of Christ* studied in the Bodleian Library in Oxford there is appended a Catalogue relating to this series which gives an insight into how the Society viewed these works and how they used the illustrations for further items:

‘The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Illustrated from the Italian Painters of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. With a Preface and Notes by Francis T. Palgrave. Richly bound in cloth boards, bevelled, gilt edges. Price 21s.

‘The Story of the Childhood of Christ by R.E.H. With Six Coloured Illustrations. Price 4s.

‘The Story of the Ministry of Christ by R.E.H. With Six Coloured Illustrations. Price 4s.

‘The Story of the Passion of Christ by R.E.H. With Six Coloured Illustrations. Price 4s.

‘Christmas and Reward Cards Illustrating the Life of Our Lord by Twenty-four highly finished faithful Reproductions of Pictures by the early Italian Painters.

1. The Childhood of Christ
2. The Ministry of Christ
3. The Passion of Christ
4. The Great Forty Days

The Prophecy and Fulfilment of each Event in the Life of our Lord are printed on the back of each Card in the words of Holy Scripture. The above Four

Sets, each containing Six Pictures, which are suitable as Christmas, Lent and Easter Cards, and for Reward Cards, are issued in neat wrappers and sold separately, price 2s 6d each. Size 6 x 4 and a half inches.'

It should be noted that the fourth item in the reward cards is given as '*The Great Forty Days*' whereas when these pictures were published in the book they were given the title '*The Resurrection of Christ*'. (Cross & Livingstone 1974, 1177; Murray 1996,430) There is little doubt, however, that the same illustrations were used for the whole group of publications, if only because the size of the reward cards corresponds to the size of the illustrations in *The Life* and also in the four books for children - *The Stories*. It is also clear from the prices quoted in this catalogue, which are the same as those in the 1886 Annual Report catalogue, that these were not cheap items. 21s or a guinea for *The Life* was not a small sum at that time and even 4s each for *The Stories* was also quite a sum bearing in mind that the children for whom it was presumably intended in National Society schools were among the poorest in England. There is no evidence as to how or when these various books were purchased but again, presumably, it was probable that each school might have one copy of each and that copies of *The Stories* might have been given as prizes in the schools and the Sunday schools for whom the catalogues were also intended, carrying always a section entitled: *Church Teaching for Sunday Schools*. *The Life* may also have been given as a prize to teachers, although it is not mentioned in the section, for example, where the prize-giving ceremonies at Whitelands are described. These mostly list works by Ruskin as outlined in the previous chapter.

At this point it is worth just noting that none of these publications are contained in the card index of works held in the National Society's archive in Bermondsey. They were tracked down from references in the catalogues appended to the Annual Reports of the National Society. Copies of *The Life* are in the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum and in the British Library, both in London. Copies of *The Stories* were discovered in the Bodleian Library in Oxford and in the British Library in London. So far no copies of the Christmas and Reward cards have been discovered.

The rest of this chapter will deal with the authors of these works and with the texts that accompany the illustrations. The illustrations will be discussed and analysed in the next chapter and the contemporary response considered in Chapter Six.

The Authors

The two authors connected with these publications are 'R.E.H.' who wrote the texts of the four *Stories* and Francis T. Palgrave who wrote the Preface and the Notes to each of the twenty-four illustrations in *The Life*. 'R.E.H.' will be discussed first because there is less material available about him.

1. 'R.E.H.'

There are no references which have been available so far which identify the proper name of this author. There was no reference in the Depository Committee Minutes for the years following and the Dictionary of National Biography does not list him/her.

The index of authors in this publication does not contain any reference to R.E.H. There is no reference to anyone with these initials in the Crockfords (list of clergy) for that period. The British Library undertook a search through their list of authors but could find no reference to R.E.H. The archivist at the Bermondsey archive responsible for the National Society papers, Sarah Duffield, does not know. The only clues from the books themselves can be found in the dedications and it is worth including a reference to these in case they spark a memory in any reader of this thesis. *The Childhood of Christ* is dedicated to his 'Nephews, Nieces and Godchildren. *The Ministry of Christ* is dedicated 'To my mother' and *The Passion of Christ* 'To the lovely and beloved memory of F.E.H.' which could be his father. These all indicate a loving family man. The final dedication in *The Passion of Christ* reads as follows: 'With loving gratitude for the Beautiful living example of a long life devoted to the cause of the National Church of England. This volume is dedicated to the Right Hon. John Gellibrand Hubbard, MP.' The only clue as to the personality of this author is in the texts of *The Stories* which reveal a simple, clear faith in orthodox Church of England interpretations of the biblical narratives as will be seen in the later discussion of these texts.

2. Francis Turner Palgrave 1824-1897

Francis Turner Palgrave was the son of Sir Francis Palgrave (1788-1861) who was of Jewish origin, the son of Meyer Cohen. He changed his name to that of his wife's family when he married Elizabeth Turner in 1823, when he also became a Christian. Palgrave was the maiden name of Elizabeth Turner's mother. Francis Turner

Palgrave was their first child. His father, Sir Francis Palgrave was an historian and a prolific writer. As well as historical subjects such as the first volume of a *History of England* (1831) Sir Francis Palgrave published an article on *Fine Arts in Florence* in the Quarterly Review in June 1840 and also the *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* in 1842 which was still being published in later editions in 1877. (Dictionary of National Biography, 100-109) This book later was given some 'additional notes' by Ruskin in the 1847 edition although Ruskin himself criticised Sir Francis Palgrave severely. (Hilton 1985, 95)

With this background it is not surprising to learn that his son Francis Turner Palgrave first visited Italy when he was only fourteen years old and was much affected by all he saw. (Dictionary of National Biography, 1114-1116) The family were Anglo-Catholic in their beliefs which means that they probably moved in much the same circles as many of the National Society members who were also on the Anglo-Catholic wing. It would, therefore, be natural for them to embrace the use of images in churches and places of worship. Certainly it is clear from Palgrave's notes to *The Life* that he was very comfortable and easy with the use of images to enhance spirituality as will be seen below when the text is considered.

Palgrave went to Balliol College, Oxford in 1847 ten years after Ruskin. He graduated with a first in classics and an MA in 1856. During this period he had spent some time as an assistant private secretary to W.E. Gladstone and after a period as a fellow of Exeter College, Palgrave took a post in the education department where he was to spend the rest of his main career. He was Vice-principal of Kneller Hall,

Twickenham, a training college for elementary teachers from 1850-1855. He held this post under Dr. Temple, later Archbishop of Canterbury. As Archbishop of Canterbury Dr. Temple would, of course, have been President of the National Society. The training college was closed in 1855 and Palgrave moved on to become Assistant Secretary of the Education Department. He held this post until 1884 and in 1885 was elected to the Chair of Poetry at Oxford which he held at the time of the publication of *The Life*. During his time at the Education Department he was, of course, active in the various controversies which surrounded the National Society as described briefly in Chapter 1 of this thesis. While at Kneller Hall Palgrave had become friendly with the poet Tennyson and published his own volume of poems, *Idyls and Songs* in 1854. This was followed in 1861 by the *Golden Treasury of Songs and Lyrics*. This book of poetry became so popular that it was published in many editions and made Palgrave's reputation. It was still in the syllabus for English in schools in the 1950s and when Macmillan decided to produce a new publishing imprint called Palgrave in 2000 they republished a facsimile edition of the *Golden Treasury of Songs and Lyrics* with a forward by Andrew Motion the Poet Laureate. The reason for noting this success is to make it clear that, when the National Society asked Palgrave to write the Introduction and Notes for *The Life*, he was a well-known figure in the artistic world.

There is not the space here to discuss Palgrave's other writings in detail but it is important to note that in 1866 he published *Essays on Art* and in 1869 *Gems of English Art* in which he wrote notes to twenty-four reproductions of works by English artists. These included such people as Edwin Landseer, David Roberts, William Collins and Joseph Mallord William Turner as well as a number of less well-known

artists. One pithy comment which he makes in these notes ties in well with the ideas he was later to express in *The Life*:

‘But, in the Fine Arts proper, the quality of the work will ultimately be found to depend altogether upon the quality of the mind which produces it. An artist’s head and heart are reflected in his works...’ (Palgrave 1869, 3)

There is no recorded note of any meeting or discussion between John Ruskin and Francis Turner Palgrave. They must, however, have been aware of each other because of their close connection to Oxford and their joint interest in the arts. It will be seen from the discussion of the text of *The Life* that Palgrave clearly had read Ruskin even when he did not quote him directly. An early example of this comes in *Gems of English Art* where Palgrave picks up on a number of passages by Ruskin on the question of the importance of perception and colour (eg: Ruskin in Clark 1991, 178ff). Palgrave draws on Ruskin when he states in notes for Landseer’s *Jack in Office*:

‘A painter of genius sees more in any object or scene than an ordinary observer. In proportion to his power to paint, he puts in more of what he sees than a common artist; but he puts it in always, not by many laboured strokes of mechanical imitation, but by selecting the few lines or colours which are essential to the detail before him. His work, in short, looks rich and finished, not through the touches of paint, but through the signs of mind which it displays: nor is there any other receipt (sic) extant by which good art can be produced, whether the artists have aimed at telling many truths, as Turner, or preferred to bring out a few, as Titian or Gainsborough in their landscape-pieces.’ (Palgrave 1869, 2)

Here Palgrave has clearly read a good deal of *Modern Painters* but it is interesting to note that he uses Ruskin's argument in a book which celebrates contemporary English art of the type of which Ruskin himself was extremely scathing. (Ruskin in Clark 1991, 212ff) It will be seen from the discussion of the text of *The Life* that clearly Palgrave had assimilated Ruskin's writings even though he does not quote directly from him in that text.

The Texts

1. *The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ - 1885*

By the time the *Life* was published, the National Society's Depository had moved into a second stage of publishing where, as well as basic educational materials for every subject in the curriculum, they were publishing some up-market books clearly intended as presentation volumes. As has been shown in the previous chapter, Charlotte Yonge was a forerunner in the novels and small histories she wrote for the National Society. It is clear from the format of the *Life* that it was intended as a very prestigious publication.

As can be seen from the illustration at Plate 6, the cover is stamped and tooled lavishly on a hardback board. The design is in black and gold on a mid-blue background. It is a classical design incorporating two angels with scrolls on which are written: a) 'For unto us a child is born' and b) 'Unto us a son is given'. (Isaiah Ch. 9 v 6) There are two roundels of the Archangel Gabriel and the Annunciate Virgin. (Murray 1996, 23) At the bottom are two symbols: one of the *chi rho* (Murray 1996, 100) and the other of a square cross surmounted by a crown of thorns. Clearly these are designed to indicate that the book covers the whole of the life of Jesus Christ. There is no indication as to who designed this cover. The fly-leaf has the following inscription:

'The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ'

‘Illustrated from the Italian Painters of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries’

‘With a sketch of the growth, aims and development of religious art in Italy, and explanatory notes’

By Francis T. Palgrave’

‘London’

‘National Society’s Depository, Broad Sanctuary, Westminster, 1885’

‘(All rights reserved)’

‘Printed by Spottiswoode & Co. New Street Square, London’

‘Bound by Novello, Southwark’ (Palgrave, 1885 Fly-leaf)

The next page informs the reader that the illustrations are the work of Mr. J. Edward Goodall, 24 Charlotte Street, Portland Road. The exception of Illustrations 2,3,4,5, which are by another hand, is given. The chromo-lithography is by M. Charles Delaye, Passage Menilmontant, Paris, under direction of Mr. F. Jenkins, Saint Bride Street, London. It is clear by this stage alone that the National Society went to considerable trouble to ensure that the book was of the highest quality. The best chromo-lithography of this period was done in France so it is not surprising to learn that the illustrations were printed abroad. An example of this was the Arundel Society whose prints, which were acknowledged to be of the highest quality, were printed in Paris. Inside the book the quality continues. The paper used is high-grade thick paper. The printing is clear and bold.

The book has a long Preface as an introduction to the twenty-four colour plates, each of which also has accompanying notes. The Preface is mainly concerned with the history of the development of Christian art and does not give religious instruction as such. Palgrave does, however, refer repeatedly to the spiritual qualities of the artists.

The comments on the individual artists and paintings will be discussed in Chapter Five.

The illustrations, listed here to give a context for the text, are given exactly the same titles in the *Stories*, and are as follows:

I.	<i>The Annunciation</i>	- Fra Angelico da Fiesole	p.17
11	<i>The Nativity</i>	- Fra Filippo Lippi	p.19
111	<i>The Adoration of the Magi</i>	- Bernardino Luini	p. 21
1V	<i>The Presentation in the Temple</i>	- Fra Bartolommeo (sic)	p.23
V	<i>The Flight into Egypt</i>	- Gentile da Fabriano	p.25
VI	<i>Christ among the Doctors</i>	- Fra Angelico da Fiesole	p.27
VII	<i>The Baptism of Our Lord</i>	- Gaudenzio Ferrari	p.29
VIII	<i>The Marriage at Cana</i>	- Fra Angelico da Fiesole	p.31
IX	<i>The Sermon on the Mount</i>	- Fra Angelico da Fiesole	p.33
X	<i>Our Lord walking on the Sea</i>	- Lodovico Cardi da Cigoli	p.35
XI	<i>The Transfiguration</i>	- Fra Angelico da Fiesole	p.37
XII	<i>The Raising of Lazarus</i>	- Gaudenzio Ferrari	p.39
XIII	<i>The Entry into Jerusalem</i>	- Fra Angelico da Fiesole	p.41
XIV	<i>The Last Supper</i>	- Duccio di Boninsegna	p.43
XV	<i>The Agony in the Garden</i>	- Gaudenzio Ferrari	p.45
XVI	<i>The Betrayal</i>	- Fra Angelico da Fiesole	p.47
XVII	<i>Our Lord before Pilate</i>	- Duccio di Boninsegna	p.49
XVIII	<i>The Crucifixion</i>	- Fra Angelico da Fiesole	p.51
XIX	<i>The Entombment</i>	- Pietro Perugino	p.53
XX	<i>The Women at the Sepulchre</i>	- Fra Angelico da Fiesole	p.55

XXI	<i>Our Lord's appearance to St. Mary Magdalene</i> -	
	Fra Angelico da Fiesole	p.57
XXII	<i>The Journey to Emmaus</i> -	Duccio di Boninsegna
		p.59
XXIII	<i>The Doubt of St. Thomas</i> -	Cima da Conegliano
		p.61
XXIV	<i>The Ascension</i> -	Pietro Perugino
		p.63

It should be noted that, in modern art historical writing, the correct spelling of the name of 'Fra Bartolommeo' is with a double 'mm' as given here and as used in *The Life*. Two other details in this copy of the Contents page are interesting to note. First, that all the sections are denoted with Latin numerals, indicating that the publication, although intended for the children of the National Society schools, was more suitable for their teachers who might be expected to have some familiarity with Latin numerals. This, following on the the Greek symbol on the front cover, argues for a sophisticated audience. It is possible that the children were expected to follow the illustrations from the *Stories*, while the teacher used *The Life* because the title of the illustrations are exactly the same in all the publications. These titles come from the general types of image used by the Roman Catholic Church for Christian paintings of the life of Jesus Christ for several centuries. They do not cover all aspects of Jesus Christ's life and ministry and, as will be seen when the texts of *The Stories* are considered, these books cover very many more incidents than are illustrated. The traditional Christian images of the life of Jesus Christ were taken from such things as *The Golden Legend* by Jacobus da Voragine (see below). It can also be noted that the text for each illustration is allotted precisely two pages per illustration, indicating that it was very carefully planned.

Another interesting point which emerges from the contents is the fact that far more of the images are taken from Fra Angelico than any other artist. The totals are as follows:

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 10 | Fra Angelico da Fiesole | - San Marco & Accademia, Florence |
| 1 | Fra Filippo Lippi | - Louvre, Paris |
| 1 | Fra Bartolommeo | - Vienna |
| 1 | Gentile da Fabriano | - Louvre, Paris |
| 3 | Gaudenzio Ferrari | - Varallo, Italy |
| 1 | Ludovico Cardi da Cigoli | - Accademia, Florence |
| 1 | Bernardino Luini | - Louvre, Paris |
| 3 | Duccio di Boninsegna | - Duomo, Siena |
| 2 | Pietro Perugino | - Pitti Gallery, Florence |
| 1 | Cima da Conegliano | - National Gallery, London |

From this list it can be seen that only one image was taken from a picture hanging in England, so that, without a comparative photograph, which would probably not be available, the reader was wholly dependent on the print in the book. The topics of the group of paintings do follow a coherent pattern, representing the key doctrinal moments in the Life of Christ. They are not dissimilar to those found in the great Italian cycles. In medieval and renaissance art - in particular in Italy - it was an established custom that when the life of Christ was depicted in a series of images, it was usually accompanied either by a series of images from the Old Testament or by a series of images of the life of the Virgin Mary. These groups of images are, in art

historical terminology, known as 'cycles'. In *The Life* there is a clear scheme worked out for references to the Old Testament (a) (below) and the New Testament (b) (below) of the Christian Bible. These references are taken in *The Life* from the King James version of the Bible for the books of the Old Testament and the New Testament. The quotations from the Psalms are, however, taken from the translation to be found in the Book of Common Prayer. This accounts for the archaic speech and a modern bible or book of psalms would give a different rendering. These quotations are listed before each image in *The Life* as follows:

List of biblical references for the images used in *The Life* and *The Stories*

1. a) Behold a Virgin shall conceive, and bear a Son and shall call his name Immanuel. (Isaiah Ch 8 v. 14): b) And the Angel said unto her, Fear not Mary; for thou has found favour with God; and, behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a Son, and shalt call His Name Jesus. (St. Luke, Ch1 v. 30)
2. a) Unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given: and the government shall be upon His shoulder. (Isaiah Ch9 v 6) b) The days were accomplished that she should be delivered: and she brought forth her first-born Son, and wrapped Him in swaddling clothes, and laid Him in a manger: because there was no room for them in the inn. (St. Luke Ch2 v 6)
3. a) The Kings of Tharsis (sic) and of the Isles shall give presents: the Kings of Arabia and Saba (sic) shall bring gifts. (Psalm 72 v 10) b) And when they were come into the House, they saw the young Child, with Mary His mother, and fell down and worshipped Him: and when they had opened their treasures, they presented Him gifts; gold, and frankincense, and myrrh. (St. Matthew 2 v 2)

4. a) The Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to His temple, even the Messenger of the Covenant, whom ye delight in. (Malachi Ch3 v 1) b) They brought Him to Jerusalem to present Him to the Lord. (St. Luke Ch 2 v 22)
5. a) Lo, then would I get me away far off: and remain in the wilderness. (Psalm 4v 7) b) Arise and take the young Child and His Mother and flee into Egypt, and be thou there until I bring thee word; for Herod will seek the young Child to destroy Him. (St. Matthew Ch 2 v 13)
6. a) The wise men are ashamed, they are dismayed and taken, lo, they have rejected the word of the Lord, and what wisdom is in them. (Jeremiah Ch 8 v 9) b) And it came to pass, that after three days, they found Him in the Temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them, and asking them questions. (St. Luke Ch 2 v 46)
7. a) Go and wash in Jordan (sic) seven times, and thy flesh shall come again to thee, and thou shalt be clean. (2 Kings Ch 5 v 10) b) And it came to pass in those days, that Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee, and was baptised of John in Jordan. (St. Mark Ch 1 v 9)
8. a) When Thou givest it them they gather it: and when Thou openest Thy hand they are filled with good. (Psalm 104 v 28) b) Thou hast kept the good wine until now. (St. John Ch 2 v 10)
9. a) Hear my law, O my people: incline your ears unto the words of my mouth. (Psalm 78 v 1) b) And seeing the multitudes, He went up into a mountain: and when He was set, His disciples came unto Him, and He opened His mouth, and taught them. (St. Matthew Ch 5 v 1)

10. a) Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by name: thou art mine. (Isaiah 43 v 1) b) Peter cried saying, Lord save me, and immediately Jesus stretched forth His hand, and caught him. (St. Matthew Ch 14 v 30)
11. a) The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me. (Deuteronomy Ch 18 v 15) b) And behold there appeared unto them, Moses and Elias talking with Him. (St. Matthew Ch 17 v 3)
12. a) And ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I have opened your graves, O My people, and brought you out of your graves. (Ezekiel Ch 37 v 13) b) Jesus cried with a loud voice, Lazarus come forth, and he that was dead came forth. (St. John Ch 11 v 43)
13. a) Behold thy king cometh unto thee: He is just and having salvation; lowly and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass (Zechariah Ch 9 v 9) b) And the multitudes that went before, and that followed, cried, saying, Hosanna to the Son of David, blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord, Hosanna in the highest. (St. Matthew Ch 21 v 9)
14. a) They shall take to them every man a lamb, according to the house of their fathers, a lamb for an house. (Exodus Ch 12 v 3) b) And they made ready the passover: and when the hour was come, He sat down, and the twelve Apostles with Him. (St. Luke Ch 22 v 13)
15. a) Fear not: for I am with thee, be not dismayed: for I am thy God; I will strengthen thee; yea I will help thee; yea I will uphold thee with the right hand of My righteousness. (Isaiah Ch 61 v 10) b) And there appeared an Angel unto Him from Heaven, strengthening Him. (St. Luke Ch 22 v 43)

16. a) Yea, even Mine own familiar friend, whom I trusted; who did also eat of my bread, hath laid great wait for me. (Psalm 41 v 9) b) And forthwith he came to Jesus, and said Hail Master, and kissed him. (St. Matthew Ch 26 v 49)
17. a) I became even as a man that heareth not: and in whose mouth are the reproofs. (Psalm 38 v 14) b) And Jesus answered to him never a word; insomuch that the governor marvelled greatly. (St. Matthew Ch 27 v 14)
18. a) He was wounded for our transgressions. He was bruised for our iniquities. (Isaiah Ch 53 v 5) b) And when they were come to the place which is called Calvary, there they crucified Him. (St. Luke Ch 23 v 33)
19. a) And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek, and His rest shall be glorious. (Isaiah Ch 11 v 10) b) And Joseph took the Body down, and wrapped it in linen, and laid it in a sepulchre that was hewn in stone, wherein never man before was laid. (St. Luke Ch 23 v 53)
20. a) When I wake up I am present with Thee. (Psalm 139 v 18) b) And the Angel answered and said unto the women, Fear not ye, for I know that you seek Jesus, which was crucified. He is not here, for He is risen, as He said. (St. Matthew Ch 28 v 5)
21. a) Like as the hart (sic) desireth the water brooks, so longeth my soul after thee, O God. (Psalm 42 v 1) b) Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended unto my Father. (St. John Ch 20 v 17)
22. a) My heart hath talked of Thee, seek ye My face, Thy face Lord will I seek. O hide not Thou thy face from me. (Psalm 27 v 9) b) They constrained Him, saying

Abide with us, for it's toward evening, and the day is far spent. And he went in to tarry with them. (St. Luke Ch 24 v 29)

23. a) Thou understandest my thoughts long before, For, lo there is not a word in my tongue, but Thou, O Lord, knowest it altogether. (Psalm 139 v 1-3) b) Then said Jesus to Thomas, Reach hither thy finger and behold My hands: and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side, and be not faithless but believing.

(St. John Ch 20 v 27)

24. a) He rode upon the Cherubim and did fly. He came flying upon the wings of the wind. (Psalm 18 v 10) b) So then after the Lord had spoken unto them, He was received up into Heaven, and sat on the right hand of God. (St. Mark Ch 16 v 19)

These quotations therefore give the bible references for the images in both *The Life* and *The Stories*. There is, however, no reference in this scheme to the life of the Virgin Mary, which would be common in an Italian cycle. Clearly images such as the Coronation of the Virgin would be unsuitable for Church of England readers. This is thus an excellent example of the way in which the Anglo-Catholic movement was taking as much of the Roman Catholic heritage as it could and adapting it for a Protestant audience. It is important to note, however, that the images in the *Life* were taken, in most cases, from Italian cycles which did include such references. The Committee which chose these particular images were quite happy to edit their material in this way. The detailed analysis of some of the images in the next chapter will show that the design of the prints also edited the original in terms of the content of the painting, often leaving out symbolism which might have been contentious. Palgrave makes clear in his Preface that it was a National Society Committee which chose the

different paintings to be reproduced. Unfortunately there is no record of the constituency of this Committee available at present. It could have been the main Committee of the National Society, or possibly the sub-Committee that ran the Depository. Palgrave was involved in the choice, but states in the Preface:

‘Having been permitted to co-operate in the selection of the following series (for the final choice of which I am not responsible) - the authorities of the Society by whom this work is issued have asked me to add a brief explanatory preface, with notes to accompany the plates.’ (Palgrave 1885, 3)

Palgrave does not mention the position of the Church of England at this time but he makes it clear that the National Society was trying to do something significant with this publication:

‘This little set of prints, it is believed, is the first, at any rate in England, planned to illustrate the life of Our Blessed Lord on earth, solely through the Italian art of the centuries which witnessed its growth and perfection. So far the selectors have been able to fulfill their purpose, the series has been taken altogether from those pictures in which a true and inner realisation of their subject has been reached by the artists: - in which the best resources of painting have been concentrated upon rendering, as their first object, the spiritual signification of the scenes represented: - in which, to put it in a word that was before the minds of men like Angelico in Italy and Blake in England, not drawing, nor colour nor picturesqueness nor power for their own sake, - but *Vision* is paramount.’ (Palgrave 1885, 3)

Palgrave then goes on to discuss the way in which the prints were chosen and it is worth quoting it in full because it makes clear the way in which the National Society was using the Roman Catholic art for its own purposes:

‘To set designs of this peculiar imaginative class before the eyes and minds of the young, is the single and earnest aim of the Society which publishes the series. The dominant wish has been, not to offer a Gallery of fine or famous works, nor of such as attempt accuracy to Oriental or ancient life, (however useful these aims may be), but such pictures as, within the narrow limits which bound even the best human power, seem to have entered most deeply into the soul and inmost sentiment of the Gospel story, and its historical reality. It was thus that the most highly gifted among the Italian artists, in an age when realistic reproduction of the past and the distant was unthought of or impracticable, appear to have grasped their mission: - as men who knew that by rendering with the utmost attainable intensity the Divine, and the Human as united in Our Lord’s Person and Life, they could give the most powerful expression of Christianity in its essence. The accessories of contemporary features or dress, landscape, architecture, were to them as they must be to all who are penetrated by their subject, accidents of art, which nowise interfered with the truth of what I have called the *Vision*.’ (Palgrave 1885, 3-4)

This passage carries a note which explains that the images have been selected from a wide range of artists because some subjects were restricted in Italian art of the periods used (14th - 16th centuries). This extract from the Preface makes clear the policy of taking what was best from the Roman Catholic artistic tradition and adapting it for Church of England use. The language and tone of the writing also makes it clear that, while the Committee and Palgrave may have intended the book for the children, the text would have been way above the heads of all but the most sophisticated older

children. It can only be presumed that it was the illustrations themselves which were intended for the children, perhaps to be used by the method of demonstration as will be described in the extract from the Sunday School Magazine in Chapter Six of this thesis.

The fact that the originals of most of these images were intended for quite a different purpose - that is a liturgical one - does not seem to have bothered Palgrave or the Committee. The National Society was concerned to give children the most up to date material and this seemed to them the right way to introduce them to spiritual concerns. It was true, however, that the National Society expected its teachers to be people of outstanding religious conviction and commitment as has been demonstrated in Chapter Two so, presumably, they might have been able to give their pupils some context for the images.

Palgrave continues his Preface with a discussion on the development of art in which he outlines further his thesis of the importance of the spiritual quality in art, stating for example:

‘But (if I may here ask the reader’s close attention for a moment) it should be noted that all Fine Art, - Music, Architecture, and Poetry included, is in its essence a delicate and exquisite compromise between Liberty and Necessity: Fancy and Imagination. It requires a stable central idea, treated with infinite variety: it must give, at once, the sense that the work is the artists’s unfettered creation, and yet, that it could not have been otherwise.’ (Palgrave 1885, 9)

Palgrave then goes on to describe the position of art within the Roman Catholic world, contrasting it with the modern:

‘Further, they were the natural result of that white heat of devotion to religious pictures which was sustained by the whole force of the Papacy: - Art as a national creed, if without offence to any I may so term it, absolutely demanded fixed motives for every Biblical event; the exclusion of personal ideas or sentiments; the concentration of the artist, not upon his own art, but upon his subject. This vast advantage was also thus presented, that the painter, in place of being constrained, (as in modern times), to invent a new scheme, if not a new story, for every new picture, had only the technical task of refining the work, strengthening and carrying it to the last point of beauty and exquisiteness. A thousand previous efforts, we may say, went to form such a picture as the Madonna “of the Goldfinch” by Raphael, or that “of the Rocks” by Leonardo: their day demanded Perfection; ours, Novelty.’
(Palgrave 1885, 9)

As was noted earlier in this chapter, Palgrave had written extensively on art before undertaking this project for the National Society, including publishing *Gems of English Art* in 1869. This work must have caused him to study mid-Victorian art fairly thoroughly so he was in a position to make these comments. He displays, however, a naive understanding of the world of Renaissance art where a great many of the ‘religious’ paintings were shot through with veniality of all kinds, particularly where the motives of the patrons were concerned. Palgrave’s attitude chimes in, however, with the sentimentality of his period where the antique was concerned - as was made clear in some of the writing quoted in Chapter Three of this thesis. He was, of course, out of step with the ideas of the Pre-Raphaelites who were trying to return to a purer form of Christian art ‘before Raphael’ (i.e. before the end of the fifteenth century), believing as they did that the medieval period was a time of purer spirituality, particularly in its art. It is clear, however, that the Committee of the National Society,

who probably were mainly of a high church persuasion, wanted images which reflected *catholic* traditions. So, while out of step with the Pre-Raphaelites, Palgrave was nonetheless in line with Ruskin who argued strongly for some Italian masters such as Tintoretto, Carpaccio or Veronese, whom he considered to have a purity of approach and a strong spirituality reflected in the quality of line, form and colour in their works. (Ruskin in Clark 1991, 148, 192, 211 for example)

The greater part of the Preface is taken up with an art historical outline of the development of Italian art with the emphasis on Christian art. This Preface is of significance in an art historical context because it reveals some of the ideas of the time concerning the significance of this type of art. There is not, however, the space to go into this in detail in this thesis which is concerned with the educational impact of the National Society project rather than just its position in the art historical canon. Suffice it to say that Palgrave demonstrates a good knowledge of Italian Renaissance art although without the insights provided by more modern scholarship and understanding of the period. Palgrave is always concerned to demonstrate the integrity of the images used in this project underlining the idea that the theme and subject of the art should reflect the purpose of the art rather than the fancy of the artist:

‘... Art was the simple channel of conveying them [the lessons]: the artists only as it were set up the type and printed the sermon...Whatever, in those early days came through personal skill was hence, as it were, unconscious or disinterested Art...It is in the mutual action and reaction of these elements in Art, - Soul and Body, Idea and Execution, - that we shall find the real inner history of its triangles, and in great measure, of its fall.’ (Palgrave 1885, 11)

It is interesting at this point to see how closely Palgrave is responding to the ideas of Ruskin in *The Elements of Drawing* published in 1857:

‘Now, I believe that (irrespective of differences in individual temper and character) the excellence of an artist, as such, depends wholly on refinement of perception, and that it is this, mainly, which a master or a school can teach; so that while powers of invention distinguish man from man, powers of perception distinguish school from school. All great schools enforce delicacy of drawing and subtlety of sight: and the only rule which I have, as yet, found to be without exception respecting art, is that all great art is delicate.’ (Ruskin, undated edition, vii-viii)

In the sense of this discussion, it can be said that J. Edward Goodall, who drew the copies for the project, succeeded in his purpose. Within the limits of what can be achieved with a small print, he created twenty-four images which represent simply the Christian ‘holy story’ as it appears in the gospels without embellishments. The analysis of the images themselves in Chapter Five of this thesis will show that in their reductions from the originals these images should never be compared with their sources because the gap is too large if they are considered from the lofty purpose as set out by Palgrave. Palgrave’s text for the *Life* is a sophisticated exposition of the quality of the best Italian painting of the Renaissance. It is quite likely that much of his argument went over the heads of the teachers for whom it was intended, let alone the children in their charge. It will be seen, however, from the discussion of the *Stories* to follow that these four books used the same images with quite a different approach which was much closer to the understanding of a child.

2 *The Story of the Childhood of Christ, The Story of the Ministry of Christ, The Story of the Passion of Christ, The Story of the Resurrection of Christ-1884-1886*

a) General Comments on the whole series

The four books comprising *The Story of the Childhood of Christ, The Story of the Ministry of Christ, The Story of the Passion of Christ and The Story of the Resurrection of Christ* all use the same illustrations as the *Life*. The twenty-four illustrations are divided into blocks of six to each *Story* as appropriate to the text. The images correspond to the biblical quotations listed earlier in this chapter when the question of art ‘cycles’ was discussed. The illustrations are not always directly referred to in the text but are always linked in to the bible story given. The texts of the four *Stories* cover the life of Christ as taken from the Gospels, gathered together to make a continuous narrative rather than in the order given in the Gospels. This type of re-telling of the Gospel story in one connected narrative is one which began in this period and has become very popular so that many modern bible story books for children use the same technique. (Northcote 1996 Ch. 5, 128ff) Biblical scholars would argue that this distorts the truth of the Gospels which were written not so much as ‘life-stories’ but rather as vehicles for propagating a particular message (Nineham 1963 & Richardson A. 1977 for example). The National Society were, however, in tune with the current trends in their methods and their material needs to be judged in that context rather than from the viewpoint of modern sophisticated textual criticism. The text is a simple and gentle approach to the subject, clearly designed to appeal to young children. At this point it is worth mentioning that in a seminar in May 2001 at the Institute of Education, University of Warwick, when this material was presented,

the question was raised as to why, when the National Society were under pressure to promote the education of children in the Christian faith, they produced material which was sentimental in tone. It is true that the text, as will be seen from the extracts given below, appears sentimental to our slick, modern ears but at the time material for children often had this type of approach. This will be discussed further under the sub-heading: 'Sentimentalism in the National Society publications' which follows later in this chapter.

It is impossible in the space available to give full details of the four texts of the *Stories* so the texts are divided into groups under relevant sub-headings, following brief descriptions of each book. Substantial quotations from the texts are given in some instances to allow for the style of the writing to become clear and to give evidence of the themes which emerge. Full quotations are also given where a doctrine or theological point is under discussion to make the material accessible for the reader not very familiar with Christian ideas.

The way in which the material is presented is identical for each book. This is the retelling of the Gospel story combined with doctrinal teaching. The covers for each book are the same. The background is beige tooled in blue and gold. They show an angel reproduced from a design by Raphael, two lampstands and another angel with a lyre. There is also a reproduction of the Dove of the Holy Spirit. The cover states that the book was produced at The National Society's Depository, Westminster, London. The title pages give the title of the work, the author as 'R.E.H.' and the date

of publication. It also records that they were printed by Spottiswoode & Co. New Street Square and Parliament Street.

The Story of the Childhood of Christ (published 1885) - 35 pages

The illustrations used for this book are: *The Annunciation, The Nativity, The Adoration of the Magi, The Presentation in the Temple, The Flight into Egypt and Christ among the Doctors* by the same artists as given at the beginning of this chapter. The topics also covered include the story of the shepherds in the fields and the Holy Innocents. The biblical references for this book can be found in St. Matthew Ch 1 v 18 - Ch 2 v 23; St. Luke Ch 1 - Ch 3. Each section concludes with a poem, presumably written by 'R.E.H.'. Two of these will be quoted later in this chapter to give an idea of their content. No direct link is made in the text between the illustrations and the text. The illustrations are just set in the text at approximately the point where the topic illustrated is being discussed. If the teacher had both *The Life* and *The Stories* then he or she could, of course, explain the images as the books were read, as in Helen Oxley's description of teaching practice given in Chapter Six of this thesis. This pattern is true for all four of *The Stories*.

The Story of the Ministry of Christ (published 1886) - 44 pages

The illustrations for this book are *The Baptism of Our Lord* (St. Matthew Ch 3 v 1-17; St. Mark Ch 1 v 1-11; St. Luke Ch 3 v 1-22; St. John Ch 1 v 15-34), *The Marriage at*

Cana (St. John ch 2 v 1-11), *The Sermon on the Mount* (St. Matthew Ch 5, 6 & 7),
Our Lord Walking on the Sea (St. Matthew Ch 14 v 22-33; St. Mark Ch 6 v 47-51;
 St. John Ch 6 v 16-21, *The Transfiguration* (St. Matthew Ch 17 v 1-13;
 St. Mark Ch 9 v 2-9; St. Luke Ch 9 v 28-36) (Cross & Livingstone 1974, 1390;
 Murray 1996, 539) and *The Raising of Lazarus* (St. John Ch 11 v 1-45). This
 chapter also includes references to the calling of the Disciples (St. Matthew ch 4 v 17-
 22; St. Mark Ch 1 v 14-20; St. Luke Ch 5 v 1-11;
 St. John Ch 1 v 37-49), the Lord's Prayer (St. Matthew Ch 6 v 6-15), the healing of
 the Leper (St. Matthew Ch 8 v 1-4; St. Luke Ch 17 v 11-19) and the son of the
 widow of Nain (St. Luke Ch 7 v 11-16), the story of Herod, Salome and John the
 Baptist (St. Matthew Ch 14 v 1-12; St. Mark Ch 6 v 14-30), the miracle of five loaves
 and two small fish (St. Matthew Ch 14 v 14-21; St. Mark Ch 6 v 35-44;
 St. Luke Ch 9), the instruction to Peter not to hold Jesus back
 (St. Matthew Ch 17 v 21-23; St. Mark Ch 8 v 31-33), the healing of the lunatic
 (St. Matthew Ch 17 v 14-18; St. Luke Ch 9 v 37 - 43), the parable of the Sower
 (St. Matthew Ch 13 v 1-23; St. Mark Ch 4 v 1-9; St. Luke Ch 8 v 4-15) and the Good
 Samaritan (St. Luke Ch 10 v 30-37). This shows just how much material was
 included within this simple format. The general pattern of the book is the same as the
 preceding one giving the bible story with instruction mixed into the narrative. It
 should be noted here that, while the bible references for *The Childhood of Christ*, *The
 Passion of Christ* and *The Resurrection of Christ* are placed in blocks at the beginning
 and end of each Gospel as appropriate, the references for the various incidents of
 Christ's life and ministry are scattered throughout the gospels and do not necessarily
 follow the same order. This is why detailed bible references have been given above for

The Ministry of Christ. This is unlike the four *Stories* where the life of Christ is presented as a connected and continuous narrative. This is typical of many lives of Christ which all attempt to portray a coherent narrative. For the reader who is not familiar with the way the Gospels are set out and the synoptic problem Cross and Livingstone give good basic information and also point to further reading on the subject (Cross & Livingstone 1974, 583, 1333)

3. *The Story of the Passion of Christ*, (published 1886) - 59 pages

This book is linked to the images of *The Entry into Jerusalem* (St. Matthew Ch 21 v1-11; St. Luke Ch 19 v 30-48), *The Last Supper*, *The Agony in the Garden*, *The Betrayal*, *Our Lord before Pilate* and *The Crucifixion* (Passion narratives are found in St. Matthew Ch 26 - Ch 27; St. Mark Ch 14 - Ch 15; St. Luke Ch 22 - Ch 23; St. John Ch 18 - Ch 19). *The Passion of Christ* covers all the stories making up the passion of Christ, again told as a connected narrative without the slight variations to be found in the actual Gospel accounts. Again the telling of the story is interspersed with short homilies and doctrinal explanations. In this chapter particularly there are interpolations to the text which seek to emphasize the traditional teaching of the Church.

4. *The Story of The Resurrection of Christ* (published 1886) - 55 pages.

This book is linked to the images *The Entombment*, *The Women at the Sepulchre*, *Our Lord's appearance to St. Mary Magdalene*, *The Journey to Emmaus*, *The Doubt of St.*

Thomas and The Ascension. (Resurrection & Ascension stories are found in St. Matthew Ch 28; St. Mark Ch 16; St. Luke Ch 24; St. John Ch 20-Ch 21) It includes all the main incidents of the stories surrounding the resurrection appearances of Jesus and tells the story very much in line with the authorised version again running it together into a continuous narrative. It should be noted that nowhere in the four books is the difference between the gospel accounts explained. The life of Christ is presented as a continuous narrative throughout the four *Stories*.

ANALYSIS OF THE TEXTS

The blending of bible narrative with theological interpretation

Throughout the four *Stories* the 'telling of the story' is interspersed with theological interpretations. These are designed to inform the child reader of the significance of the story of Christ's life and to ensure that their knowledge is expanded. The various doctrines and other teachings included are based very much on the principles of the Church of England and would be tied in closely to the information given to the children in other books produced by the Depository, such as those listed in Chapters One and Two of this thesis. They would also tie in with the instructional programme set out in National Society schools and which the pupils were expected to learn by rote. (see Chapters Two and Six of this thesis) This would mean that they had some familiarity with the topics under discussion even if they did not always understand them. Some

of these explanations are quite lengthy, while others are quite short. For example the Annunciation and the Incarnation (Cross & Livingstone 1974, 696; Murray 1996, 240) are given just a few lines for an event and consequent doctrine which have yielded copious debates within the Churches:

‘We read in the Gospel that the Angel Gabriel was sent from God to the blessed Mary, and holy men of old have thought that it was while she was saying her prayers that the Angel came in unto her and said: “Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women.”... This is what we mean by the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin - it was the announcement made by the Angel Gabriel to Mary that she should be the Mother of our Lord... There was a great deal in the words of the Angel Gabriel that Mary could not understand; but she believed all he said and received with great humility and trust the news of the wonderful honour that was to be bestowed on her.’ (‘R.E.H.’, 1885, 6-7)

The chapter then continues with an explanation of the Incarnation:

‘When we say the Apostle’s Creed, and repeat the words “...our Lord, (sic) Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary,” we are remembering the wonderful Annunciation, when Gabriel told the blessed Mary that, by the power of the Holy Ghost, she should become the Mother of our Lord.

This is a great mystery, something too wonderful for us to understand, but we believe in it, because God has revealed it in His Gospel.

It is called the Incarnation of our Lord, Jesus Christ.

The word Incarnation means ‘taking flesh’, and we know that our blessed Lord, who is God, took our human flesh upon Him, and for our sake became the Child of Mary.’ (‘R.E.H.’ 1885, 8)

This extract appears to give an answer but admits that the doctrine is a 'mystery'. At a time when the miracles of the Christian Church were being challenged by the humanists and rationalists it is interesting to note that the National Society gave an absolutely conventional explanation and did not attempt to justify it. Presumably this was because they expected all their teachers and pupils to accept the truth of the Christian faith. The same assumption of the broad agreement of the reader with the ideas being propounded comes in the explanation of baptism (Cross & Livingstone 1974, 126; Murray 1996, 43):

'St. John is called the "Baptist" because he baptised...He is called the "Apostle" or messenger of repentance, and we learn from his example and teaching that Almighty God accepts the self-denial which those who are truly sorry for their sins lay upon themselves...We know that our Lord was without sin and needed no repentance; but He willed to be baptised in order to set us an example of obedience.

'Children are baptised "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost", and we see that at the baptism of our Lord the Father was there, as He spake from heaven; the Son who stood in the river Jordan was there, in our human form, and the Holy Ghost was there, descending from heaven in the shape of a dove.

'There are Three Persons in one God, and they are called the Holy Trinity. The words Trinity in Unity mean Three in One. To believe in the Holy Trinity is part of the Catholic Faith, and we find it written down in the long creed in the Prayer-Book, called the Athanasian Creed.

'The place where our Lord is said to have stood when He was baptised is even now pointed out to travellers, and a wooden cross was at one time set up in the Jordan to mark the spot, when pilgrims came to bathe at the holy place.

'Jordan water was used to baptise Queen Victoria's children.

‘The word “Baptism” means washing, because the sins of a baptised person are “washed away” in that holy sacrament.’ (‘R.E.H.’ 1886a, 7-9)

This extract is given in full because it is a good example of the way in which, in these *Stories*, the text of the story, the discussion of the doctrine and simple information, such as that about the Jordan, are woven together into the text. Another example of a difficult doctrine given to the pupil is that after the Transfiguration is described:

‘Here our Lord again spoke of His rising again, and He calls Himself the Son of *Man* to show that He was to die in the human form He took for our sakes, and that His human body would again be raised from death.

‘No doubt the glorious vision of the Transfiguration was a great comfort for the three Apostles who had been permitted to see it.’ (‘R.E.H.’ 1886a, 31)

Another extract relating to the Christian beliefs concerning Holy Communion is also important and is given in full because if one clause is dropped the sequence of the information is lost:

‘Our blessed Lord, by this mysterious action at the Last Supper, in a Divine manner which we cannot explain, gave His Body and Blood to His disciples, to be the food of their souls. He desired them to partake of this mystery in remembrance of Him, and promised that it should preserve their souls and bodies from sin and bring them to everlasting life.

‘In this wonderful mystery Jesus gave Himself to be slain as a lamb, and also told them that His Body was the Bread of Life, and His Blood the Wine of Heaven.

‘So we see that this Paschal Feast had a deeper and more holy meaning than any Jewish Passover.

‘In very solemn words our Lord told His disciples, “Verily, verily, I say unto you, except you eat the Flesh of the Son of Man and drink His Blood, you have no life in you. Whoso eateth My Flesh, and drinketh My Blood, hath eternal life.”

‘This last supper of the Lord is held in memory in our Churches when, by command He left us, we celebrate the Holy Communion.

‘When the priest blesses the bread and wine, and gives them to the people who kneel before the Altar, we believe that our blessed Lord, in a mysterious way which we cannot explain, comes into the bread and into the wine, and makes them to be indeed His holy Body and His precious Blood. To believe in this great mystery is part of our Christian faith.

‘In our Prayer Book this celebration is called by several different names. One name is “The Lord’s Supper”; another is “The Holy Communion”.

Communion means being made one with Christ and with His members.

‘Another name is “The Blessed Sacrament”. The Catechism explains the meaning of this word in the answer to the question “What meanest thou by this word Sacrament?” “I mean an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, given unto us, ordained by Christ Himself.”

‘The word Eucharist, which is often used, means A Thanksgiving.’ (‘R.E.H.’ 1886b, 21-22)

The reference to the Christian Communion being more holy than the Jewish passover should be noted when the discussion of anti-Semitism is addressed below. Another example of a very difficult doctrine - exactly what was meant by Christ’s death on the cross - is given in a few lines:

‘This rending of the Veil is a sign to us Christians that the Death of Jesus opens a way for us into the Holy of Holies - that is to say, “into Heaven itself”...

‘The blood that flowed from the wounded Heart of Jesus is a type to us of the Cup of the Holy Sacrament, and the water is a figure of the cleansing waves of Baptism.’ (‘R.E.H.’ 1886 c, 7, 9)

As well as explanations of the theology contained in the story of Christ’s life, the author of these books also includes instruction for the reader on such things as the different books of the New Testament, listing them all with their attributions in detail (R.E.H. 1886a, 13-14). The author takes care to include every aspect of Christian faith and practice. For example he discusses the apostolic succession:

‘The blessing which the Twelve received from our Lord is called the Ordination of the Apostles, because they then had Orders given to them.

‘Our Bishops and Priests are ordained also, and receive the Holy Ghost to help them to do the work of God.

‘Holy Orders have been given down in an unbroken line from the time of our Lord. He made the first Bishops, and these Bishops ordained others, and so on till our own time. This is called the Apostolic Succession.’ (‘R.E.H.’ 1886a, 15)

It should be noted here that this is an example of the Church of England claiming its right to the apostolic succession - a right which was, of course, denied by the Roman Catholic Church. Another example of this discussion of faith and practice is the simple explanation of baptism:

‘Christian mothers now, in our time, bring their children to church. God has ordained that they should be baptised for the “mystical washing away of sin” in the sacred waters of the font. At Holy Baptism Christian children have their names given to them.’ (‘R.E.H.’, 1885, 21)

Discussion of sin and other homilies

One of the themes running through all four of *The Stories* is the emphasis on sin and forgiveness. Throughout there is an attempt to convince the reader that everyone is sinful and that it is only through faith in Jesus Christ that these sins can be forgiven:

‘He warns us that if we do not try to be good, to love God and do His bidding, we shall be punished.

‘He promises that if we humbly do our very best, God will help and reward us.

‘And at the end of His Sermon on the Mount He gives us a very solemn warning...

‘We must not only talk about God and holy things, but we must do what is pleasing to Him. Good intentions and resolutions will not get us to heaven; but obedience and real love of God show Him that we are in earnest; and the Death and Merits of Jesus Christ will open the door of heaven.’ (‘R.E.H. 1886a, 18)

This inculcation of guilt was considered acceptable at this period but may have had a disturbing effect on the pupils who read these books as it is a constant theme in the text:

‘When we pray to God for any blessing, for forgiveness of our sins, or for the grace of His Holy Spirit, we kneel empty handed. We have nothing of our own to offer Him in return for so great benefits, therefore our gracious Lord allows us to remind the Almighty of His sufferings and death, and to ask all we need for the sake and in the Name of His only Son our Lord.’ (‘R.E.H.’ 1886b, 26)

Throughout the books little ‘homilies’ are inserted to instruct the children to be good and obedient. This question of holy obedience was one which also emerged in the training of teachers as was pointed out in Chapter Two of this thesis. These ‘homilies’ are often linked to a statement about the perfection of the nature of Christ:

‘It is because the blessed Lord was a child Himself, growing and learning like other boys, that He understands so well all the trials and thoughts of children. He will give His Holy Spirit to help children to grow up good and obedient as He was Himself, if they ask Him.

He allows us to remind Him of His childhood and to plead His helpless Infancy in the words of the Litany, “By the mystery of thy Holy Incarnation, by thy Holy Nativity, good Lord, deliver us”.’ (‘R.E.H.’ 1885, 33,34)

Christian theology contains a number of very difficult doctrines which are based on theories rather than provable facts. R.E.H. does not attempt to discuss the fact that many of the ideas surrounding the life and death of Jesus Christ were subject to increasing doubt among many thinkers in the late Victorian period. He presents all his material from the point of view of an established Church of England faith. Some of this material is quite simple, such as the telling of the Christmas story, while other material is much more sophisticated. After a careful description of Christ’s use of parables to give his disciples his message (‘R.E.H.’ 1886a, 33), the writer goes on to tell the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, with a homily attached which would have been well above the heads of a primary age pupil:

‘Our Blessed Lord here likens Himself to a Bridegroom, and us to the ten virgins. He bids us to be ready, watching for His call, our hearts, like lamps, burning with the flame of love for Him.

‘The Holy Spirit which He gives to us will, like the oil in a lamp, feed and keep the love alive in our heart.

‘The door of heaven will suddenly be thrown open to those souls who are waiting and watching for the coming of the Bridegroom, and they will enter in with Him and be happy for ever and ever. But the slothful and careless who are unprepared, and whose hearts are cold and dark, will find it too late, and when the door is once shut, it can never be opened again. “Watch, therefore, for you know neither the day nor the hour wherein the Son of Man cometh”.’
(‘R.E.H., 1886b, 13)

Anti-semitism

In these books there is an element of anti-semitism which is surprising bearing in mind that the overall tone of the books is of a gentle sentimentality (see below). As well as the mention above it is worth including the two direct references to the Jews for the evidence they give of this covert anti-semitism:

‘And many of the Jews who saw the miracle were converted, and believed in the Lord. But others of them consulted among themselves how they might put Him to death.

‘For they feared, if our Lord continued to do so many miracles, that the whole nation would believe in Him and make Him King over them.

‘And the cruel Jews gave an order to all their soldiers and to the people, that if any man knew where Jesus was, he should come and tell the chief priest, so that He should be taken.

‘But Jesus, knowing their evil thoughts, did not show Himself openly among the Jews, but departed with His disciples to a city called Ephraim.’ (‘R.E.H.’ 1886a, 44)

This passage is inserted after the story of the raising of Lazarus in the book *The Ministry of Christ* and is quickly echoed in the next book, *The Passion of Christ*:

‘For our Lord, who knew all things, could tell that the chiefs of the people, with the Jewish chief-priests and the captains of the army, had made a plan to take Him suddenly...

‘While there, busy in consultation, one of the twelve apostles, who was called Judas Iscariot, had come in secretly, hiding in the shadows of the street as he crept along conscience-stricken, at the setting of the sun...

‘How awful it is to think that this disciple, who had seen the mighty works of our Lord, and had sat at His feet and received His grace and blessing, should love a few pieces of money more than he loved his gracious Master...

‘How terrible must have been the grief of the faithful Eleven who were left, to see that the traitor had been their own companion; surely they pressed round their dear Lord, and spoke something of the love they felt for him, and their horror at the fearful crime of Judas.’ (‘R.E.H.’ 1886b, 15,20)

These two passages are very cleverly extended slightly from the originals so that the text is embroidered to enhance the meaning as is discussed more fully below. These texts about the Jews must have been read by countless teachers and pupils during the time the four *Stories* were available which was from 1885/6 to 1904 when they are in the National Society Depository catalogues. It is unfortunate that they were included in books which, otherwise, have a simple, straightforward and kindly tone contained in the writing. It must be noted, however, that there was a strain of anti-semitism in Victorian society at this period as was noted by both Lynda Nead in her book *Victorian Babylon* and Niall Ferguson in *Empire: How Britain made the Modern World*. The references in these books make clear that there was a deep distrust of the

Jewish people at this time. (Ferguson 2003, 282-283; Nead 2000, 89) It is, however, sad to find this type of comment in *The Stories* which were designed to draw pupils into the practice of the Christian faith. It must be remembered, however, that our modern understanding in Britain of the importance of racial tolerance is something that has only relatively recently been a firm part of the general culture. This is a good moment, therefore, at which to raise the importance of the fact that these Victorian books cannot be judged by the standards of the present day but need to be seen within the context of their own period.

Embroidery of the original text

Throughout the four *Stories* the text is expanded with extra detail. This was done, presumably to make the stories in the books more accessible. It was a technique which has been carried on in innumerable books for children right up to the present time. It owes its origins to such books as *The Golden Legend* written by Jacobus da Voragine in the thirteenth century in about 1260. It has been a long-standing tradition to re-tell the Gospel story with additions which are either legendary or inventions of the author. Modern books which do this are discussed in the MA thesis - Northcote 1996, Ch 5. This embroidering will have been evident in some of the quotations already used but the following excerpts show further evidence of this, particularly the extra detail used 'to set the scene':

'With the Divine Infant folded close in her arms, while the pious Joseph leads the ass carefully by a bridle over the rough country they had to cross... We may be sure that holy Angels were with the Infant Saviour on His journey, and taking care of Him and of the Virgin Mother...[after a note that the holy family

returned home after three years]...St. Joseph worked as a carpenter in his humble home at Nazareth, so we may believe that the Child Jesus worked with him, while the blessed Virgin watched them with a great order and love.'

('R.E.H.', 1885, 26,27)

It is interesting to note that in St. Matthew's gospel the statements are much simpler:

'And when they were departed, behold the angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream, saying, Arise (sic), and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, and be thou there until I bring thee word: for Herod will seek the young child to destroy him. When he arose, he took the young child and his mother by night, and departed for Egypt.' (St. Matthew Ch. 2 v13-14)

'And he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene.' (St. Matthew Ch. 2 v 23)

It can be seen from this that in the original there is no mention of such things as 'bridle' or 'rough country' and no description of life in Nazareth. In addition to these minor details, other passages have long descriptions about the landscape or the weather such as:

'No boat was waiting to bear Him across, and He, the Creator of the wide sea, needs none. He steps upon the raging water and walks on the bounding sea. He passes silently over the lake and comes near to the ship where the poor disciples, terrified and helpless, are still working at their oars and labouring to get on their way. In the misty gloom of the fourth watch, which is before dawn, they see a shining figure coming over the sea towards them. And they trembled and were afraid, for they said "It is a spirit" and they cried out for fear.' ('R.E.H.' 1886a, 26)

The original of this in St. Matthew's gospel reads as follows and it can be seen how subtle but effective the extra words are:

'But the ship was now in the midst of the sea, tossed with waves; for the wind was contrary. And in the fourth watch of the night Jesus went unto them, walking on the sea. And when the disciples saw him walking on the sea, they were troubled, saying, It (sic) is a spirit; and they cried out for fear.' (St. Matthew Ch. 14 v 24)

Another telling piece of writing comes in the last book *The Resurrection of Christ* where topical description is given of the Sea of Galilee which reads as if the author had either been there or had read a description of the lake:

'So they took their nets and pushed the boat down the bank over the carpet of tulips and anenomes, into the shallow borders of the lake, where the waves ripple up to the foot of masses of oleanders, which shower their fragile rosy blossoms in profusion over the crystal waters...' ('R.E.H.' 1886c, 38, 43)

There are no such descriptions in the gospel accounts which are noticeable for their regular writing about the *actions* of Christ's life rather than descriptions of his appearance, the quality of the weather and the landscape for example. The gospel writers clearly felt that the *action* was more important for the reader to have than any elaboration of the stories.

Sentimentalism in *The Stories*

Much Victorian writing contains a vein of sentimentality which the modern reader, used to the sharpness of modern writing, will reject. 'Sentimentalism' is a modern

term for a type of literature which was considered quite acceptable in the Victorian period which had not yet developed a modern, cynical ear. Sentiment was applauded in the Victorian period. In the religious field this type of 'sweet' writing was considered good. It needs to be remembered, before considering this question in relation to *The Stories*, that these books were written at a time when writing such as that of Christina Rossetti were very popular. Christina Rossetti was writing from about 1846 until her death in 1894. In addition to some aspects of the quotations given above, there are several passages in *The Stories* where this is very evident. First are the poems which are placed at the end of each chapter of the first book *The Childhood of Christ*. These are too long to quote in full here but extracts from two poems about the Annunciation and the Presentation in the Temple will give a flavour of what this writing was like:

The Annunciation

'Swift an angel winging
Through the azure bright
Is a message bringing . . .
From the heavenly height,
Like a flash of glory, dazzling as the light.

Meek, a Virgin kneeling
Pure as lily flower
Waits for the revealing
Of the Almighty power,
On her soul awaking dawns the awful hour...

...Then with joy amazing

Mary hears the word
And her song upraising
Magnifies the Lord,
Who on His handmaiden hath His grace outpoured...' ('R.E.H.' 1885, 9)

The Presentation in the Temple

White-veiled to God's Temple holy
Comes the Virgin Mother lowly
And meet offering brings:
Shy turtle doves with rippling note,
Of rainbow-tinted opal throat,
And burnished glancing wings.

What though the Mother had no thought,
Yet she a holier offering brought,
Her tender new-born Son.
The very Lamb of God is He,
Who on the altar Calvary
Was Priest and Victim - one...

...Though shadows fall, there is a Light
Our beacon in the darkest night
Of sorrows or alarm.
Let us, as Simeon, strive for this,
To see our Light and learn the bliss
Of everlasting calm.' ('R.E.H.' 1885, 23-24)

It will be seen from the writing in these two poems that there is a similarity in them to the style in the hymns of Moody and Sankey. (Moore 1995, 274) There is the same lilting 'note' in each stanza and the emphasis on the achievement of a truly *holy* feeling.

Much Victorian writing, not just in hymns and religious books had this quality of sentimentalism which emphasised a perfection in life which is just not achievable in reality. In addition to the poetry in *The Stories* there is much descriptive writing and two examples of this will again demonstrate that these books were very typical of the period in this respect:

The ascension of Jesus

‘And it came to pass while He blessed them that He was taken up from the earth.

‘As He looked with loving eyes upon His disciples, and while the Hands, still bearing the marks of the nails, were raised in blessing, His glorified Body rises from the earth, and He passes from their longing gaze up through the clear blue summer sky.

‘When at length they withdraw their gaze from the blue heavens where far above the stars the Lord was now enthroned, the disciples found they were not the only creatures on the mountain side. Two angels had come.’ (‘R.E.H. 1886c, 51) (Cross & Livingstone 1974, 94; Murray 1996, 34)

The Road to Emmaus

‘The road along which the apostles were travelling is one of great beauty, but no doubt they were too sad to notice the loveliness of the valley.

‘From the “Gate of Joppa”, as the west gate of Jerusalem is named, by which they left the city, to the small village of Emmaus, ran the fine broad road made by the Romans.

‘The hills, covered with trees, were in the fresh beauty of spring.

‘Orange and lemon groves lined the warm and fragrant valleys. The glossy bark of the fig-trees was studded with tender green buds; while the vines trained over the knotted olives wrapped them round with an emerald cloak, or

hung with swaying tendrils like ringlets from the trellis work to which the husbandman had bound them.

‘The voice of the turtle dove cooing to its mate in the thick trees fell softly on the air, and every sound and sight was full of hope and gladness.

‘But for Cleophas and his friend there was no Easter joy...’ ‘R.E.H.’ 1886c,29)

These two extracts are good examples of the sentimentality of descriptive writing of the period as can be found even in writers such as George Eliot in the description of ‘Janet’s repentance’ in *Scenes of Clerical Life* written in 1858. It is also similar to much of the writing of Charlotte Yonge as quoted in Chapter Three of this thesis. More serious, however, for the long term understanding of the pupils who read *The Stories* is the sentimental tone which characterises much of the writing about Christian doctrine and the events of Christ’s life. This is very much in evidence in two passages which refer to the Agony in the Garden and the Crucifixion:

The Agony in the Garden

‘These awful and most mysterious sufferings of our blessed Lord are called His “Agony”. It is so terrible to think of Him, who was sinless Man, and God Himself, bearing such bitter sorrow.

‘We cannot in the least understand nor enter into the pains He then endured. We know that He bore the Agony in the garden for the sins of the world, and that, while kneeling on the earth weeping and praying, He could see every sin which had been committed and would be committed by every single soul which had lived, or would be born. He bore these awful sufferings for the sake of every soul; and took its punishment upon His own shoulders. He offered up His Agony and His Death, and prayed to His Father to forgive us, and to accept His Life as the price of our sins...

‘For the second time our Saviour knelt and prayed. Again His sacred tears were falling over the thought of the sins which caused His agonies, and He cried aloud to His Father to help and support His human nature in the trial He was suffering.

‘He was true Man as well as perfect God, and He felt in His body all the grief and suffering and fainting of spirit which we feel in sorrow.

‘But, in the case of our Saviour, the pain was ten thousand times more sharp and the grief more bitter. He sorrowed so deeply over the sin and wickedness which we commit. Sin is hateful in the pure eyes of God, and the shame and weight were more than he could bear.’ (‘R.E.H.’ 1886b, 29,30, 31)

The Penitent Thief

‘God gave the penitent thief grace to repent of his wickedness at the last moment of his life, and the answer of Jesus is a great comfort, for it tells us that He will pardon and receive every sinner who, like the thief, turns to Him with repentance even in the hour of death...

‘This cry of distress from the lips of Jesus, who was God, one with His Father, is a mystery quite beyond our understanding.

‘It is one of the unknown agonies our Lord bore for our sakes, and we may be sure that the desolation and grief of His soul were then offered up by Him to obtain our salvation.’ (‘R.E.H.’ 1886b, 56,57)

The sentimentality used in this writing has the effect of trivialising the importance of what has been said about the Christian faith. The over rich descriptive writing makes the books seem a little like ‘fairy stories’ and it is this which could account for the way in which Christianity is not taken seriously by very many people who may well have read books similar to these in their early lives. It should be remembered, however, that this habit of ‘enriching’ the basic Christian story is not one which began in the Victorian period. It was a feature of much medieval writing and a quick glance

through *The Golden Legend* by Jacobus da Voragine will show how much sentimentality was also included in those volumes. (da Voragine 1995) The Committee of the National Society, who would have approved these texts, would probably have found themselves on familiar grounds with this style of writing. An example of this which is really ‘over the top’ is the writing of F.W. Faber on ‘The Sorrows of Mary’ which was written in 1858. (Moore 1995, 88) This sentimental appeal to the emotions is one of the rocks on which Christianity is foundering today when so many people question the *facts* of Christianity and are not prepared to indulge in a faith propped up by an appeal to those emotions. It is outside the scope of this thesis, but it should just be noted, on the other hand, that much of modern evangelical preaching, is also dependent on a sentimental appeal to the presence of Jesus in the lives of his followers. From the success of this movement it is clear that some people today still like this type of approach and would, therefore, probably find these publications by the National Society to be acceptable.

Rote Learning

It can be seen from the various extracts given above that the pupils reading these books were expected to have a familiarity with many complex Christian ideas and theological terms. As was shown in Chapters One and Two of this thesis the pupils in National Society schools were expected to learn by rote all the main topics of Christian discussion. Thus they would have been familiar with these terms. Whether they understood them or not is another question. As will be seen from Chapter Six when some contemporary Sunday School teaching is discussed, pupils were expected to be

able to use what they had learnt to help with their current lessons. Teachers also, whether they were fully qualified or pupil teachers, were expected to know the main doctrines of the Christian faith as well as having a good grounding in biblical topics as was shown by the curricula given in Chapter Two of this thesis. Familiarity with the words, however, is not the same as understanding and, despite the charm of these books, it is likely that much of the material went over the heads of the readers.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the National Society used text and imagery to teach the pupils in their charge the various truths of the Christian faith which they believed to be universal and which should be carried to the whole world. Demonstrated in the extracts given in this chapter is the faith which guided so many of the British people as they moved out to create the British Empire. It is a faith which, at home, was beginning to be severely tested by the influx of new ideas such as Charles Darwin's *Origin of the Species* published in 1859, just before this series. No doubt the humanist ideas which this book inspired were among those which this series set out to refute by presenting the Christian faith to children in a firm and didactic way. The books are deceptively easy to read for an educated adult with a good knowledge of Christianity. They are, however, densely packed with theological ideas and in the case of the *Life* an earnest art-historical discussion which might make them more difficult for a primary school pupil. The allusions quoted above which refer to sin, although couched in simple language, contain that threat of condemnation which has led so many to wrestle with enduring feelings of guilt. The descriptions of place and

scene given both in the text and the images will have lodged themselves in the minds of many whose influence may still be felt today.

The sentimentalism which is evident in so much of the descriptive writing and story telling, shown in the extracts above, is deceptive. While to our modern ears it does appear to trivialise the subject matter, the texts of *The Stories* overall are a robust definition of the Christian faith and the beliefs of the Church of England in particular - set within the context of the life of Christ. It should be remembered also that these texts were approved by the teachers of the period (see Chapter 6 of this thesis) who clearly thought they were appropriate for their pupils. It should also be noted, as will be clear in the next chapter, that these texts were illustrated by images which came from some of the greatest Renaissance paintings by artists such as Fra Angelico, whose work was far from sentimental. Thus the texts were lifted above the sentimental to something more aesthetically pleasing.

The Life, in contrast, is a much more literary text dealing with the link between good 'high' art and the development of the spiritual ideal. Taken together these books are clearly designed to elevate the minds of the readers. They attempt, in the text, to reach the aesthetic ideal which - they claim - is present in the Old Master images. Thus the images and the texts work together to try and fulfill the purpose of the National Society which was to provide high quality material to match the high ideals of their educational policy as set out in the extracts from the Annual Reports given in Chapters One and Two of this thesis.

The books are of great importance in the development of children's religious literature and in the influence they had on later teaching methods. The following chapter will analyse the images as they are presented in *The Life* and discussed by Palgrave unlike the way, in *The Stories*, they are presented without any link to the text. Chapter Six of this thesis will show how the images might have been used in the schoolroom, give details of some of the contemporary comments upon them and make a comparison with some other contemporary literature for children. The conclusion to Chapter Five of this thesis will consider the significance of both the texts and the illustrations to *The Life* and *The Stories*.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ILLUSTRATIONS FOR *THE LIFE* AND *THE STORIES* AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE FOR RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Introduction

This chapter deals with the twenty-four illustrations to *The Life of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, edited by F.T. Palgrave, and the four books *The Story of the Childhood of Christ*, *The Story of the Ministry of Christ*, *The Story of the Passion of Christ* and *The Story of the Resurrection of Christ* written by the unknown author 'R.E.H.' (Plates 7a - 18b) This chapter should be read in conjunction with the previous chapter where the texts of *The Stories* are considered in detail and reference is also made to the Preface to *The Life*. Both *The Life* and *The Stories* contain the same twenty-four chromolithographs which are shown as illustrations at the beginning of Chapter Four of this thesis and which are listed at the beginning of that chapter. They are designed to cover the main incidents of Christ's life which demonstrate his divinity. They are, therefore, deeply theological in content although designed mainly to be read by children.

The chapter will consider the way in which these images are used by Palgrave in *The Life* to enhance his art-historical Preface and Notes to each painting and continue to point to the theme of Palgrave's writing, which is his insistence that it is the moral and spiritual qualities of Christian images which are paramount. This writing will be considered in this thesis from the point of view of its impact on religious education. Likewise the illustrations will also be considered from the point of view of their impact on teachers and the children in their charge. There are many larger questions of importance to the art-historical canon - such as the significance of these chromo-lithographs among other similar material of the period and the importance of Palgrave's art-historical writing - which have largely gone unconsidered in the extant art-historical criticism of the late Victorian period. These, however, cannot be included here for reasons of space and because the purpose of this thesis is to identify the significance of these books to the history of religious education rather than the topic of art history. This chapter will, however, begin with a short analysis of the position of these illustrations within the history of chromo-lithography, a discussion of the techniques involved, some details about the illustrator J. Edward Goodall and a detailed analysis of one of the paintings, *The Nativity*, to demonstrate their significance in the history of illustrated books.

In *The Life* the illustrations are placed after a long Preface, with each painting being given one page of notes - largely art historical in content. In *The Stories*, the paintings are divided into groups of six to fit in with each of the

individual themes of those books. These are listed in Chapter Four of this thesis at the beginning of each discussion on the four books. As has already been pointed out there is no direct reference by 'R.E.H.' to the illustrations in his text. They are just placed, more or less, alongside the texts which discuss the subject of the paintings. It can only be presumed that the teachers would have had available both *The Life* and *The Stories* and would have been able to use one to enhance the other - in the manner of Helen Oxley's class teaching which is discussed in Chapter Six of this thesis. If this was the case then a skilled teacher could have made very good use of these materials. If, however, the children only had one of *The Stories* - perhaps given as a prize - then the illustrations would have had to stand by themselves. When the paintings are considered here, therefore, comment will be made as to how suitable these would have been for children when divorced from any explanation as well as when used by a teacher.

Art-historical analysis of the twenty four illustrations to *The Life and The Stories*

1. The Process - Chromo-lithography

All the twenty-four illustrations of the life of Christ, being discussed here, are very fine chromo-lithographs, drawn for printing by two different hands.

Numbers 2,3,4,5 are done by an unknown hand (Plates 7b-9a) and all the rest -

Numbers 1, and 6-24 (Plates 7a and 9b-18b) - are done by J. Edward Goodall who will be discussed below.

Lithography was invented in 1798 in Munich by Alois Senefelder and was the first entirely new process since intaglio printing was invented in the fifteenth century. The main centre for lithography, at first, was Germany and there was little in Paris or England. In 1816, however, Godefroy Engelmann moved his press from Mulhouse to Paris and lithography became popular among French artists. (Griffiths 1980, 101ff; Twyman 2001, 3ff) The French print-makers became renowned for the quality of their work and it is interesting to note that the National Society had their chromo-lithographs done in Passage Menilmontant, Paris by M. Charles Delaye, although under the direction of a Mr. F. Jenkins of Saint Bride Street, London. This is evidence of their concern for a production of very high quality. The Panizzi Lectures, given by Michael Twyman in 2000 at The British Library, set out the history of chromo-lithography and showed how popular and significant a method it became. He did not, however, mention this group of chromo-lithographs or the work of the National Society in bringing these images to a very wide public, although he did comment on the use of chromo-lithography for illustrations in other books. (Twyman 2001) In common with other writers on illustrated books, these productions by the National Society seem to be unknown (as is outlined in Chapter Six of this thesis).

Lithography is a process determined by the fact that grease and water repel each other. It is a complicated and time-consuming process - which is detailed below from a modern textbook of printing. This detailed description is given in full because it underlines the complexity of the process and, therefore, the high quality of the illustrations under discussion here which often have several colours included:

1. 'The plate is sensitized by covering with water with the excess being drained off.
2. Counter-etch solution is poured and sponged over the whole surface of the plate and then rinsed off.
3. The plate is dried.
4. Gum arabic is sponged round the edges of the plate to make a border and allowed to dry.
5. The plate is then drawn on exactly as if the artist were drawing on paper, except that a greasy medium is used. Lithographic ink can be used.
6. When the ink drawing is dry the plate is dusted with french chalk and then with powdered resin.
7. Liquid-etch solution is then brushed on to cover the whole surface of the plate evenly and left for a couple of minutes. This helps to fix the drawn image on the plate.
8. The plate is then put under running water and the etch solution rinsed off completely. The plate is then dried.
9. A thin layer of gum arabic is then sponged over the whole plate surface and left to dry overnight.
10. The second-stage processing then starts. White spirit is then used to wash out the drawn images, leaving a greasy 'shadow' on the plate.
11. A thin layer of printing ink is then rubbed in or alternatively asphaltum if a heavier image is required. The ink is then wiped out with white

spirit and the plate washed to remove the gummed layer still surrounding the image.

12. The plate is then inked and printed on a flat bed press.’ (Martin 1993, 110ff)

In *The Life* and *The Stories* the chromo-lithographs are quite small and detailed. The first six images are 11.2 cm by 14.9 cm. These are outlined with a single line to make a frame. The remaining eighteen images are slightly smaller, being 11 cm by 14.7 cm. These later images have no outlining line. This is a small difference but, interestingly, it would argue that there was some change at the printing stage. There is no noticeable difference in the colour tones in the two groups. The coloured illustrations to this thesis are reduced in size from the originals but two photocopies of the different sized images are given to make clear the actual size in the five books (Plates 19 & 20). All the chromo-lithographs are brightly coloured, as can be seen from the illustrations to this thesis. They all come within a certain colour range, which is obviously dependent on what can be produced by the chromo-lithographic process. It is worth noting this similarity between the images in *The Life* and *The Stories* because the original images would have varied considerably one from another, depending on the technique and the artist. For example Fra Angelico’s frescoes in San Marco have a completely different colour range to say the images by Bernardino Luini or Gentile da Fabriano, due in part to the difference in medium from fresco to oil paint and in part to the individual artist’s choice of palette. Thus the books give the images a uniformity which they would not have had in the original.

2. The Artist

All the illustrations to *The Life* and *The Stories* are chromo-lithographic prints which have been prepared from drawings by J. Edward Goodall, with the exception of *The Nativity*, *The Adoration of the Magi*, *The Presentation in the Temple* and *The Flight into Egypt* (Plates 7b-9a) which are by an unknown hand. J. Edward Goodall was, therefore, responsible for most of this book. Little is known about him apart from formal entries in reference books. It is known from the Dictionary of British Artists that he exhibited from 1880-1911 and that he was a member of the Royal Society of British Artists from 1902. At that time he had works lodged in various galleries, such as the Dudley Gallery, London, the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool, the Royal Academy, the Royal Society of British Artists, the Royal Hibernian Academy, The Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours and the Royal Institute of Oil Painters. When general enquiries were made, however, no trace of his paintings or drawings were found. This included research at the British Museum print room and the print room at the Victoria and Albert Museum. Both these had prints and drawings by other artists with the Goodall name but none by J. Edward Goodall. A detailed search would, no doubt, locate some of them but the time available for research for this thesis did not permit this to be done, bearing in mind the main concern of this thesis with the history of religious education.

In the references J. Edward Goodall is described as being a figure and domestic painter which would fit in with the subject matter of the illustrations to *The Life* which are all figurative. J. Edward Goodall's paintings are considerably reduced in size from the originals and are consequently much more 'wooden' and without the same sense of life and movement as can be seen in the originals. His rendering of the forms indicate that he did have a grounding in the principles of anatomical drawing but they do not always do justice to the work of the original artists. This is despite the fact that Palgrave commented about the prints:

'The drawings, - to the beauty and conscientious fidelity of which, secured in many cases under difficult local conditions, a recent examination of the originals enables me to bear witness.' (Palgrave 1885, 3)

Clearly what Palgrave valued was the closeness of the design and format of the prints to the originals rather than the sort of copy which captured the essential qualities of form which the original artists produced. It should be remembered, however, that these prints were published as 'copies' and, at that time, many such copies were produced and were accepted as a valid means of studying the masters of painting. These prints must, therefore, be assessed within the context of their period and in the history of chromo-lithography. A thorough analysis of all these twenty-four prints from both an art-historical and doctrinal point of view would yield some very interesting data about them but there is not space in this thesis to do this. Three images, therefore, have been

selected to give an indication of the wealth of material available in the whole project, which should, at some point, be explored in detail. The first has been analysed art-historically and the second two from the point of view of the teaching of doctrine in religious education.

3. Analysis of *The Nativity*

This image is shown in this thesis as follows: Plate 7b shows a colour reproduction, reduced in size, of the print of the *The Nativity* from *The Life*: Plate 19 shows a photocopy of the original print of *The Nativity* from *The Life* showing the actual size of the print in the book: Plate 21 shows a black and white reproduction of the original painting of *The Nativity*, attributed to Fra Filippo Lippi but here given possibly to Fra Diamante.

The purpose of this analysis is to demonstrate the way in which, although Palgrave claimed that the prints in *The Life* were faithful copies, the originals were subtly altered by their transition from altarpiece or fresco to the prints. In the case of *The Nativity* the print is only 11.2 cm by 14.9 cm. The original, however, is a substantial altarpiece of 169 cm by 160 cm. The print is a chromo-lithograph with a limited colour range while the original is an oil panel with all the luminosity and colour variation which is available in that medium. The print, set in a Northern style landscape with ruined buildings, shows Mary (as *Madre Pia* - Mary with hands clasped in prayer) and Joseph kneeling in adoration before the infant Jesus who is lying on the ground decently swaddled.

The original, however, shows this scene with the infant naked (in the manner of the fifteenth century) and also includes two praying angels and some shepherds. These shepherds are too indistinct in the print to contribute to the narrative. Both the print and the original include the ox and the ass and the symbols of a goldfinch and a lizard. The ox and the ass are legendary, introduced to the Christmas story in the Middle Ages. The goldfinch in ancient mythology and Christian symbolism stands for the soul flying from the body at death. It is often used in Christian paintings because of the story that the bird acquired its red spot when it flew over Jesus on the cross and was splashed with Jesus' blood when it withdrew a thorn. (Hall 1987, 330-331) The presence of the lizard has a less clear meaning. A lizard can be used as a symbol of 'Logic' when the Seven Liberal Arts are being shown. If, however, the animal in this Nativity is a salamander, then it indicates the power to extinguish flames. (Hall 1987, 193, 270) Without substantial research into the provenance of the original painting it is impossible to establish the precise meaning of the symbolism of the lizard, which was later connected with various family symbols. Both the print and the original show the dove symbolising the holy spirit with rays pointing down to the figures below. The buildings are shown as ruins which are often used as a symbol of the Old Testament being replaced by the New. These details are only included here to demonstrate that the originals of many of the paintings, included in the illustrations to *The Life*, were full of detail and symbolism which were sometimes lost in the prints and which were largely ignored by Palgrave in his notes which were concerned with general points about the history of art and the moral or spiritual qualities of the

paintings. The composition of the painting draws the eye to the main focus which is the holy child lying in the centre foreground. It is significant that if all the paintings in *The Life* are studied, overall they have very clear compositional plans.

The attribution of this painting is controversial and, as early as 1911 Crowe & Cavalcaselle were disputing the attribution to Fra Filippo Lippi on grounds of style. It has been given variously to the school of Pesellino, Fra Diamante and Baldovinetti (see Louvre Catalogue of 1849) and others. (Crowe & Cavalcaselle 1911, 159ff) Palgrave does not comment on the attribution but has clearly done some research in the Louvre catalogue, commenting:

‘This picture, part of the Vandal spoils carried to Paris by Napoleon I, was originally in the Church of Sta. Margherita at Prato near Florence, and is numbered 220 in the Louvre catalogue of 1883. A large but rather rude engraving of it is contained in the *Etruria Pittrica* (1791): the author of which points out that the figures closely resemble those in a similar work by Alessio Baldovinetti, another Florentine artist, Lippi’s contemporary, in the entrance-court of the Church of the Annunziata.’ (Palgrave 1885, 19)

A final point in this analysis is to note that this print, like all the prints in *The Life*, is accompanied by Notes by Palgrave which discuss the art history of the painting, giving details of where the painting is to be found, (in this case The Louvre in Paris) and some information about the painter. This, however, is sketchy and limited no doubt by space. The main emphasis is on the moral and

spiritual qualities of the painting. Every set of notes to the prints is preceded by two biblical quotations from the Old Testament and the New Testament. This follows the practice, in the painted cycles of *The Life of Christ*, for these to be accompanied by a register, usually above, showing the link to the Old Testament prophecy. It also reflects the theological ideas which see in the events of the New Testament the fulfilling of the Old Testament. In the case of *The Nativity* the quotations may have a direct reference to the print because they use the quotation from St. Luke which refers to 'swaddling clothes' as given below:

'Unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given: and the government shall be upon His shoulder.' Isaiah ix.6

'The days were accomplished that she should be delivered, and she brought forth her first-born Son, and wrapped Him in swaddling clothes, and laid Him in a manger: because there was no room for them in the inn.' St. Luke ii.6.' (Palgrave 1885, 19)

Over the whole of *The Life*, the quotations cover all the main focal points of Christ's life, particularly those events which signal his divinity.

4. The Relationship between the texts of *The Life* and *The Stories* and the illustrations

As has already been made clear in Chapter Four of this thesis, in *The Stories*, 'R.E.H.' makes no direct link between his text and the illustrations except that they are placed more or less appropriately for what is being discussed. He

does not employ any teaching method such as ‘Look at the picture and say what is happening’ such as Helen Oxley or Hetty Lee Holland did as shown in Chapter Six of this thesis. Presumably explanations were to be left to the teachers. If the children were reading the book by themselves then they would have had to deduce what they could from the illustrations. In the case of the simpler images, such as *The Nativity* described above, which derive from the Christmas story, the illustrations must have been easier to understand, even though the children would probably have missed the detailed symbolism. In the case, however, of the more difficult images, such as *Our Lord walking on the Sea* (Plate 11b), *The Transfiguration* (Plate 12a) or *The Ascension* (Plate 18b), it would have been more difficult for the children to comprehend the artistic interpretation of these events and they would only be able to follow the ‘R.E.H.’ text’s explanation of the event where that coincided with the illustration. This question of the gap between fact and artistic licence is an important one. At this point, however, the illustrations must be considered from the point of view of Victorian sensibilities and beliefs. In this context many of the images were probably accepted as factual representations of the event.

In *The Life* there is, again, no attempt to explain the detail of the illustrations or to debate the theology and meaning of them. They are simply represented as beautiful, moral and spiritual interpretations of the subjects. The only comment on the detail is when Palgrave notes that some of the paintings have had the number of figures reduced owing to the size of the copies. Palgrave’s

main theme in the book is the quality of the original paintings and their copies and an exposition of the development of European Christian art. In this he follows the sequential arrangement, established first by Vasari (1511-1574) in his two editions of *The Lives of the Artists*, published in 1550 and 1568. This works from the assumption that art got progressively more skilled and better until it reached a high point in the Italian Renaissance. It was, of course, shown in Chapter Three of this thesis that Lord Lindsay (Alexander Crawford) took much this view, although Lindsay emphasises the superior quality of Christian art and does not concede the place of Graeco-Roman art in this history as accepted by both Vasari and Palgrave. (Palgrave 1885, 10ff) Palgrave refers to Vasari in his own text and also to writers such as Anna Jameson, Lord Lindsay, Ruskin, Rio, Kugler and various poets, including Dante, Wordsworth and Keats. He had clearly researched his subject thoroughly in some of the literature of the period. It is interesting, however, that he uses as sources those, such as those listed above, who concurred with his own view of the significance and importance of Christian art. He did not introduce ideas from the aesthetic movement, such as those of Walter Pater (1839-1894) or the extensive publications which existed by then on artists such as Raphael and Michelangelo. (Cartwright 1895; Ostermark-Johansen 1998, Ch. 1; Pater 1986, 1st pub 1873) It is interesting to note that Palgrave followed so closely on Vasari's arguments. Vasari was writing for Cosimo di Medici (1519-74) at a point where the Counter-Reformation in Italy was well under way. The Council of Trent had been meeting from 1545 to 1563 and in their twenty-fifth session in that last year, had redefined the use of images in the

Roman Catholic Church ensuring that they were accepted provided they met standards of holiness and propriety. (Schroeder 1978, 214ff) It is, therefore, interesting to compare a short quotation from Vasari's *Life of Fra Angelico* with an excerpt from Palgrave's comments on that artist:

'The rare and perfect talent which Fra Angelico enjoyed neither can nor should be granted to anyone who does not lead a thoroughly holy life. Artists who devote themselves to work of a religious or holy kind ought themselves to be genuinely holy and religious, seeing that pictures done by those who have little regard for their religion and little faith often fill the mind with unworthy desires and impure longings, with the result that the work is censured for its impurity but praised for its craftsmanship and skill...Fra Angelico was most gentle and temperate and he lived chastely, withdrawn from the snares of the world. He would often comment that anyone practising the art of painting needed a quiet and untroubled life and that the man who occupies himself with the things of Christ should live with Christ.' (Vasari in Bull Ed. 1987, 204-206)

The whole section on Fra Angelico, and indeed on other artists given in *The Lives of the Artists*, contain many similar types of comment, noting the importance of truly 'holy' pictures to represent the Christian faith. Just to contrast - Palgrave had this to say himself about Fra Angelico, clearly drawing from Vasari, though he does not quote him directly:

'Angelico it will be found, holds a predominant place in our little Gallery. Not only do we owe to his industrious and devoted hand, a larger number of Scriptural scenes available for the purpose of this book than any other artist, but in his style also many of the great early

types of Christian art reach their highest perfection and are informed with the deepest and purest religious sentiment.’ (Palgrave 1885, 17)

‘...[Angelico] presents, at once, the perfect type of disinterested genius in art, and of the soul formed upon the model of the ‘Imitation of Christ’. Hence the crystalline purity of his vision as a painter; no glass darkened the sight of his Saviour on earth or above; the ‘Family of Heaven’ in Dante’s phrase, ‘did not dazzle him’. Hence, also, his art was the simple natural efflux of his life; we might almost say, automatic as sleep or breathing; as such a duty, as little a source of personal pride as prayer or meditation. He had that calm indifference to earthly fame, which is the last privilege of the highest natures.’ (Palgrave 1885, 41)

5. Doctrine, Text and Illustration

This section will discuss the relationship between the doctrines of the divinity of Christ, the texts of *The Life* and the illustrations used to portray those ideas. The text of *The Stories* is not explored here because it has been given in some detail in Chapter Four of this thesis. The biblical, doctrinal and pastoral explanations given in those texts were linked, clearly, to the overall curricula for children in National Society schools as well as telling the gospel story in simple terms. The text of *The Life*, however, is quite different. It is, in the main, an art historical exposition of the history of Christian art, combined with a series of eulogies about the artists whose work has been copied for this book. There is no attempt to unpack the theology demonstrated in the images and it can only be presumed that this was for two reasons. First, that at this period, within Christian circles, the ideas and doctrines of the faith were largely

accepted without comment and modern critical approaches were not in evidence at this level. Second, it may have been because Palgrave and the Committee of the National Society were, of course, aware of the programme of religious education set down in the curricula for schools and teacher training colleges so presumed that the teachers using *The Life* would be able to develop their teaching from the images.

It is, however, worth discussing in some detail the doctrinal implications of just two of the images in *The Life* to show just how difficult these Christian images can be to understand and thus draw attention to the point made briefly in the Conclusion to this thesis that, without proper explanation, the use of Christian imagery in schools can be unhelpful and confusing. The two images to be considered come together in *The Life* and are *Our Lord Walking on the Sea* by Cigoli (Plate 11b) and *The Transfiguration* by Fra Angelico (Plate 12a). These have been chosen for theological analysis because they represent one of the miracles which was a sign of Christ's divinity and the moment at which this divinity was revealed to some of the disciples.

Our Lord Walking on the Sea by Cigoli, Plate 11b, (in Florence, Italy)

This image shows the moment when, after Christ has walked towards the disciples in their boat, St. Peter tries to reach him and begins to sink. The remainder of the disciples are shown in the boat behind them.

The notes by Palgrave for this image begin, as usual, with biblical quotations which are:

‘Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by name; thou art mine’ (Isaiah xliii, 1)

‘Peter cried saying, Lord save me, and immediately Jesus stretched forth His hand, and caught him.’ (St. Matthew xiv, 30) (Palgrave 1885, 35)

From this it will be seen that this image is expected to be seen within the context of the saving power of Christ and the promise of eternal life. If the image is taken at face value, with no questions asked, then it meets the requirements for illustrating this moment where Christ’s divine power is demonstrated. It is, however, an image dating from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries painted by an artist who was reflecting the requirements of that period following the Council of Trent. The artist’s dates are given (as they are for all the illustrations in *The Life*) as 1559-1613, but the precise date of the original painting is not given. At that period artists were using certain established formulae for portraying events from the gospels and the convention with this particular story was to show Christ, quite literally balanced upright on the water. In the early sixteenth century, when this picture was probably painted, miraculous events such as this were accepted much more without question so it was a perfectly valid image. By the time this painting was copied for the National Society project in 1885, ideas had, however, begun to change. The age of enlightenment had passed, Darwin’s *The Origin of the Species* had been published in 1859, scientific enquiry had begun to gain ever

more credence and many people were beginning to challenge the claims of the Christian faith. In this setting, as indeed in the twenty-first century, the validity of such miracles were being questioned and in many cases the faith of individuals had been shaken or destroyed because a theology which is based on events which appear to be impossible, cannot be believed. This questioning attitude is not apparent in any of the texts of either *The Life* or *The Stories* and no attempt is made to help the reader by explaining the context of thought in which the original painting was made. This image, as has already been pointed out in this thesis, was still available in 1904. Thus generations of children and teachers will have had their ideas about this particular event in the gospels governed by an artistic interpretation which dates from a much earlier and less sceptical age.

Palgrave in his notes does not address this issue but concentrates, as ever, on the spiritual content of the image:

‘The gentleness of Our Lord’s action deserves notice. His touch on the wavering Apostle’s arm is sufficient...I have in these notes laid a stress, which some readers may have thought exaggerated, upon the paramount importance of penetration to the inner spirit and significance of the subject which a painter professes to set forth. It is the almost entire neglect of this disinterested aim which renders the Roman and Florentine works produced after 1550 so utterly dead and futile...Against this decline...certain artists...rose in protest. Amongst them was Cigoli, who about 1580 began the effort to renew a genuine realisation of sacred subjects.’ (Palgrave 1885, 35)

The National Society's project was a brave one. It introduced teachers and children to a wide range of interesting pictures such as this one. In the hands of a skilled teacher there are a number of ideas and concepts which can be explored using this interpretation of the gospel story. The problem will have arisen where this painting was viewed on its own with no attempt to analyse it and the viewer may have questioned it as discussed above.

The Transfiguration by Fra Angelico, Plate 12a, (in Convent of San Marco, Florence)

The doctrine of 'The Transfiguration', which is the moment when the disciples see a vision of Jesus in his divine glory, is a difficult one and readers not familiar with it are recommended to study Cross & Livingstone and Murray as given in Chapter Four of this thesis, repeated here for convenience. (Cross & Livingstone 1974, 1390; Murray 1996, 539; St. Matthew Ch 17 v 1-13) This image shows Christ standing in the middle of the picture surrounded by a mandorla (oval shaped light space), with the three disciples crouching at his feet and the heads of Moses and Elias 'floating' either side of Christ. The chromo-lithograph is a good copy of the original except that it omits two figures - a woman and a man - which are shown either side in Fra Angelico's painting.

Again the notes start with the following biblical quotations which set the theological point of the painting:

‘The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me.’ (Deuteronomy xviii, 15)

‘And behold there appeared unto them, Moses and Elias talking with Him.’ (St. Matthew xvii,3) (Palgrave 1885, 37)

This quotation does not contain the descriptive element of this incident such as Christ’s clothing being transformed into dazzling light and, therefore, there is no immediate connection which would help the viewer see why the artist has shown the subject in this way. Presumably the National Society expected a teacher to present the complete gospel quotation to the children thus making things clearer. Again this type of depiction of the transfiguration of Christ is typical of many done during that period of the Renaissance (c. 1350-1600).

This, again, is a painting of a subject which was in the Renaissance accepted as a miraculous experience which confirmed the divinity of Christ, but which has lost some of its meaning in the intervening years for the reasons given above. Some of the elements of the story are there - the astonishment of the disciples and the radiance of Christ standing on a symbolic mountain - but this image does nothing to give an explanation of that extraordinary event. The modern commentator would probably argue for a mystical experience which took the form of a type of hallucination but it is clearly one of those ‘mysteries’ of the Christian faith which cannot be explained. Thus, although the narrative can be imagined and depicted as here, the theological concept is beyond easy

explanation and cannot be depicted properly. It is interesting that Palgrave himself acknowledges this dilemma:

‘Though ill-lighted, sadly faded (and hence but imperfectly reproducible), Angelico’s spiritual intensity of vision has here enabled him the signal success to represent one of the most arduous subjects which Art can attempt, - the Saviour in that moment of glorification when He revealed Himself to the overwhelmed Apostles as He really was.’ (Palgrave 1885, 37)

Palgrave has, here, revealed his straightforward and traditional interpretation of the story. This would have been very much the official attitude of the National Society who would not have raised the queries discussed above in relation to Cigoli’s painting. Considered for their intended purpose and within their period in religious education, these illustrations were clearly very acceptable - as press comments recorded in Chapter Six of this thesis will show. The point this thesis is making is that the books were in use into the twentieth century and the methods of using art to try and explain theology have continued ever since. Whether or not this was helpful is considered briefly in the Conclusion to this thesis.

Conclusion

As well as designing books of a very high quality to meet the demands of the educational market of the period, the Victorians of the National Society tried very hard to enliven the subject matter of Christ’s life, for children and their

teachers, by making the books colourful and interesting with their chromo-lithographic copies of original Italian masterpieces. They believed that the paintings would make the ideas easier to understand. They also hoped that a proper spirituality and moral tone would be acquired through contemplation of these illustrations.

Christ's life divides into different parts. There are the historical stories about him which are described in the gospels and both the illustrations to *The Life* and *The Stories* and the original paintings bear some relation to those details. The miracles described by the gospel writers in order to reveal Christ's divinity are a little more difficult to depict because what actually happened cannot be illustrated without artistic interpretation which can distort the truth. Did Christ really 'walk on water' or was it a form of illusion? The illustration in *The Life*, (Plate 11b), certainly gives the impression that it happened literally but this fails to address the very real questions of a more sceptical age. Many Christians of the Victorian period would not, of course, have wanted to discuss such options. For them the gospels were a given truth - even in the face of the disbelieving pressure from the scientific and humanist lobby. The problems posed by the use of these illustrations were not confined to the Victorian age and, as was argued in the earlier MA books are still being produced which show such activities as 'walking on water' quite literally.

(Northcote 1996, Ch 5; Appendix II; Clare & Wansborough 1993, 160-161)

This question of how images are interpreted by children is one which was researched briefly for the MA but needs further detailed ethnographic research.

It should also be remembered when judging these Victorian publications that those Christians who are biblical fundamentalists will, of course, take incidents such as this quite literally and would not approach them with the sceptical eye of a modern critic.

What has happened is that images created in one context - the Italian Renaissance - have been used in another period and then, still further, translated yet again to the modern era. This means that schools are still using images from the Renaissance although there is, today, much wider discussion about the ideas which lie behind their original creation. If these images have been around during all that intervening period the question must be asked as to just how many children have had their ideas confused by the misleading information in the images. This is often very subtle. For example, in the painting of *The Raising of Lazarus* by Gaudenzio Ferrari (Plate 12b), Lazarus is shown standing upright, with billowing garments, although his extremely tight bindings which he would normally have had, would probably not have allowed him to stand or walk. This type of artistic detail can create a false understanding. Doctrines such as the resurrection, the ascension and the Trinity are ill served by images which cannot possibly illustrate adequately the metaphysical ideas contained in these doctrines. (Northcote 2000, 2002)

The Conclusion to this thesis will expand on this but the question here is: did the National Society, in the use of the material presented in Chapters Four and Five of this thesis, respond adequately to its own criteria of teaching the

scriptures in such a way that trainee teachers and their pupils had a sufficiently good grasp of the structure of Christianity to maintain their faith when they were confronted with the questions and demands of the wider world? By the standards of the day, what the National Society did, with their use of illustrated prints and accompanying texts, was innovative and probably inspiring to many teachers - as will be borne out by some of the comments from the teachers' own journal *The School Guardian* presented in the next chapter.

It is clear from their own statements in the Annual Reports (quoted in Chapters One and Two of this thesis) that the National Society members were concerned to introduce the best quality materials into their Depository catalogue. They adopted the use of high art in the form of Italian Renaissance Christian images to provide illustrations with a high moral and spiritual tone. Whether or not they achieved their objective is hard to assess without any informal evidence from the pupils who read the books: and this has not been available during this research. Pupils reading these books, however, would have found the brilliant colour and charm of these illustrations very attractive. This must have helped to distract them from much of the tedium of their learning by rote. It is difficult to tell whether their spiritual and moral sense was enhanced although the comments from the teachers contained in *The School Guardian* - which are given in the next chapter - indicate that those teachers did think the books were successful. Much would, of course, have depended on the teacher who used the books in school - or the parent who used the books at home if they had

been given as presents or prizes. A good teacher or an imaginative parent could have used these illustrations as a starting point for excellent work.

CHAPTER SIX

THE IMPACT OF THE NEW NATIONAL SOCIETY RELIGIOUS EDUCATION MATERIALS

Introduction

The last two chapters have highlighted the new materials for religious education which were introduced by the National Society between 1884 and 1885. These materials, as has been seen, were innovative and new at the time. They must have introduced pupils and teachers to a new world of the colour and interest of Italian Old Master paintings. In relation to other books of the period for schools they were completely new and much more advanced in their approach. At a time when photography was just being established as a means of reproduction and was only available in sepia and black and white prints, the colour reproductions in *The Life* and *The Stories* must have made a big impact.

This chapter will consider this impact of the new religious education materials produced by the National Society through contemporary reviews. Particular emphasis will be given to the reviews and comments in the National Society's own publication, *The School Guardian*, which was begun in 1876. This journal took over from *The Monthly Paper* which was the original teacher's journal produced by the National Society since its earliest days. It was last published in 1875. The chapter will then

consider how the materials may have been used, using some material from *The Sunday School Magazine* and writing by Hetty Lee Holland. The chapter will then move on to discuss a few other contemporary religious books for children to point up the significance of the National Society's own publications. The chapter will then consider, briefly, the further developments in the National Society's use of art in religious education as it moved on into the early twentieth century.

Reviews of the publications of 1885-1886

The first of the comments which are of significance are to be found in the advertising material appended to the National Society catalogue for 1904. They are by Charlotte Yonge whose relationship to the National Society was discussed in Chapter Three:

'The *Monthly Packet* says:-'Beautiful coloured sacred prints...endeavouring to the utmost to accomplish that difficult matter, the combination of correctness of detail, reverence, instructiveness and beauty...So reverent and noble that they ought to teach a great deal insensibly. It is a great thing to have solemn beauty associated with sacred things.' (Yonge quoted in N.S. A.R. 1904, 37)

This quotation has been edited by the writers of the catalogue as is the case with all the comments from this catalogue quoted below. These comments relate to the wall prints rather than the books but are interesting because, as was pointed out in Chapter One, the wall prints use some of the same images as the group of books. Under the heading: *Extracts from Opinions of the Press on the foregoing Series* the catalogue also prints the following comments:

‘The *Guardian* says:- ‘A new and important series of wall prints...They are decidedly the boldest and, we think, the most successful attempt which has been made to meet a very real and general want.’

‘The *Church Times* says:-’A distinct improvement on the wretchedly drawn and ill-coloured pictures hitherto supplied for school and mission-room use, and will even bear comparison with some of the Arundel Society’s pictures...These very successful prints are worthy of a place in our churches. We congratulate the Society on its step forward, and hope Churchmen will support what must be a costly work.’

‘*Church Bells* says:- ‘A great advance on those which are often seen on the walls of parochial schools...Pictures which we cordially commend for use in schools or mission chapels.’ (N.S. A.R. 1904, 37)

The *Guardian* referred to here is, presumably, the *School Guardian* mentioned above but this quotation was not found when that publication was searched. The comments about the quality of the prints is particularly important. As was seen in the last chapter, some of the illustrations to *The Life* and *The Stories* were the same images as those used by the Arundel Society. In addition the *Fitzroy Picture Society* was founded to produce wall posters of a better quality than was generally available, so it is clear that there was a general consensus that pupils in schools should be provided with high quality materials. (Price 1996) The following extract from the *School Guardian* of 27th November, 1886 confirms this demand for good quality prints noting that:

‘While great improvement has been effected within the last few years in the character of the pictorial aids for teaching secular subjects in Elementary Schools, little or no progress towards a worthy ideal has hitherto been made in the pictures prepared to illustrate the religious lessons. There is no lack of Scripture prints in the market; but too many of them are barbarous in design and colouring, and nearly all are utterly wanting in that religious spirit -

undefinable, yet real and powerful - which such pictures should shed around them. The new series of chromo-lithographs, executed by Messrs. Hanhart from drawings prepared by Mr. J.E. Goodall which is now being issued from the National Society Depository, is an attempt and, judging from the specimens before us, a very successful attempt - to remove this reproach.' (Author unknown, School Guardian 1886, 803)

The extract then continues with the comment that only two prints - *The Flight into Egypt*, adapted from Gaudenzio Ferrari, and *The Entombment* after Perugino are available but that they are of far higher quality than anything else available. The comment is also made that they would be of great value to skilled teacher:

'...for the story which they have to carry is well told, and every detail is firm to the story telling...' (Author unknown, School Guardian, 1886, 803)

The piece also contains some art historical writing which makes clear that the author had some knowledge of contemporary aesthetic writing in this subject:

'...the masterly and suggestive grouping of the figures, the skilful management of the draperies and the perfect harmony in colour and design pervading the whole forcibly arrest the attention...But peace is the keynote of each picture. It breathes from the steadfast face of the wayfaring Joseph, from every feature in the calm and beautiful landscapes, and it broods, though not unclouded with doubt, over the deep sorrow of those around the body of the Lord. The scenes are in the world, but not of it. And no blemishes in draughtsmanship or colouring obtrude themselves to mar this general effect. There are no archaisms to puzzle the children, and there is nothing to tempt them to irreverance.' (Author unknown, School Guardian, 1886, 803)

The writing of the period, as was seen in the last chapter, was very concerned with the aesthetic quality of the art being studied. What is interesting is that this author tempers the aesthetic in consideration of the needs of children with the note above that there is nothing to puzzle the children or make the pictures difficult to understand. This concern with clarity is important.

This extract also makes clear that the wall prints - none of which have been located and may not survive - were printed by a different firm to that of the prints in the books. This may be because the wall prints would have been considerably larger and may have required different printing skills. This review, of course, echoes many of the sentiments expressed by Palgrave in *The Life*. It was clearly important to those teaching religious education - or scripture as it would have been known - that there was a proper spiritual and moral content. It should just be noted that, in this series of wall prints, some of the images are different from those in the books. *The Flight into Egypt* which is taken from Gaudenzio Ferrari in the wall prints, is taken from Gentile da Fabriano in the books.

Reviews of *The Life* and *The Stories*

In the National Society Catalogue for 1904, under the heading '*Illustrated Publications on the Life of Our Lord*', the book *The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* is listed together with the four books of *Stories*. Also listed are '*Christmas and Reward Cards*' on *The Life of Our Lord*. These are broken into four sections which correspond to the *Stories* except that the last group are called *The*

Great Forty Days rather than *The Story of the Resurrection of Christ*. The images used, however, are the same in the *Stories* and the *Christmas and Reward Cards*. This catalogue entry only contains press quotes for *The Life* which are interesting because they demonstrate the spread of interest in these publications among a number of journals and newspapers:

'Extracts from Opinions of the Press on the above:-

'The Church Quarterly Review says:- This book is a perfect gem...It is indeed a relief to turn to such matchless designs as these. It would be impossible to speak too highly of the knowledge of the history of art, the elevation of thought, and the elegance of style which Mr. Palgrave displays.'

'The Academy says:-'This is a very beautiful book, and the chromo-lithographs with which it is adorned, or rather, which are illustrated by the text, reflect great credit on the care and skill of all concerned in their production.'

The Athenaeum says:-'By way of a preface, a highly intelligent and critical essay on the growth, aims and developments of religious art in Italy, by Mr. F.T. Palgrave. Each well-weighed and thoughtful sentence is worth reading. The general purport of the book is well represented by the title. Mr. Palgrave vouches for the beauty of the drawings made by Mr. Goodall, from which the chromo-lithographs were taken...A very ambitious effort has been extremely successful.'

'The Art Journal says:- 'A work which should be the most popular, as it must be the handsomest of Christmas books bearing a religious character...Twenty-four wonderful little chromo-lithographs from drawings made on the spot...The volume is in every way a beautiful one.'

'The Spectator says:- 'The drawings are executed with much skill; and the chromo-lithographic process is here employed with delicacy and success. Mr. Palgrave's notes are pertinent and instructive. His Introduction is able and eloquent.'

‘The *Portfolio* says:- ‘The eloquent and informing preface, and the critical notes on the pictures, by Mr. F.T. Palgrave, are addressed to an adult and cultured audience...The literary part of the volume deserves more careful consideration than is usually accorded to letterpress penned to accompany even high-class illustrations.’ (N.S. A.R. 1904, 31)

It is interesting to note in this last quotation that *The Life* is recommended for an adult audience which ties in with the fact that Palgrave in his Preface to *The Life* expressed the hope that, although the book was intended for children it would also appeal to adults as was discussed in Chapter Five of this thesis. This is emphasised in the review of the book in the *School Guardian*, under the heading of ‘General Literature’ where it is described as ‘A Choice Art Volume’ which is more important than an ordinary ‘Christmas Book’ and which has much higher aims:

‘It is an attempt to bring the history of the Saviour’s earthly life before the eyes of the young by the instrumentality of Italian art in its best centuries, with the view of impressing upon them the soul of the picture, that they may read in it not merely the triumphs of pictorial art, but may reach through these to the visions of the painter, and penetrate to a sympathy with his almost inspired conception. In the loftiness of such an aim the product of the painter’s art rises to the dignity of a witness for Christ; the picture becomes both a teacher and an offering; a story of the real and a vision of the ideal.’ (Author unknown, *School Guardian* 1885, 790)

Here in this review we find confirmation that the reviewer has noted Palgrave’s aims as set out in the Preface and Notes in *The Life* and as discussed in Chapters Four and Five of this thesis. This philosophy of using high art as a means of inculcating lofty ideals and thoughts led to a policy of teaching Christianity through art which is still, in

essence, in the curriculum today. (Northcote 1996, Ch 5; Appendix II) This issue - ie: whether or not art can be used to teach Christian theology in a modern setting - is outside the scope of this thesis. The issue will be referred to briefly in the Conclusion just to point up the importance of the inception of this idea in the late Victorian period.

This review then continues with a discussion of Palgrave's Introduction noting that he introduces new views of art and its relationship to 'sacred history and religious impression'. (Author unknown, School Guardian, 1885, 790) Here again it is clear that this reviewer was familiar with art history of the period and could recognise that Palgrave was taking a different line from Lord Lindsay as was discussed earlier in this thesis.

The review then continues with an extended extract from Palgrave's Introduction which is the same as some of those quoted in Chapter Four of this thesis. Like this thesis the author of the review considers these views to be the key to the whole work and considers that the principles of the project were carried out. The reviewer then gives an interesting list of the images deserving special praise which gives an insight into taste at that time. It includes *The Adoration of the Magi* by Luini, *The Flight into Egypt* by Gentile da Fabriano, *The Transfiguration* by Angelico, *The Raising of Lazarus* and *The Agony in the Garden* by Gaudenzio Ferrari, *The Entombment* by Perugino and *The Resurrection* by Angelico. It should be noted that these cover some of the more difficult topics such as the Transfiguration and the Resurrection which are not easy to illustrate and can be misleading in their interpretation. This did not seem to bother the reviewer who stated of these images:

‘Those who will carefully study these pictures, and will follow out the ideas which they suggest, will have learnt something better than a vastly improved acquaintance with the best Italian art - they will have learnt to realise more than ever before that love of Christ which passeth knowledge.’ (Author unknown, School Guardian 1885, 791)

Again the emphasis is on the aesthetic and spiritual understanding rather than the intellectual understanding and interpretation of the image in question. It is interesting to note at this point that the reviewer here was more concerned that the reader should absorb the sentiment and feeling of the Christian message than that they should address the detailed theological points being discussed. This was a time when it was assumed that the Christian message should be accepted and, although there were considerable movements to challenge Christianity by this date, those who were concerned with Christian education were still in no doubt about the truth of their claims. It is thus interesting to move on from the review of *The Life* to consider what the School Guardian had to say about the four *Stories*. These too were well reviewed starting with the *Story of the Childhood of Christ* which was first mentioned in the issue of 20th December 1884. The reviewer describes this book as:

‘...a beautiful volume, in which history expounds art and art illustrates history. ...The letterpress is necessarily brief, but it does not lose interest by brevity, while it is simple enough to be understood by any child capable of comprehending the pictures. Two or three admitted difficulties which could not be properly dealt with in so brief a space are well avoided, and the story flows on from the visit of the angel Gabriel to the finding of our Lord in the Temple, without anything likely to suggest questions unsuited to a child’s mind.’ (Author unknown, School Guardian, 1884, 860)

The reviewer notes that 'R.E.H.' has kept to a traditional interpretation of the biblical text and has not used modern scholarship in, for example, the way the Magi are presented as arriving soon after the birth of Jesus, when the scholarship of the period would have said that they must have taken a year to arrive. The piece ends with a eulogy which includes praise of the poetry, two examples of which were quoted in Chapter Four of this thesis:

'...It is simple, reverent and impressive. We must not forget to say that each chapter is ended by a short poem, which adds a glow of feeling to what has gone before, and to some extent supplements it. Many of the verses are very musical and sweet, and not a few seem to indicate that the writer is capable of even more successful efforts. One or two might be subject to revision... They do not in the meantime mar the beauty of the work, which, whether we regard the chastened reverence of the narrative, or the charm of the pictures, or the external finish, make as delightful and valuable a present as could be given to a young child.' (Author unknown, *School Guardian* 1884, 860)

This reviewer sees the book as suitable for 'a young child' and does not seem concerned at the very difficult concepts introduced in these books, as was discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis. It would seem, although these reviews are not signed, that this review was written by a different author to that of *The Life* above because this writer does appear to be more concerned with modern biblical scholarship. Despite this, however, this writer also subscribes to the sentiment of the production. The review of the other three *Stories* appears a year later on 19th December, 1885. It is a straightforward review of the three books and appears to be by the same writer as the earlier review. Some of his or her comments are worth reproducing for the insight

they give into the concerns of teachers in religious education at that time which included the need for clarity for the reader:

‘The intention of the series is to combine devout lessons from the Life of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ with illustrations from the choicest specimen of Italian art, helping the reader to realise more keenly and feelingly the poetry as well as the piety of the Lord’s earthly life...Some good opportunities of explaining Scripture [regarding the Miracle at Cana] have been neglected - such as the meaning and intention of “the water-pots of stone” and “the purifying” and the particularly the passage “when they wanted wine”, which is not explained at all, and, as it stands in the text, leaves the impression, for want of a knowledge of the Greek, that the guests were asking for wine. In many particulars the story of the miracle at Cana is one of the hardest to explain of all our Lord’s “mighty works” and we do not wonder that the full point of it has here in parts been missed. But any deficiency in that chapter is amply compensated for by the excellent little lesson on the Sermon on the Mount, which is exceedingly well done and natural.’ (Author unknown, School Guardian, 1885, 850)

This passage makes clear that the reviewer was sufficiently well-informed theologically to make comments on the scriptural veracity of *The Stories* and to comment on the theological interpretations. In the following comments on the third book, *The Passion of Christ*, the reviewer has picked up on the point made in Chapter Four of this thesis that the passion was presented as a straight narrative:

...’The third volume treats of the Passion of Christ. The subject needs a tender hand both in teacher and artist. Much of the descriptive account reproduces the inspired narrative, with which the reader may be assumed to be familiar, but

it does not always explain. And yet there is much room for short passages which would make it clearer to the young mind. The account of the Lord's arraignment is not so lucid as it might be for want of more methodical sequence. There is nothing incorrect in the telling of the story, but one cannot but feel that more might have been made of such a theme, helped by such pictures. Having said this, let us bear glad testimony to the sweetness and even flow of the narrative which moves on in quiet, even, diatonic progression to its end.' (Author unknown, School Guardian, 1885, 850)

It is germane to one of the themes of this thesis that this reviewer is happy to forgive the theological problems in the books, when the narrative is 'sweet and even'. These were productions for a late Victorian audience and not for the modern highly critical eye. This is emphasised in the review of the last book, *The Resurrection of Christ*:

...'The story of the Resurrection occupies the last volume, and is in tender harmony with its predecessors.'

...The interviews of our Lord with His disciples from time to time during the forty days, His Ascension, the outpouring at Pentecost, and the mission of the Church to the world, are excellent, and leave nothing to be desired, unless indeed it be - more of it. We have indicated here and there a weakness, but these are far outweighed by the many charms of these delightful books. No better presents could be put into the hands of children at this time of year.'

(Author unknown, School Guardian 1885, 850)

These reviews indicate that the authors of the School Guardian were aware of biblical scholarship but considered that the general spiritual tenor of the various books in this group was much more important and, therefore, had no hesitation in recommending them. Today, of course, the attitude would be very different and accurate academic

material would be considered of great importance and the spiritual and moral message, possibly, of less significance.

Evidence of classroom material

Little actual classroom material has been found to indicate how these illustrated books might have been used by teachers during the late Victorian period. There are, however, indications in an article in *The Church Sunday School Magazine* of 1889 and in a later reference by Hetty Lee Holland. *The Church Sunday School Magazine* was published by The Church of England Sunday School Institute. It contains an article by Helen J. Oxley entitled '*How I Taught my Class of Infants in the Sunday-school.*' This does refer, of course, to a Sunday school but is probably typical of what was being done with illustrated material. Helen Oxley begins by describing her class of village children aged from three to seven years - all the children who attended the Church Sunday school because there were two Chapel Sunday schools in the village. In her first paragraph she states:

'Infants require more variety and change, and much [better] lessons than older children. Then again, I think the lessons are much more interesting, and are remembered far better, when [they are] taught from Scripture pictures.' (Oxley in Church Sunday School Magazine, 1889, 427)

Helen Oxley then continues to describe how she begins the class with a hymn and asks the class to repeat the text they had learnt from the 'tickets' (sic) they had been given the previous week. Remembering the instruction quoted in Chapter One of this thesis,

that children in National Society schools were required to go to church each Sunday, it is interesting to note that if the children in Helen Oxley's Sunday School were not able to read and were not instructed at home so that they could repeat the text from the 'ticket' they had to repeat a text learnt in school the previous week. This is evidence of the close tie-up between the church schools and the Sunday schools in the same parish. It is also evidence that a good deal of religious education consisted of learning by rote. Helen Oxley then continues with a description of her Scripture lesson:

'Next came the Scripture lesson. Suppose, for instance, the lesson was about "Adam and Eve expelled from Eden." I used to place a picture before the class, and ask them to tell me anything they could see. Perhaps they would answer, "A man and woman." Then I would ask, "Who is this?" (pointing to the angel). "What does he seem to have in his hand? What does he seem to be doing? Do the man and woman look happy?" When the children got interested in the picture, I used to say, "Now if you will all listen to me, I will tell you about this picture." I then told them the story as simply as possible; and afterwards questioned them to see how much they could remember, referring to the picture now and then. For instance, I would point to the picture and ask, "What was the name of this man? Were there any other men in the world then? What was the woman's name? Where did God put them? What were they not to do? Now look again at the picture and tell me why they look so unhappy? What is the angel doing?" etc, etc. (sic), and so on all through the story.

I then tried to show, in as simple words as possible, that Adam and Eve had done wrong, or in other words sinned, and that because of this they had to die (though not just then); so it was through them that sin and death came into the world.

All who have been born into the world since then have been sinful. The Bible says, "*All* have sinned," etc.(sic) No one could have gone to heaven, only God

was so kind that He promised Adam that some day Jesus Christ should die to save the world.’ (Oxley in Church Sunday School Magazine 1889, 428)

Helen Oxley then continues by describing how she teaches the children an appropriate text to reinforce this teaching and says that the Scripture lesson lasts about twenty minutes. The children are then allowed to stand to sing a hymn and repeat more texts. Sometimes she told them short stories about such things as ‘Answer to prayer, Trust in God, Honesty and Truth’ and, on occasion, showed the children missionary pictures and told them stories about them. This piece of teaching experience is interesting for a number of reasons. It confirms the use of pictures, it indicates the cerebral nature of the teaching and it underlines the emphasis on sin which was outlined in the quotations from *The Stories* included in Chapter Four of this thesis. There is no evidence of the children, for example, making their own drawings or models. That said, however, the showing of a picture, followed by a series of questions designed to get children talking and thinking is, in essence, exactly the same technique as is employed in modern art galleries by the education staff.

Another example of the use of pictures is in a book written by Hetty Lee Holland and S. Longman entitled *More Stories for the Sunday Kindergarten*. In the National Society archive catalogue this book is given as undated but, judging by the dates of other works by Hetty Lee Holland, it is likely that it was published early in the twentieth century and probably reflects quite accurately teaching practice at that time and a little earlier. The book contains several examples of the use of pictures, but two examples will give an idea of the technique. In the first, which is recommended for

the first Sunday after Trinity, suggestions are made for talking about the work of missionaries:

‘Show a picture of a medical missionary at work - if possible, the large S.P.G. [Society for the Propagation of the Gospel] picture of a missionary tending a sick man. Failing this, the smaller pictures in Series IX of “Pictures and Illustrations for the Teacher” [see below] can be either passed round the class or the children can *march round* (sic) and look at them. Talk over the picture - the illness and misery of the man, no doctors in the land who could help, the missionary who has come from England - such a long way - just help as the Lord Jesus did.

Do you think the missionary is praying to the Lord Jesus to show him how to help, to make him very wise so that he can help the sick man to get better?’
(Holland undated, 117)

This description shows how teachers used perhaps one picture with a group of children, presumably gathering them round the desk and then asking them to move around so that they can all see it. It is possible this was the method used with the *Life* which would have been far too expensive for every child to have a copy. The problem with that book would have been that the images, although bright and clear, are very small (as outlined in Chapter Five of this thesis) and they would have been quite difficult for a group of children to study. In the section for the second Sunday after Trinity we have the following indication of teaching methods with pictures:

‘Show a picture of Christ blessing little children (Nelson’s Wall Pictures). Weave the words of the new missionary hymn into a talk somewhat like the following:-

‘What can you see? The Lord Jesus and a little child? Mother bringing a baby? They love to come to Him? Do you think that He is telling them stories of the Father in Heaven, telling them that God is near? Look! Here is a mother just coming. How do you think that she knew that the Lord Jesus was here? Do you think that this little girl ran swiftly back to give Mother the message, “The Lord Jesus is there! by the house- telling us of the Father in Heaven”?’ (Holland undated, 121-122)

The passage then continues with a discussion of children who might not have heard of the love of Jesus and emphasises the missionary element of the teaching with a call to carry the message to other lands which includes a hymn about children waiting to hear the Christian message. A brief mention of this continuing missionary element in the National Society’s teaching is made here because it is an echo from some of the material in *The Stories* in Chapter Four of this thesis. There is a whole area of research to be undertaken on the missionary role of the National Society and its links with the countries of the Empire through its affiliated societies but this, unfortunately, lies outside the scope and length of this thesis. It is interesting, however, just to note that pictures were again being employed in this context as well as straightforward scriptural instruction as in Helen Oxley’s piece.

Comparative contemporary literature for children

The field of children’s books, whether illustrated or not, in the Victorian period has been the subject of much study in recent years. Collections, such as the Renier Collection of children’s books held in the National Art Library Collection at the Bethnal Green Museum of Childhood department of the Victoria and Albert Museum,

have been catalogued and books written about them. In particular the British Library has published two introductions to illustrated books (Daniels 1988, Barr 1986). Paul Goldman has also written extensively on Victorian Illustration (Goldman 1994 & 1996). A further author is Edward Hodnett (Hodnett 1988). In the United States of America too an interest has been shown in the subject (Meyer 1997). None of these books covers the particular publishing project with which this thesis is concerned nor do they mention J. Edward Goodall. They do, however, provide some insights into the general subject. Daniels for example emphasises the importance of chromolithography and points out the elaborately tooled and gilded covers were becoming usual in the middle of the nineteenth century (Daniels 1988, 12). It is interesting, therefore, to note that two productions of the Religious Tract Society, *Bible Pictures for Our Pets* [children not animals] and *These Holy Fields* (which are both undated but the first has a hand-written inscription of 1909), have such elaborate covers. So the covers for *The Life* and *The Stories* were not so unusual. The Renier collection catalogue contains several examples of productions by the Religious Tract Society.

The field of illustrated books is so wide that it cannot be discussed in detail here. A few contemporary productions will be just introduced to highlight the distinction of the National Society publications. The first of these are two productions by the Religious Tract Society mentioned above. They are called *Bible Pictures for Our Pets* (author unknown) and *Those Holy Fields* by The Rev. Samuel Manning, LL.D. They do, however, as well as their covers, point up the significance of *The Life* and *The Stories*. Both of the Religious Tract Society productions are written in a similar sentimental style to *The Stories* in particular. For example a short piece from *Those Holy Fields*,

which is a travel guide to the Holy Land, reads in a very similar way to the topographical descriptions given in *The Stories* (see Chapter Four of this thesis):

‘This is the view over which Jesus wept, when He beheld its beauty, and thought upon its ruin and desolation; and strange and thrilling, indeed, is the feeling it gives to one now: the gloomy ravines lose much of their effect seen from above: the surrounding hills are, one and all, the very dreariest, barrenest, and ugliest one can find anywhere, and yet the whole is beautiful, and even the fastidious and trifling are impressed by it.’ (Manning, undated, 97)

This romantic view of the Holy Land was clearly common at this period. It ties in with the work of artists such as William Holman Hunt who went to the Holy Land to try and get authentic settings for his paintings. It also makes it interesting that Palgrave was so insistent that the paintings chosen for *The Life* and *The Stories* were chosen for their artistic and spiritual qualities rather than a modern topographical accuracy.

Bible Pictures for Our Pets is a re-telling of bible stories in a manner suitable for children. It is divided into two sections Old Testament and New Testament. The Old Testament section concentrates on the historical narratives of that book but the New Testament section concentrates mainly on the parables and Jesus’ other stories. It will be remembered that *The Stories* concentrated mainly on the historical narratives rather than the teachings apart from the Sermon on the Mount.

Both these books are illustrated but, in contrast to the National Society publications, they have black and white prints rather than coloured illustrations. In *Bible Pictures*

for Our Pets these are by Selous, Staniland, Webb, Watson, Harrison Weir, Downard, Dore and 'other well-known Artists'. Thus these books are illustrated by contemporary artists rather than copies of the Old Masters as in *The Life* and *The Stories*. It should be noted that the National Society also used contemporary artists for its children's novels and prize books. (See Chapter One of this thesis) One of these National Society books *Silver Star Valley* by M. Bramston was also illustrated by C.J. Staniland listed above. The fact that the National Society were using contemporary artists for their other productions thus makes *The Life* and *The Stories*, with their use of Italian Old Masters and the art historical input, even more interesting.

Another book is *The Sunday School Teacher's Bible Manual* by the Rev. Robert Hunter, MA, LL.D, FGS who was a member of The Biblical Archaeological Society. This was published in 1894 and is interesting because it is, in essence, just the same as any other reference book or handbook to the bible published today.

(Northcote 1996, Ch 5; Appendix II) The only difference being the type of illustrations which in 1894 were again black and white prints apart from the maps which were coloured. Many of these illustrations are very beautiful, small and with great attention to fine details. This is also true of the two books mentioned above. They are not, however, so striking because they are not coloured and do not have the drama and incident which is contained in the reproductions of Italian high art.

These three examples are a, necessarily, small selection but are sufficient to point up the significance of the National Society publications. The modern authors who have written on the subject, however, illustrate their own books with examples from the

nineteenth century and it is clear from them that the three books discussed above are representative of the whole from the point of view of their illustrations. (Barr 1988; Daniels 1988; Goldman 1994, 1996; Meyer 1997)

Later developments in the use of art in religious education by the National Society

After the success of the *Life* and the *Stories*, evidenced by the fact that they were in the catalogue from 1885 until at least 1904, the National Society does not appear to have produced any other similar productions. They did, however, continue to use high art in their materials for religious education. There were two main uses in the 'Self-Teaching Cards' and in the collections of 'Pictures and Illustrations' as referred to by Hetty Lee Holland above. In the existing material preserved in the National Society archive none of these are dated but it is likely they were later. The only reference in the catalogue of the National Society publications is to an undated publication *Self-Teaching in the Sunday School* by Hetty Lee Holland, so presumably the cards date approximately from the early part of the twentieth century when she was writing for the National Society.

The Self-Teaching Cards consist of a double-sided printed card headed 'Self-Teaching: Religious Instruction' and contain a series of questions and instructions for the pupil. These usually include a suggestion to read a section of the bible or a recommended text-book which is followed by a series of questions based on those texts. The pupils are recommended to write their own account or draw a picture or map. In the case of the one example appended to this chapter (Appendix 1) the pupil is recommended to

study two paintings: Holman Hunt's *Christ in the Carpenter's Shop* with the sub-question 'Why did the Painter call it 'The Shadow of Death'?' and Luini's *Christ in the Temple*. The Self-Teaching cards are presented in different series. This one comes from 'Lessons on the Life of Our Lord'. Others include: 'Characters and Scenes from Hebrew Story', 'St. Mark's Gospel', 'Acts of the Apostles', 'The Way of Worship', 'English Church History', 'The Church Catechism', 'Present-day Scenes in the Holy Land', 'The Service of Holy Communion' and many others covering different aspects of religious instruction and leading directly from the syllabii discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis. The Self-Teaching Cards still in existence in the National Society archive are not complete so a full assessment cannot be made. What is especially interesting is to find the use of high art in this particular type of teaching. Clearly by this time the use of art had become established.

This is further evidenced by some of the series of 'Pictures and Illustrations.' In one catalogue still extant in the archive these series of illustrations are described as follows:

'PICTURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS FOR THE TEACHER

'These Leaflets containing Outline Maps, Pictures and Sketches, illustrative of Bible and Church Subjects are specially prepared for distribution to Scholars in Class. The Leaflets are supplied in packets price 6d net; or in quantities - any selection to suit teachers, price 2s per 100. For full List and Prices, see following pages. A Specimen Packet, price 3d, by post 4d, will be sent on application.' (N.S. Catalogue, undated, 1)

The contents are then listed as Series I, Series II, Series III etc. These cover such topics as 'Outline Pictures on Old Testament Subjects', 'Outline Pictures on New

Testament Subjects', 'Outline Pictures and Maps illustrating St. Paul's Missionary Journey' which includes 'Diagrams showing - (for example) A Merchant Ship of the Time of Our Lord', 'A Fishing boat on the Sea of Galilee', 'A Rock-hewn Tomb' and 'A Roman 'Eagle' Standard' and so on. Within each series there are a spread of pictures relating to the topic. Other series include 'Pictures and Outline Drawings of Bible Scenes', and 'Photographs of Missionary Subjects' which includes references to South India, Burma, Prairie and Indian scenes, the Zulus, Australian Aborigines, Japan, Peking and Canada. Unfortunately only some of these packs remain in existence and the missionary one is missing. The catalogue does record the existence of a series 'Photographs of Famous Pictures illustrating the Life of Our Lord' but only two of these remain: *The Madonna and Child* by Bellini which is in the National Gallery, London (Plate 22) and a reproduction of *The Last Supper* by Leonardo da Vinci which appears to have been photographed from one of the copies of that famous image rather than the original.(Plate 23) The photographs are in black and white and much reduced from the original. According to the catalogue the whole series covered fifteen images: The Annunciation, The Nativity, The Madonna and Child (two different images), The Presentation in the Temple, The Adoration of the Magi, The Flight into Egypt, Christ in the Carpenter's Shop, Christ in the Temple, The Entry into Jerusalem, Christ washing the Disciples' Feet, The Shadow of Death, The Last Supper, The Crucifixion, The Resurrection. (For bible references for these topics, see Chapter Four of this thesis, pages 119-123 and 132-135) This list is shorter than those in the *Life* and the *Stories* and we are not told in the catalogue which artists were represented. The photographs appear to be quite good quality and were taken by W.A. Mansell & Co. It can be assumed, therefore, that the earlier project of illustrating the life of Christ

from Old Masters had been a success and that this more modern photographic approach was considered helpful to teachers.

Another series which has only survived in part is Series XIX 'Outline Pictures of Bible Subjects'. This has a diverse collection of images ranging from Elijah and the Ravens, through the Sermon on the Mount to Feeding the Five Thousand (Plate 24) and King Wenceslas (Plate 25). There are three complete sets still in their packets and luckily for this research, they are the first three series which are the outline pictures listed above. These outline pictures are all done by Isabel Watkin and her simple clear drawings would have been useful tools in the classroom. From this series of New Testament Subjects three are illustrated here: The Nativity, (Plate 26), The Raising of Lazarus, (Plate 27) and The Resurrection Morning, (Plate 28). This last has been included because it shows a clear Pre-Raphaelite influence on Isabel Watkin's style of drawing. The whole series is listed in Plate 29 which is included to show how the covers of the packets were set out. The whole 32 different series covered a whole range of subjects, not just biblical. There are historical series covering well-known English figures such as Queen Elizabeth I, Drake, and Wilberforce, different towns, nature study and old English dress. It would seem that some of the series are tied into text-books available at the time. The existence of these 'Pictures and Illustrations' makes clear that the National Society was in the forefront of using visual material for teaching purposes.

Evidence of general interest in use of art

The National Society claimed that their publication of *The Life* and *The Stories*, using Italian art to illustrate them, was the first in the field. This is probably true although it must be noted that the Church of England Sunday School Institute had a similar publication. The Minutes of their Publications Committee between 1887 and 1892 carry references to a publication '*Life of Our Lord*'. The discussion was as to whether another set of Electrotype plates be taken for a revised edition. (Sunday School Institute Minutes 12th July, 1887ff) The Committee were also undertaking discussions at the same period with a view to obtaining copies of Schurr's Bible Pictures. (Sunday School Institute Minutes 9th November, 1886 and 12th April, 1887) A full investigation of the publications of the Sunday School Institute is outside the scope of this thesis but these minutes do indicate that soon after the National Society publications, others were beginning to move into the same market.

Another indication of the interest being taken in the role of art in informing the public of Christian ideas is contained in the writings of Dean Frederic W. Farrar who was discussed initially in Chapter Three of this thesis. There are two main works by him which are of significance here. The first is his book *Social and Present-Day Questions* which was published in 1891. This book includes a substantial chapter entitled *Art*. The opening paragraph of this chapter sets out the parameters for his discussion of the role and significance of art to society as a whole:

‘Art is no mere amusement for the idle or ostentation for the luxurious, but in past ages has been, and still is, a consummate teacher of mankind. And let me say at the outset that I look on all true and worthy Art as a thing essentially sacred. There is no error more vulgar and more benumbing than that which cleaves a chasm between the sacred and the secular, and thus prevents religion from suffusing and interpenetrating the whole realm of daily life. True Art comes from the Spirit of God. It is the outcome of an exquisite faculty, which, like “every good gift, and every perfect gift, cometh down from above, from that Father of lights with whom is no variableness or shadow of turning.” Art, as a faculty, is as sacred as any of the highest impulses of humanity. Whether, as the Greek legend says, it sprang from love, or from some other noble passion, it has its roots in the depths of man’s being, and is well-nigh as ancient as his race.’ (Farrar 1891, 161)

The chapter then continues with a careful discussion outlining why Farrar believes that art is so important and its power to express the spiritual in life. He talks about the way an artist’s work expresses the power and character of his own soul and uses examples of what are clearly his favourite artists to justify this. He continues with examples of art as indicative of history and, in a passage discussing the impact of Turner’s painting of a slave ship, reveals that he saw it in John Ruskin’s house, thereby making it clear that he was aware of Ruskin and his views. (Farrar 1891, 168) Farrar also talks of the power of art in addressing issues of morality and national importance. In a poetic passage Farrar elevates art to a position of extreme importance in gaining spiritual insight:

‘But the true artist makes us recognize in the loveliness of created things, as it were, one single rose flung down from the summer opulence of God. As on the curtains which shrouded the entrance to the Holiest, through which the High Priest passed into the presence of God, were woven lily, and palm, and

cherubim, so the artist shows us the embroideries of the arras folds of earth's curtains,

‘To prove what amplitude in store
Lies just beyond the entrance door.’

‘And even now we have by no means reached the summits of Art's high power and endeavour. She is, as we have seen, the inspired interpreter of the Ideal; she is a prophet of God, to unfold to common men the Sacramental beauties of Nature; she has a spell to decipher the deep mysteries of life. But, beyond all this, she contributes greatly and powerfully to the elevation of the aim of society, and to the deepest religious emotions which uplift man into nearer unity with God.’ (Farrar 1891, 172-173)

If this passage is considered with the arguments put forward by Lord Lindsay (Chapter Three of this thesis) and those put forward by Palgrave (Chapters Four and Five of this thesis) it is clear that these earlier writers must have had an influence on the way Farrar wrote. Towards the end of the chapter Farrar discusses how souls have been saved and conversions to Christianity made through the medium of art, citing not only traditional artists but current Victorian painters such as G.F. Watts and concludes with a passage which must have given a note of justification to what the National Society was trying to do:

‘...[I have] proved that Art may be a prophet of God in her interpretation of Life, in her interpretation of Nature, in her services to Humanity, and in her services to Religion, by which she makes both Humanity and Nature revelations of the Divine. In her highest reach, as a Christian scholar has pointed out, she reveals the unattainable; she is the interpretation of beauty in life under the light of the Incarnation. What the old Greek passion for Art lost by sensuousness, Christian Art gives back to us bathed in heaven...

‘...revealing to us something of the grandeur of our own nature, and of that Eternal Home where He, for whose Second Coming we yearn, whose Incarnation we soon shall once more celebrate, has taken the Form of Man into the very midst of the great White Throne of God.’ (Farrar 1891, 179)

In 1894 Farrar went on to publish *The Life of Christ as represented in Art* in which he discusses in more detail the importance and significance of art in Christian understanding. At one point he quotes from St. John of Damascus to justify his case for the use of Art in Christian teaching and it is worth quoting here as an example of the way contemporary thinking was justified by reference to earlier periods:

‘Since He who, being in the form of God, is, by the excellence of His nature exempt from quantity, quality, and magnitude, yet took upon Him the form of a servant, and put on the fashion of a body, contracting Himself to quantity and quality; therefore represent Him in pictures, and set Him forth to be gazed on openly, who *willed* to be gazed upon. Paint His humiliation, His nativity, His baptism, His transfiguration, His agonies which ransomed us, the miracles which, though wrought by His fleshly ministry, proved His divine power and nature, His sepulchre (sic), His resurrection, His ascension, - paint all these things in colours as well as in speech, in pictures as well as in books’. (John Damascus, Orat III, De imaginibus in Farrar 1894, 4ff)

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the publications of the National Society between 1884 and 1886, *The Life*, *The Stories*, the Wall Charts and Reward cards, were a foundation upon which they built with increasing confidence. They went on from these early beginnings in the use of Christian imagery to produce extensive materials which

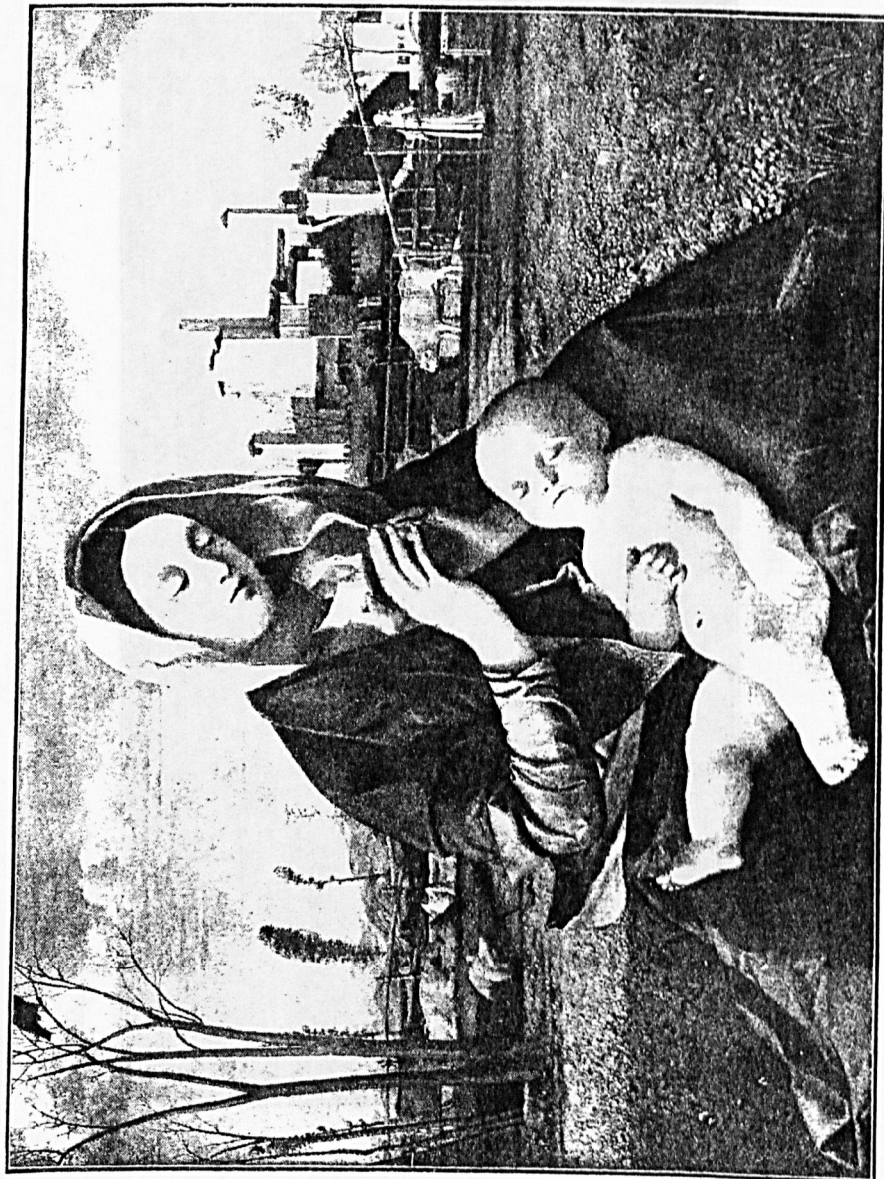
incorporated high art in various ways - such as in the Self-Teaching Cards and the Pictures and Illustrations. They also provided the materials with which teachers and writers such as Helen Oxley and Hetty Lee Holland could prepare teaching material using these images. They were not the only organisation to do this and illustrated books and other material, which were child centred, became increasingly common. They were, however, among the first and set a very high standard for others to follow. Their influence is probably incalculable and still present, in some instances, today. The literary figures whose writings have been quoted throughout this thesis make the point, again and again, that their purpose was a lofty one and that spiritual and moral qualities were paramount.

The last six chapters of this thesis have outlined the development of the use of high art in religious education and shown that the National Society was one of the first organisations in the field to use these techniques. These works were produced not just to inform children of the historical evidence for the Christian claims, but were designed to evoke a high sense of spirituality and a deeply felt morality. They were a reflection of the society in which they were produced and an attempt to hold back the forces of rationalism and humanism which were increasingly being felt in that society. They were a powerful influence on later publications and, although the National Society only produced five books and some wall posters and reward cards in their first venture into the field of high art in education their effect was lasting. The main Conclusion to this thesis will make a brief connection between what was achieved by the National Society and what is being published in the twenty-first century, as part of the argument that

these publications were a very important part of the history of religious education materials.

NATIONAL SOCIETY.

SERIES XV. No. 4.



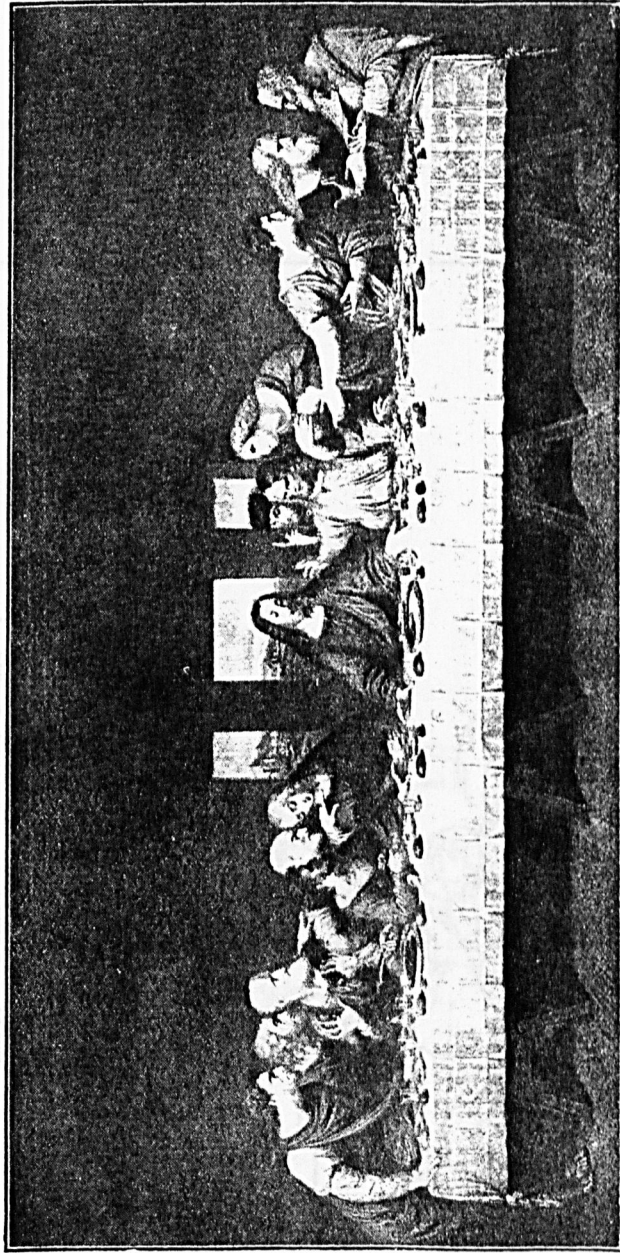
W. A. Mansell & Co. Photo.

THE MADONNA AND CHILD.

Bellini.

NATIONAL SOCIETY |

| SERIES XV. No. 13.



W. A. Mansell & Co. Photo.

THE LAST SUPPER.

Da Vinci.



FEEDING THE FIVE THOUSAND.

Plate 24

Plate 25



Jacob Walton

KING WENCESLAS.

NATIONAL SOCIETY.

SERIES 2. No. 1.



THE NATIVITY.



THE RAISING OF LAZARUS.



THE RESURRECTION MORNING.

Pictures & Illustrations for the Teacher

SERIES II.

These leaflets, containing outline pictures and sketches, illustrative of Bible subjects, are specially prepared for distribution to scholars in class. They are published in several series.

SERIES II. contains—

1. THE NATIVITY.
2. THE WISE MEN.
3. CHRIST IN THE TEMPLE.
4. THE HEALING OF THE LEPER.
5. RAISING THE WIDOW'S SON.
6. THE WOMAN AT SIMON'S HOUSE.
7. THE RAISING OF JAIRUS'S DAUGHTER.
8. OUR LORD WALKING ON THE WATER.
9. THE BLIND MAN CURED.
10. THE SAMARITAN LEPER.
11. THE GOOD SAMARITAN.
12. THE RAISING OF LAZARUS.
13. THE LOST PIECE OF SILVER.
14. THE PRODIGAL SON.
15. THE PHARISEE AND THE PUBLICAN.
16. JESUS BLESSING THE LITTLE CHILDREN.
17. THE WIDOW'S MITE.
18. THE AGONY IN THE GARDEN.
19. ST. PETER AFTER THE DENIAL.
20. THE RESURRECTION MORNING.
21. BY THE SEA OF TIBERIAS.
22. THE HEALING OF THE LAME MAN.
23. ST. STEPHEN.
24. ST. PETER DELIVERED FROM PRISON.

Price of Series in Packet, 6d. net: Post free, 8d. net.

The Leaflets can also be had in quantities—any selection to suit teachers—
at the rate of **2s.** per 100 net; Post free, **2s. 4d.** per 100 net.

National Society's Bookshop, incorporating the Church of England
Sunday School Institute Bookshop and St. Christopher Press,
19, Great Peter Street, Westminster S.W.1.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has sought to publish the work of the National Society of the Church of England in the field of religious education during the nineteenth century, with particular reference to the educational materials which were available from 1884 until the early twentieth century. To this end the archive of the National Society was searched and other contemporary material was considered. This is a rich field and it has not been possible to consider, in detail, works outside the remit of the National Society but, within that limit, the materials have been looked at in some detail. The thesis has set the religious education materials of the last quarter of the nineteenth century in context by devoting the first chapter to an outline of the development of the National Society and its work in publishing, through its Depository. The thesis has then gone on to publish some details about the curricula for the early National Society schools to demonstrate the heavy emphasis on religious knowledge - both biblical and from the Book of Common Prayer - that was required. This second chapter has then discussed two aspects of teacher training by the National Society, namely the detailed curricula for religious education and the emphasis of the Church-appointed Inspectors on the proper moral and spiritual development of those teachers.

The third chapter of the thesis was devoted to a consideration of the reasons why the Committee of the National Society decided to embark on an ambitious publishing

project using Italian Renaissance Christian images in works for children. This chapter, therefore, described the prevailing culture in some parts of nineteenth century England, which had a lively interest in this aspect of Renaissance art and published some of the writings of the art critics Anna Brownell Jameson, Lady Eastlake, Lord Lindsay, Dean Farrar and Charlotte Yonge, whose work has, previously, often been neglected in the literature. The chapter also considered why John Ruskin was not involved with this project and looked at some of his writings on the question of children's literature.

Chapters Four, Five and Six of this thesis discussed the major publishing project which included the book *The Life of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ (The Life)* and the four books specifically for children, *The Story of the Childhood of Christ*, *The Story of the Ministry of Christ*, *The Story of the Passion of Christ* and *The Story of the Resurrection of Christ (The Stories)*. In Chapter Four of this thesis the authors of these works and their texts were discussed. The texts of *The Stories* were published in extensive detail because they are so important in the history of religious education materials, providing as they do, a complete re-telling of the gospel story in simple language accompanied by a series of 'homilies', doctrinal explanations and description - all designed to ensure a complete understanding by the reader. Whether the National Society achieved this aim is discussed below.

Chapter Five of this thesis examined the text of *The Life*, following a brief discussion of the place of chromo-lithography. This chapter used a brief art-historical discussion of one illustration, *The Nativity* (Plate 7b), to show how complex these images are and how difficult it must have been for the children reading the books to have fully

understood their significance. The chapter also considered the doctrinal implications of these illustrations with reference to two illustrations, *Our Lord Walking on the Sea* (Plate 11b) and *The Transfiguration* (Plate 12a). The significance of these illustrations for the long-term understanding of Christian doctrine is discussed further below.

Chapter Six of this thesis looked at the reception of these books by the teachers of the period and published some of their comments. The chapter then looked at the influence of the National Society with reference to some other contemporary, nineteenth century books for children and also considered the later writings of Dean Farrar who was probably very much influenced by the National Society project.

The Conclusion, therefore, sets out why the National Society adopted these types of publications and evaluates the illustrations from the point of view of their position in the Victorian canon. The Conclusion will briefly discuss the longer term effects of this group of publications in relation to the conclusions drawn in the MA in Arts Education which looked at some modern uses of such illustrations. (Northcote 1996;

Appendix II)

The National Society adopted the policy of publishing coloured illustrations to books, in use in National Society schools, in order to bring before those pupils the very highest quality materials in line with their stated policy of propagating the Christian faith as formed by the Church of England. They also needed to produce such high quality materials to satisfy the demands of the Government Committee of Council and

their regulations issued in the form of Codes. These demands were backed up by the work of the Government inspectors and the Diocesan Inspectors who monitored religious education. That they chose to use copies of Italian Renaissance Christian images, rather than paintings by contemporary artists such as the Pre-Raphaelites, to illustrate these books is evidence of their knowledge of the art historical trends of the period. The evaluation of the success of these illustrations is a complex issue because they can be assessed and analysed from several points of view. The discussion below therefore sets out to assess the illustrations within the context of the Victorian period and then goes on, briefly, to consider the resonances of these Victorian materials in modern religious educational materials.

Volume V of *The Royal Readers* in the *The Royal School Series*, published in 1889, was illustrated. These illustrations were black and white line engravings, small and detailed with some lively interpretations of the stories set out for reading. This book was worthy and useful but it did not have the panache and impact of the publications introduced by the National Society a few years earlier for religious education, namely *The Life of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ* and the four smaller books, *The Story of the Childhood of Christ*, *The Story of the Ministry of Christ*, *The Story of the Passion of Christ* and *The Story of the Resurrection of Christ*. This major publishing project, which included reward cards, posters and wall charts had a significant and long-term effect on the way religious education materials were developed.

Palgrave himself in his Preface to *The Life* made it clear that this book was designed to bring the glories of Italian Renaissance painting into the classrooms of England. This

was a remarkable achievement to put before children, some of whom came from the poorest of homes, objects of great beauty and interest. These images must have been a revelation to the pupils who saw them, even if they could only do so by gathering around the teacher's desk rather than having the books to read individually. As has been seen the twenty-four excellent chromo-lithographs drawn for printing by J. Edward Goodall were used in several ways thus increasing the chances that most of the pupils educated in National Society schools between 1884 and the early twentieth century would have seen one or more of them. This simple publishing project thus put before these pupils Christian images which had been almost entirely removed from Church of England practice for three hundred years. Italian and other Continental Christian art had been returning to England since the advent of the Grand Tour but most of these images were confined to the great country houses or a limited number of galleries. The National Society, understanding the significance of the writings of such people as Mrs. Jameson, Lord Lindsay, Lady Eastlake and John Ruskin, decided that it might help the Christian development of pupils, teachers and trainee teachers in their schools if they were given the opportunity of seeing some of the best of these images.

Palgrave in *The Life* used his Preface and the Notes to each image to argue the case for the best of Christian art being a profound and important influence on the spiritual development of the individual. In *The Stories* the author 'R.E.H.' used his text to instruct the children, who would read, them in the essential doctrines and teachings of the Christian Church combined with a simple re-telling of the Gospel stories. These texts were set alongside the same illustrations as in *The Life* and although the text made no direct reference to the illustrations, the child, or indeed the teacher reading

aloud would have been able to study these images as they read. Thus the National Society was responsible for a very large and important development of the use of Christian Old Master art in religious education. It is important to note that the National Society project was a complete one, comprising as it did a whole spectrum of material with texts designed specifically for teachers and for children. If some of the material seems over-ambitious by today's standards, within the context of Victorian children's literature generally, the National Society's publications were outstanding.

The National Society did not stop there and with its *Self-Teaching* cards and its series of *Pictures and Illustrations* continued to use Christian art in its teaching methods. These later developments were still in use into the twentieth century and have affected the production of religious education textbooks right up to the present day. A look at modern religious education text books as was undertaken for the MA and again while research was being undertaken for this thesis, reveals a use of Christian Old Master images to illustrate theological text. (Northcote 1996; Appendix II) The question, therefore, that must be considered is whether or not these Victorian ideas about the use of Christian art in religious education have been beneficial or not. This cannot, however, be answered simply. Clearly the National Society's use of the images, bearing in mind the accompanying texts, was different from that of the modern religious education textbook where the images are used as illustrations rather than as part of a didactic programme of instruction in the principles of the Christian faith. The only way in which the modern books are similar to the Victorian ones are those produced, not so much for use in schools, but in the market intended for the Christian Sunday School, Church ministry or for the private use of individual Christians where

the explicit Christian message is expected and welcomed. The modern school requires something rather different which is, in the main, non-confessional.

This is where the Victorian books probably succeeded, if the comments in the teacher's journal *The School Guardian* are to be believed, because they took images which had been created during the Renaissance to help propagate the Christian faith and used them, even if in a much reduced and simplified format, for exactly the same purpose. The images were thus not divorced from their original purpose and they could be interpreted by the teacher or the pupil within the context of trying to learn about and understand the Christian faith as expressed by the Church of England in order that that faith might be strengthened and its spirituality enhanced. It was, of course, this didactic approach in schools run by the different Christian groups that sparked the development of the board schools after the Education Act of 1870.

The desire of the Church of England and its agent, the National Society, to protect its interests and ensure the Christian ethos of its schools is reflected in the tone of the group of materials published between 1884 and 1886. At this period teacher training was almost all in the hands of the different Christian groups and in these teacher training colleges, the students were expected to reach a very high standard of religious knowledge. This was to be passed on to their pupils who were expected to learn by heart a considerable amount of Christian teaching. In this context of earnestness and rote learning the highly-coloured, lively images of the National Society publications must have been greatly welcomed for their light relief as much as for their serious

intent. It can be concluded, therefore, that in the context of late Victorian society, these books were probably very useful and successful.

The only caveat should be the one outlined in Chapter Five of this thesis where the question of understanding these Italian Renaissance paintings was discussed. In that chapter it was pointed out that these paintings were designed, in the first instance, for use in the Roman Catholic faith and practice of the Renaissance period. These paintings were expressive of a simple and uncritical acceptance of Roman Catholic doctrine and teaching. They followed the traditional use of symbol and artistic licence to illustrate the historical stories of Christ's life, the miracles and the doctrines. Most importantly they were produced in an age when there was a far less critical approach to these illustrations than today. This is where the modern problem arises in a more sceptical age where artistic licence and symbolism are imperfectly understood. These images need to be explained in the modern context and not used, as is often the case today, simply as illustrations. (Northcote 1996 Vol II; Appendix II)

The National Society publications were succeeded by many further books which also used Old Master Christian images to illustrate religious education text books. That they were so successful is probably why, when publishers began to produce rather different books to meet the needs of religious education more recently, while the phenomenological approach was dominant, they simply continued the tradition of using traditional Christian images, from various periods, to illustrate the text. The fact that these newer texts approached the material from a completely different angle to the Victorian use of the same images did not deter them. The problem is,

however, that in the period of time between the late Victorian period and recent late twentieth century period, the nature of English society has changed completely. The teaching methods, therefore, which were produced by the Church of England for use in schools and colleges where Anglican Christianity was the accepted norm are not necessarily appropriate for the twentieth or twenty-first century, where culture is much more diverse and where the Christian faith and the Church of England, in particular, no longer has the dominant position it held earlier.

Christian images were originally designed to inspire worship or meditation and to provide visual learning aids for the very many people who could not read. Their symbolism and types evolved during a period - about eighteen hundred years ago - when the corporate ideas about the world were very different. In an age where the miraculous was still very much a part of belief, the idea of, for example, an angel, was very much more acceptable than in the twenty-first century when the claims of science appear to have made such concepts fantastical rather than true. Thus it was possible for artists to develop their interpretations of Christian doctrine and produce images which were acceptable to the Christian community. In an age where the Christian faith was, in Europe, the dominant culture it could be assumed that most people would understand these images. This understanding of the meaning of Christian images was carried through to the nineteenth century in Catholic countries but in England, following the Reformation and the later Puritan purges, this understanding dwindled. Thus when the Victorians re-introduced Christian imagery into the schools they were using images whose symbolism was largely unknown. They did not attempt to

analyse the images, in the modern manner, but concentrated on emphasising their spiritual aspects.

It is this aspect of Christian images which poses the problem in modern religious education materials, not their art historical qualities. Pupils today can still, if the reproduction is good enough, appreciate the beauty, the colour, the painterly skill, the composition and, indeed, the spiritual quality of the paintings. They can, if taken to a gallery, learn with the aid of gallery educators to draw out different meanings from the paintings. The problem is that the main Christian doctrines are ill-served by the traditional painted or sculpted images with their complex symbolism, if the purpose of showing those images to pupils is to help them understand Christian doctrine. To take an obvious example: in *The Life* the image used for the resurrection is that by Fra Angelico entitled *The Women at the Sepulchre* (Plate 16b). This shows Jesus Christ hovering above the tomb in a mandorla as is often the case with resurrection images. The fact is, however, that the Gospels do not tell the reader how the resurrection took place. They just describe the empty tomb, the message of the angels and the resurrection appearances of Jesus Christ which all emphasise the reality of his bodily form. There is no evidence that Jesus Christ 'hovered' anywhere. This is an age of great scepticism and it is maybe not helpful to pupils to try and explain such a difficult Christian doctrine with an image which is not accurate but simply an artistic interpretation. (Northcote 1996, 2000, 2002) It is relevant to this Conclusion because modern society has opened up new problems in the use of traditional Christian imagery in the classroom.

It is clear that Christian images cannot be used any longer in religious education in the way they were by the National Society during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century where their purpose was to promote Christian belief and spirituality. In the *Self-Teaching* cards, discussed in Chapter Six (Appendix I), the National Society opened up the way to a more questioning way of using Christian imagery, but it was still within the Christian scheme of belief. The pendulum has now swung so far that in galleries the Christian images are used so freely that their Christian context is almost lost. The question this raises is what should the modern religious education teacher do and what materials should be provided? Clearly Christian images are an important part of the history and development of the Christian faith and pupils who are studying Christianity need to have good, clear information about these images. They need to understand their development and the different uses to which they have traditionally been put. They need to study the images in relation to the development of the different Christian denominations and to see why some Christians revere images and others reject them completely. This study, however, will almost certainly throw up a large number of questions which are theologically based. This will mean that teachers will have to be qualified to discuss the fundamentals of Christian theology in some detail and to be able to conduct debates about such things as the meaning of the resurrection with pupils who may vary from those with a Christian family background to those of different faiths who may have little knowledge of Christian doctrine.

Clearly the question of whether or not the modern religious education textbook illustrated with Christian Old Master images is helpful or not is a very large one and one which needs an in depth study of how modern pupils react to such images. It is

only introduced briefly here to illustrate that a trend which was started by the National Society in 1884 to answer the specific needs of that time, is still in evidence in the early twenty-first century. If having your ideas copied is a mark of success then, certainly the National Society publications were a success. To what extent they were a success with the pupils in National Society schools is impossible to assess at the time of writing because there is no direct evidence available of what those pupils thought. It is possible that in the National Society archive of their schools, there is written evidence by the pupils or their teachers which would illuminate this point but, in the time available for research in the archive, it was not possible to unearth such material. The teachers did leave some evidence in their reviews in *The School Guardian* and these are favourable, leading to a conclusion that these publications were a success with teachers.

Overall, therefore, it is possible to say that, despite certain difficulties with interpretation, these publications by the National Society were well in advance of anything else available at the time and were a success. The National Society, therefore, prompted by the demands of the inspectorate and the government Committee of Council embarked on an influential, important programme of publishing which had a long term impact on religious education.

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APPENDIX II
ABSTRACT OF MA IN ARTS EDUCATION
BY VIVIEN SHEENA HORNBY NORTHCOTE
SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK
IN TWO VOLUMES
NOVEMBER 1995
DEGREE AWARDED 1996

TITLE:

The Development of Images of Christ c. 1510-1575 and their relationship to the christological ideas of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation leading to a consideration of the position of images of Christ in modern religious educational material.

SUMMARY

1. The aim of this research was to establish whether images are the best method of explaining Christian doctrines, about the nature and person of Christ (christology), to children during religious education.

2. The method used was:
 - a) To establish the background to the images, now in use, by considering the links between images and theology during the sixteenth century. This covers the work of Luther and Calvin in particular. This first section also contains an assessment of the images of Christ created during the same period.

b) The thesis then considers the use of images of Christ in modern religious education material, comparing these images with some of those in the sixteenth century.

c) The research then moved into limited, practical research with children at Key Stage 3. This consisted of seminar classes with children during their normal religious education class. Their teachers were present and took part in the discussions. This research will be analysed in full during further study. Its purpose here was to give an indication of the problem.

Section a) is contained in Volume One and Sections b) and c) are contained in Volume Two.

3. The conclusion reached was that the images used in religious education material are treated in a very confusing manner. A further conclusion, based on the practical research (fieldwork), was that children, at Key Stage 3, no longer have the necessary vocabulary to understand the interpret images of Christ correctly. They, therefore, make a number of subjective misinterpretations which further confuse already difficult doctrines.

4. For the purpose of readers studying the PhD thesis to which this Appendix II is appended, it is Volume Two of the MA which is of particular significance.

5. Volume Two contained the following chapters:

- a) Interconnection Four - Introduction to Part Two Page 115
- b) Chapter Five - The Image of Christ in modern
religious education material Page 128
- c) Conclusion
- d) Bibliography

It also contained four appendices of which Appendix VI is of importance because it included the details of the fieldwork undertaken, including sample worksheets.

6. Chapter Five analysed a large group of publications for the way in which they presented and interpreted the image of Christ. They were a mixture of publications but included bibles, encyclopedias, reference books, lives of Jesus and most significantly a range of the textbooks available at that time, 1995, for religious education for Key Stage 3. The general conclusion to this survey was that the image of Christ was often presented in a very confusing way and that the text books frequently placed a Christian image into a page of text with very little or no explanation. Publishers, for example, did not generally include the date of the image, often even omitted the name of the artist and never included information such as that any particular image was the product of years of tradition combined with artistic licence and thus did not necessarily equate to truth.

7. This survey was borne out by the field work which included classes in one county school, one independent school and two Church of England voluntary aided schools, all at Key Stage 3. This work showed that pupils had a limited understanding of the images which often led to confusion. The 'seminar' style classes, however, did lead

to animated discussions once the pupils realised they were free to express their own ideas. The classes were recorded and it is hoped they can be analysed in more detail in the future. The pupils also completed short, simple questionnaires and some of these are included in the Appendix VI to the MA. Again it is hoped that these questionnaires can be analysed at a later date.

8. The overall conclusion from the work undertaken for the MA was that, if handled intelligently and with good supplementary information, Christian images can be a very good starting point for religious education work. As a result of the MA, the book *Using Art in RE: Using RE in Art*, was commissioned by the National Society to act as a simple guide for religious education teachers. The book was designed deliberately in an 'easy to read' format.

Supplementary note on material to supplement the MA contained in PhD Bibliography

In addition to those modern religious education materials listed in the Bibliography for the MA, the following books are included the Bibliography for the PhD because they give an insight into how religious images were used in the intervening years between the work of the National Society in 1884-1886 and the early twentieth century and the present day. This list is not intended to be comprehensive but will help amplify the work for the MA (full publishing details are given in the Bibliography for the PhD:

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