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ABSTRACT.

THE WORK OF LORD BROUGHAM FOR ENGLISH EDUCATION.

Various influences impelled Henry Brougham (1778-1868) along the path of educational reform. His own early life and careful schooling in Scotland, his sensitivity to conditions, contact with Continental reformers and the influence of the Utilitarian philosophy, all helped to mould his ideas. Brougham's ambition however gave the driving force to belief and educational reform was but one means of achieving greatness.

The ambitious young lawyer came to London and politics in 1805, entering Parliament in 1810. By 1816 he was leading a reforming Whig group and urging specific reforms, including measures for the education of the people.

As chairman of the Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders (1816-1818), Brougham amassed much information on the state of education. The Committee's "Reports" showed the lack of education, recommended a scheme for its universal promotion and pointed to the abuses in educational charities. In 1820 Brougham followed up with his Parish Schools' Bill - it failed.

Brougham was also interested in infant education, his ideas being founded on the authoritative opinion of Owen and Fellenberg. A founder of an infants' school at Westminster, by the 1830's he regarded infant education as most vital.

The most sensational of Brougham's activities was his work for adult education; the founding of Mechanics' Institutes, the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge and of London University. Here he displayed most clearly his dynamic power and irrepressible zeal.

When a Whig government was formed in 1830 Brougham accepted the Chancellorship. He lost office in 1834 and never regained it. He still pressed for educational reform but his Bills of 1835, 1837 and 1838 met with no success.

Brougham did not die till 1868 but his effective career was now over. In education his were not the original ideas and his scheme had glaring limitations. His greatness however lies in the fact that he convinced the country that "the schoolmaster was abroad."

THE WORK OF LORD BROUGHAM
FOR ENGLISH EDUCATION

Presented by T. McManners M.A.
in part requirement for the
degree of Master of Education.

Durham 1952.

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CHAPTER ONE

INFLUENCES

The education of an educational reformer may affect him either by repulsion or by attraction. By attraction if he desires to extend to others the benefits of the system he experienced; by repulsion if he wishes to reform it. The education of Henry Brougham came into the first of these categories.

I

His home life, under the influence of his mother and grand-mother, inspired him from early years with a zeal for learning and knowledge. Late in life he paid a great tribute to his grand-mother's "masculine intellect and clear understanding. She instilled into me from my cradle the strongest desire for information, and the first principles of that persevering energy in the pursuit of every kind of knowledge."²

His education was carefully mapped out and controlled by his mother and her relations. Entirely a product of the Scottish system, he went to the High School Edinburgh at the

I. The niece of Dr. Robertson, a man at the head of Edinburgh society at the end of the eighteenth century and principal of the university.

2, "Life and Times" by Brougham. Edinburgh and London 1871. 3 V. V.I.P.II.

age of seven in 1785. Dr. Adams, the headmaster, was his great uncle, a man of wide experience and learning.¹ Luke Fraser "who had evinced a great aptitude for imparting instruction,"² guided young Henry's studies in the Rector's class. The curriculum at the High School was comparatively broad and liberal. During the first year English was studied jointly with Latin; this was followed by Geography, Mythology, Antiquities and History, together with the principles of Natural Philosophy. French instruction was offered for those who wished to learn a foreign language. Dr. Adams thought that "in all these branches, besides Writing and Accounts, a boy should be initiated and tolerably instructed before going to college."³ In his final year in 1791, Henry Brougham was "dux" at the public examination. School days completed,⁴ he spent a year with his parents and then went on to⁵

1. "The History of Edinburgh High School." William Steven D.D. Edin. 1849. Pp. 110-116.

2. Ibid. P.108.

3. Dr. Adams writing on the curriculum at the request of Mr. Andrew Dunn rector of the Grammar School, Aberdeen. Ibid. P.132.

4. Ibid. P.132.

5. During this time he was at Brougham Hall under his tutor, Mr. Mitchell. Thomas Campbell testifies to Brougham's capacities in these early days, especially to his ability as a mathematician. "Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell."

Edinburgh University.

Brougham's four years here were at the time when the university had reached the zenith of its greatness. There was widespread intellectual activity. Dugald Stewart's lectures¹ were packed,² while Finlayson³ was a veritable spell-binder. "Until we heard him," records Lord Cockburn, "few of us knew⁴ that we had minds." The course at Edinburgh consisted of four consecutive sessions. For the first year there was elementary Latin and Greek; in the second year Logic was added; the third year was spent in the study of Moral Philosophy, the Philosophy of History and Political Economy; while the final session was taken up with Natural Philosophy, or, in other words, Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics. Most pupils went up at the age of fourteen, so this can hardly be reckoned as

1. Dugald Stewart was Professor of Mathematics 1775-1785 and Professor of Moral Philosophy 1785-1810. His class included Brougham, Russell, Palmerston, Lansdowne, Horner, James Mill and Sidney Smith. A. Grant. "The Story of the University of Edinburgh." London 1884. V.2. Pp. 340-342.

2. Cockburn "Works". 2.Vols. "Memorials." Edin. 1872 P.20.

3. Finlayson was Professor of Logic and Metaphysics 1792-1808. A. Grant. (above). V.2. P.331.

4. Cockburn "Memorials" P.18.

higher education. In actual fact it was a superior type of secondary education, carrying a comprehensive but not a burdensome curriculum. The fact that classics did not occupy a predominant position in the curriculum, gave the education at Edinburgh, as at the other Scottish universities, its philosophic and scientific character which was its distinctive feature.

At university Brougham took a leading part in the formation of new debating societies and became, in 1797, a prominent member of the already famous Speculative Society. It is probable that most members of this society were free masons; Brougham certainly was, as the records of the Fortrose Lodge, Stornaway, on the Isle of Lewis show. The Speculative Society and the masons had many common laws, especially with respect to religion and politics, which they were both bound to leave out of their discussions. Brougham was also a member of Scott's Friday Club to which was admitted, "any person---who was supposed to combine a taste for learning ¹ with agreeable manners." ² The membership

1. Sir D. Brewster "The History of Freemasonry."
1804. P. 336.

2. Cockburn "Life of Francis Jeffrey." 2nd. Ed. 1852.
P. 143.

included such famous names as Dugald Stewart, John Playfair, Sydney Smith, Walter Scott, Francis Jeffrey, Thomas Campbell, and Leonard Horner.

There were many other societies, but the Speculative Society was by far the most outstanding and one of the major formative influences on Brougham's thought. It met regularly once a week in the winter months when a member read a paper. In the light of Brougham's future career there were many debates of significance. "Ought the improvement of national knowledge to be made an object of national attention;" "Are the endowments of universities of advantage to learning;" "Is man in a state of progressive improvement;" "Ought the government to regulate the system of education;" "Ought the study of dead languages to form part of the system of education?" Debates of this nature, allied to the attitude which obtained to politics and religion, must certainly be reckoned as an important formative influence in Brougham's thought.

After his four years at university Brougham studied law and was called to the Scottish bar in 1800. Possessing neither capital nor influence, he began a huge work on "Colonial Policy" and contributed articles to the "Edinburgh Review", both as a lever for achieving

public office. His association with the "Edinburgh Review" is important. When the review began the state of affairs in the country was as follows; "Parliamentary representation in Scotland had scarcely an existence,--- the Catholics were unemancipated,--- the test acts unrepealed,--- men were hung for stealing a few shillings in a dwelling house,--- no counsel was allowed a prisoner accused of a capital offence; the horrors of the slave trade were tolerated,--- the prevailing tendencies of the age were jobbery and corruption." I
 The services of the Review in the amendment of these defects were great: the Dictionary of National Biography describes it as the champion of the education movement in England. Conceived by Francis Jeffrey, Sidney Smith and Francis Horner, it was first published in 1802 and with its combination of literature and journalism achieved immediate success.

Brougham was in it from the start and Jeffrey, the editor, looked often to him in his constant search for manuscripts: "If it were not for my reliance on Brougham

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 I should have no hope of salvation." By January 1846
 Brougham had contributed one hundred and fifty articles.²
 He learnt much from his association with Horner, Jeffrey
 and Smith in this work. Greater argumentative dexterity
 and the value of candour and liberality were perhaps what he
 acquired most. However, he never lost sight of the value
 of the Review to himself in propagating his own ideas.
 After he had fallen from the Woolsack he published
 twenty three articles in five years, a clear indication
 of his belief that the Review could restore his loss of
 prestige.³ By his long association with the Review, Brougham
 was in constant touch with the most organised liberal
 thought -an intangible but no less definite influence
 on his outlook.

After spending a year in foreign travel he
 settled in London in 1805.⁴ The condition of education in

1. "Brougham and his Early Friends." R.H.M. Buddle-
 Atkinson and G.A. Jackson. London 1908. V.2.P.129.

2. A. Aspinall "Lord Brougham and the Whig Party."
 Manchester 1927. P.260.

3. Macvey Napier "Correspondence." V.2. P.12.

4. D.N.B.

the metropolis and in the country at large must have shocked one who had been so carefully nurtured under the Scottish system. Brougham never forgot how efficient his education had been, as compared with the type of education given in England. Returning to Edinburgh in 1825, he recalled that it was here that he "first imbibed the principles of a liberal Scottish education." Hewent on - "I have seen no other plan of education as that which is established in this city. --- I certainly have never yet seen any one system so well adapted for training up good citizens, as well as learned and virtuous men as the Old High School of Edinburgh and the Scottish universities." (1) There can be little doubt that this ever-present comparison between English and Scottish education helped to direct Brougham along the path of educational reform.

When he came to London, Henry Brougham came into direct contact with Jeremy Bentham and his followers. The "Benthamites" or "Utilitarians", gave him a doctrine on which to base his reforming activities. One of their chief tenets was the more immediate importance of education as compared with constitutional changes and parliamentary

reform. They believed they had found a common - sense philosophy, by which ordinary selfish men could be convinced that the interests of each invariably coincided with the interests of the majority. Therefore, every man, if he were fairly well educated in his youth, would throughout the rest of his life aim at "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," as this would give the greatest amount of the "pleasure of self-approbation." The whole working out of their philosophy depended on the basic fact that men must have a certain amount of education. Thus universal education was the first plank in the programme. John Stuart Mill recalled, that "so complete" was his father's "reliance on the influence of reason over the mind of mankind, whenever it is allowed to reach them, that he felt as if all would be gained if the whole population were taught to read, if all sorts of opinions were allowed to be addressed to them by word and in writing, and if, by means of the suffrage, they could nominate a legislature to give effect to the opinions they adopted." I

Brougham was profoundly affected by this Benthamite thought. In many of his speeches and writings on education

this almost pathetic belief in education as a panacea for all evils is clearly shown. He thought that education would be a solace to the people and would strengthen their religious belief, "for whatever improves men's minds tends to give them sober and virtuous habits."⁽¹⁾ Other educational reformers also felt the influence of Bentham's thought; Place⁽²⁾ and Roebuck³ held similar views. Thus, although Brougham the Radical reformer of 1814, broke with Bentham as represented by Burdett in 1818, he was throughout life a disciple of Bentham, even if the immediate influence⁴ was James Mill and not the master and even if the utilitarian ideal was obscured by personal ambition.

The Utilitarians certainly claimed Brougham as a disciple. John Stuart Mill described his father as

1. "Address to the Members of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution." 21st, July, 1835. "Speeches" V3.P171.

2. Graham Wallas "The Life of Francis Place." London 1918. P.97.

3. Roebuck thought that education would produce, a "people, industrious, honest, tolerant and happy." "Speech" of 30th. July, 1833. Quoted in full in De Montmorency "State Intervention in English Education." C.U.P. 1902. App. 3. Pp.325-351. P.329.

4. In later years Brougham was in touch with John Stuart Mill and the younger generation of Utilitarians.

II.

"the good genius by the side of Brougham, in most of what he did for the public, either on education, law reform or on any other subject." ^I The Benthamite influence was there, but Brougham was primarily a politician- expediency was for him an approved policy. Professor Cavenagh holds that Brougham was not a thinker, that he had no philosophy of education such as Bentham's or James Mill's. ² Cavenagh is emphasising the fact that Brougham was essentially a man of action rather than a philosopher; thus he could never be a full blooded Benthamite. Writing to the Marquess of Lansdowne in 1848, Brougham himself stated that "nothing can be more certain than that the assumption is unfounded on which the whole of the Bentham reasoning proceeds- namely, that man entrusted with power will never be content without exerting it to the utmost.+- Mr. Bentham, in truth, gives all men the credit of being actuated by his own propensity--- the habitual mistake of pushing every doctrine to its extreme,--- regarding the principle as utterly neglected which is

1. John Stuart Mill "Autobiography." P.(90).

2. "The Journal of Adult Education." Vol. 4. P.6. October 1929. Article by Prof. F.A. Cavenagh "Lord Brougham and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge."

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not entirely adopted."

The Benthamite influence must not be over - emphasised. The main stimulus for the reforming activities of Henry Brougham came from without; "he is not absorbed in a creed, he is pricked by facts."² Thus he had to acquire detailed knowledge of West Indian conditions before he became a keen "emancipator." In the sphere of education, once he had become the "expert", after his laborious work as chairman of the Education Committees of 1816-1818, he put his hand to reform and never hesitated or deviated from what he held to be the right goal. If this "fact pricking" stimulus is considered in conjunction with Brougham's superabundance of mental and physical energy, it goes a long way to explain the wide range of his reforming activities, the kaleidoscopic effect of which tends to blur his influence in any particular reforming field.

A further influence impelling Brougham along the path of educational reform was his first hand

1. "Letter from Lord Brougham to the Marquess of Lansdowne." 1848. Pp. 46-47.

2. Walter Bagehot "Biographical Studies." Ed. Richard Holt Hutton. London 1895. P. 60.

knowledge of methods on the continent. Whereas the Edgeworths were the chief agents in popularising and adapting Rousseau's ideas, and Doctor Mayo and his sister were chiefly responsible for the diffusion of Pestalozzian ideas, it was Brougham who first discovered the importance of the work abroad, though he was chiefly impressed not by Rousseau and Pestalozzi but by Fellenberg. The Swiss reformer's institution had made a big impression on Brougham when he visited it in the autumn of 1816. He thought that he would do a great service to the 1818 Committee if he gave an account of this establishment, organised as it was for the instruction¹ and improvement of the poor. Throughout his career Brougham always acknowledged his debt to Fellenberg for his ideas on education. In 1820 he saw the justice of Fellenberg's criticism of the monitorial system;² In 1835 he acknowledged that it was Fellenberg who had opened his mind to the necessity of

1. Frank Smith "Elementary Education 1760-1902." London 1931. Pp. 125-129.

2. See Appendix A. "Brougham's account of Fellenberg's Establishment at Hofwyl Switzerland."

3. See Pages 184-187.

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training teachers.

No-one can escape from the influences of environment and the age in which Brougham lived certainly helped shape the man. This was an age of societies. Macaulay asserted in 1822, that the majority of Englishmen belonged at one time or another "to some association --- for sending invalids to the hospital, or beggars to the treadmill for giving plate to the rich or blankets to the poor."² Brougham entered with great zeal into this "growing facility for forming associations of all kinds"³ and his educational work shows the great faith he placed in such organisations. In spite of the fact that in many reforming crusades he stood alone and can be seen in retrospect to have been nearly half a century ahead of the times, there is no doubt that the age in which he lived brought its subtle, indirect influence to bear on him.

The influence of home life and of his own education

1. See Pages 187.

2. Quoted in Charles Knight "Passages of a Working Life." Vol. 3. Pp.226-227.

3. Leslie Stephen "The English Utilitarians." 1900. Vol.I P.108.00

in Scotland, his membership of the Speculative Society, the Utilitarian influence, his first hand knowledge of methods on the continent and the character of the age in which he lived; all led Brougham along the path of educational reform. But these motives, powerful as they were, do not explain Brougham's championship of the cause. They are too indirect, intangible. They explain his convictions, but with Brougham ambition was the factor which gave the driving force to beliefs. The Scottish bar did not offer him a life's career. After an adventurous year on the continent, when, in the guise of an American, he wandered through enemy territory, he came to London in 1805 with the aim of making his way in politics. The work of Brougham the educational reformer must be considered as but one department of Brougham the politician.

CHAPTER TWO

THE POLITICIAN

The first decades of the nineteenth century were years of distress and upheaval. There was no longer a noise of victory in the air; continental affairs were "dead, despotic, dull," while at home the peace ushered in a period of sullen unrest. Most men were agreed that the main problem of government was the protection of property and the maintenance of law and order. Southey wrote to Lord Liverpool in 1817 that the question was "whether it be possible to keep off revolution till the moral and physical condition of the populace shall be so far improved that they will cease to desire one." On the other hand, the government was faced with a clamour for reform, now surging forward after the anti-Jacobin repression of French Revolutionary and Napoleonic times.

Political life in England was itself topsy-turvy.

I. Southey thought "the whole fabric of social order in this country is in great danger." "Southey's Life and Correspondence." Ed. by his son 6 Vols. London 1850.

Vol. 4. P.210.

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 Although Croker¹ still thought there were two distinct parties in the country, which might be called Whig and Tory, this was only a rough generalisation. It would be much truer to say that down to 1832 politics were a matter of varying groups. The Tories, a miscellaneous team, managing with difficulty to give a semblance of policy, held the reins. The Whigs, with no agreement on policy, deficient in leadership and lacking the Tory éclat of victory over Napoleonic France, were well out.

"Nought's constant in the human race
 Except the Whigs not getting into place."

The Radicals, with a continuous tradition from the days of Wilkes, now led in the Commons by Sir Francis Burdett and reinforced by the Benthamites, were neither consistent,² nor were they a homogeneous body. The Tories were probably right in the view that if Westminster were a sample of a democratic constituency, the fewer the better.

It was in such a world of politics that Henry Brougham set out in 1805 to make a place for himself. His

1. "Correspondence and Diaries." Croker. Ed. J. Jennings. London 1885. 3 Vols. V.I P.96.

2. Burdett ended up as a Tory in 1833.

friends, James Loch and Francis Horner, had urged him to
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 make the move to London, a course on which his own restless
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 ambition and spirited nature had already decided. Brougham
 came to a political world dominated by jobbery, a legacy
 of eighteenth century corruption. From the first he was a
 reformer and the "Edinburgh Review", to which he had been
 one of the first contributors in 1802, provided him both with
 an income and an outlet for his reformist tendencies. He
 was in touch at different times with each party, for each had
 its reforming wing; for the Tories there was Wilberforce
 and the "Saints", for the Whigs Whitbread, Tierney, and Romilly,
 while the Radicals, "snorting porpoises", at first certainly
 attracted a man of Brougham's outlook.

At the general election of 1807 Brougham threw in
 his whole energy on the side of the Whigs with a propaganda
 campaign which itself showed him to be a generation ahead
 3
 of his times. However by December 1808 he was dissatisfied

1. "Brougham and His Early Friends." R.H.M.
 Buddle-Atkinson and G.A. Jackson. London 1908. V.2P.34.

2. He hesitated for some considerable time before
 making the move to London and politics. In 1802 he wrote to
 James Loch; "I am either tossed about and harassed by a
 thousand perplexities, or sunk in a deceitful and dangerous
 calm. In short I am completely discontented, as I have long
 been with all prospects in this place." Ibid, V.I. P.334.

3. See P.23.

with the "secession policy" of the Whigs, which he thought "will not only finish the ruin of the party, but deservedly exclude them from all public confidence."¹ In 1810 he entered Parliament as Whig member for the closed borough of Camelford, but lost his seat in 1812 when he failed to get in at Liverpool.² He returned to the Commons in 1815, when he accepted Lord Darlington's offer of the Whig borough at Winchelsea, which as a reformer, he held rather uncomfortably for the next fourteen years.

It is difficult to decide in which political group Brougham should be placed. At first, he had been a staunch Pittite, then he had cultivated friendships with Lord Grey, Lord Holland and other Whig magnates, while at the same time he had flirted with the Radicals. His blatant opportunism made him strongly suspect by all parties and politicians. Now in 1816, by sheer force of character coupled with an extraordinary lung power, he became the "de facto" leader of the Whigs in the Lower House. Squire

1. "Creevey's Life and Times." Ed. J. Gore. London 1934. P. 42.

2. The Whigs might easily have found a seat for him but already he was not trusted by the aristocratic Whig families. "Life and Times." Vol. 2. P. 65.

Western was at a loss to know "where the devil a fellow could get such lungs and such a flow of jaw;" yet none could deny his stupendous capacity for work, coupled with an extraordinary versatility. He was prepared to speak and write on almost any subject; furthermore, his writings were most effective. "It would be a new thing," writes Horner, "if anything connected with Brougham were to fail in despatch. He is the surest and ^{most} voluminous among the sons of men." His speeches were collected and published in 1838 and were reviewed by the friendly "Edinburgh Review." It declared that the volume discussed "all the political and legal and economic questions the nearest to men's business." The reviewers were exaggerating Brougham's activities, but their remarks serve to show the extensive, if piecemeal, interests of the man.

In Parliament, Brougham's aim was to bring the Whig programme up to date by making it popular and, in so

1. "Creevey Papers." Ed. Sir H. Maxwell. London 1903. 2 Vols. Pp. 249-250.

2. Francis Horner "Memoirs and Correspondence." Ed. L. Horner. London 1843. 2 Vols. Letter to Francis Jeffrey 11th. January 1805. Vol. I. P. 278.

3. "Edinburgh Review." 138. P. 58.

doing, to create his own personal following. As early as 1813 he wrote to Grey, "while we are waiting for peace are there no measures which the party might take with real benefit both to the country and to their own substantial popularity?"⁽¹⁾ He threw himself whole-heartedly into efforts to reorganise the Whigs and endeavoured to give them a policy and a press. With the Whigs, he attacked the 1815 peace and Castlereagh's association with the reactionary continental gang and howled for retrenchment at home and the abolition of wartime measures. There was, however, a constructive side to his political programme; prison reform, commutation of tithes, abolition of the slave trade, the freedom of the press and measures for the education of the lower orders. This long-term policy is laid down clearly in his correspondence with Creevey, where he refers to the above measures as being "unconnected with ordinary Party topics, whereby much immediate real good is done to the country and great credit gained by the party, as well as, ultimately, a check secured to the

Crown and to abuses generally." I

Much to Brougham's chagrin, the aristocratic Whig leaders were not in sympathy with such a programme. He put his views on the conduct of the Opposition very bluntly before Lord Lansdowne, who led the Whigs in the Lords during Grey's long absences: - "One principle they have is that an Opposition should do little or nothing, but be quiet and wait for blunders and await the event. Another is that we should seldom divide, and never but when we are strong -as if an Opposition could lose by being beaten in numbers. They really seem to confound the Opposition with the Ministry, to whom, being beaten, is, of course, very dangerous. To adopt feeble milk and water measures and couch motions in unmeaning terms, for the sake of catching a stray vote or two, is another error. But the grand and general one is that of seeking popularity from the other side -addressing speeches as well as measures to the majority -conciliating the enemy -in short playing his game. ---They shrink from -disapprove

- shake their heads at the constant galling opposition which alone does the business; which, for example, destroyed the Orders in Council and the Income Tax.¹ Francis Place also pointed the finger of scorn at "this vile Whiggery." He thought the party would fall to pieces "and then the best men--- those whose energies are palsied by the connection will go over to the people, and the name will exist only as a term of reproach."²

Thus, in pursuit of his long term constructive programme, Brougham stepped out alone and relied as much on Radical as on Whig support. He never succeeded in heading a firm band of loyal followers. Place would have liked him to ally definitely with Burdett, so that he might "be detached from the faction and make common cause with the Reformers."³ He thought that all effective movements were made by "combination and concentration" and he realised that the Reformers had, "no kindred, no community, not a thread of connection. They oppose each

1. Letter dated 21 July 1817. Quoted by A. Aspinall "Lord Brougham and the Whig Party." Manchester 1927. Pp.80-82.

2. Place Private Correspondence 1817-1818. Vol. 2. B.M. Add. Mss. 35,153. Francis Place to Thomas Hodgskin Sept. 8th. 1819.

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other more effectively than their opponents." Perhaps Place thought that Brougham was the man to weld the Reformers into an effective body, to give them cohesion. Brougham however, though he had very much in common with the Radicalism of James Mill, could not accept the Radicals as a reforming group. For him they were "in religion intolerable atheists, in their politics bloody minded republicans, and in morals somewhat gross and most selfish latitudinarians."² Thus he remained substantially alone in the Commons, the powerful voice, "the strong man" whose aid the "men of one idea"³ sought to enlist.

Footnote 3. from previous page. Graham Wallas "The Life of Francis Place." P.117 fn.

1. Place Private Correspondence. 1817-1837. Vol 2. B.M. Add. MSS. 35,153.

2. A. Aspinall "Lord Brougham and the Whig Party." P.145.

3. Cartwright for universal suffrage; Robert Owen for the moral regeneration of humanity by quadrangular villages.

Henry Brougham never fitted comfortably into any party or category; it is almost impossible to label him. If we are to place him in the political world it must be with Samuel Whitbread's group of Whigs, for it was primarily this section that Brougham led on Whitbread's death. Yet in thus tying him down in the political world, it must be remembered that he was essentially an individualist and an opportunist; and, in considering his reforming activities in the cause of popular education, though he was prompted in the main by humane and enlightened statesmanship, he never lost sight of using these activities as a means for furthering his own advancement. Indeed, it would be true to say, that circumstances forced Brougham to be something of a political adventurer but he always maintained his independence and his basic fundamental ideas.

Brougham's career illustrates, as it were, the prevailing cross-cut traversing established party

I. Even Lord Campbell, who in his "Lives of the Chancellors" is very critical of Brougham and grossly unfair to him, acknowledges that though he stood for a closed borough he "never, in any degree, sacrificed his independence while representing a peer or a peeress," either when sitting for Camelford under the Duke of Bedford or for Winchelsea under Lord Darlington. D.N.B.

lines; a cross-cut visible also in the religious sphere. For example, in the anti-slavery movement, Evangelicals, Dissenters, Tories, whigs, Radicals and Utilitarians rubbed shoulders. Men were now thinking and acting for themselves, independent of party husting. For one purpose Wilberforce disregarded party; with other humanitarian objects in view, but lacking the idealism and pure motives of the great abolitionist, Brougham was likewise a political cosmopolitan.

His zeal for education was genuine, but not disinterested. It fits into his political career and reveals all the mingled motives of the politician. Roebuck, in 1833, insisted that the promotion of education served neither party nor individual interests, "nought can be obtained by its assistance but the pure unalloyed benefit of the community at large." Certainly, the great energy Brougham extended on the cause went far beyond its political importance. But Roebuck's

I. "Speech" 30th. July 1833. De Montmorency
"State Intervention in English Education." App. P.325.

dictum, as applied to Brougham, is misleading. Educational reform was demanded both by his ideas and by his interests.

Brougham was a skirmisher of the left who in thunderous tones spoke often and at length for reforms of every kind; but in no reforming sphere was he the essential leader, except in that of education. Up to 1833 this was his own special field. As early as 1822 Grey realised that Brougham had gained a Parliamentary position which made his inclusion in a Whig ministry inevitable. Was Brougham's assumption of the crusading cross of education merely one of the devices of a politician on the make? Partly, it may have been this. But Brougham from his political agitation, had been the first to learn the lesson that the policy of reform, and especially the Whig movement towards Parliamentary Reform, must have as its complement an appeal to the people. Electioneering for the Whigs in 1807, he had startled Whigs and Tories alike by filling, in

ten days, "every bookseller's shop with pamphlets, most London newspapers and all country ones without exception, with paragraphs, and supplied a large portion of the boroughs throughout the Kingdom with hand-bills adapted to the local interests of the candidates, and all tending to enforce the principles
I.
---of the Whigs." The extension of education meant an extension of the public which could read his own pamphlets. Brougham, the educational reformer, was ensuring that he, the great tribune, would always have an audience.

I. Lord Holland "Memoirs of the Whig Party." Vol.2. P.227-228. quoted in Aspinall "Lord Brougham and the Whig Party," and in D.N.B.

CHAPTER THREETHE SOCIAL BACKGROUND

Brougham did not preach a new gospel, but he spoke to a new world. His career is but a paragraph in the story of the great social changes which came between the American Revolution and the Reform Bill; changes affecting the intellectual, social, political and economic structure of public life. Twenty years of war with Revolutionary and Napoleonic France was the bridge between the classical world of the eighteenth century and the restless England of Peterloo.^I It was unfortunate that such was the link at a critical moment in English social development.

An age of rapid industrial change with violent disturbances of economic life was viewed by the employing and governing classes with "anti-Jacobin" eyes, violently reactionary to reform proposals. The factory town with its jerry-built slums; the emphasis on "laissez faire" and money returns, became features of English life. The attitude of the governing classes to these features was

due largely to the logical corollary of the individualistic thesis which they accepted and practised. Other causes might be given to explain the appalling condition of the working classes in the early nineteenth century yet it was individualism which, in removing the restrictions on progress, destroyed for two generations a theory of society which had afforded some protection to the weaker classes. The fact remains that the condition of the people was desperate. Shelley passionately depicts their increasing degradation shortly after Peterloo - "they eat less bread, wear worse clothes, are more ignorant, immoral and desperate. This then is the condition of the lowest and largest class, from whose labours the whole materials of

I. Individualism was an offshoot of the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. Once discovered, the individual had gradually been endowed by philosophy with certain natural, indestructible and inalienable rights. The individual was thus put in antithesis with the State and his liberty was conceived in a narrow and negative sense, in that it could only develop by restricting state action to the simple process of preserving order. Individualism, by making the individual the unit of society, dethroned the state; and by allowing unlimited scope to the activity of individual interests introduced the competitive element into the new industrial society.

life are wrought, of which the others are only the
^I
 receivers or consumers."

The whole fabric of English social life was in ruins. This was the age when the proletariat first slowly appeared - men who had lost all contact with natural life, men possessing "unnatural mobility." The appearance of this large and miserable class contrasted sharply with the rise of a class of rich employers.² There was, without a doubt, considerable unrest among this proletariat. A Secret Committee of the House of Commons³ which reported on "certain meetings and dangerous combinations" declared that attempts had been made, in various parts of the country, as well as in the metropolis to take advantage of the distress in which the labouring and manufacturing classes of the community are at present involved." The committee went on to state that success in stirring up trouble had in fact been confined to the

1. Shelley "Philosophical View of Reform."
 Ed. T.W. Rolleston. OUP.1920. P.48.

2. J.L. and B. Hammond "The Town Labourer."
 P.96.

3. Hansard Feb. 19th. 1817. c.438.

principled manufacturing districts" where the distress is more prevalent, and numbers more easily collected;" but even in many of these districts "privations have been borne with exemplary patience and resignation." It is important to note the committee's final observation: that in its opinion great allowance must be made for these people "under the pressure of urgent distress."

The conditions of life of the town dweller were bad, but the agricultural labourer was in a still worse plight. From him was exacted the maximum of toil for the minimum of wages; he was reckoned merely among the goods and chattels of his employer. ^I Unemployment in the post-war slump, coupled with the Corn Laws to protect agriculture, had produced a marked differentiation in the countryside. The landed gentry were wealthy and contented;

"They roared, they dined, they drank, they swore they
To die for England - why then live? for rent!" ² meant

The crash of corn prices, coupled with the evil effects of the pernicious system of poor relief, had, on the other

1. Hodder "Life and Work of Lord Shaftesbury."
1866. Vol.I.P.II6.
2. Byron "The Age of Bronze" St. I4.

hand, hit the rural labourers hard. "Instead of families of small farmers with all their exertions, all their decency of dress and of manners, and all their scrupulousness as to character, we have families of paupers, with all the improvidence and recklessness belonging to an irrevocable sentence of poverty for life." This was, in general, the condition of the agricultural labourers throughout the country. Cobbett describes the women labourers in Hampshire as "an assemblage of rags;" the dwellings at Crickdale, "little better than pig-beds;" many villages in a state of decay, "the farm buildings dropping down bit by bit." In

1. "Political Register" 17th. March 1821. Vol.38. Letter from Cobbett to Mr. Gooch.

2. Cobbett "Rural Rides" London 1853. P.12.

3. Ibid. P.96. "Here in this part of Sussex, they give the single man sevenpence a day, that is to say, enough to buy two pounds and a quarter of bread for six days in the week, and as he does not work on the Sunday, there is no sevenpence allowed for the Sunday, and of course nothing to eat: and this is the allowance settled by the magistrates, for a young, hearty labouring man; --- It is just sevenpence less than one half of what the meanest foot soldier in the standing army receives. --- Well may we call our happy state of things the 'envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world.' We hear of the efforts of Mrs. Fry, Mr. Buxton, and numerous other persons to improve the situation of felons in the gaols; but never, no never, do we catch them ejaculating one single pious sigh for these innumerable sufferers, who are doomed to become felons or to waste away their bodies by hunger. (Petworth Nov.12.1825.

In face of these conditions it is not surprising that the country dwellers drifted in increasing numbers to the colonies and the factory towns. In these latter, wholly uncared for by both Church and State, they found what hope there was in life in the Evangelical religion or in Radical politics.

The French historian, Halevy, thinks that Evangelical religion was probably the chief influence preventing revolutionary violence during this period of economic chaos and social neglect. It is certainly true that the Methodist leaders were conservative in outlook in these times. In the August of 1819 one of the secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society sent to the Home Office an address that had been adopted at a Conference of Methodist ministers at Bristol. The whole text of the manifesto ran on the lines; "Cast all your care on God, for he careth for you; and fail not to remember, and to comfort one another with these words, that in heaven, you

have a better and enduring substance." The manifesto warned against being "tempted above what you are able to bear."¹

The reformers certainly regarded the Methodists as enemies; "the bitterest foes of freedom in England. --- Rail they do --- against the West Indian slave-holders; but not a word do you ever hear from them about the slave-holders in Lancashire and in Ireland. On the contrary, they are continually telling the people here that they ought to thank the Lord for the blessings they enjoy; that they ought to thank the Lord not for a full belly-ful and a warm back, but for that abundant grace of which they are the bearers and for which they charge them only one penny per week each."² No doubt, Evangelicalism played a great part in keeping the country quiet, but in time it brought life, energy and awakening to an oppressed

1. Quoted in J.L. and B. Hammond "The Town Labourer." P.280.

2. "Political Register" January 3rd. 1824. Vol. 49.

society and so gave support to gradual reform and the liberalism of the second half of the nineteenth century.

There was a continuous stream of petitions to both Lords and Commons begging that something be done to relieve the distress. In March 1816 Mr. Curwen presented a petition from the land-holders, yeomen and farmers in the County of Cumberland, "praying for relief, in the present distressed state of the agricultural interest."^I

A "Petition from Wiltshire respecting Economy and Reform"²

was in similar vein. Sir James Graham testified that in his parish might be seen two hundred able-bodied men, sound of wind and limb, soliciting to be employed in any way

³ whatever. The following month Brougham gave an example of agricultural distress in one parish, "where every proprietor and tenant being ruined, with a single exception, the whole poor rates of the parish thus wholly inhabited

1. Hansard. March 20th. 1816. c.471.

2. Ibid. April 8th. 1816. c.1023.

3. Ibid. c.473.

by paupers, are now paid by an individual, whose fortune once ample, is thus swept entirely away." Lord Robert Seymour painted a similar picture for the County of Cardigan.²

The classes that possessed authority in the State and the classes that had acquired the new wealth, landlords, churchmen, judges, manufacturers, all understood by government the protection of society from revolution. Reform, combination, education were very different topics in their eyes and in the eyes of the poor. To the poor they were the steps to better things; to the rich they were the means by which the proletariat might one day gain power. Thus the character of government in early nineteenth century England was essentially that defined by Adam Smith, "for the defence of the rich against the poor, or of those who have some property

1. Hansard April 9th. 1816. c.1087.

2. Hansard March 25th. 1817.

against those who have none at all." ^I

Statesmen like Castlereagh and Canning could look on England as the only happy country in the world; Wilberforce could declare amidst this mass suffering, ² "what blessings we do enjoy." Political theory, economic theory and religion were allied apologists of conditions as they were. The prevalently held political theory treated society as a community of shareholders in which a man's stake was his property; there was a large and increasing population of men without property. The economic theory that started with Petty ³ and his contemporaries and followed its course through Adam Smith, Ricardo and Malthus, assigned to the population the task of blind obedience to the "entrepreneur" and the virtual impossibility of any material improvement in conditions. Religion might have checked this spirit by rescuing society from a materialist interpretation; but

1. "Wealth of Nations." Everyman. London 1938. Book 5. Chapter I. P.203.

2. See Appendix B. Charles Wing "Evils of the Factory System." 1837.

3. D.N.B.

it was a religion sprung from the Reformation - intensely individualist in its outlook. Thus the new industrial system flowered but the spirit of fellowship was dead. This, then, is the social background and the climate of thought against which the state of education in the country must be considered.

CHAPTER FOUR.THE EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Francis Place wrote in 1832; "Ministers and men in power, with nearly the whole body of those who are rich, dread the consequences of teaching the people more than they dread the effect of their ignorance." If this was true of the Whig government with Grey and Brougham, how much truer it was of the Tories during the generation that preceeded the Reform Bill. The lack of education given in this country (as was fully detailed by Brougham in the Reports of the 1816-1818 Committees) was one of the scandals of Europe. It was inferior in amount and quality to that of Prussia, Austria, the Catholic and Protestant states of Germany, and Switzerland; in France the elaborate schemes of Turgot, Condorcet and Talleyrand had been carried out in part by Napoleon. No minister in England had shown the slightest initiative. The administration was quite content to leave the education of the masses in other hands. Scotland could

hold up its system of elementary schools as a model to the entire United Kingdom. Strictly speaking it was not free, nor was it compulsory, but it was in fact universal. Dr. Johnson had compared Scottish learning to "bread in a besieged town; every man gets a little, but no man gets a good meal." However, both in the number of children receiving it and in its quality, Scottish elementary education far outstripped English which depended on charity or was a matter of individual enterprise.

In England, the most widespread form of elementary education was through the uncertain provision of small private schools, conducted by individuals at their own risk and for their own profit. Known generally as "dames' schools,"² from the fact that they were usually run by females ekeing out a livelihood, they flourished, some efficiently, but most of them inefficiently, down to the introduction of a State system of elementary education in 1870. For the rather older children there was the private

1. Boswell's "Life of Johnson." L.F. Powell's revision of G.B. Hill's edition 1934. Vol.2. P.363.

2. Shenstone's picture of a typical dame's school in the mid eighteenth century remains accurate for the early nineteenth. (see footnote next page- completed.)

day school, usually conducted by a man who failed to earn a livelihood in other callings. Like the dames' schools, these institutions varied, but were in the main inefficient, dirty, noisy places, which children attended very sporadically.¹

Then there were the endowed schools; private religious foundations where poor children received free education and sometimes free lodging and clothing. The majority were about a century old and had been founded by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. They had deteriorated; in many, the nominal school master had made his post a sinecure, pocketed the salary and delegated the work to a miserably paid subordinate.²

(Footnote continued from previous page)

"In every Mart that stands on Britain's Isle
In every village less revealed to Fame
Dwells there, in cottage known about a Mile
A Matron old, whom we School-Mistress name;
Who boasts unruly Brats with Birch to tame."

William Shenstone "The Schoolmistress." 1742. Reprinted at the Clarendon Press 1924. Stanza 2.

1. Frank Smith "History of English Elementary Education." P.41.

2. Braugham cited a flagrant case in 1816, "where 1,500l. which, left for the endowment of a school, was managed by the Lord of the manor, who appointed his own brother schoolmaster with a large salary, while he again shifted the duties to a deputy schoolmaster, in the person of a joiner, with a small income of 40l. a year.
Hansard 34.c.1233.

Although the old charters of these schools often showed that they were originally intended for the education of the poor, by the beginning of the nineteenth century this was the exception rather than the rule. Thus these schools can be disregarded from the point of view of elementary education.

In certain districts there were schools of industry to provide pauper children with the rudiments of education and to teach them a trade. John Locke, in the seventeenth century, had advocated such schools for the reason that children would be kept in much better order, be better provided for and from infancy be inured to work; which he thought was of great importance in making them sober and industrious for the remainder of their lives. A few schools of this type had been set up in the eighteenth century, but these, like other educational charities, parochial, ward, workhouse and hospital schools, were very few in number. Colquhoun's figures, quoted by Halevy,^I show that out of 194,941 Poor Law children

I. Colquhoun's "Treatise on Indigence." quoted in Halevy "History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century." London 1949. Vol.I. P.527.

between the ages of five and fourteen, only 21,600 enjoyed the benefit even of the extremely elementary education imparted in these schools.

This then was the entire provision for primary education in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century and it scandalised many thoughtful observers. Adam Smith, Thomas Paine, Malthus and Bentham all entered the lists at one time on behalf of popular education. Malthus thought that it was a "national disgrace, that the education of the lowest classes should be left entirely to individual effort,"^I while Smith held that in a free country, where government depended on wise decisions by the people, "it must surely be of the highest importance that they should not be disposed to judge rashly or capriciously concerning it."²

However, the free initiative of private individuals, had to some extent compensated for the inertia of the administration. This initiative, spurred on by the influence of

1. Malthus "Essay on Population." Everyman edition. Bk. 4. Chapt. 10. V.2. P.212.

2. Adam Smith "Wealth of Nations." Everyman Ed. Bk. 5. Chapter I. V.2. P.269-270.

French Revolutionary thought and stimulated by Methodism and the Evangelical movement in the Established Church, had produced two outstanding advances in primary education by the early nineteenth century. The first was the Sunday School movement which was organised into a nation-wide Union in 1803. By 1820 there were probably more than 400,000 children in England and Wales attending Sunday Schools. Although their inspiration was religious and evangelical, the secular instruction given in many was quite extensive, especially in manufacturing districts. ^I It was probably through the Sunday School which was all-embracing and free, that the idea of universal education was first conceived possible.

The second advance began when the Quaker, Joseph Lancaster, opened a small school in London in 1789, in which he claimed to apply new educational

I. At Birmingham in 1789, the teachers in the Sunday Schools formed a "Sunday Society" to instruct young men in writing and arithmetic, after they ceased to attend the Sunday School. To these studies were subsequently added, Geography, Book Keeping and Drawing.

J.W. Hudson "History of Adult Education." P.29.

I
 principles. These principles, given the name of the "monitorial system," brought the idea of national elementary education within the bounds of financial possibility. Lancaster himself suffered many vicissitudes of fortune, due not least to his own eccentricities. However, his co-religionists helped him form the Royal Lancasterian Institution in 1807, which in 1814, under the title of the British and Foreign School Society, was a powerful agency for the promotion of popular education. Although the Lancasterian schools were religiously neutral, they aroused the jealousy of the High Church Party and thus gave rise to another large scheme for elementary education, namely "The National Society for the education of the poor in accordance with

I. Thomas Carlyle in 1829 shewed a shrewd understanding of the "new system." "Not the external and physical alone is now managed by machinery, but the internal and spiritual also.--- Thus we have machines for education, Lancastrian machines, Hamiltonian machines, monitors, maps and emblems. Instruction, that mysterious communion of wisdom with ignorance, is no longer an indefinable tentative process, requiring a study of individual aptitudes, and a perpetual variation of means and methods to attain the same end; but a secure, universal, straightforward business to be conducted in the gross, by proper mechanism with such intellect as comes to hand."

F.V. Thornton "Education of the Middle Classes in England." 1862.P.21.

the Principles of the Established Church."

Secondary education, like primary, was at a low ebb. It was provided in the Public Schools, endowed Grammar Schools and Nonconformist Academies. The Public Schools, Winchester, Eton, Westminster, Harrow, Rugby, Charterhouse and Shrewsbury, were (with the exception of Westminster) relatively self-sufficient educational endowments, administered by their own rulers and in educational matters by semi-autonomous headmasters. They all had foundations on which the poor were to receive a free education; paying students were an extra source of income and not an essential part of the school population. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were few

1. Edward C. Mack "Public Schools and British Opinion." London 1938. P.7.

2. The Charter of the "Hospital and Free Grammar School in the Charter House," states it is "One free school for the instructing, teaching and maintenance and Education of Poor Children and Scholars."
"Letter to Sir Samuel Romilly M.P." Oct. 1818. Brougham's "Speeches." Vol. 3. P.52.

Also the Statutes which founded King's College Cambridge and Eton College: "Unum collegium perpetuum PAUPERUM ET INDIGENTIUM scholarium Cantabrigiae, et quoddam aliud collegium perpetuum ALIORUM PAUPERUM ET INDIGENTIUM scholarium ETONIAE. "Report." 1816. Parliamentary Reports 355A. Vol. 37. P.199.

free scholars; these schools were attended almost entirely by sons of the English ruling classes. The type of education given was an eighteenth century conception of classical education and consisted solely in learning Latin and Greek syntax by heart, in memorising portions of classical literature and various dates in ancient history. Much well informed contemporary opinion was directed against Public Schools. "I am no friend of public schools," wrote Southey, "where they are beneficial to one they are ruinous to twenty." Wilberforce held a similar view and thought that public schools were inadmissible from their "probable effects on eternal state."²

A few ancient endowed Grammar Schools may be considered alongside the Public Schools; their condition was depressingly similar.³ The existing state of affairs

1. "Selections from the Letters of Robert Southey." Ed. J. W. Warton. London 1856. 4 Vols. V.I. P.60.

2. "The Life of William Wilberforce." by his sons R.I. and S. Wilberforce. London 1838. 5 Vols. vol. 3. P. 348.

3. Edward C Mack "Public Schools and British Opinion." P.26.

was summarised at the beginning of the nineteenth century as follows: "It is painful---to relate that many of our ample endowments have fallen to decay, by the negligence or cupidity of ignorant or unprincipled Trustees. --- It appears absolutely necessary that such disorders and mis-application should speedily be abolished, by a public investigation and reform of the evils, which is only within the power of Parliament." An unsuccessful attempt was made, in 1820, to permit the addition of English, writing and accounts to the classical curriculum of the Grammar Schools, in a Bill presented to Parliament "for improving the administration of endowments connected with education, and for the better fulfilling the intentions of the founders thereof." The Bill failed; it was feared that the introduction of such subjects would degrade the schools.

I. Carlisle N. "A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales." P.35.
London 1818.

2, De Montmorency "State Intervention in English Education." P.181.

To provide secondary education for children from better class Nonconformist homes, and also seminaries for future ministers, the Dissenters had established several Academies. There were forty five such foundations in the early eighteenth century but one hundred years later this number had fallen considerably. In the ^Iearly nineteenth century the most important were Kingswood and Woodhouse Grove, mainly for the sons of itinerant preachers, and Mill Hill, founded in 1807 by a joint effort of Congregation-²alists and Baptists. The curriculum of Nonconformist secondary education was certainly broader than that of the Public or endowed Grammar School, but the sum total of instruction provided by these Academies in the country at large, was negligible.

The condition of the universities was a fair reflection on the state of education generally in the country. The only two, Oxford and Cambridge, were both close preserves of the Anglican church. Neither was capable of providing

1. Cambridge History of English Literature. Vol.10. Pp. 384-387. and Vol.14. Pp. 383-384.

2. H.F. Mathews "Methodism and the Education of the People 1791-1851." London 1949. Pp. 113-114.

education that was of any use to anyone, save perhaps to the prospective clergyman. In the eighteenth century they had touched the lowest depths of stagnation and inefficiency and had become mere federations of colleges, whose heads and fellows lived at ease on lavish endowments. The universities were damned by such famous of her sons as Joseph Butler, Samuel Johnson, Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham and Francis Jeffrey. In the view of Jeffrey, Queen's College was very far from being a great seat of learning. At the beginning of the nineteenth century a crescendo of criticism of the two universities was rising. Some internal reform, however, had begun in 1787 when Trinity, Cambridge, decided that its fellowships must be justly awarded according to the results of a carefully set examination. Oxford followed suit in 1800. Yet neither university was quick to observe

1. Gibbon described the habits of the Fellows at Magdalen, Oxford, in 1752. "From the toil of reading, thinking or writing they have absolved their conscience. Their conversation stagnated in a round of college business, Tory politics, personal stories and private scandal."

Quoted in Trevelyan "English Social History." P.366.

2. Cockburn "Life of Jeffrey." Edinburgh 1852.
2. Vols. V.I P.35.

the tide of new forces which surged about it and each clung to its social exclusiveness and the still worse serious bar of religious tests.

All branches of education throughout the country were in a most unsatisfactory condition. There were, however, definite signs of an awakening; many men were alive to the need for reform. Some, like Wordsworth, were impelled by the religious and humanitarian motive;

"The discipline of slavery is unknown

Among us, - hence the more do we require

The discipline of virtue; order else

Cannot subsist, nor confidence, nor peace,

Thus, duties arising out of good possess

And prudent caution needful to avert

Impending evil, equally require

That the whole people should be taught and trained.

So shall licentiousness and black resolve

Be rooted out, and virtuous habits take

Their place; and genuine piety descend,

Like an inheritance from age to age."I

Such motive had been instrumental in the foundation of the "Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor"(1796); the "Sunday School Union" (1803); the "Royal Lancasterian Institution"(1808); the "National Society" (1811). For Bentham and his followers, education was the most essential means to bring about "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."⁽¹⁾ Robert Owen was impelled by his Socialist idealism to put education (especially infant education) as one of the first planks in his scheme for revolutionising society. For all reformers, whether urged on by humanitarian, socialist or utilitarian belief, the dominant psychology was that of Locke, who had taught that at birth the mind is a "tabula rasa," on which impressions are throughout life indelibly made.²

In entering the lists as the champion of

1. "The question whether the people should be educated, is the same with the question whether they should be happy or miserable." Mill "Article on Education." P.38. Quoted in Graham Wallas "The Life of Francis Place."

2. Thus the devotees of every creed or party tended to think that an effective control of education would convert the country to their way of thinking. This idea of the potency of early instruction led them to oppose bitterly the educational enterprise of their opponents. See Chapter 7.

educational reform, Brougham made little original contribution. In all branches a new spirit was moving. It was Henry Brougham's task to provide the new spirit with dynamic power; to convince the government that the schoolmaster was abroad; to lull their fears of mass turbulence; to show that this "was not the age, the spirit of the times was not such as to make it safe either for the country, or for the government, or for the church itself, to veil its mysteries in secrecy.--- These were times when men would inquire;" and to point the way in educational reform for at least two decades.

I. Nicholas Hans, "New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century," shows how religious, intellectual and utilitarian trends, interwoven in an intricate pattern, had, in the eighteenth century broken through the rigidity of the established educational tradition, and had introduced new subjects and new methods. He disagrees that the eighteenth century was a period of "educational sleep."

It is true that all the movements for educational reform in the beginning of the nineteenth century can be traced to the men and institutions of the eighteenth century, yet it is over-painting the picture to regard the eighteenth century as a time of great educational activity in England. Brougham, in his work in the early nineteenth century, in which he took over the ideas of the late eighteenth century, can be more rightly regarded as the activating force which has produced our national system of education.

2. Brougham's defence at the "Trial Of John Ambrose Williams for a Libel on the Clergy." Durham 1822. Contained in the "Durham Chronicle." 18th. Aug. 1821.

CHAPTER FIVEFIRST EDUCATIONAL WORK

Some attempts at educational reform had already been made before Brougham appeared on the scene. Sir Robert Peel's "Health and Morals of Apprentices Act" of 1802 was the first tentative step. It applied only to cotton and woollen mills and most of the provisions only to apprentices. They were not to work more than twelve hours, exclusive of meal times; night work was to be prohibited; certain clothing and sleeping regulations were to be observed; one hour every Sunday was to be set aside for religious instruction and part of the working day was to be given up to instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic. The Act was not enforced.

In 1807 Whitbread had introduced a measure on behalf of all pauper children. This Parochial Schools Bill aimed at providing elementary schools throughout England; the project was to be financed out of the rates; all children of the poor were to receive two years' schooling free. Had we not proofs, asked Whitbread, in other parts of the world of the benefits which resulted from the diffusion of the truths of the gospel; "how were those truths to be still

further diffused in this country, but by putting into everyone's hands the keys of knowledge?"¹ Wilberforce lent his support: on no subject was he more decided on "than on the advantages which a country must derive from the instruction of its people."² There was much opposition to the Bill. Mr. Pole Carew "could never admit the justice of laying such an impost--- upon one class of the community, namely, the landed interest of the country, to educate another class."³ He thought that institutions for education were increasing daily and he saw no occasion for increasing their number. When the Bill got to the Lords it was rejected at the instance of the Lord Chancellor, Eldon, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Manners-Sutton; the only support for it coming from Lord Holland who introduced it, and from Lord Stanhope.

Much influential opinion was opposed to any idea of popular education. One current of opposition was represented

1. Hansard. July 21. 1807. c.855.

2. Ibid. C.857.

3. Ibid. c.858-859.

by Windham, the best scholar in the Commons and by Doctor Giddy⁽¹⁾, President of the Royal Society and a great patron of scientific enterprise. Windham declared himself a sceptic as to the value of the "diffusion of knowledge." He quoted Dr. Johnson as saying that it was not right to teach reading beyond a certain extent in society. "The danger was, that if the teachers of good and the propagators of bad principles were to be candidates for the control of mankind, the latter would be likely to be too successful.^{"2} Giddy developed this view and thought that, "however specious in theory the project might be, of giving education to the labouring classes of the poor, it would in effect be found to be prejudicial to their morals and happiness; it would teach them to despise their lot in life, instead of making them good servants in agriculture and other laborious employments to which their rank in society had destined them; instead of teaching them subordination, it would render² them factious and refractory,

I. D.N.B.

2. Windham's "Speeches." Vol. 3. P.17.
April 24. 1807.

as was evident in the manufacturing counties; it would enable them to read seditious pamphlets, various books and publications against Christianity; it would render them insolent to their superiors." The other current of opposition came from the church which objected to any system that put the control of education elsewhere than in the hands of the bishop of the diocese.

Not only was there this direct opposition but also the whole spirit of those who supported education was tinged with a certain well defined caution. Hannah Moore, a "distinguished benefactor of her country and age,"² thought that the poor should not be taught to write as she did not wish to make fanatics. Mrs. Trimmer wanted the lower sort of children to be only so far educated or civilised as not to be disgusting. Thus, when Brougham succeeded to the leadership of Whitbread's group in the Commons and became the champion of the cause of education, he faced a dead-weight of influential and persistent opposition. Although in 1820 he stated that the

1. Quoted in J.L. Hammond "The Town Labourer."
P.57. LONDON 1918.

2. John Foster "Evils of Popular Ignorance."
P.84. London 1872.

objection that education would prove a detriment to the poor now no longer existed, he went to great lengths to show how this objection was invalid. In truth, Brougham was trying to quiet fears, in an age which still felt the shock of the French Revolution.

As a sort of prelude to his great work in education, Brougham was connected with a Utilitarian-Radical group. In 1810 Bentham and Mill had entered into relations with the philanthropists, religious or irreligious, who at this time were obsessed with the idea of reforming humanity by instruction. They were however distinguished from these others by a more enlightened understanding of the principles on which they took their stand. Brougham's activities in education commenced when he gave ear to their appeal for his aid in the conduct of the Royal Lancasterian Association. The committee which had taken over Lancaster's

1. "Speech." 1820. Quoted in full in De Montmorency "State Intervention in English Education." Appendix 3. Pp.254-255.

2. Lancaster had proved incapable of administration and by 1808 was involved in financial scandals. Therefore in 1808 a committee was formed calling itself the Committee of the Royal British or Lancastrian System of Education. This group was representative of almost every religious denomination, including later Evangelicals of the Established Church.

affairs needed Brougham's driving force.

In December, while Lancaster was in the Midlands on one of his tours, a meeting of influential supporters was held at the Thatched House Tavern in St. James's Street. Brougham, who was in the chair, explained the business, (although the preliminary organisation had been carried out by William Allen and Joseph Fox) and a resolution was passed, "that it appears to this meeting of great importance to second the efforts of Joseph Lancaster's Committee in promoting the general education of the poor upon his plan, and the gentlemen now present agree to act as a committee for the purpose of raising the necessary funds for accomplishing this great object." In addition to this committee of forty seven members, there were six trustees and a secretary. The committee included the Duke of Bedford, James Mill, Samuel Rogers, Samuel Whitbread, William Wilberforce, Samuel Romilly, Thomas Clarkson and of course Henry Brougham.

In 1817 Brougham's first article on the scheme

I. "A man almost without parallel for genuine philanthropy." "Edinburgh Review." 67. P.234.

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appeared in the "Edinburgh Review." He mentioned the Bell-Lancaster controversy and showed his preference for Lancaster's system - it was better and cheaper. Then referring to the Borough Road School, he stated that it was now "so completely arranged as to furnish an easy means of educating all the poor children in the United Kingdoms"; a claim which greatly exaggerated the progress made. He went on to set out the motion he had put forward at a meeting of the Lancasterian organisation in 1811 when he "resolved that in order to extend the benefits of the Royal British System of Education to all parts of the Empire, and to render it, in the largest sense, a national good, it is requisite that a considerable number of youth, of both sexes, be trained in the practice of the Institution, for the purpose of undertaking the charge of the schools." This is the first indication of Brougham's realisation of the necessity to train monitors or teachers.

Brougham pointed to the complete lack of a national system of education and the indifference of the

administration; "the public funds afford as little assistance to the poor in attaining this object, as the laws impose restrictions upon the mode of pursuing it." The "minions" of the church came in for severe condemnation for "arrogating to their order a right, which, all the while, they dare not explicitly define, of interfering with the general education of the youth of the realm." Throughout the article, Brougham constantly asserted his great faith in the power of knowledge: he thought that Lancaster's system was "the most enlightened and disinterested attempt that ever yet was made in any country for scattering the blessings of knowledge and moral improvement among the more helpless classes of our species."

In 1814 the Royal Lancasterian Association became the British and Foreign Schools Society with Brougham as president. As we have shown, he was the strong defender of the Society and was determined that religious considerations should not hinder its work. He told William Allen that "he would blow up the whole Lancasterian ^I concern if he should find a tendency for converting it into an instrument of bigotry or superstition." He was

not popular with the Society after his Bill of 1820.^I His interest in their progress however, never faltered; he took the chair at the annual meeting in 1835. In 1838, William Allen, the treasurer and leading member of the Society, had a conference with Lord John Russell about the British and Foreign Schools and with Lord Brougham afterwards on the same subject. The following year he was again in contact with Brougham on similar matters.²

Brougham was also engaged with Mill, Place and Wakefield, who were the leading lights in the sketching of a plan for a complete system of primary and secondary education in London. "He was," wrote Place to Wakefield, "one of the few who see the scope and extent of what it may lead to."³ Their efforts, the West London Lancasterian Association and a school for the middle classes, were a dismal failure, but they prompted Bentham to write "Chrestomathia",⁴ "being a collection of papers, explanatory

1. See Chapter 6.

2. "Life of William Allen." Vol.3. P.288. 310.

3. Wallas "Place." P.96.

4. See Appendix C.

of the design of an institution proposed to be set on
 foot under the name of the Chrestomathic Day School.^I"
 Although the project to which they relate was no more
 than what we should now call a secondary day-school,
 yet the idea was valuable as in many respects the plan
 of the Chrestomathic school was a forecast of the
 University of London.² The school was to be for the middle
 classes; it was to be launched by a body of shareholders
 in a joint-stock company; it was to be cheap and in the
 end self-supporting; it was to engage in useful instruction.³

Brougham's contact with education early in
 his career can thus be seen to have been of value to him
 in his later important work. However, in one way, his
 association with the Lancasterian system was an unfortunate
 introduction to his role as an educational reformer. Its
 apparent capacity to produce rapid learning served only to
 intensify his already excessive faith in the power of

1. Bentham's "Works" Ed. John Bowring
 Edinburgh 1843. 10 Vols. Vol.8.

2. See Chapter 10.

education as a panacea for all evils. As E.L.Woodward points out, the Bell-Lancaster system would have broken down at once if education had been regarded as more than a mechanical process of instilling a number of facts into the minds of children. "It lasted for a generation largely because the supporters of popular education had nothing better to suggest." Yet Brougham's connection with this early work gave him great insight into the state of education in the country and made him an authority during the 1816-1818 investigations.

CHAPTER SIXPRIMARY EDUCATION

In 1816 Brougham began his great work for elementary education when he procured the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the education of the lower orders in the Metropolis. The committee sat for two years, gathered a wealth of valuable information and raised a storm of criticism. Their investigations showed that the voluntary system of education had but touched the fringes of the population. After detailed enquiries, which involved great labour and always with Henry Brougham in the chair, the committee concluded "that a very large number of poor children are wholly without the means of instruction, although their parents appear to be generally very desirous of obtaining that advantage for them." Perhaps the most striking evidence which caused the committee to reach this conclusion was given by a Mr. Althans, who held that there

1. See Appendix D. "The Circular Letter of 4th. June, 1816.

2. Report from the Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis. Parliamentary Reports 355A. Vol 37. 20th. June 1816. P.69.

were 122,000 destitute of instruction in the Metropolis. His was the first-hand evidence of a conscientious visiting Sunday School teacher and he was fully convinced "of the great want of education among the children of the poor, between the ages of six and sixteen years." In the East Union of London, where there were 57,000 children between these ages, more than 30,000 received no form of instruction
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whatsoever.

It was at this time that Brougham proposed that the Government should conduct an experiment in education in London before attempting a wider scheme. He probably had in mind his early work in the West London Lancasterian Association when plans had been put on foot to divide London into suitable school areas. However, the proposal came to nothing. On May 22nd. 1817 Brougham moved for a
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revival of the former committee and practically the same

1. Op. Cit. P.73.

2. Hansard 36. c.1303-1304.

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 members were re-appointed. The committee advised that their functions be extended to embrace an inquiry into the education of the lower orders generally throughout England and Wales. It was revived with these extended powers on March 5th. 1818.

The Committee of 1818, Brougham still the chairman and the driving force, reported that since they were first appointed in 1816 the exertions of charitable individuals and public bodies had increased, "notwithstanding the severe pressure of the times," and "that a great augmentation had taken place in the means provided for the instruction of the poor." They went on to add that the discussion excited by the first Report and the arguments urged in the committee to various patrons of charities, who were examined as witnesses, had had the salutary effect of improving the administration of these institutions.

I. The committee consisted of Mr. Brougham, Sir S. Romilly, Sir J. Mackintosh, Mr. Bennett, Mr. R. Gordon, Mr. Babington, Mr. Butterworth, Mr. J.H. Smyth, Mr. J. Smith, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Lamb, Sir W. Curtis, Sir J. Shaw, Sir F. Burdett, Mr. C. Calvert, Mr. Barclay, Lord Ossulton, Sir R. Fergusson, Sir H. Parnell, Mr. Holford, The Marquis of Tavistock, Sir T. Ackland, Mr. Alderman Atkins, Mr. Wrottesley, Mr. Abel Smith, Mr. Abercromby, Mr. Warre.

Hansard Vol. 27 c. 820.

The 1818 committee also pointed to most unquestionable evidence that "the anxiety of the poor for education continues not only unabated but daily increasing," and "that it extends to every part of the country."^I

Their great work, however, was to demonstrate beyond doubt various abuses in the funds devoted to all charities; to show that it was not only charitable funds connected with education which were liable to great abuses.² Yet they kept within their sphere when they recommended the bringing in of a Bill for appointing Commissioners to inquire into the Abuses of Charities connected with the Education of the Poor in England and Wales.³

There was a crying need for such a Commission in face of the flagrant abuses in charitable trusts. Brougham instanced a case at Mere in Lincolnshire where there was an ancient endowment for a Warden and poor brethren. The estate consisted of six hundred and fifty

1. Op. cit. P.59.

2. Ibid. P.80.

3. Ibid. P.356.

acres, five miles from Lincoln and was let for only half a guinea an acre, though it paid neither tithe nor poor rate. Twenty four pounds a year was the whole sum allotted to the poor brethren. The Bishop of the diocese was both patron and visitor. He gave the Wardenship to his nephew, while promoting a former Warden to a living in his gift.¹ The state of affairs in purely educational charities was similar. At the school at Richester there were only five boys, who might have cost £200 a year. The income was £2,000 a year; the trustees did not account for the balance.² The trustees of various charities had, generally speaking, insufficient powers for the profitable management of the funds under their control. Again, what services they rendered were gratuitous and so they tended to be negligent and careless. When these sources of mismanagement are considered alongside the "large head of wilful and corrupt abuse in its various branches,"³ the necessity of a drastic overhaul of the charities, as Brougham was

1. "Speeches" 4 Vols. 1838. "Letter to Sir Samuel Romilly M.P. upon the Abuses of Charities." Oct. 1818. Vol. 3. Pp.28-29.
2. quoted by Walter Bagehot "Biographical Studies." P.49.

3. Hansard 38. c.596.

urging, is evident.

This was the tradition of abuses which remained from the eighteenth century; abuses in educational trusts as in all outlying public money. The committee, which consisted of members taken from all parts of the House, were unanimous in the view that a full inquiry was necessary. "Every day," wrote Brougham to Romilly, "enquiries in the committee demonstrated the necessity of the measure."^I Thus Brougham brought forward a Bill for the setting up of a Charity Commission.² He proposed that Parliament appoint eight itinerant salaried commissioners, who would work in four groups of two each group. They were to have the powers to examine witnesses on oath, to call for papers, persons, records and deeds. The two Universities, Westminster,³ Winchester and Charterhouse were exempted from investigation.

Those administering charities became alarmed and various reasons were put forward why the Bill should not be passed. It was held that the Bill would interfere

1. "Speeches" Vol.3. Pp.20+21.

2. Hansard. 38. c.585.

3. Hansard. 37. c.1297.

with the management of charitable funds and that it would
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 entrench on private property. A petition was presented from
 Abingdon in Berkshire, where the magistrates and trustees
 of certain public charities complained that they had been
 calumniated in the House, and that their charities were
 as well managed as any others of the same description. 2

Brougham held his ground and defended the Bill, 3
 which was amended, at his suggestion, to include all charities
 and as "An Act for appointing Commissioners to inquire of
 the Charities in England and Wales, and of the Education of
 the Poor," it went to the Lords. Here it was emasculated.
 Two of the three objects of the Bill, the investigation of
 the education of the poor generally and the examination of the
 abuses of all charities, were rejected. The number of
 commissioners was altered; they were non-salaried and
 appointed by the crown. They were to have no powers of enforcing
 attendance or of demanding the production of documents, nor

1. Hansard 38 c. 337.

2. Hansard 38 c. 341.

3. Hansard 38 c. 585.

could they imprison or inflict a fine. They could not institute proceedings but were restricted merely to inquiring and reporting.

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Brougham was bitterly disappointed. He thought the revised measure would render the whole inquiry a perfect mockery and the labour of the committee for the correction of abuses would merely have added a further abuse by the creation of about a dozen sinecures. Yet with typical realism Brougham adopted the emasculated Bill because he saw that unless the amendments were accepted the whole measure must be lost. He was prepared to accept what was offered as being better than nothing, "to take what we could get, and not impracticably reject the advantages within our reach.

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Lord Sidmouth, by virtue of his office, selected the Commissioners and although Brougham offered his services

1. Hansard 38. c.1216.

2. Brougham laid his case before the public in an open letter. "Letter to Sir S. Romilly M.P." 20th. August 1818. "Speeches" Vol.3. Pp.20-63.

3. Ibid. P.24.

4. Ibid. P.42.

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 he was not appointed, nor were any other members of the Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders. Brougham stated that one of the Commissioners appointed had publicly expressed the opinion that a great anxiety for the welfare of the poor was symptomatic of Jacobinism. Whether or not this was true it was patently obvious that a full and searching exposure of abuses was "not in the contemplation of those who have issued the commission."²

The Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders met shortly after the passage of the act for the establishment of Commissioners. As the universities, public schools and charities with special visitors were exempted from the jurisdiction of the Commissioners, Brougham seized the opportunity for the Committee to examine several of these institutions. In these exempted establishments they discovered great errors and abuses. They

I.Op. cit. P.43.

2. Brougham's work caused a terrific uproar; the various Reviews joined battle. The Quarterly claimed that if Brougham had been appointed he would "through terror" have been master of the country. (Aspinall quotes Brougham on his intentions prior to the session of 1816; "I am willing to take the charge of this Government, to reform the Parliament, and to change the whole of the present ruinous system." "Lord Brougham and the Whig Party." 1927 p.61.)

reported that in both Eton and Winchester considerable unauthorised deviations had been made from the original plans of the founders and that these deviations had been "dictated more by a regard to the interests of the Fellows than of the Scholars." Brougham acknowledged that deviations from the original Statutes might have been necessary, but, even so, Parliament ought to know the real state of things. A thorough investigation, the collection of accurate knowledge on all charitable funds in the Kingdom and the probing of all instances of mismanagement, was in his view necessary. Yet in directing the Committee along these lines Brougham was notoriously widening the field of their terms of reference. The opposition he raised helped to exclude him from the Royal Commission. Although "blundering Brougham" had aroused much ill feeling, he had done an immense service in opening up the hidden places of endowments, the need being proved by the history of the later charity commissioners.

1. Parliamentary Reports 355A 3rd. June, 1818. P.58. The Report contains copies of the Statutes of Eton, Trinity and St. John's Cambridge, and an extract from the foundation of Christ Church, Oxford.

2. Peel brought various charges against the Education Committee. Brougham powerfully defended their action. "Speeches" 23rd. June, 1819. Vol.3. Pp.191-199.

The 1818 Committee also recommended a scheme for the promoting of universal education. Brougham put the plan forward; it advocated one system for the towns and another for the countryside. He thought that in the towns there existed ample means for instructing the poor; in the countryside legislative interference was both "safe and necessary." He further recommended that the system ought to be connected in some way with the Established Church. However, this contentious point was left open. Brougham himself was prepared to bless any scheme which would give "security to the Establishment on one hand and justice to the Dissenters on the other." Thus the 1818 Committee had realised the nature of the problems with which they were confronted and, moreover, had offered solutions which eventually were accepted by the country.

In 1819, when Brougham was about to move for the re-appointment of the Education Committee, Lord Castlereagh, as a member of the government, acted. He introduced a specific measure for augmenting the powers of the

1. Parliamentary Reports 355A. Vol.37. P.57.

2. Ibid. P.58.

Commissioners and for extending the objects of their inquiry. Brougham approved the greater part of this measure but was opposed to the exception of charities with special visitors. The Bill, unaltered, came into force as the Charitable Foundations Bill in 1819 and a great step had been taken in educational reform.

By 1820 Brougham was the "expert" on the state of education in England and the recognised champion of elementary education. The great labour involved as Chairman of the Select Committees of 1816, 1817 and 1818 had given him a superabundance of first hand information. Furthermore, as attorney-general to Queen Caroline, who had returned from the continent to vex the King and to distract the administration, he was a conspicuous figure in the country. However, the labour involved in the Queen's trial did not divert Brougham from his efforts in education. He presented his well informed and excellently constructed Parish Schools

1. Hansard 40. c.1154.

2. Hansard 40. c.1298.

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Bill in 1820.

This was the first definite proposal and moreover in a most comprehensive form, submitted to the House of Commons, for a scheme of national education to cover England and Wales. Brougham was well aware of the opposition which still remained to any such measure of general education. He went to great lengths to show that education "had been in early ages, and by the wisest governments, the best security for the morals, the subordination, and the peace of countries." Nor did he wish to teach the lower classes Greek and Latin and so separate them from their humble occupations; "to one of the rank to which he alluded, a knowledge of all the languages of the globe could not, in point of utility, be put in competition with an acquaintance with a single mechanical art." Brougham went on to compare most

1. Printed in full in De Montmorency "State Intervention in English Education," App. Pp.248-285. Halevy thinks "it is doubtful whether Brougham introduced the measure with any other intention than to deliver a sensational speech." ("History of the English People." Vol.2 P.107.)

2. Ibid. Pp.254-5.

3. Ibid. P.257.

unfavourably the numbers receiving education in England with the numbers in other countries, especially in Scotland and Switzerland. He informed the House that Middlesex was beyond all dispute the worst educated ^I part of Christendom.

The 1820 Bill was presented under four heads; the foundation of schools, the appointment and removal of masters, the admission of scholars and their mode of tuition and the improvement of old educational endowments. Where there was no school, power was to be given to the Grand Jury, or to the parson of the parish, or to two justices, or five resident householders to lodge a complaint through a special or schools' session of quarter sessions, demanding the building of a school and the endowment of a mastership. The expense of building the school was to fall on manufacturers who, as a class, contributed little to the poor rates; they were to be ² maintained by the levy of a local rate. Only masters who were members of the Established Church would be

I. Op. cit. P.259.

2. Ibid. Pp.264-269.

accepted and efficient ones were to be secured by offering a fixed endowment of £20 to £30 a year, which would be raised by a tax on the country gentry. As regards the mode of tuition, the parson should "fix the course of teaching according to the state of the parish." To attract Nonconformists, the scriptures alone would be taught and there would be no form of worship except the Lord's Prayer and other passages of scripture.

Brougham admitted that the plan would entail some expense and thought that although there had been a time when such an object would have been provided for without any hesitation or delay, by a voluntary subscription, that time had now passed; "the various burdens of taxes and rates had put an end to that feeling." However, he proposed to relieve the country of part of the expense by making the old endowments in some measure available for the proposed elementary education. He cited the case of Tunbridge School which had an income of £4,500 a year.

1. Op. cit. Pp.269-273.

2. Ibid. P.274.

3. Ibid. Pp.284-285.

Five hundred was twice as much as the school required. The superfluous £4,000 would support two hundred schools to educate the whole county of Kent.^I

Perhaps the greatest importance of the 1820 Bill was that it marked the high water mark of Brougham's advocacy of state aid. As early as 1816 he had advocated state aid to supplement the voluntary system, but the aid was to be for the building and equipping of new schools only; they were to be maintained by voluntary organisations. Again in 1818 he had stated in the House that "wherever the efforts of individuals can support the requisite number of schools, it would be unnecessary and injurious to interpose any parliamentary assistance."² By the proposed compulsory rate in the 1820 Bill Brougham had advanced a step further along the road towards state-financed education. The advance, however, was only temporary, for by 1833 he had abandoned this proposal of 1820 and had returned to his previous position of the

1. OP. cit. P.286.

2. Hansard 28. c.1209.

dual system, the state working hand in hand with the voluntary societies.

The novel feature of the 1820 Bill was the power it placed in the hands of the Established Church. Brougham himself claimed to be an orthodox theist but he adopted a tolerant attitude to all points of view. He did not believe in dogma and indoctrination and he would have kept the door open to all, even to Unitarians. It was probably this attitude which caused Brougham to be highly suspect and deeply distrusted by the church dignitaries. The Bill of 1820 was certainly designed to win over the support of the Established Church.

Brougham admitted that on a former occasion² he had not gone so far because he dreaded the opposition of the Sectaries. Furthermore, he appreciated the justice of dissenting argument, which held that although they must pay for this education they could not conscientiously allow their children to attend. Yet he emphasised the advantages of a pious clergy being in daily contact with

1. "Opinions of Lord Brougham." March 1835. P.359. 1837.

2. In 1818. See page 69.

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 the schools. Here Brougham was speaking with his tongue in his cheek, for although he believed that religious education was essential, he was impatient of religious controversy and was framing the measure in order to ensure its best chance of success. No doubt the strength of the bishops brought Brougham to the conclusion that he could secure the main objects of the Bill only by large concessions to them.

The National Church gave the Bill only luke-warm support and it was opposed by both Roman Catholics and Dissenters.² Apparently it was this opposition which killed the Bill in the Committee stage after it had passed its second reading. Nothing further was to be attempted in Parliament for the education of the people until ~~1833~~. During these years Brougham turned his enthusiasm and energy away from attempts to influence the administration and towards the "people" themselves.

1. "Speech" 1820. De Montmorency "State Intervention in English Education." App.3. P.272.

2. See the "Edinburgh Review" Aug. 1820., "The New Plan of Education for England." Vol 34. Pp.214 sqq. - a defence of Brougham's scheme against Nonconformist criticism.

CHAPTER SEVENINFANT EDUCATION

While trying to secure a national system of elementary education Brougham was deeply interested in infant education. In this sphere he did not have the original ideas, nor was he first in the practical field, yet he was a great power in bringing the necessity of infant education to the fore.

Educational thought in general was greatly influenced by the ideas of John Locke. It is **difficult** to seek to classify these ideas. They can be best understood by remembering two points: first, that he himself had been exposed to a particularly useless schooling, and secondly, that he viewed education not as an idle social accomplishment, but as a training to fit men for the place they would occupy in the world. He wished to supplant the routine of reading and writing Latin prose and poetry with a series of studies of things related to

current living in England. He would adjust the content of study to the prospects of the students. Thus he distinguished between education and learning; education is training for competence in the affairs of life; learning is the pursuit of a specialised group of scholars. Locke also emphasised the moral ^I as well as the intellectual element in a complete and adequate education. He had no trust in the unguided exercise of natural impulses; he wanted rather the judicious moulding of impulses into an integrated character under the control of reason.

These ideas were clearly influential in moulding the thought of educational reformers in the early nineteenth century. Yet it would be true to say that it was Locke's psychology which was the dominant factor and its influence is most clearly visible in the progress towards infant education. Whereas philosophers of the previous century had been concerned with external nature rather than with the mind, Locke, in

his "Essay Concerning Human Understanding,"^I turned the attention of thinkers to the status of the mind. The "Essay," a book more widely read than any philosophical work of its generation, was an attempt to approach the nature, origin and the extent of knowledge. Locke began² with an attack on innate ideas and innate principles, a necessary preface to his own statement of an empirical theory of knowledge. The theory cannot be discussed here, but to understand Brougham's attitude to infant education its salient points must be mentioned.

Locke asked how mind might gain knowledge of itself, of God and of nature. He emphasised that the sense qualities, colour, sound, tastes and the like were the original starting point of the mind in its

1. John Locke "Essay Concerning Human Understanding." London 1828. 3 Vols. Bk.I. Chapter 2. Pp. 13-34.

2. This attack expressed his most characteristic tendency and was generally reckoned as victorious; but critics are not agreed as to what is precisely meant by "innate ideas." There has been much discussion as to whom Locke was attacking. The Cambridge Platonists is one suggestion; Locke himself mentions Lord Herbert of Cherbury who held such doctrines. Aaron, ("John Locke" Aaron R.I. London 1937) considers Descartes is the object of attack. This is the generally accepted view.

efforts to gain knowledge. In other words, all the materials of knowledge are the ideas within our own minds, and can be traced back to the simple ideas with which sensation and reflection equip us. By compounding, abstracting and comparing these initial ideas, we obtain further complex ideas; and knowledge, which is the perception of the agreement or disagreement of our ideas, can to an attentive mind penetrate as far as it has ideas.

Educational thought in general and ideas on infant education in particular were dominated by this psychology. Locke had stated that "the difference to be found in the manners and abilities of men is owing more to their education than anything else,"^I "that nine parts of ten are what they are--- by their education."² He had held that the mind of a child was

I. Locke "Thoughts on Education." Para.32.P.20.

2. Locke uses the word "education" in a wide sense, (Ibid. Para.I. P.I.) and includes all influences from without. He argues that we are born with great faculties and powers; education consists in exercising them.

"as white paper or wax to be moulded as one pleases;" that it was "as easily turned, this or that way, as water itself." This summary of Locke's psychology and educational thought is perhaps sufficient to show why the early nineteenth century reformers for the most part regarded education as being so vitally important.

The Lockian psychology certainly dominated the thought of Robert Owen, to whom the development of Infant Schools in this country is usually credited.² Owen's aim was to establish a new social order. In his "New View" he traces social misery to the absence of right character in man, which is the result of man's upbringing and environment. Environment controls development; therefore to improve man there is but one way, namely, to improve his environment.³ From this simple philosophy resulted Owen's zeal for bringing

1. Locke "Thoughts on Education." Para 2.
P. 2.

2.D.N.B.

3. Robert Owen. "A New View of Society"
Third edition. London 1817. Essay 3. P. 91.

young children into a moral environment at the earliest moment, to save their characters from evil surroundings. He held that, "children are, without exception, passive and wonderfully contrived compounds; which by accurate, previous and subsequent attention, founded on a correct knowledge of the subject, may be formed collectively to have any human character. And although the compounds, like all other works of nature, possess endless varieties, yet they partake of that plastic quality, which by perseverance under judicious management may be ultimately moulded into the very image of rational wishes and desires." This is the "tabula rasa" doctrine using different imagery.

Owen's educational ideas and practice were very similar to those of continental reformers, but his application of them was largely his own.² His infant school at New Lanark, opened in 1816, was the first of its kind in Great Britain and Owen's first practical

1. Op. cit. Essay 2. P.34.

2. It was not until 1818 that Owen visited Oberlin at Friburg, Fellenburg at Hofwyl and Pestalozzi at Yverdun. Frank Smith "History of English Elementary Education." P.92.

step in carrying out his educational ideas. The children between the ages of one and six years, were placed under the care of two carefully guardians, James Buchanan and Molly Young. No reading or writing was taught, but the children were amused with games and stories and were trained to habits of order and cleanliness. Thus the child, safely placed with its future school fellows and companions, would acquire the best principles; at meal times and at nights it would return to its parents and the affections of each would be increased by the separation.

Brougham was greatly impressed with the importance of this type of school. He had been in close touch with Owen for some years for he had given voice in Parliament to various of Owen's petitions. Furthermore, Owen had been called upon to present his views to the Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in 1816. He had done so most explicitly. Thus,

1. Owen "A New View of Society" Essay 3. P. 84

2. Hansard 3S. II 8. C. 125.

3. Parliamentary Reports 355A. Vol. 37.
June 1816. Pp. 239-240.

early in his career, Brougham had first hand knowledge of the ideas and practice of the founder of infant schools in England.

He also appreciated the details of Fellenberg's work at Hofwyl in Switzerland. He saw how the profligate children of the lower orders of the Swiss towns were transformed from "vicious and idle creatures into reasonable, industrious beings." The time the transformation took varied "according as they were taken at an earlier or more advanced age." As with Owen, Brougham noted that Fellenberg's method was to show the infants "gentleness and kindness so as to win their affections."

Brougham always acknowledged the debt he owed to both reformers for his ideas on education in general and on infant education in particular. He

1. See Appendix A

2. Parliamentary Reports 355A. Vol.37. 3rd. Report. Minutes of Evidence. P.195.
3. Ibid. P.196.

4. "Henry Brougham had long been of the opinion that the same principles which Robert Owen applied to his mill, and Fellenberg to his farm, might be extended advantageously to the poor people of a crowded city." (Thomas Pole "Observations Relative to Infant Education." 1823. P.7.)

preferred Owen's plan because the child was separated from his parents during the day only. For the remainder of the time family life was to play its part; the child with its parents would "Acquire those social and domestic habits which were of so much value in life, which begat strong ties of affection, some of the best and most secure bonds of mutual assistance." This system, he thought, would also be of benefit to the parents, who, in the presence of their children so trained, would be ashamed of intoxication, swearing, or any habits that might "pollute the minds or offend the feelings of those who were the objects of their attachment."

During the long years of his life Brougham never missed any opportunity of emphasising the supreme necessity of infant education. "If a child were neglected to the age of six years," he said in 1820, "no subsequent education could recover it. If to that age it was brought up in dissipation and ignorance --- it was in vain to attempt to reclaim it by teaching it reading

and writing.¹" Thus the whole scheme of educational reform, elementary, secondary and adult, was conditioned on the establishment of good infant schools. Here the basis would be provided to enable the child, at the age of six years, to take full advantage of the Lancasterian system. This basis was to be not one of learning but one of "moral discipline."²

Fifteen years later Brougham still pleaded the cause, when one of his criticisms of the schools in the country was that they were confined to children of too advanced an age. He now considered the establishment of infant schools one of the most important improvements that had been made for centuries in the civil polity of the country. In large towns it would be the most simple and efficacious preventive of crime, for he was convinced that a child learnt more before the age of six years than he did during the rest of his life; and as it was at this early time when lasting habits were easily

1. "Speech" 1820. De Montmorency "State Intervention in English Education." App.3. P.283.

2. Ibid. p.284.

acquired, so prudence industry and self-control could be taught.^I

At first, and up to the 1830's, Brougham was opposed to any government assistance for infant education. In 1825 he considered that any meddling with infant schools on the part of the government would be inexpedient.² Later, he would seem to have changed from this view and to have urged some form of government support.

Thus, by 1835, Brougham saw the necessity of the education of infants as being even more essential than a general scheme of elementary education in the country. Perhaps he realised that his main work in the latter sphere was completed. For whatever reason, and conviction was probably the main spur, his championship of infant education was never stronger. Even while addressing the Mechanics' Institute at Manchester he introduced the topic, in defining a truly charitable man as one "who makes war upon the rabble rout of seditious

I. "Speech". 1835. quoted in full in De Montmorency "State Intervention in English Education."
App. 3. P. 297-298.

2. "Practical Observations" P.I.

immoral and licentious persons, by reclaiming them from their evil habits, and improving them by early education especially by planting infants' schools.¹"

Brougham was always concerned that Owen should be acknowledged as the founder of infant education in this country. In the House of Lords, in 1846, in a discussion on a matter of pensions, Brougham expressed approval of the latest award to Wilderspin,² but disapproved of the historical inaccuracy of the Head of the Government in the House in stating that Wilderspin was the founder and promoter of infant schools. He was preceded, said Brougham, by Oberlin in 1800, Owen in 1802 and Feilchenberg³ in 1810. Two years later Brougham wrote to Owen to tell him that he had explained his position as the founder of infant education to a Juvenile Delinquency meeting -⁴ "it is now a clearly understood point in Education History."

1. "Speeches" Vol.3. P.174.

2. See Page 97.

3. Hansard 3S. 8. c.274-275.

4. Frank Podmore "Robert Owen." 1906.
v.2. p.598.

Brougham not only spoke but acted on behalf of infant education; along with James Mill, Zachary Macaulay and others, he was a leading member of the committee which established an infants' school at Westminster. They borrowed James Buchanan from Owen's school at New Lanark for their first teacher. This Westminster establishment differed from Owen's in that it was situated in a poor area quite different from the localised controlled area of New Lanark. Furthermore, although it was undenominational, it did not exclude religion as did Owen. Brougham publicised both the work and the organisation of this school in the Commons. It was for children between three and five years of age; supervision was by a "parental and indulgent dame;" and, he made haste to assure the House, the expense of the establishment was quite small compared to the good it produced.

The school probably had certain limitations. In the opinion of Owen's son, Brougham and his associates

1. Salmon and Hindshaw "Infant Schools their History and Theory." London 1904. P.64.

2. Hansard 88. c.274.

3. Hansard N.S. 2. c.87.

"undertook to do too much," and so failed in their object. They had lessons, tasks and study. Not satisfied with moral training and instructive amusement, as at New Lanark they sought prematurely to develop the intellectual powers. The tender brain of the infant was over-excited; more harm than good was done; and the system fell in a measure, into disrepute." However the Westminster establishment was the initial step in what became the great infant school movement. In 1820 a second infants' school was opened at Spitalfields by Wildson, a member of the original committee. It was given into the superintendence of Samuel Wilderspin, who became the central figure in the future development of infant education. He took over Owen's ideas in emphasising the physical and moral duty of the infant school and "discovered" that the great secret in training infants was to make them happy.

1. R.D. Owen "Threading my Way" 1874. P.91.
The criticism may not be fully justified but there was a tendency to push formal training at the infant stage.

2. S. Wilderspin "The Importance of Educating the Infant Poor." London 1824. P.40. Wilderspin supported Brougham's view, that the establishment of infant's schools was not expensive. He stated that "three hundred children may be taken care of, from the age of eighteen months to seven years, and instructed in everything that such children are capable of learning, for £150 per annum. P.135.

In 1823 the Edinburgh Review gave its support to the furthering of infant education. "Infancy," it stated, "is the period of life least fitted for intellectual and best fitted for moral culture. Vices are then easily corrected, right habits^I formed." In June 1824 a meeting was held at the Freemason's Tavern to form an Infant School Society. With the Marquess of Lansdowne presiding, speeches were made by many, including Wilberforce, Sir James Mackintosh, William Allen and Brougham. The following motion by Brougham was adopted - "That this meeting is strongly impressed with a sense of the many and great benefits, moral and political, which may be expected to result from the general establishment throughout the United Kingdom and especially in populous towns and villages of Infant Schools on the plan of those already formed."²

In 1824 the Infant School Society came into being to assist in the founding of schools and in training teachers for the work. During the next few years infants' schools were founded in most large towns; in 1825 alone,

1. Edinburgh Review. 76. Art.8. Pp.437-453.

2. Samuel Wilderspin "Infant Education."
1829. P.74.

thirty-four such schools were opened and fourteen more were nearly ready. The movement was well established by 1836, when the "Home and Colonial Infant School Society" was formed to provide training centres for infant school teachers.

After his intimate connection with the Westminster foundation, Brougham was not directly associated with these further practical advances in the organisation of infant education. However, for one contemporary, he had done enough in this sphere alone "to be immortalised." Though, as has been shown, for the remainder of his career he often spoke of the supreme necessity of educating infants, in the mid twenties other fields of education came to occupy his first attention. He turned to the people - to adult education.

1. Frank Smith "History of Elementary Educ. 1760-1902." P.97.

It was at this time that the Durham Infant School Society was founded. By 1832 eight hundred children had received instruction. At their yearly meeting, in January 1832, the Society reported that "the desire for education among the poorer classes had been much strengthened by this institution." Quarterly Journal of Education." V,3. P.382.

2. Miss Berry "Journals and Correspondence." Quoted in Garrat "Lord Brougham." Pp.181-182.

CHAPTER EIGHTADULT EDUCATION(I) MECHANICS INSTITUTES

The role he played in the furthering of adult education was the most sensational of Henry Brougham's educational activities. Again, in this work, whether in connection with Mechanic's Institutes, the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, or the foundation of London University, he was not the first in the field. Each sphere of adult education had its own background of development, but it was Brougham's irrepressible zeal as a propagandist which fired every cause. In 1830 Francis Place testified to Brougham's work for adult education; "he has done more for the improvement of the people than any other man, Dr. Birbeck alone excepted." In such a role, much criticism and abuse fell on his shoulders, but he "was not afraid of making a fool of himself before the learned, if he could help the ignorant to learn."

Adult education received its first impetus from

the Industrial Revolution in the desire of mechanics and workmen for general scientific knowledge. The end of the eighteenth century had seen the beginnings of scientific and technical studies, the growth of adult Sunday Schools, a rapid spread of night classes in the north and the foundation of book clubs, reading societies and discussion circles. As early as 1794, a small group of artisans in Birmingham, known as the "cast iron philosophers," were attending lectures at the house of Thomas Clarke a local patron of science. Two years later they were merged into the Brotherly Society, an association which advertised instruction in elementary and more advanced subjects, provided a newsroom, organised lectures and classes free of charge to working class members and in 1797 started the first Artisans' Library. This Birmingham Brotherly Society is probably entitled

1. A.E. Dobbs "Education and Social Movements 1700-1850" London 1919. P.141.

2. Mechanics' Magazine. Vol.I. P.307 fn.

3. J.W. Hudson "History of Adult Education" London 1851. P.29.

By 1823 this library contained two thousand volumes.

to be ranked as the first Mechanics' Institute.

In 1817 a Mechanics' Institute had been established in London by a certain Mr. Timothy Claxton. This foundation continued with some success until 1820 when Claxton left for Russia. However, it was not until Dr. Birbeck came south from Glasgow, where he had been giving the working classes scientific knowledge in an accessible form, that the lasting foundations of Mechanics' Institutes were laid in England. In London, Birbeck became a member of the circle which included Grote, Bentham, Mill, Place and Henry Brougham.

The movement for the foundation of the London Mechanics' Institute was first suggested and popularised by the "Mechanics' Magazine," which had commenced publication in the summer of 1823. The editor, Mr. J.C. Robertson, proposed an institution in London like the one in Glasgow and resolved "to bring the matter explicitly to the test of experiment."

1. Mechanics' magazine Vol.I. P.101. See also James Hole "History and Management of Literary Scientific and Mechanics' Institutes." London 1853. P.'8.

2. Ibid. Vol.I P.101.

Dr. Birbeck assumed the lead and took the chair at the first public meeting, where a series of resolutions² which led to the foundation of the London Mechanics' Institute were carried unanimously. Brougham was sorry he could not be present at this first meeting but he sent a liberal donation and a letter of encouragement and advice.²

At first, the Institute was accommodated temporarily. Then a site was secured in Chancery Lane for a new building; it was commenced on 11th. December, 1824. The building was completed by the summer of the following year and was opened by Dr. Birbeck "supported by His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Sir R. Wilson, Messrs. Brougham, Wood, Hume, Martin and other zealous friends of popular education."³

From the first Brougham emphasised the necessity of placing the responsibility for the running of the Institute in the hands of the workers. Writing to Birbeck

1. See Appendix E. "The Resolutions passed at the Public Meeting to consider the founding of a London Mechanics' Institute."

2. Mechanics' Magazine. Vol. I. P. 178.

3. Edinburgh Review. Vol. 42. P. 502.

on the eve of the foundation he thought that the plan would prosper in exact proportion to the interest which the Mechanics themselves took in its detail; the foundation was for their benefit and ought to be left in their hands as soon as possible. No doubt he was well satisfied with the personnel of the first Committee of which at least two thirds were working mechanics.

In the same letter Brougham strongly advised that the movement should be financed by the workers themselves; "that the body of the people should take upon themselves the care of their own instruction, after having had the means put within their reach." The editors of the "Mechanics' Magazine", in supporting this view stated that the workers must avoid any feeling of

1. Mechanics' Magazine. Vol.I P.180.

2. The first Committee was seventeen strong. It consisted of Dr. Birbeck, Richard Taylor (printer), John Martineau (engineer), John Vallance, Francis Place (taylor), B.Bevan (engineer), Thomas Emmens (carpenter), John Parry (shoe-maker), T.Hall (engineer), John Johnson (smith), George Maine (engineer), James Nicoll (smith), William Nash (oilman), Mr. M'William, (Robert Mothershead (engineer), Thomas Alford (coachmaker), John Whitaker (painter and glazier). Ibid. P. 189.

3. Ibid. Vol.I. P.180.

dependence for their education. Brougham re-iterated this opinion in 1825. For him it was a fundamental principle that the people should be the source and instrument of their own improvement, once the initial difficulties had been removed.^I

The London Mechanics' Institute prospered. In the course of the first year lectures were delivered by Mr. Philips on Chemistry, Mr. Dotchin on Geometry, Dr. Birbeck on Hydrostatics, Mr. Newton on Astronomy, Mr. Black on the French language and Professor Millington on Mechanical Philosophy. It was found that elementary instruction before lectures began was desirable in subjects of a mathematical or scientific nature. Accordingly, a scheme was inaugurated whereby ten members received elementary instruction, which they in turn handed on to groups of five "and thus in succession."² The Committee were keen to obtain any apparatus to make the lectures as interesting and as useful as possible

I. "Practical Observations Upon the Education of the People Addressed to the Working Classes and Their Employers." By H. Brougham Esq. M.P. F.R.S. London 1825. P.2.

2. Mechanics' Magazine. Vol.I. P.338.

and were pleased to report in June 1824 that they had purchased "instruments and models to illustrate the various branches of mechanics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, electricity, galvanism, optics, astronomy, aerostation, magnetism and chemistry, as well as a collection of metals and minerals to elucidate the sciences of metallurgy and mineralogy."¹

There were of course various criticisms of the Institute; that the library was deficient and that the lectures were unconnected and not given as a regular course.² However, by 1824 there were 1,200 subscribers³ - a great beginning had been made. Francis Place spoke of "our London Mechanics' Institute" as "the most useful society on the face of the earth."⁴ At the first anniversary dinner, held in December 1824, Brougham revealed how

1. Mechanics' Magazine. Vol2. P.291.

2. James Hole "History and Management of Literary Scientific and Mechanics' Institutes." P.31.

3. J.W. Hudson. "History of Adult Education." P.50.

4. Add. Mss. 27789. folio 260.

popular the movement had become and how great was the promise for the future. "When he saw what had been thus done in a year and a half he was sure he should not be considered an enthusiast for stating that ere long there would not be a town without such an institution. He could not help thinking that those who should live forty or fifty years would witness such a change in the condition of mankind from the existence of these institutions as^I would be really astonishing."

Brougham was constantly in touch with the London foundation, giving his support to the lectures and making appeals for apparatus. The "Mechanics' Magazine" reported² that "Mr. Brougham was almost always present, encouraging, by his own deep attention to the lectures, the attention of others." Macvey Napier attended one meeting and saw present an orderly and attentive audience of more than eight hundred - "and, of course, Brougham.³ Brougham's efforts on behalf of the

1. London Mechanics' Register. No.5.
4th. Dec. 1824.
2. Mechanics' Magazine. Vol.2. P.125.

3. Macvey Napier "Correspondence." Edited by his son. London 1879. P.39.

Mechanics did not go unrecognised. At the Second Quarterly Meeting in 1824 a member moved that "the thanks of the Society should be given to Henry Brougham Esq., M.P. and other benefactors of the Institution for their exertions on its behalf."¹ The "Mechanics' Magazine" published at the end of the third volume a supplement containing a special portrait of Brougham, "that enlightened and indefatigable friend of the Working Classes,"²

As we have seen, Brougham was not the originator of the idea of Mechanics' Institutes, nor was he the founder of the London establishment, but it was largely due to his efforts that the movement achieved nation-wide publicity. In his "Practical Observations" of 1825 he addressed an impassioned appeal to the working classes; this was the time, he cried, when by a great effort they might secure for ever the inestimable blessings of knowledge.³ The difficulties with which the people were

1. Mechanics' Magazine. Vol.2. P.221.

2. Ibid. Vol.3. P.448.

3, "Practical Observations." P.2.

were
 faced, want of money and want of time. The first step
 in overcoming the financial difficulty was the encourage-
 ment of cheap publications. In no country was this more
 necessary than in Great Britain, where, "with all our
 expertness in manufactures, we have never succeeded in
 printing books at so little as double the price required
 by our neighbours on the continent." Brougham suggested
 various means by which publications might be cheapened
 and made available for the workers.²

With characteristic thoroughness he then
 turned to the difficulty of the workers finding the time
 for their self-education. He suggested that in a group
 of workers, one might read aloud to the others; or again,
 that they should form themselves into discussion groups.
 He realised that the majority would go only a certain
 distance in instruction, but he thought it essential
 that they should get there by the quickest means. Thus
 a great service would be rendered by the man who composed
 elementary treatises "to impart an accurate knowledge of

1. Op. cit.

2. See Chapter 9.

the most fundamental propositions, with their application to practical purposes." The institution of lectures was also another means towards economising the time of the workers; no talents and no acquirements were too great for this work.

The foundation of the London Mechanics' Institute was followed by the establishment of similar Institutes in other centres. Leeds and Newcastle were early in the field in 1824. At this latter place Mr. George Stephenson took the chair at a public meeting where it was resolved that a "Literary, Scientific and Mechanical Institution" be formed, to place a knowledge of the arts and sciences and of literature in general, within the reach of the humblest individuals of the community. In the same year a Mechanics' and Apprentices' Library was opened in Lancaster.

It was not, however, until Brougham's moving

1. "Practical Observations." P.9.
2. Mechanics' Magazine Vol. 3. P.448.
3. Ibid. Vol. 2. P.19.

III.

pamphlet of 1825, which went through twenty editions
in one year,^I that the foundation of Mechanics' Institutes
became a nation-wide movement. His appeal to the workers
swept the country. Birmingham, Liverpool and Manchester
founded Institutes in 1825 and some idea of their success
can be obtained from a consideration of the Libraries
they assembled. At Liverpool, for example, there was
by the 1830's a collection of 3,500 volumes "which
would not disgrace libraries of much higher pretensions."²
Institutes were established at Norwich, Nottingham,
Devonport, Plymouth, Portsmouth and Preston.³ Worcester
also boasted its own establishment, founded by Dr.
Corbett, and achieved such success that it was clear
of debt within three years of its foundation.⁴ Institutes
were also founded in smaller towns such as Kendal.
Even various small villages such as Ripley in Yorkshire
and Hamsterley in County Durham had their own foundations

1. D.N.B.

2. Quarterly Journal of Education. Vol. I
p.419.

3. J.W. Hudson "History of Adult Education."
P.136.

4. Quarterly Journal of Education Vol.2.
P.391.

I
by 1826.

Other movements followed in the trail Brougham had blazed; working men in all parts of the country were meeting to consider means of advancing their education. A typical meeting was that held in the grounds of the "Ben Jonson" public house at Stepney to consider means of establishing "Societies for the Promotion of Public Instruction." The chairman, Joseph Hume, recommended the formation of such societies "as a means of diffusing a general and useful knowledge, and of bettering the condition of the labouring classes." Brougham had inspired a movement which would change with the years but which would never fade.

Brougham was not only the eloquent mouthpiece of the movement, he was also vitally concerned with the practical questions of organisation. In the early days, when lecturers of ability were difficult to obtain, it was he who took the lead in producing lectures, copies

1. J.W. Hudson "History of Adult Education." P.193. A Mechanics' Institute was established at Ripon in Yorkshire in July 1831 with about seventy members and a library of 300 volumes. "Some gratuitous lectures have been given on chemistry etc., and the concern is flourishing." "Quarterly Journal" Vol.4. P.190.

2. "Quarterly Journal of Educ." Vol.2. P.39.

of which were handed out to individuals who were prepared to read them. He devoted the summer of 1825 to the preparation of such a course which was given by different individuals in many parts of the country. Fortunately, he did not have to continue this onerous task, as specialists² gradually took on the job of lecturing.

3

There was the usual opposition to Mechanics' Institutes, on the ground that they were dangerous to established order. The Institutes, it was said, would

I. "Speeches" Vol. 3. P.177.

2. Some of the most successful lecturers, especially in manufacturing and mining districts, were self-taught amateurs, often of the same class as their hearers. Such a type was a Mr. Richardson who lectured in the villages of Northumberland and Durham, "somewhat provincial in his dialect, perfect as a manipulator, and correct in his statements." J.W. Hudson "History of Adult Education." P.200.

3. Certainly some opposition was to be expected when in 1827 Thomas Hodgskin was appointed to a Lectureship in Political Economy at the London Mechanics' Institute. Two years before, he had published a pamphlet "Labour Defended against the Claims of Capital" in which he attacked the existing system of wealth production and claimed that all the products of labour should be distributed among the labourers.

Wallas "Place" P.268.

develop into debating societies for radicals, republicans, anarchists and atheists. Even Wilberforce who was a friend of the movement had from the beginning been apprehensive that there would be trained up "a race of self-conceited sceptics." The Quarterly Review thought that "if mechanics and labourers could be persuaded to make a study of the Bible, it would be found to convey more useful knowledge, for this world as well as the next, than all the volumes and the lectures which are likely to be prepared for their edification."²

Brougham constantly tried to placate these fears and prejudices. He felt that the Mechanics themselves ought to be kept aware of the importance of ensuring that their conduct was not capable of misrepresentation. He urged tolerance towards objectors and opponents and a meticulous avoidance of dangerously controvertible topics. His speech to the Manchester Mechanics in 1835 refers constantly to the relationship which he held existed

I. "The Life of William Wilberforce." 1830.
Vol. 5. P.255.

2. Quarterly Review. 64. P.413.

between education and political and social tranquillity.¹

However, by this time, it was clear that the success of the original foundations was not being maintained. The numbers of subscribers declined, nor did the Institutes attract the class for whom they were intended. The Manchester Institute was a case in point; the enrolled mechanics were in a distinct minority² and there was a pronounced decline in the attendances at lectures.³ The "Lyceum" a new type of foundation solely for mechanics,⁴ was begun. Brougham, however, was not connected with this development. Nor was he associated with the formation of the "Unions" of Literary and Mechanics' Institutes which was set on foot in 1837 by

1. "Speeches" Vol.3. P.172.

2. Ibid. Vol.3. P.160.

3. James Hole states that there were two main causes which led to the decline. "The great and general cause" was the deficiency of primary instruction given to children; secondly, there was the "apathy of the operatives to the amelioration of their own mental state." "History and Management of Literary, Scientific and Mechanics' Institutes," P.33.

4. J.W. Hudson "History of Adult Education." P.136.

5. ... the London Union

Edward Baines, editor of the "Leeds Mercury."^I

Brougham, however, had been the inspiration of a great movement and an indefatigable worker on behalf of the mechanics. He probably over-rated the ability of the working man of the time and he certainly put too high the value of public lectures. A course of lectures would not educate mechanics whose earlier schooling had been neglected. Yet his main work was not with the details of procedure and organisation but as the powerful propagator of the central theme - the value to the individual mechanic and to the nation at large of an educated and enlightened working class. There had been some advance in this direction since the beginning of Mechanics' Institutes. In 1831, when the agitation for the Reform Bill was at its height, Place wrote; "education has made a mighty difference between the mechanic of the present day and the mechanic of fifty years ago." He had been in touch with a worker who "had contrived to attend some lectures and by dint

I. The West Riding Union, the London Union and the Lancashire Union were established in 1839 and the Union of Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland in 1840. Op. cit. Pp.176-177

of reading had picked up some knowledge of common arithmetic- algebra- and Euclid, together with Geometrical drawing." For Brougham this was but a beginning; the highest intellectual attainment was perfectly compatible with the daily cares and toil of working men. They should have the opportunity to achieve "intellectual refinement" and to enjoy the "pleasures of speculation" which in even the most humble working life could "prove both its solace and its guide."

1. Add. MSS. 27789 Vol.I. Pt.4. P.439.

2. "Inaugural Address on Being Installed Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow." "Speeches" Vol. 3. P.95.

3. "Practical Observations." P.29.

CHAPTER NINE.ADULT EDUCATION. (2)THE SOCIETY FOR THE
DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

The natural outcome of the Mechanics' Institutes, as foreshadowed in the 1825 "Observations,"^I was the foundation in 1827 of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Here again, Brougham was not the first in the field, but with his energy and organising genius he established a movement which thrived on the growing desire to read.

An outstanding development of the eighteenth century had been publication of literature of all descriptions. There had been a great growth in new publications of scientific literature, some technical and some more popular. From 1771 to the end of the century the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" passed through five editions;

I. See Chapter Eight.

2. Halevy "History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century." Vol. I. P. 559.

numerous periodicals circulated by various institutions, appeared as yearly or monthly issues; printers and booksellers, a class formerly unknown outside the Metropolis, in the eighteenth century began to set up in the provincial towns, supplying an army of hawkers and travellers who passed from village to village.² From such itinerant book sellers, or from pedlars and fortune tellers, the poorer classes could obtain some sort of reading material.³ Yet perhaps the most outstanding development in the field of literature was that by which journalism⁴ had passed from a bare narrating of events to a discussion of policy. Cobbett gave the spur to this type of journalism in 1816 when he reduced the price of his "Political Register" to two-pence. One observer

1. "Cambridge History of English Literature." Vol.12. Pp.159-161.
2. A.E. Dobbs. "Education and Social Movements 1700-1850." P.98.
3. Wallas "Place" P.18.

4. In the early nineteenth century there were, in London, daily papers both morning and evening. The most important were "The Times," the "Morning Chronicle," the "Morning Post," the "Courier" and the "Morning Herald." The "Times" had a daily circulation of 5,000; the "Courier" sometimes 10,000. Halsey "History of the English People". "England in 1815. Pp.164-165.

commenting on this "enormous flight of periodical miscellanies and newspapers," thought that this "must be taken as both the indication and the cause that hundreds of thousands of persons were giving attention to the matters of general information where their grandfathers had been brawling, sleeping or drinking their hours away."¹

Thus the ground was prepared for Henry Brougham, when in 1826, supported by Lord John Russell,² Doctor Lushington, William Allen and others, he founded the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge." "We felt," said Brougham, "that a better education for all ranks was necessary, and in my opinion being very decided that much of the prevailing ignorance arises from want of elementary treatises."³ This same idea had

1. John Foster "Evils of Popular Ignorance." London 1872. Pp.84-85.

2. Brougham was chairman of the "Society," Lord John Russell vice-chairman and William Tooke treasurer. The committee included Whigs like Althorp and Denman and Radicals such as Hobhouse and James Mill.

3. Quoted in A. Aspinall "Lord Brougham and the Whig Party." Manchester 1927. P.277.

been conceived and attempted a dozen years before by Charles Knight who later became the Society's most important editor and publisher. He records that in 1814 he had the notion of "becoming a Popular Educator" by the publication, in cheap weekly parts, of a series of treatises on law, religion, history, art, science and matters of general interest, but the idea did not mature.^I In 1819 Knight wrote in the "Windsor Express" on the necessity of "Cheap Publications" and followed this up in 1820 with a monthly serial, "The Plain Englishman," which he produced in association with a Mr. Locker. The title of one of the last articles in this series headed "Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,"² anticipated the identical name of the Society which Brougham founded - the Society which realised Knight's dreams.

Knight was not in the movement at its commencement owing to business reasons which he later regretted, yet it is instructive to recount his first

1. Charles Knight "Passages of a Working Life." London 1860. Vol.I. P.226.

2. Ibid. VOL.I. P.257.

meeting with Brougham, the chairman and the driving force of the Society. He imagined Brougham as a stern, repellent individual, but when he went to London to put forward the first of his schemes, he met a friend. He observed the great man's rapid conception of the features of his plan; the few brief questions as to his wishes; the manifestation of a warm interest in his views without the slightest attempt to be patronising.¹

The Society, founded in 1826, was advertised in the "Edinburgh Review" where it was pointed out that as lectures and Mechanics' Institutes were not available for everyone, and in many places, owing to their size, they would never be established, books must be the main instrument for the improvement of the people.² Thus it was intended to furnish treatises on every branch of science and history, at the lowest possible price and suited to every reader's capacity. Brougham contributed the first treatise entitled "Objects, Pleasures and

1. Op. cit. vol.2. p.46.

2. "Edinburgh Review" 45. Pp.197-198.

Advantages of Science." This exhaustive dissertation was to show that the practical use of any science or branch of knowledge was important, but that pleasure and value could be obtained also in seeing the uses to which know-^Iledge might be applied.

Most of the treatises in the early series,² produced on the plan of division of labour, were rather heavy and had a limited appeal. Accordingly, a Library of Entertaining Knowledge was established "for the purpose of turning to some account the reading of that large class, in every rank of the community, who are not averse to all-³reading, but will consent only to read what is amusing." Yet, although the interest of the readers was to be held by an amusin^g presentation, important and useful information was to be conveyed to them. Various treatises were produced such as "Menageries," "Vegetable Substances Used in the Arts," "The Pursuit of Knowledge in Difficult Circumstances" and one on "Insect Architecture," a subject "of the most

1, "Works" Brougham. London and Glasgow 1856.
Vol.7. Pp.193-370.

2. This idea was originally tried in the early lecture production for Mechanics' Institutes.

3. Edinburgh Review 50. P.183.

curious and interesting nature, full of science and yet
 as amusing as a novel.^I The numbers were all illustrated
 "with a profusion of the most beautiful cuts" and were
 published in weekly numbers priced sixpence.²

Difficulty in obtaining engravings delayed
 publication in the Entertaining Knowledge section. Only
 four volumes had been published by 1831.³ However, a
 series of blank maps priced three pence had a good sale
 and had encouraged the production of an astronomical
 map in six parts, which gave information "hitherto
 attainable only at a great expense." Also completed was
 the first volume of the "Farmer's Series," in which
 the committee hoped that amusement and instruction had
 been successfully combined.⁴ "The Working Man's
 Companion," which was to be published occasionally at
 the price of one shilling, appeared in 1830 with its

1. Op. cit. Charles Knight mentions two of
 the most successful publications; "Paris and its Historic
 Scenes" and "The Elephant Viewed in Relation to Man."
 "Passages of a Working Life." Vol.2. P.152.

2. Edinburgh Review 48 P.261.

3. Quarterly Journal of Education. 1831.
 vol.2. P.195.

4. Knight. "Passages". Vol.2. P.155.

first volume "Cottage Evenings." Although published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge it was one of the efforts in lighter vein; "a useful and amusing publication fitted for those whose previous learning does not extend beyond the faculty of reading."

The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge gradually broadened its scope and extended its contacts. Knight, who published much of its material, travelled round the country organising local committees. Among other places, he visited Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, York, Sheffield, Derby, Nottingham and Birmingham. By 1831 the local committee at Preston were able to boast a library of 1,700 volumes, of which 200 had been added during the last year.

In 1829 the Society sponsored the publication of the "British Almanac" which was useful both "for present information and future reference," and was presented "in the most condensed and explicit manner." It

1. Knight, "Passages of a Working Life."
vol.2. P.155.
2. "Quarterly Journal of Education."
vol.2. P.196.
3. He also edited the Library of Entertaining Knowledge.
4. "Quarterly Journal." Vol. i. P.210.

was advertised on the cover back of "The Rights of Industry" as being a publication containing "seventy-two closely printed pages, embracing a great variety of information adapted for all parts of the United Kingdom -Price two shillings and sixpence in a wrapper"^I Ten thousand copies sold in a week.

In 1831 the Society produced the "Quarterly Journal of Education." The purpose of this periodical was to give "the origin, constitution and actual conditions of places of education; to examine their systems of instruction, and to report the important events from time to time occurring in them;² and also to describe educational systems and progress in other countries, especially on the continent. The committee thought that this was their most valuable publication."³ At this time the Society were well satisfied with the scope of their work. The numbers of the "Library of

Footnote 5 from previous page. Knight
 "Passages." V.2. P.64.
 1. "The Rights of Industry." Second Ed.
 London 1831.
 2. "Quarterly Journal" Vol.I. P.3.
 3. Ibid. Vol.2. P.196.

"Useful Knowledge" had been published regularly at the rate of two treatises every month and, as was their original intention, most were of a historical nature. ^I

The Society also undertook the preparation and publication of treatises on Political Economy. The two first were the "Results of Machinery" and the "Address to Labourers." The former was generally supposed to have been written by Brougham, which fact probably accounted for its immediate and widespread popularity. The "Address" also had a good reception; 32,000 copies were sold. ² These successes encouraged the production of such treatises as "The Rights of Industry," "The Rights of Property," "The Division of Employment," "Exchanges or Equivalents," "Population (including Poor Laws)," "Private Consumption (including Taxation)." The authorship of "The Rights of Industry" was also attributed to Brougham.

There was no danger that such works would

1. Op. cit. Vol.2. P.194.

2. Ibid. Vol.2. P.196.

incite the people to revolution. Brougham's ideas on economic theory were far removed from those of Owen, Fielden, Sadler, Carlyle, Dickens, the Socialists or the Chartists. His views, and those of the society in general, were those of the main body of Radical thought which held that if the law ought not to intervene to protect the rich, neither ought it, on the other hand, to protect the poor. His main arguments were, the foolishness of trying to force higher wages, the great danger of making capital timid and the supreme interest that labour had in the protection of the rights of property.

This political economy, as sponsored by

1. Francis Place had said of the Ten Hours Bill - "all legislative interference must be pernicious. Men must be left to themselves to make their own bargains." Graham Wallas "Place."

2. "The Rights of Industry." Second Edition London 1831. "When there is too much labour on the market and wages are too low, do not combine to raise the wages; do not combine with the vain hope of compelling the employer to pay more for labour than their are funds for the maintenance of labour; but go out of the market. Leave the relations between labour and wages to equalise themselves. You can never be permanently kept down in wages by the profits of capital: for if the profits of capital are too high, the competition of other capital immediately comes in to set the matter right.

the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, was a soporific for the masses. As such, it was disliked by some working class leaders who advocated a break with this "middle class" organisation and the setting up of a rival propaganda. William Cobbett, took a different line, in lending his powerful voice to this opposition to the society. "This educating work, this feeding with tracts," he cried, "began, about forty years ago, under the guidance of that prime old prelate in petticoats, that choice tool of the boroughmongers, HANNAH MORE; and it has been going on ever since. Now, as crime is TWENTYFOLD in amount what it was when Hannah began --- would not the education-schemers, if they had only common sense, cease to cry up the utility of their schemes?"

None of this opposition was, however, the strongest which the Society had to face and which Brougham largely shouldered. There was the usual "scare" among the upper classes and this in spite of the fact that the

I. Wm. Cobbett to Mr. Brougham 29. 5. 1830.
 Quoted in "Opinions of William Cobbett." P.293.
 Edited G.D.H. and M. Cole. London 1944.

Society steered clear of religion and party politics in its publications. I This, basically, was Brougham's attitude; strongly suggestive of the influence of the Speculative Society and of masonry. Yet this attitude was not quite so clearly defined in his association with the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge as it had been with the Mechanics' Institutes. When he had addressed the London Mechanics at the December celebrations of 1825 he had warned them to avoid the dangerous topics of political and theological discussion; "every man had a right to an opinion - nay it was his duty to have an opinion on both subjects; but he had no right to obtrude these opinions upon his fellow members in that society."² In his association with the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, although he refused to use it as a blatant political machine or as a preaching platform, Brougham would not have excluded completely religion and politics. He disagreed that the Society should not

I. Charles Knight "Passages of a Working Life." Vol.2. P.164.

2. London Mechanics' Register No.64.
Dec. 10th. 1825.

sell books dealing with the political controversies of the day; politics were no more harmful in book form than in the newspaper. Thus in 1833, in association with Goldsmid, Lord John Russell, James Mill, Lubbock and George Grote, he founded the Society for the Diffusion of Moral and Political Knowledge. The aim, to publish a periodical called "Citizen", was not achieved and apart from a few lectures written by Brougham little happened. This Society was dissolved in 1836. Brougham also tried to introduce religious topics into the scope of publication but the committee over-ruled him. No doubt the committee were wise in taking this view, yet Brougham's attitude is an indication of the fact that he saw clearly the need of all three strands in the pattern of English education - intellectual, utilitarian and religious.

Brougham himself probably suffered more abuse from the Tory gutter press on this one scheme than on the remainder of his educational programme.

"John Bull" described his efforts as "the dirty work of inflaming the minds of the lower orders, under false pretensions." ^I Opposition also came from the publishers, both the "ancient magnates" and the "new potentates;" ² the very notion of cheap books stank in their nostrils. It was fortunate for the Society that Charles Knight was willing to publish many of their treatises and in ³ some cases to shoulder the financial responsibility.

The sneer, a more invidious form of attack, had little effect on Brougham who was hardened to opposition in whatever form it appeared. "Our Penny Science," he said, "is ridiculed by those who have many ⁴ pence and little knowledge." Peacock in "Crotchet Castle" has satirised the work of Brougham and the Society. He describes Dr. Folliot's cook who takes it into her head "to study hydrostatics in a sixpenny tract, published

1. Quoted from G.T. Garratt. "Lord Brougham."

2. Knight. "Passages of a Working Life."
Vol.I. P.276.

3. Ibid. Vol.2. P.163.

4. "Speeches." Vol.3. P.206.

by the Steam Intellect Society and written by a learned friend who is for doing all the world's business as well as his own.¹ This satire has served only to immortalise Brougham's part in this work for cheap and useful publications.

Brougham's intimate connection with the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge and his love of "natural freedom" led him to support the group who fought against the "Paper Taxes;" "the abominable taxes on the knowledge which most concerns the people."² He held that government ought to be with as little expense to the natural freedom of the people "as is consistent with the nature of human affairs;"³ and thus he regarded the Paper Taxes as a gross imposition. These taxes were, in effect, a stamp duty which had become increasingly severe. Raised to four pence on whole sheet newspapers in 1815, it had been extended in 1819 to all

1. T.L. Peacock "Crotchet Castle." "Works" Vol.4. London 1924. P.13.

2. "Speeches" Vol.3. P.602.

3. "Political Philosophy." Brougham. London 1842. P.27.

daily and weekly periodicals costing less than six pence. This was the deadweight of legislative enactment which the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge had to face. While he fought continuously alongside Birbeck, Chadwick and Henry Hetherington for the repeal of this duty, Brougham, with typical realism, proposed means for mitigating its severity; the crowding of print and the narrowing of margins.² The battle was won in 1836 when the stamp was reduced from fourpence to a penny.³ It was a great victory, yet its magnitude was appreciated in the Commons by few save Brougham.⁴

The affairs of the Society prospered in the early thirties. The "Penny Magazine," begun in 1832, was probably its most successful venture. It touched rapidly and lightly on many subjects; it avoided all tittle-tattle, abuse and party politics; it was cheap but good. The object of the "Penny Magazine" was to distribute really useful knowledge in a popular and attractive form among

1. See Appendix F . "The Abominable Taxes on Knowledge.

2. "Practical Observations." P.3.

3. The duty was finally repealed in 1835. Collet "History of the Taxes on Knowledge." London no date. Thinkers Library 1933.

these who could not afford to spend either the time or the money on the improvement of themselves or their children. Thus, contained in various issues, there were mathematical papers contributed by Mr. De Morgan, reviews of standard works by Mr. Craik; while Charles Macfarlane provided travel tales and Alan Cunningham wrote Ballads. By the end of 1832, 200,000 copies had been sold in weekly numbers and monthly parts. The "Penny Magazine" was so popular that the committee undertook the publication of a "Penny Cyclopaedia," but the success was not repeated.

In all this multifarious activity Henry Brougham was a great driving force. When, in 1828, Knight proposed the scheme for an "Almanac," Brougham was "ready not only for counsel but for action." He

Footnote 4 from previous page. Francis Place thought that, "in a moral point of view it is what Archimedes wanted to have in a physical point of view, a place to stand upon, a fulcrum to move the world." Wallas "Place" fr. P.337.

1. quarterly Journal of Education. Vol.3.P.382.

2. Penny Magazine. Vol.I. see Appendix .

3. Knight! Passages of a Working Life." Vol.2. P.184.

called a committee meeting for the next day when his energy swept away any doubt. Later, over the question of beginning publication of the "Penny Magazine," it was Brougham who forced the issue through successfully. He was also influential in obtaining men of ability to contribute articles. He tried to get the services of MacVey Napier who was sorry he could not oblige at the time, though he would have liked "to assist in promoting so praiseworthy an undertaking as the Library of Useful Knowledge" Brougham was always vitally interested; whether occupied in legal questions or enjoying a holiday with his family in Westmorland, "his mind was ever occupied with thoughts of the Society he had founded."

His work for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge and his own voluminous publications show the encyclopaedic knowledge which he possessed and

1. Op. cit. Vol.2. P.62.

2. Ibid. Vol.2. P.181.

3. MacVey Napier. "Correspondence." P.49.

4. Knight. "Passages." Vol.2. P.133.

which was synonymous in his view with education: -

"study, labour of the mind, carried to such an excess as to become labour of the body also. This is the business of every man under forty; this is the sweetest of all works; this is the most light of all burthens; the most invaluable of all blessings." ^I The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge is another practical manifestation of the system of instruction advocated in Bentham's "Chrestomathia." It believed that knowledge was power; a belief which Cobbett for instance could not ^x accept. For him, it was not the mere capability of reading that can raise man in the scale of nature; it was the enlightenment of the mind. ² Francis Place also saw that "knowledge is not wisdom" and thought that the most conspicuous proof of this was, in fact, the conduct of Lord Brougham himself. "He knows many things- more, indeed, than most men - but is altogether incapable of combining all that

1. R.H.M. Buddle Atkinson and G.A. Jackson
"Brougham and His Early Friends." Vol.2. Pp.141-142.

2. "The Opinions of William Cobbett." P.289.

x. See Appendix J. "Cobbett on Education."

relates to any one case, i.e. understanding it thoroughly, and he therefore never exhausts any subject, as a man of more enlarged understanding would do." ¹

The Society carried on its work until 1846 but, after the mid thirties, Brougham was not so closely connected with the details of organisation and publication. Even as Lord Chancellor in Lord Grey's Whig government he found time to attend committee meetings where he "transacted business, as usual, with much speed and accuracy." Indeed, thought Hobhouse, it was a "somewhat ² wonderful sight to see such a man in such a place." With Knight still as publisher, the Society sponsored the "Gallery of Portraits" (1832), "The Pictorial Bible" (1836), a "Pictorial Edition of Shakespeare's Plays" and the "Store of Knowledge for all Readers" (1841). A "Volume of Varieties" ³ published in 1844 was their last effort. This same year the "Penny Cyclopaedia",

1. G.J. Holyoake "Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life." London 1892. Vol.I. P.217.

2. Broughton "Recollections." Ed. Lady Rochester. London 1910. Vol.4. P.74.

3. The "Volume of Varieties" contained selections from various periodicals London 1844.

after producing twenty-seven volumes, ceased publication; the "Penny Magazine" finished its run a year later. Then in 1846, with the failure of their "Biographical Dictionary", the committee decided to suspend operations. It was not, however, a suspension of black defeat, for the great object had been achieved; "the public is supplied with cheap and good literature to an extent which the most sanguine friend of human improvement could not in 1826, have hoped to have witnessed in twenty years."²

1. See Appendix H . "Publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge."

2. The Committee's "Report" quoted by Knight. "Passages of a Working Life." Vol.2. P.327.

CHAPTER TENADULT EDUCATION(3) LONDON UNIVERSITY

Out of the foregoing activities in adult education there grew up a habit of co-operation, a certain "camaraderie" among a number of men who subsequently shared in the foundation of London University.

I

It was Thomas Campbell who first recognised the need for satisfying the intellectual activity excluded by the religious tests from the established universities, and partially nurtured in voluntary institutions such as the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society and also the Dissenting Academies. Campbell found his inspiration partly in Germany and the United States of America, but primarily in the traditions of Scotland and in the University of Edinburgh. In the Utilitarians and the

I. D.N.B.

2. Halevy. "History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century." Vol.I. P.561.

younger Whigs he found his supporters; in Henry Brougham, the power in the Commons.

There had been schemes for founding a university in London long before the early nineteenth century. Since the date of Gresham's foundation in the middle of the sixteenth century and of the projects of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the proposal to establish a university in the metropolis had recurred from time to time. In the middle of the seventeenth century Cowley and Defoe had considered the idea; it was revived again in 1823. The times were now propitious, for as James Yates remarked in 1826, education was now sought, "not merely by professional and speculative men, but by the manufacturing and commercial world. All wish to understand the principles of the operations which they perform, and to make philosophy the universal handmaid to the arts." The "Quarterly Review" agreed that "Mr. Campbell had launched his project just when the tide,

1. H.H. Bellot. "University College London 1826-1926." P.I. London 1929.

2. James Yates. "Thoughtson the Advancement of Academical Education in England." London 1826.

which there is in the affairs of men, served for floating it and bearing it out successfully." ^I

In 1820 Campbell had visited the newly founded German university at Bonn. He returned to England burning with zeal to see established in London, a university which would combine the wide liberalism of the German model with the admirable organisation of Scotland. ² Isaac Lyon Goldsmid was the first man able and willing to give practical assistance to Campbell whom he introduced to Brougham. On January 29th. 1825, Campbell was a guest, along with James Mill, Joseph Hume and Lord King, at a calves' head dinner given by Brougham. After dinner the scheme was discussed and Campbell appeared to calculate on the support of these men for shortly afterwards he launched his idea in a letter to the "Times". "The plan I suggest is a great London University --- an institution for effectively and

1. "Quarterly Review." 39. London 1829
P.127.

2. A.W. Beattie "Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell." London 1849. Vol.2. P.355.

multifariously teaching, examining, exercising and rewarding with honours in the liberal arts and sciences the youth of our middling rich people, between the ages of 15 or 16 and 20 or later; an establishment availing itself of all the experience and experiments that can be appealed to for facilitating the art of teaching; a university combining the advantages of public and private education, the emulative spirit produced by examination before numbers and by honours conferred before the public, the cheapness of domestic residence, and all the moral influences that result from home." In bringing Campbell into touch with Brougham, Goldsmid had secured the support of a leading and a forceful politician who also brought with him the backing of the promoters of the London Mechanics' Institute and the support of the Dissenters.

Campbell's appeal met with immediate and enthusiastic response from the education "cabal". Only a few days after the publication of his letter, Brougham,

I. The "Times" 9th. February. 1825. Quoted in H.H. Bellot "University College London 1826-1926." London 1929.

Mill, Hume and John Smith met him to discuss ways and means of realising the idea. Within six months £110,000 was realised in the form of £100 shares and the scheme was under way. Brougham entered into the project full of enthusiasm. The university was founded as a Joint Stock Company and when it seemed to the promoters that the shares were not going as quickly as they had expected, it was Brougham who found time to take upon himself the role of sales-manager. He asked Earl Grey if he would like to enter the market and was no doubt a little disappointed in his Lordship who confessed himself, "willing to take one share to show my goodwill to the University. I cannot afford more."

Although it was Campbell's scheme, the credit for it went largely to Brougham. However it would

1. Francis Place was of course in the scheme. His letter to Campbell shows that he knew his own value in such a project - "of influencing or governing other men, individually and in bodies." Wallis "Place" P.193.

2. "Life and Times" 12th. Aug.1825. Vol.2. P.470.

3. Campbell was jealous of the credit given to Brougham. Hobhouse recalls in his "Recollections" how Campbell called on him, "big with complaint against Brougham and told me several traits of his character which I would fain think unfairly drawn. Vol.3. P.178. Campbell gradually faded out of the picture.

probably be true to say, that without Brougham's support and his meteoric appearances at meetings of the shareholders,¹ it is doubtful whether the project could have weathered the storm of opposition, or could have retained the unity required to achieve a successful conclusion. During the first six months after the initiation of the scheme, Campbell was abroad studying the constitutions of the new universities at Berlin and Bonn. The very serious difficulties which arose during this period were dealt with by Henry Brougham. The greatest of these, which might have upset all plans, was a rival project of the Dissenters, first mooted in the autumn of 1824, to establish a university of their own.² Brougham held several meetings with the leading Dissenters who finally relinquished their scheme and supported Campbell.³ Thus Brougham's connection with the foundation brought to it not only his own dynamic energy

1. H.H. Bellot. "University College London."
P.21.

2. Campbell was present with Brougham at the later meetings.

3. "Mechanics' Magazine." Vol.2. August 1829.
P. 442.

and the support of his associates in the educational sphere, but also the backing of the Dissenters.^I

A meeting, with Brougham in the chair, was held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern on 4th. June, 1825, when the plan for the foundation was described and a committee of thirty-five was appointed. The first public meeting was held the following month at the City of London Tavern where Brougham, arriving late, was "loudly called for and received with re-iterated cheers." He seconded the motion for the foundation in a typically lively speech which Hobhouse thought, "amusing, and much to the purpose, except, however, when he talked about religion; when on that topic he was sometimes on the verge of unbecoming pleasantry, sometimes on the brink of hypocrisy." On 19th. December,²

I. Campbell claimed the credit for negotiating the difficult religious question and accused Brougham, Hume and John Smithof alternatively supporting his scheme (that of excluding religious teaching) and the scheme for admitting religion (Anglicanism for the orthodox and Presbyterianism for the Nonconformists.) In the long run, Campbell's scheme was adopted and was accepted as a "pis aller" by Anglicans and Dissenters. Even if this is the whole truth, in the discussions with Dr. Francis Cox for the Dissenters and representatives of the Anglican Evangelicals such as Lord Althorp, it was Brougham who was the expert negotiator.

2. Broughton, "Recollections." V. 3. P. 113.

a General Meeting of Shareholders was held and a Council was elected. A further General Meeting was summoned for 6th. February 1826 and five days later a Deed of Settlement was signed and the Council was formally appointed. The members of this Council were, Thomas Campbell, Henry Brougham, Dr. Birbeck, George Grote, Joseph Hume, Zachary Macaulay, Sir James Mackintosh, ~~xxx~~ James Mill, James Abercromby, Lord Auckland, Alexander Baring, Viscount Dudley and Ward, Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, Olinthus G. Gregory, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Duke of Norfolk, Lord John Russell, Benjamin Shaw, John Smith, William Tooke, Henry Warburton, John Whishaw and Thomas Wilson. The group is representative of the sources from which the university derived its being. Goldsmid, in many respects a central figure, was in touch with both Campbell and Brougham: Brougham brought the support of the Whigs, the Dissenters and Birbeck: the Duke of Norfolk spoke for the Roman Catholics.

The constitution of the university was

embodied in the Deed of Settlement,^I The university was to be controlled by the Council which was to make all appointments and dismissals. Ultimate authority rested with the proprietors but the Council might decline to accept as proprietors persons to whom the shares had passed by purchase or who held them as executors or assignees.

The university was launched to provide higher education for those persons unable to go to Oxford or Cambridge and to give opportunity to study subjects omitted from the curriculum of the old foundations. The details of the curriculum were elaborated in a "Prospectus," a "Statement" and a "Second Statement" issued respectively in May 1826, July 1827² and June 1828. Chiefly instrumental in drawing up the courses were Mackintosh, Mill and the indispensable Henry Brougham. By 1827 the Medical School, the School of Law, and schools for the language and

I. Op. cit. Pp. 49-52.

2. Ibid. P. 52.

literature of Greece, Rome, England, Italy and Spain were established. Also Chairs were founded in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Botany, Zoology, Comparative Anatomy, Political Economy, Hebrew, Hindustani and Oriental Literature, Geology, Mineralogy, French Literature and the application of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy to the Arts. Brougham was an influential figure in the appointing to the various professorships; McCulloch, professor of Political Economy and Millington, of Mechanics' Institutes fame, professor of Engineering, were his nominees. He was continually informed and consulted about buildings and organisation in what was constantly referred to as "your university," "your project."

On the opening of the university in October 1828 Brougham was enthusiastic and excited with the initial success. He wrote to Grey - "All the accounts I have (and they are daily, and from very opposite kinds of men, as Auckland, Lushington, Leonard Horner, Loch etc,)

1. Edinburgh Review 48. P.253.

2. Miss Monica Grobel "Thesis" London 1933. From an examination of letters at Brougham Hall, covering the years 1815-1850.

agree in this, that the delight of all who have been admitted was perfect; 700 or 800 were allowed to attend the opening lectures (including the students), and the room and halls were thrown open to them. The first two lectures, Bell's and Dr. Condley's, have had the greatest success and the entry of students at starting exceeds (the medical men say) anything before known in London, at the opening of a course - namely, fifty-four. The professors and all concerned are therefore, in the highest spirits, and we may consider the medical school as fairly launched. The general department will be much benefited by this success; but still I reckon on it being far less speedily in vogue, especially the Greek, Latin, and other elementary courses. However, all will, I am confident, be right in the end."

Intelligent opposition to the new foundation came from Oxford and Cambridge, from the existing Medical

x. The system of education was that of instruction by lectures; a method which was so commendable to Brougham. The Edinburgh Review pointed out that you would get more lectures for your money at the university than at any other establishment.
Edinburgh Review. 47. Pp.254-255.

I. "Life and Times." October 1828. Vol.2.
Pp.498-499.

Schools and from those who were against a "Joint Stock Project." The strongest criticism was on the grounds of religious teaching, but allied to this instinctive hostility of Churchmen to a non-religious academical body was the "less honourable jealousy of a rival institution to be invested with the power to grant degrees."¹ The Quarterly Review criticised the impropriety in "assuming the title of university for a single college which the crown had not created, and from which the science of divinity was especially to be excluded."²

The Reverend Hugh James Rose of Cambridge University preached at the university church on Commencement Sunday 1826,³ on the importance of the Christian approach to education. "When we once admit the existence of God and the continuance of the soul's existence to eternity," he said, "these two considerations at once impress a character of comparative insignificance on all

1. Elliot-Binns "Religion in the Victorian Era." 1936. P.82. Quoting Broderick "Hist. Univ. Oxford."

2. Quarterly Review. 39 P.128.

3. Published under the title "The Tendency of Prevalent Opinions about Knowledge Considered."

that does not concern these great matters." Thus he pleaded for a study of literature as a cultivator of the mind, and of theology as the indispensable instrument of the soul. The "British Critic," a quarterly theological review ~~and~~ run in the interests of sound churchmanship, took up Rose's theme in its issue of January 1827. It contrasted the prospectus of the University of London with the principles of Rose's sermon and strongly condemned the former; "education with religion is the greatest good which man can bestow on man, education unless grounded on religious principles may be a curse instead of a blessing."^I

As an antidote to the secularists, King's College, London, was formally launched in 1828. Prominent

I. "British Critic." Jan. 1827.

Edward Steere, a pupil at the school, later became an Anglican bishop. He maintained that "the University College, London, was a good school for theologians because it did not teach theology, but left the mind trained for inquiry, whilst unbiased as to results."

"The Hampstead Annual 1906-7." "University College School" H.J. Spencer, quoting the "Memoir of Bishop Edward Steere. P.128.

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among the founders were the dignitaries of the church and
²
 Joshua Watson and his wealthy Clapton associates; precisely
 the men who had taken the lead twenty years before in
 establishing the National Society. Thus the battle which
 raged 1828 to 1831 on the heights of academic education
 had already been joined between the same combatants from
 1808 to 1811 on the broad plain of elementary instruction.
 In the interval, moreover, the two bodies had come into
 embittered conflict in the region of popular adult educa-
 tion; Brougham and his allies setting up the Society for
 the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge as the antagonist of the
 old Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.

King's obtained a royal charter of incorporation
 in 1829. This is not surprising as it was strongly support
 ed by Manners-Sutton, the Archbishop of Canterbury,³ who
 brought with him the support of Wellington and the King.
 It was to be a college "for general education --- in which
 while the various branches of literature and science

1. Dr. George D'Oyly who wrote under the pseudonym of "Christianus" (Letter to the Right Hon. Robert Peel on the subject of London University. Feb. 1828.) was an important figure in the inauguration of King's.

2. D.N.B.

3. The Archbishop was the college visitor.

are made the subjects of instruction, it shall be an essential part of the system to imbue the minds of youth with a knowledge of the doctrines and duties of Christianity, as inculcated by the United Church of England and Ireland." ^I A definite religious test for admission was not insisted upon.

Brougham found himself in a very delicate position when in 1830 the Wellington ministry gave way to that of Earl Grey and he became Lord Chancellor. In his new office, the leading promoter of the "University of London" and the chairman of its governing body, was now an "ex officio" perpetual governor of King's College and as such received the agenda of the meetings of the council. However, he adopted his usual conciliatory attitude. "Sir," he wrote to the secretary in January 1831, "I have received one or two summonses to attend King's College meetings, and I have only abstained from a feeling that the connection I have had and still have with the London University might give some jealousy to

to my colleagues of King's College --- none of themselves can have a warmer desire for the benefits of King's College than I have, and always have expressed publicly and privately." To Brougham the furthering of education was the important factor; he was impatient of other considerations.

Opposition and criticism continued. Fraser's Magazine thought it was "one of the finest blunders of the age to originate a University of London; and this apart from any objection to the principles on which it may be founded, or the philosophy it is to teach. London has been for centuries --- a university of the world. If we wish to examine ancient manuscripts --- we retire to the sequestered halls of Oxford and Cambridge. If --- we desire to collate men, we come to London."² Besides serious criticism the promoters had to face much ridicule. The establishment was given the name of

1. Quoted in F.J.C. Hearnshaw. "The Centenary History of King's College London." London 1929.

2. Fraser's Magazine. No.122. Feb.1840
Pp.161. 163.

the "Cockney University" or "Stinkomalee." It was suggested in ironic vein, that Brougham's part would be to inculcate "The principles of subordination, respect for superiors, admiration of virtue and the regulation of temper."¹

Meanwhile, the university continued its efforts to seek incorporation and the grant of a charter. The ground was strengthened when in 1828 charters were granted to St. David's College in Wales and King's College London and in 1832 by the foundation of a University at Durham. It was not, however, until 1836 that the efforts of the Council met with success, when a charter and the power to grant degrees was conferred.

A school to run in connection with the university, to prepare younger students for entry,² was founded in February 1830 by some individual proprietors. The Reverend Henry Browne was appointed headmaster. The school increased rapidly in size; at a meeting of the Council on July 14th. 1832, it was recorded that there

1. Quoted in H.H. Bellot. "University College London 1826-1926." P.70.

2. At first called the Junior School of the University of London.

were 139 pupils in attendance. In 1832 the school was brought within the walls of the university and placed under the joint care of Key and Malden. It was remarkable for its originality; there were no compulsory subjects and there was no rigid system. The curriculum contained Latin, French, German, Mathematics, Chemistry, English, Physics, Botany, Physical Geography and Drawing. There was no religious instruction. Brougham was closely connected with this activity and played a leading part in the drawing up of the school's prospectus.

Throughout the struggle for the foundation Henry Brougham had been a conspicuous and influential figure. It was he who in May 1825 had first moved in the Commons for leave to bring in a Bill to incorporate

1. Quarterly Journal of Education. Vol 4.
P. 377.

2. T.H. Key held the Latin chair at London University in 1828; he was a first rate oral teacher. Henry Malden was a brilliant product of Cambridge; he was connected with the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge for which he wrote a "History of Rome."

3. H.H. Bellot. P. 170.

4. "The Hampstead Annual 1906-7." H.J. Spencer "University College School." "Jews, Turks, infidels and heretics were gathered within its walls, together with the children of the orthodox." P 127.

certain persons for the establishment of a college in
or near the City of London. ^I Later, he was the ever active
force at the Council meetings where Greville thought he
was "the great performer." ² Then, when the question of
a charter and the granting of degrees was proving a
stumbling block, Brougham worked continuously to try to
find a solution. At a Committee of the Privy Council
he proposed "that the king should be advised to grant a
charter making the petitioners an University, the
regulations and restrictions to be determined hereafter."
He was impatient of the hesitation and the scruples which
were displayed. ³ Lord John Russell was certainly impressed
with Brougham's zeal and paid him a warm tribute in the
House; he declared that "a fortnight did not pass with-
out his receiving a communication from his noble and
learned friend on the subject of granting a charter to
the University of London, and how it could be reconciled

1. Hansard N.S. 13. c.840.

2. Greville "Journal." Vol.3. P.262.

3. Ibid. Vol.3. Pp.260-263.

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with other institutions."

Brougham's work for the new establishment was completed in 1836 but he was intimately connected with the university till his old age. The initial² success which augured so well for the future was not maintained and he was grievously disappointed with the progress made.³ He took the chair at various disputes within the faculties which occurred periodically and for some years he was President of the Council. In 1866, thirty years after the battle had been fought and won, he attended his last annual distribution of prizes.

Bentham referred to Brougham's work in the founding of London University as the last project to fall under his "paralysing touch;" "and even this great and salutary scheme appears either dead or struggling

1. Hansard 3S. 27. c.299-300.

2. In 1828 there were about 300 students in attendance, a figure which rose to 557 by Feb. 1829. In the early thirties there was a gradual decline in numbers and by 1832 there were 386 students, of whom 226 attended medical classes, "Quarterly Journal of Education." Vol.3. P.380.

3. The "Times." Quoted by H.H. Bellot
P.249.

for life --- like water spread upon a plain, his great powers are lost by diffusion: it is true such discursive irrigation may fertilize, for a season, an extensive surface; but it is too weak to turn a mill, or produce permanent and visible effects." There is much truth in this as a general criticism of Brougham's diversity on the effectiveness of his work. Yet London University must remain as one of his most impressive memorials; "the finest monument to Brougham's energy and contempt for ridicule and abuse." Even the quarterly Review agreed that the odds were that the whole project would have been lost, delayed, or much less effectively carried out if it had not been taken up and hurried forward to completion by Henry Brougham.

I. "Lord Brougham Displayed." Bentham "Works." Vol.5. P.6II.

2. G.T. Garratt. "Lord Brougham." P.187.

CHAPTER ELEVENLORD CHANCELLOR

Brougham had now stood virtually alone, for nearly twenty years, as the prophet of popular education. During this time, as Grey realised, he had become a person of some standing in the country. After 1825, when Grey withdrew himself from active politics, a Whig group led by Lansdowne and Brougham gave a limited support to Canning, on the realist view that anything was better than a return to the reactionary Toryism of the early century. At this time Brougham looked to education rather than to a reforming government as being the most realistic approach to curing political evils. Hobhouse records a conversation he had with Brougham in 1824 when the latter differed from him in thinking "that the people would never have spirit or power to procure a fair government, and thought that Mechanics' Institutes and other establishments for

instructing the lower classes would work out the cure for all political evil, and make the people too strong for the government." Thus, when Brougham was pushing his various educational schemes, it would seem it was as a means for procuring Parliamentary Reform, for which Grey and the "Malignants" were doing little by their secession.

The Lansdowne-Brougham coalition with Canning, formed with the object of closing the door for ever on the "reactionaries", brought great suspicion on Henry Brougham, who of course had been suspect all his political life. Nor was his object in forming the coalition successful, for in a few months Canning was dead and Wellington was Prime Minister. Yet although in these times of unrest Brougham feared that such a government might impose a military dictatorship, he

1. Broughton "Recollections." Vol.3. P.51.

2. It seems probable that Brougham was the prime mover in this offer of support. See "The Diary of Henry Hobhouse" (Ed. A. Aspinall London 1947.) The following marginal note was added for 12th. May 1827.- "It has been admitted by Mr. Canning that he was at this time in possession of an overture of support from Mr. Brougham, Sir Robert Wilson and some other members of the Opposition."

was not dismayed. "Let the soldier be abroad," he said, "in the present age he can do nothing --- The schoolmaster is abroad. And I trust more to him armed with his primer, than I do to the soldiery in full military array, for upholding and extending the liberties of this country."

By this time Brougham was an outstanding figure on the political scene. Tom Macauley thought he was "next the king, the most popular man in England. There is no other man whose entrance into any town in the kingdom would be so certain to be with huzzaing and taking off of horses." ² With the Tories, as with the aristocratic Whigs, he was a man to be feared but he could not be ignored. Thus, when in 1830 Grey formed the first Whig ministry for nearly half a century, a place had to be found for Henry Brougham.

1. Quoted in Charles Knight "Passages of a Working Life." Vol.2. P.66.

2. G.O. Trevelyan "Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay. O.U.P. 1932. Vol.I. P.174.
"He is the cunningest and strongest man now in England as I construe him, and with no better principles than a Napoleon has.--- God be thaked that I had nothing to do with this university and its committees.
"Letters of Thom's Carlyle." 1868. Vol.I. P.270.

He accepted the Chancellorship and his greatness was over. Later he regretted his decision but it was irrevocable. With remarkable insight into affairs, his mother counselled against such a step, with the words, "throw not away the great position you have raised yourself to - a position greater than any that could be bestowed by King or Minister." The advice was disregarded; Brougham "descended" to the Woolsack.

Why did he accept this position? He must have known that the object in removing him from the Commons was to silence his dangerous voice. The clearest reason, that of attaining to the highest legal position in the land, is probably truest. Contemporary opinion certainly saw the move for what it was. Creevey wrote that as Chancellor "he will be safer there, because if he don't

1. Brougham thought he could regain his position as leader of the people. In 1835 he announced that he was starting into new life and resuming his position in the van of his countrymen, struggling for their rights. ("Speeches" V.3. P.596.) He was never able to do this.

2. "Life and Times." Vol.3. P.80.

3. In 1827 when the question of the appointment to the Great Seal for Ireland had arisen, "as it excludes the possessor from the House of Commons, Brougham did not covet it." "Diary of Henry Hobhouse." Ed. A. Aspinall

behave well, he will be turned out at a moment's notice,
¹
 and he is then powerless." Greville also records that
 when Brougham accepted the Great Seal, "great was the
 surprise, greater still the joy at a charm having been
 found potent enough to lay the unquiet spirit, a bait
 rich enough to tempt his restless ambition. --- All men
 feel that he is emasculated, and drops on the Woolsack
 as on his political deathbed; once in the House of
 Lords there is an end of him and he may rant, storm and
²
 thunder without hurting anybody."

As Chancellor, Brougham worked with characteri-
 stic energy and accomplished much between the years
 1831 and 1834. His capacity for work, his extraordinary
 application, were still as great as ever. The "machine
³
 for making amendments" brought new life to the Woolsack.
 Le Marchant, Brougham's private secretary at this time,
 described later the hectic days of the Chancellorship.

1. "Creevey Papers." Ed. Sir H. Maxwell vol.2.
P.214.
2. Greville "Journal" Vol.2. P.67-68.
3. Walter Bagehot "Biographical Studies." P.61.

He had known Brougham¹ to work incessantly from nine in the morning until one at night;--- he could turn from one subject to another with surprising facility and promptitude, in the same day travelling through details of a Chancery case, writing a philosophical or mathematical treatise, correcting articles for the Library of Useful Knowledge, and preparing a great speech for the Lords."

In the course of the Reform Bill debates Brougham had shown his usual optimistic outlook for the future. The middle classes, "the genuine depositaries of sober, rational, intelligent and honest English feeling,"² would, he thought, demonstrate the rational behaviour of the majority of the people in the further progress which could be reasonably anticipated after the Reform Bill.³ His own particular educational interests were not forgotten during the Chancellorship. He was, of

1. Greville "Journal" Vol.4. P.34.

2. "Selections from the Speeches and Writings of Lord Brougham." 1832. 7th. Oct. 1831. P.215.

3. Ibid. P.255.

course, now more absorbed in reform of the penal code and in law generally but his efforts at educational legislation were not put to one side. In the Commons, Roebuck, the Radical member for Bath had taken over Brougham's mantle. He "re-originated, after the unsuccessful attempt of Mr. Brougham the Parliamentary movement for national education." He came to the fore after Brougham had laboured for twenty years; at a time when there was an increasing desire of the people for education. In 1833 numerous petitions were presented to Parliament. One came from the Unitarian Christian Congregation of Greengate Salford, "praying the House to confer on the poorer classes of this realm a sound and rational system² of education." The inhabitants of Epping and Harlow said that they had, "heard with great satisfaction, that the attention of the House will shortly be called to the subject of devising some plan of general Education, by which the

1. J.S. Mill "Autobiography." 1873. P.195.

2. Journal of the House of Commons. Vol.88.
P.45.

children of the poorer classes in this Kingdom may be provided with instruction suitable to their station in society, being convinced by long experience, that this desirable and necessary object cannot be obtained by the zeal and benevolence of societies or individuals alone, however laudably and actively exerted.¹"

It was ⁱⁿ Lord Ashley's first effective factory act in March 1833, that the principle of compulsory² education was incorporated in the law of the land. Four months later, Roebuck presented his scheme for education but it had no chance of success. He advocated educational districts, the levying of a rate, elected committees and a minister of public instruction to organise the training of teachers and the supply of text books. He wanted all³ to receive a good "political education." Brougham as a member of the cabinet now acted. He spoke strongly

1. Op. cit. Vol.88. P.309.

2. Hansard 3S. 20. c.153.

3. Halevy. "History of the English People."
1924. Vol.3. P.115.

against compulsory education; "no measure could be devised by the mind of man, so admirably calculated to make a system of education unpopular as that of compelling people to send their children to school; --- he would never sanction any proposal which coupled the word "education" with the word "rate."¹ He deemed it his duty to call the attention of his colleagues in the government to the 1818 Report of the Education Committee. Thus the Treasury grant of 1833, by which the state accepted some responsibility for educating the masses, was based on the 1818 recommendations. Twenty thousand pounds was issued in aid of private subscriptions, for the erection of School Houses for the education of the children of the poorer classes.² The grant was distributed as the 1818 committee had advised, through the British and Foreign and National Societies, who were to satisfy the Treasury that the school would be permanently maintained. Applications from large cities

¹ Hansard 3S. 17. c.849.

² See Appendix I . "Treasury Regulations."

and towns were to be given preference in the distribution.¹
 Hume objected to the grant because of its inadequacy;² but
 a beginning had been made.

While the Whigs were enjoying the "new" experience of a majority in the Commons, Brougham was faced in the Lords with a hostile majority, against whom he continued to carry the standard of popular education. However, the first fury of the battle for educational reform was now subsiding. Others, Roebuck, Wise and Lord John Russell, were now ready to espouse the cause which Brougham had upheld alone. Furthermore public opinion was now roused to the necessity of some wide measure.

One of Brougham's last educational acts as Lord Chancellor was to give evidence before a committee set up in June 1834 to consider the first government grant and the "expediency of making further grants on the

1. Frank Smith "History of English Elementary Education." P.140.

2. H.B. Binns. "A Century of Education." 1908
 P.122.

same principle." ¹ The Report of the Committee was printed in August 1834 and Brougham's replies, as Lord Chancellor, to the questions put to him by the chairman, Lord John Russell show clearly his position. ² He thought much good would be done by judicious legislative assistance so that in a few years the means of elementary education for the whole community would be complete. However he re-affirmed his opposition to any general tax or increase in the parish rate; "a surer way to make education unpopular could not be devised." ³ He held that compulsory education was not justifiable either by public utility or by expediency. A national system of education was impossible, without placing in the hands of the government of the day the means of dictating opinions and principles to the people. He went on to add that schools should be established for the training of two hundred and fifty teachers a year at the cost of £10,000. The references

1. Hansard. 3S. 24. c.130.

2. Report of House of Commons Select Committee August 7th. 1834. Pp.220-225.

3. Ibid. P.221.

to the curriculum form perhaps the most important part of the Report as they shed some light on Brougham's educational ideas. The mere planting of schools, he thought, did not meet the situation; "mere reading, writing, ciphering is not enough; the elements of historical and geographical knowledge, a little natural history and drawing, with grammar and singing, I regard as essentially necessary in even the most elementary education."^I

It is probably right to regard Brougham's main work for education as being over by this time. Certainly in 1834, on the fall of Melbourne's first administration, his political career was terminated; on the defeat of Peel and the subsequent return of the Whigs he was not invited to resume the Chancellorship. He was a dangerous man in any government; "where he thinks them in the right he agrees, when in the wrong he differs without ceremony."² Although he was

I. Op. cit. P.224.

2. E. Brougham (his mother) to the Revd. Dr. Forsyth. 5th. July 1835? Unpublished letters in the possession of Mrs. M.F. Pirie of Inch, Aberdeenshire,

to live for many years he was never to regain office. When, in his old age, he wrote his "Memoirs" he stopped at the year 1834; he had passed a fair verdict on his own career.

CHAPTER TWELVE.THE LAST PHASE 1834-1839.

Between the years 1834 and 1839, by which time he himself realised that his work was over, Henry Brougham^I was still a force to be reckoned with. For him the 1833 Treasury Grant was but a beginning. In the following year he indicated the lines along which development should take place, in 1835 he put forward resolutions on these lines and followed up in 1837, 1838 and 1839 with Education Bills in similar vein.

During these years Brougham continued to press for structural reform in education. Since 1820 he had shifted his position on the means to be employed for supplying education to the people. After the failure of his 1820 Bill, which had advocated the establishment of Parish schools at the public expense and under public

I. In 1834 Lord Durham wrote to Brougham expressing the conviction that "to you the country is anxiously looking for an extended measure of National Education." Stuart Reid "Life and Letters of Lord Durham." London 1906. Vol.I. Pp.354-355.

regulation, he became again a strong advocate of the voluntary system. In 1834 he pointed to the great increase in voluntary contributions¹ and so thought it imprudent to impose a school rate. Furthermore, he thought that those who subscribed voluntarily to a school would naturally take an interest in it and would encourage² the poor to send their children. The following year, the success of the voluntary system was again his theme and he thought that this led to the irresistible conclusion that "where we have such a number of schools and such means of Education furnished by the parents themselves from their own earnings, and by the contributions of well disposed individuals in aid of those whose earnings are insufficient, it behoves us to take the greatest care how we interfere with a system which prospers so well of itself; to think well and long ~~and~~

1. "The whole county of Bedford had in the year 1818, 136 day schools of all sorts; it had now 244; the number of scholars in 1818 was 3,980; it was now 5,633. Hansard 3S. 22 c.845.

2. Hansard 3S. 22 c.847.

and anxiously, and with all circumspection and all fore-sight, before we thrust our hands into a machinery which is now in such steady, constant and rapid movement." ¹ Brougham, however, made it quite clear that general interference by the Legislature would be necessary if the efforts of individuals were found to ² be insufficient.

The success of the voluntary system was not, however, the only reason for Brougham's changed views. At every step he had made in the sphere of educational reform he had been confronted with the opposition both of the Established Church and of the Dissenters. The Radical Roebuck had outraged the religious bodies by his 1833 speech in the Commons when he had proposed a system of State education under a Minister of Public ³ Instruction. It seems that by 1835, now that the State

1. "Speech." 1835. De Montmorency "State Intervention in English Education." P.292.

2. Ibid.

3. Roebuck's "Speech" 1833. Ibid. Pp.325-351.

had accepted some responsibility for education, Brougham thought it best to allow the system to grow and to let the antagonisms of earlier years subside.

Another reason for Brougham's support of voluntary effort as opposed to State education, was that he always believed that the people, even the very poor, should contribute to the education of their children to maintain their self-respect. Furthermore, he thought that the poor would be willing to pay something, because of the great store they set by education, for "however exceptionable might have been their own conduct, or however deficient they were in education themselves," they all expressed "an anxious desire to place their children where they could be better brought up than at home, and made better than themselves." Again, from the point of view of "political liberty" Brougham was apprehensive of State interference in educating the people. He held that "the people ought to have the greatest

liberty they can safely enjoy" and accordingly, the State ought to limit its interference in education to what was strictly necessary.

In a speech in the Lords in 1835 Brougham criticised in detail the state of education in the country and put forward definite resolutions for dealing with the situation. The schools, he thought, were still too few in number, they were confined to children of too advanced an age and they gave a very scanty and imperfect instruction. Not one ninth part of the population was taught and provision for education in the large towns and industrial centres was still less. Therefore, he suggested, the only course for supplying this lamentable deficiency was to furnish the great towns with funds, but by such means that voluntary exertions would not be interfered ~~with~~ with. The money would be supplied on the principle, "if

1. "Political Philosophy." H. Brougham London 1842. P.64.

2. See chapter on "Infant Education".

3. "Speech." 1835. De Montmorency. P.294.

"~~if~~ you will subscribe so much we will subscribe the
^I
 rest."

In order to improve the standard of education in general and to organise and overlook educational matters, Brougham proposed in 1835 the establishment of a Board of Commissioners. The duties of the Board would include the just distribution of the funds voted from time to time by Parliament for the promotion of education; the establishment of seminaries for training teachers; and the encouragement of trustees of charities connected with education to use their powers beneficially and to watch² over the abuses of trust committed by such trustees. Although these resolutions of 1835 were finally withdrawn, Brougham had ventilated the whole subject of the state of education in the country.

After a brief interval Brougham returned to the attack with two further Bills in 1837 and 1838. Both were formulated round the same two principles. First, that there never ought to be any direct compulsion concerning

1. Op. cit. P.296.

2. Ibid. P.323.

the education of the people; that the compulsory principle was a violation of individual liberty. Secondly, that it should not be within the power of the government to regulate the details of education. Brougham had come more and more to the view that public instruction must be kept free from the state and he deprecated the reformers who in their ardour for education had not considered the line "over which the lawgiver ought not to pass, and beyond which he loses all claim to support by the violation of the most sacred principles." The interference of the state should be excluded beyond what was absolutely necessary.

Brougham thought, however, that it was ~~im~~possible, without infringing the liberty of the subject, to hold out incentives and to give facilities to encourage parents to see to the education of their children. The first inducement was to make education cheap, good and easily acquired. He further suggested that "some disadvantage, or some disqualification, should be thrown upon the

1. "Speech on Moving the First Reading of Bills on Education delivered in the House of Lords." Dec. 1st. 1837. "Speeches." vol. 3. P. 277.

2. Ibid. vol. 3. P. 278.

3. Ibid. vol. 3. P. 280.

uneducated; while, on the other hand, some such advantage should be given to the educated as must constitute a distinct and tangible preference in their favour." ^I

Perhaps the most striking feature of the proposals of 1837 and 1838 was that which detailed a scheme for the establishment of a Board of Commissioners. Brougham had first suggested this in 1835 and now he thought that a Public Department called the Education Department was essential. To the powers he had proposed to give such a Board in 1835, ² he now added the superintendance and distribution "of such other funds as might be raised by local taxation" for educational purposes. ³ Another function of the Board would be to found or improve schools, but only with "a concurrence, in every instance, of the local authorities." ⁴

Brougham's introduction of local authorities into educational administration was the novel feature of

1. Op. cit. Vol.3. P.280.

2. See Page 178)179.

3. Hansard. 3S. 38. c.1619.

4. "Speeches." Vol.3. P.290.

thes proposals. In the tow ns, the corporation was the competent body to discharge the local functions, especially the voluntary imposition of a school rate which Brougham ^I thought was necessary in industrialised districts. For the country-side, where there was no competent local authority, he proposed that the local inhabitants be allowed to form a School Committee which would be elected by rate-payers, together with those possessing certain ² educational qualifications.

In these proposals, Brougham took the opportunity to point to the unsatisfactory means by which parliamentary grants were distributed. About half the required sum had to be raised by those making application for the grant, yet in certain districts where grants were urgently needed there was "no means of raising twenty ³ shillings towards the fund." All these proposals were met with the opposition of the Established Church. Although Brougham had stated explicitly "that in all

1. Op. cit. Vol.3. P.288.

2. Ibid. Vol.3. P./305.

3. Ibid. Vol.3. P.294.

schools founded, extended, or improved under the Bill,"
^I
 the scriptures should be read, the Church was not
 prepared to accept any dilution of her doctrine to
 accomodate Dissenters, or any absenteeism for Jews and
 Roman Catholics. The Bill failed² finally on August 14th.
 1838.

The most outstanding feature of these last
 years of Brougham's effective career (1834-1839), was
 his realisation that drastic internal reform of education
 was as necessary as structural reform. He now saw that
 the "new system" for imparting education was not the
 wonderful device which he had once nailed along with
³ ⁴
 the Utilitarians. By 1835 he was pushing the view

1. Op. cit. Vol.3. P.312.

2. Hansard 38. 44. c.1174.

3. As early as 1816 he had noted Fellenberg's
 criticism that it taught too fast, "you make mere
 machines of your scholars." "Speech" 1820. (De Montmorency.
 P.284.) In the same year he had heard a similar view
 expressed by Robert Owen in his evidence before the
 Select Comm. on the Educ. of the Lower Orders. He thought
 "the facility with which children acquire the common
 rudiments of learning, an unfortunate result of the
 new system. Habits and dispositions---were of much more
 importance than rudimentary knowledge." Parl.Papers
 355A.V.37. P.239.

4. See next page (X).

that though children learnt very quickly by this method they were apt to forget as swiftly. Learning by rote was useless; he termed it the "parrot system" which was to be avoided at all cost and replaced by a reasonable and rational system.¹ When visiting Manchester he was pleased to find that the boys, at the school organised by the Mechanics' Institute there, were "taught to reflect and reason to a certain degree over what they pass over with their eye."² Thus reason and understanding in instruction rather than learning was a most necessary internal reform.

The standard of instruction in the schools, like the method, was very poor. Though by 1834 many children were in attendance, Brougham stated that in many cases they were taught so little "that it would not be improper to say that their time was all but lost."³

X. Footnote four from previous page. He probably came to this view many years before but up to the 1830's he was attempting to get some sort of education for the masses and was not over-worried as to its quality.

I. "Address to the members of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution." 21st. July. 1835. "Speeches" V.3. p.158.

2. Years before, Robert Owen had called attention to schools where children "are never taught to understand what they read; the time therefore, which is occupied in the mockery of instruction is lost."

"A New View of Society." P 98.

Again in 1835 and 1837 he re-iterated this view; that the learning of the scanty kind given was merely another name for ignorance; that the quality of the instruction was much more defective than its amount.¹ Accordingly the standard of instruction in schools must be improved and extended over a widened curriculum which should include not only reading, writing and arithmetic, but geography, natural history, practical geometry and linear drawing. He would also have included "civil history" as such knowledge was essential if the people were to judge rightly² concerning government.

Yet before this internal reform of education concerning the quality and breadth of the curriculum could be carried out, it was clear that a vast improvement in the standard of teachers was required. One of the weaknesses of all the schemes advanced during the early years of the century was the meagre notions held by their promoters of the qualifications necessary in those who should be entrusted with the instruction of the young.

Footnote 3 from previous page. Hansard 3S. 22
c.848.

1. "Speeches." Vol.3. Pp.286-287.

2. "Speech" 1835. De Montmorency P.267.

Even Tom Paine, an advanced thinker in so many directions, seems to have supposed that a few old people in each village, apparently without special training, would suffice for this purpose. ^I Early in his career Brougham would have agreed with Lancaster that any boy who could read, could teach. Although he held that a school-master's employment was highly honourable and useful, he thought "that class would not, however, be offended when he observed that they moved in an inferior situation of life." ² In the mid-thirties he considerably modified this opinion and the supply of good well trained schoolmasters became one of the most important internal reforms he advocated. He was now appalled by the conditions in many schools where the masters "knew little of what they ought to teach; still less the art of teaching." ³ Many "teachers" did not deserve this name; ⁴ they were utterly unfit for

1. Tom Paine "The Rights of Man." Everyman Edition. P.132.

2. "Speech." 1835. P.267.

3. Ibid. P.310.

4. "Speeches" Vol.3. P.286.

the performance of their duty and had adopted the profession in despair of obtaining any other mode of livelihood.^I

Brougham was now convinced that teaching was a profession for which training was required. Well taught, sufficiently remunerated schoolmasters were essential if education was to be worth while. Thus he advocated the establishment of "normal schools" or teachers training centres.² He looked forward to the establishment of seminaries^S in London, York, Liverpool, Durham and Exeter, so that every area would be assured a regular supply of trained teachers. These seminaries would teach not only the branches of learning, but also the mode of imparting knowledge and the best method of training and dealing with children, For the establishment of such centres he asked Parliament to grant a further £20,000 for five or six years.³ Here again Brougham was in advance of his time with a scheme which was eventually adopted.

1. Hansard 3S. 49. c.315.

2. Hansard 3S. 22. c.848. Brougham acknowledged his debt to Fellenberg for his idea.

3. "Speech." 1835. De Montmorency. P.315.

Brougham's efforts during these years met with no direct success but they did stimulate the government to action; in 1839 a Committee of the Privy Council on Education was set up. He was bitterly disappointed with the inadequacy of the measure and the extent of the legislation which the government had deemed fit. He regretted that "the government in deference to the senseless apprehensions of some - the miserable affectations of others - and the foolish prejudices of the rest - have pared down what ought to have been a general measure for the education of the people, into a mere plan for founding a single school in London and appointing a committee of their own body to superintend the grant of £20,000 or £30,000." Brougham therefore put forward his own Bill¹ which was in substance the same as those² of 1837 and 1838. When it met with the same fate as its predecessors Brougham retired from the scene.

He now realised that his main work for educational reform was completed. The legislature had at length been

1. Hansard 3S. 48. c.1315.

2. Hansard. 3S49. c.308.

aroused to the subject of popular education and so he thought the time had arrived "when the comparatively feeble labours of individuals should give place to the work which stronger hands can better do." Now, "for the first time we have had the attention of Parliament fully directed to the subject of education;" now was the time to stand aside and let the government act "with all the weight which a government is sure to have and the support which no individual can command."^I

I. "A Letter on National Education to the Duke of Bedford from Lord Brougham." Edin. 1839. P.II. Brougham was well pleased with this pamphlet; Greville records his words - "it is by far the best thing I ever did, and the only eloquent. My whole heart was in it." "Journal". V.I. P.239.

Chapter Thirteen.A CRITICAL APPRECIATION

In his long old age, Brougham, excluded from affairs since 1834, was driven to distinguish himself by "Miscellaneous objection and diversified sarcasm." ^I Up to the late forties he still spoke frequently in the Lords but more often than not it was from the opposition benches. He made overtures to both sides in his many attempts to regain power. Such action was ill-timed for a man so strongly distrusted. Few contemporaries would have agreed with his mother - "that he acts from Principle.--- Government will not I feel save from knowledge of his character, that is neither wishing for place or power. He likes Independence, it is destroyed by taking office. He now ² speaks and votes as he considers it right to do." It is difficult not to sympathise with a man, so able and active, condemned to be in the wilderness for the greater part of

1. Walter Bagehot. "Biographical Studies." p.79.

2. From the unpublished letters in the possession of Mrs. M.F. Pirie. E. Brougham to the Rev. Dr. Forsyth.

his political life. Yet he was not without influence. Macaulay thought that "a mere tongue, without a party and without a character, in an unfriendly audience and with an unfriendly press, never did half as much before."^I

As the years went by Brougham spent more and more time at his villa at Cannes. His work for education, however, was continued sporadically. In October 1841 he wrote to Graham the Home Secretary urging him to direct his attention to education.² Sixteen years later he became the first president of the newly formed "Social Science Association" which included education in its wide scope. The Association was first projected in 1856 but the first formal step in the work of organising it was not taken till 29th. July 1857 when a private meeting was held in Brougham's house in Grafton Street, London, "to consider the best means of uniting together all those interested in social improvement."³

1. MacVey Napier. "Correspondence." Ed. by his son. London 1879. P.270.

2. C.S. Parker "Life and Letters of Sir James Graham. London 1907. vol.I P.337.

3. "Memoir of Lord Brougham." P.xxiii.

The aims of the Association were, "to aid the development of Social Science, to spread a knowledge of the principles of jurisprudence, and to guide the public mind to the best practical means of promoting the advancement of education, the prevention and repression of crime, the reformation of criminals, the adopting of sanitary regulations, and the diffusion of sound principles on all questions of social economy, trade and international law." ^I Brougham continued as President until 1865 and then was a vice-president to the end of his life. The Association held annual congresses, first at Birmingham and then in successive years at Liverpool, Bradford, Glasgow, Dublin, London, Edinburgh, York, Sheffield and Manchester. Brougham was present at most of these meetings and gave his last address at Edinburgh in 1863 when it was recorded that "Lord Brougham is still working away as vigorously as in his youth for the good ² of his fellow creatures." It is difficult to assess

1. Report of the Proceedings of the Seventy Annual Congress. 1863. Pp.xxiii-xxiv. Op. cit.

2. Ibid. vii.

the influence that this association had on events;
 reference to its work is enough, however, if it shows
 that Brougham fought for education to the end.^I

As late as 1859 he was trying to organise
 education for the great and growing middle class. In
 this year he presented in the Lords one hundred and
 fifteen petitions from places in England, complaining
 that in schools for the middle classes no provision
 was made "to secure good and efficient instructors" and
 urging a system of government inspection to achieve this
 end.² Five years later he reminded the House of these
 petitions and pointed out that whereas "care was taken
 to prevent unqualified persons practising surgery or

1. In his Edinburgh Address he referred to
 a periodical work, a monthly journal - the "Border
 City"; conducted by the working classes, members of
 a reading room, and written entirely by working men
 --- its pages might well stand a comparison with the
 common run of our periodical publications; and it is
 greatly to be wished that other works of a like kind
 may be undertaken by the same class in other places."
 Report of the Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Congress.
 Lord Brougham's Address, P.24.

2. Hansard. 3S. 155. c.252.

medicine;" there was nothing to prevent "the most unfit persons from teaching the children of the middle classes." This was his last work for education; he died at Cannes in 1868.²

"The first man this country has seen since Burke's time." This was Creevey's view of Brougham as early as 1816.³ He was without a doubt the great reforming figure in England in the early nineteenth century. Engaged in many fields, variety was his taste and versatility his power. This was at once his strength and his weakness; he was possessed with that restless spirit which touched everything and finished nothing.

A feared and a hated man, his eccentric and virulent temper made him constantly suspect. Even an intimate such as Creevey dubbed him "Beelzebub" and "Old Wickedshifts."⁴ Perhaps the best summing up of his

1. Hansard 3S. 175. c.697-698.
2. D.N.B.
3. "Creevey" Ed. John Gore. London 1948
P.66.
4. "Creevey Papers" Ed. Sir H. Maxwell
Vol. 2. P.274.

position in public life and of his character as it appeared to most contemporaries, is given by Greville who records that "Brougham has prospered to a certain degree; he has a reputation and he makes a considerable income at the bar; but as an advocate he is left behind by men of far inferior capacity. --- As a statesman he is not considered eligible for the highest offices, and however he may be feared as an orator and debater, he neither commands respect by his character nor inspires confidence by his genius." It is not surprising that on losing office in 1834 he never regained it during his long life, despite countless overtures to his own party and to the opposition.

The glaring shortcomings and inconsistencies in Brougham's character were largely responsible for keeping him out of the first rank of statesmen. In the picture of the nineteenth century he "should have been a central figure;" but owing to his "want of steadfastness, there will be for ever a blur where Henry Brougham

I
 should have been." Yet in some way his faults helped him in his reforming crusade. Insensitivity to criticism and disregard for the feelings of others gave more drive to his dynamic thrust for reform. Only such a man could have done anything for the education of the people in the early nineteenth century.

Brougham possessed all the qualities of a reformer. In spite of his eccentricities he had the capacity to inspire men, to make them work with him. Place complained that on several occasions Brougham had not hesitated "to garble accounts and play tricks with his friends, yet notwithstanding this, there is not a man living who has a stronger desire to have the people instructed than Mr. Brougham, nor one who has exerted himself more than he has to promote that object." ² Place could forgive much in such a zealot. Another contemporary and close associate of Brougham's in educational reform,

1. Harriet Martineau "Biographical Studies"
 1869. P. 164.

2. B.M. Add. mss. 27823 folio 248.

testified that to work alongside such a man - "to partake his high hopes for the improvement of his fellow creatures, and to have one's powers constantly called out by his wonderful talents" furnished a powerful incentive to deserve his friendship.¹

In his reforming crusade Brougham's technique was not that of an agitator. He was no demagogue, no mob orator, and, although a friend of the people, was strongly of the opinion that any discontent should never exceed the bounds allowed by law.² Furthermore, his reforming programme was well thought out and realistic - he was no reformer for reform's sake. "Crude, rank, precipitate reforms," were, he thought, "worse for the cause of freedom than standing stock still."³

His educational scheme had many virtues. It was logical - complete. Unlike Bell, Lancaster, Wilderspin and Owen who concerned themselves largely with one branch of education, Brougham's scheme was all-embracing. With

1. Charles Knight "Passages of a Working Life"
2. "Address to the members of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution" 21st. July. 1835. "Speeches" V3. P.172.
3. "Speech on the establishment of the Liverpool M.I." V3. P.594.

a greater intuition and a more systematic thought, he perceived the importance of correlating infant with juvenile and juvenile with adult education. His plan regarded education as a continuous process, not just a moulding of the child but continued development extending from infancy to the grown man. It was practical-it considered the type of work a man has to do and the place he should hold in society.

Brougham's work as an educationalist gains further greatness from being integrated in his own mind with his overall view of political development. Too often the reformers of this period were men of one idea, moved by the sight of a specific abuse and urged on by the humanitarian instinct or the promptings of Christian faith. They demanded reform without any clear perception of its political implications, or its effects on the social structure and political economy of the country. With Brougham, however, educational progress was the obvious concomitant of the advent of the wider franchise on the one hand and of the Industrial Revolution on the other.

While envisaging a democratic and industrial society, Brougham did not wish to create an omni-competent

state which would plan and organise. On the contrary, he wished to retain in this new society all the postulates of individualism which was the key note, and indeed the chief defect, of the philosophy which the English Radicals inherited from the French Revolution and from the somewhat soulless efficiency demanded by the Utilitarian gospel. Accordingly, in all his work for education, Brougham did not wish to endanger the independence of the people, or to sacrifice their individuality and insisted repeatedly that they should contribute to their own instruction ^I and that state aid should be limited to financing the first step in setting up educational establishments.

However, this carefully articulated piece of machinery lacked something - a soul. It was an ideal scheme to be used to further a moderate programme of

I. For the same reason he was strongly opposed to "charities" which he thought promoted idleness and trained up a race of paupers. "Practical Observations" 1825. P.30. (He included in charities all the revenues of alms houses, hospitals and schools where children were supported as well as educated. "Speech" 1820. De Montmorency "State Int. in Eng. Educ. Pp.281-282. See also "Speeches" Vol.3. P.63. Also Parliamentary Reports 355A. Vol.37. P.61.

practical reform, but not to lead to a new and higher conception of the goal of education. It was a programme but not a philosophy; it dealt with man in brilliant fashion but there was no speculation concerning ends. The ends were regarded as obvious - efficiency and "happiness." Brougham was a Utilitarian in philosophy and shared the Utilitarian zeal for practical reform and the Utilitarian limitation in his view of human nature. Like Bentham he was interested, not in the problems of life, but in the mechanism of living; his reforms were a series of political gadgets. Thus although he plunged "with the energy of a Titan" into a thousand projects "all taking for granted that ignorance was the disease and useful knowledge the universal healer;" they were all secular, "all dealing with man from the outside, none touching imagination or the heart." The criterion of utility was ideal to reform a decadent educational system but not to promote

a philosophical basis for a new one.

The child educated on Brougham's system would grow into a man of technical abilities, fully trained in his trade or craft and yet not "educated." He would take his place in the new society that the industrial revolution was creating, he would have the virtues of skill and thrift that the machine age required. And yet, he would lack an attitude in life. The rising popular press would, like as not, sway him; he would have a trained mind but not a deep one. Brougham, as it were, envisaged as his Utopia a society in which men were well organised and free, and rather shallow, a society whose real thinking would be done for it, whose leaders would provide, through the democratic process, its politics. In short, a society where he, Henry Brougham, would be indispensable. Like most of us, Brougham saw the world revolving round himself, and took his own personality into account in his scheme for the future.

In any appreciation of Brougham's work as the dynamic force behind education in the early nineteenth century it must also be remembered that he was never the man with the original idea. There was

much truth in "Libra's" statement, when in a letter to the "Mechanics' Magazine" he asserted that "the School-master was abroad before Mr. B. was out of his horn book; and Sunday Schools had done much towards making a reading community of the English people; before either Lancasterian schools or Mechanics' Institutions were heard of."^I

Yet even though the ground was in part prepared, it was Brougham who sowed the seed for the harvest of later years. That he held most exaggerated opinions on the efficacy of education must also be taken into account.²

He thought it was an insurance against social revolution; that it would abolish ignorance and crime and secure peace and stability of government. It was the panacea for adverse worldly conditions; it was the medium through which the Utilitarian philosophy could achieve its

I. "Mechanics' Magazine" Vol.2. February 21st. 1830. P.20.

2. "If ever there is a ray of hope at present in any part of the political horizon, it assuredly breaks in from the quarter to which we have been addressing ourselves - the good sense and increased information of the people. We believe them to be sound and incorruptible". ("Edinburgh Review" No.40. Art.8. Pp.424-425.) ("Rights and Duties of the People" by Brougham.) His faith in education was perhaps the most consistent thread in his thought.

highest success; it might also be the medium through which Henry Brougham could achieve greatness.

Brougham has suffered much from hostile
¹ criticism. The "Economist" of 1849 thought that his inconsistencies were so great and glaring and his conduct so obviously guided by no political principle that it was "like pouring water into a sieve" to criticise his
² actions. One hundred years later a subscriber to the same periodical compares Brougham's career to that of Lord Beaverbrook, in that he "added something to the
³ gaiety but little to the wisdom of nations." This may be true of Brougham in the 1850's, after a life of disappointment and scurrilous attack, but it is very far from the truth when applied to his vitally important

1. All three numbers of the short lived "Anti-Jacobin Review" seemed expressly intended to attack Brougham. The first number asked - "Have not schools and universities and mechanics' institutes and book clubs--- been established for the propagation of Infidelity and Ultra-Liberalism by Mr. Brougham and other distinterested patriots?" (No.1. May 1827.)

The "Edinburgh Magazine" stated "with him education is merely a tool to serve the filthy private interests of his own faction." (Blackwood's V.22. No.131. Oct.1827.

2. "Economist" 23rd. June 1849.

3. Ibid. 15th. Oct. 1849

work before 1834. Up to this time he had stood virtually alone as the champion of popular education (to take only this one branch of his reforming activities). He indissolubly connected the education movement with his name; he was a kind of prophet of knowledge, "he preached the gospel of the alphabet," and paved the way for the national system of Gladstonian Liberalism.

That little figure on the title page of "Punch", which has dragged Brougham's upturned mask through the dirt for more than one hundred years, has drawn attention to his weaknesses and failures. The pages of history have tended to minimise his impact, yet it was he, and he alone, who convinced both the Ministry, the Opposition and the nation at large that the school-master was abroad. The value of Brougham's work for education and the impact of his personality on the early

1. W. Bagehot "Biographical Studies." P.57.

2. A contemporary such as Cobbett who opposed Brougham's educational schemes could say of him - "he has amusement in him; he has life and that is a great thing with me who hate your solemn asses."
"The Opinions of William Cobbett." P.292.

years of the nineteenth century is not sufficiently appreciated today. We would agree with the "Edinburgh Review"^I that there is no title to distinction we should so much envy as that which rests on his services in the cause of education, for "he led popular education from the dark and narrow crib where he found it, like a young colt, saddled and cruelly bitted by ignorance, for superstition to ride. He cut the straps from its sides and bridle from its jaws and sent it forth strong, beautiful and free."²

1. "Edinburgh Review." 82. Jan. 1825. Art. 12.

2. Bamford "Passages in the Life of a Radical." Ed. Henry Dunckley. 2 Vols. 1893. V.2 P.15.

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Education in England." 1826.

Hugh James Rose "The Tendency of Prevalent Opinions
About Knowledge Considered."

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APPENDIX A.

Brougham's account of Fellenberg's
Establishment at Hofwyl Switzerland.

Given in the "Minutes of Evidence" before the
Select Committee on education Third Report Pp. 194-197.
Parl. Reports 355A. Vol. 37.

The groundwork of the establishment is a farm of moderate extent, from 210-220 posen, answering nearly to our English acre, which Mr. Fellenberg cultivates himself with great assiduity and success. Upon this he has engrafted the other branches of his institution, which consists of a Seminary for the education and moral and religious improvement of the poor; an academy for the richer classes of society; and an agricultural institution for a limited number of pupils, and a manufactory of agricultural implements.

The Academy consists of 50 or 60 pupils, who are taught every branch of useful learning, from Latin and Greek---to the higher branches of the mathematics and of physical science. These pupils are chiefly of patrician families. When I was there, I found 7 or 8 German princes among them, besides several sons of German nobles; and the Prince and Princess of Wirtemberg (the present king and queen) were expected in a few days to visit the place, with the

design of prevailing on Mr. F. to make room for another young prince under their care. All these pupils go through the same discipline; eat at the same table with Mr. F. and his family and pay about £60 sterling a year for all expenses inclusive of clothing. I ought to add, that when the troubles on the continent had reduced so many families to great distress, Mr. F. kept above a dozen of the young men for nothing during two years. This part of the establishment creates the principal expense, as about 20 eminent professors belong to it, whose salaries amount to between £2000 and £3000 a year. On the other hand, they form a very interesting society, and render a residence in the neighbourhood alike instructive and agreeable.

The Agricultural Institution is particularly under Mr. F's. own care, and consists of about 20 pupils more advanced in years than the former class. They are taught practically in the farm; and have likewise hours of scholastic instruction, and have meetings of discussion with Mr. F. They are separately lodged and boarded at Buchsee, a chateau about a mile distance from Mr. F's.

house. The manufactory of agricultural implements is extremely beautiful, from the neatness and excellence of the workmanship, but especially from the valuable improvements in mechanism which Mr. F. has introduced. Among these may be mentioned his horse-hoe, his scarifier, or extirpator, his root and straw cutters; and above all, his drill, which has been highly admired by all competent judges, and I believe, been honoured with the approbation of the Board of Agriculture of this country.

The branch of the establishment, however, which is more particularly deserving of attention, and with which all the others are more or less connected, is the seminary for the poor. Mr. F. having long remarked the extreme profligacy of the lowest orders in the Swiss towns, and the habits of ignorance and vice in which their children are brought up, formed many years ago the design of attempting their reformation upon principles equally sound and benevolent. His leading doctrine was, that to make those poor people better, it was necessary to make them more comfortable; and that this end would be best attained by forming in their earliest years habits of industry, which might contribute to their substance, by joining with them a greater

degree of intellectual cultivation than has ever yet been extended to the labouring classes of the community, or been imagined to be compatible with their humble pursuits. He began his experiments upon a small number of children which he has now increased to between 30 and 40; and this may be reckoned the utmost limit upon a farm of so moderate extent. Those children were taken from the very worst description of society; the most degraded of the mendicant poor in Berne and other Swiss towns. With hardly any exception, they were sunk in the vicious and idle habits of their parents, a class of dissolute vagrants, resembling the worst kind of gypsies. The complete change that has been effected in them all, is one of the most extraordinary and affecting sights that can be imagined. When I saw them, there were some who had been there for several years, and had grown up towards manhood; but the reformation in almost all took place during from one to two years, or a very little more, according as they were taken at an earlier or more advanced age. The remark which I made is that which immediately strikes all who visit Hofwyl;- the appearance of the children alone, their countenance, and manner, impress you with a conviction of their excellent dispositions. To describe all the steps of their progress by which this has been effected, would be impossible,

as much depends on minute circumstances, and upon the great skill and judgement of Vehrli, a very young man who has devoted his life, under Mr. F., to the superintendance of this part of the establishment, and to whose extraordinary virtue and ability its success is principally owing. But I shall endeavour to give the committee some idea of the mode of treatment pursued.

The first principle of the system is to show the children gentleness and kindness, so as to win their affections, and always to treat them as rational creatures, cultivating their reason, and appealing to it. It is equally essential to impress upon their minds the necessity of industrious and virtuous conduct to their happiness, and the inevitable effects of the opposite behaviour, in reducing them from the comfort in which they now live to the state of misery from which they were rescued. A constant and even minute superintendance of every instant of their lives, forms, of course, part of the system; and, as may easily be supposed, the elder boys, who have already profited by the care of the master, aid him in extending it to the newcomers, who for this purpose are judiciously distributed among them. These are, I am aware, very general principles, and upon their judicious application to practice in each particular instance, according to the diversities of

individual character, their whole virtue depends. But a somewhat more specific notion of the plan may be formed by observing, that it is never allowed for a moment to be absent from their thoughts, that manual labour, in cultivating the ground, is the grand and paramount care which must employ their whole lives and upon which their whole existence depends. To this everything else is made subordinate; but with this are judiciously connected a variety of intelligent intellectual tendency; certain hours are set apart for the purposes of learning; and while at work in the fields, the conversation, without interrupting for a moment the necessary business of their lives, is always directed to those branches of knowledge in which they are improving themselves during the intervals of labour. Besides writing and cyphering (at which they are very expert) they apply themselves to geography and history, and to the different branches of natural history, particularly mineralogy and botany, in which they take a singular delight and are considerably proficient. The connection of those with agriculture renders them most appropriate studies for those poor children; and as their daily labour brings them constantly into contact with the objects of those sciences, a double relish is at once afforded to the science and the

labour. You may see one of them stepping aside from the furrow where several of them have been working, to deposit a specimen, or a plant, for his little hortus siccus or cabinet; and Mr. F. rarely goes into the fields where any of them are labouring, without being called upon to decide some controversy that has arisen upon matters relating to mineralogy and botany, or the parts of chemical science which have most immediate relation to agriculture. There is one other subject which is ever present to their minds; I mean pure and rational theology. Mr. F. is deeply imbued himself with the sense of religion; and it enters into all his schemes for the improvement of society. Regarding the state of misery in which the poorest classes live, as rather calculated (if I may use his own expression) to make them believe in the agency of a devil than God, his first care, upon rescuing those children from that wretchedness, is to inspire them with the feelings of devotion which he himself warmly entertains, and which he regards as natural to the human heart, when misery has not chilled nor vice hardened it. Accordingly the conversation, as well as the habits of the poor at Hofwyl, partake largely of religious influence. The evidence of design observable in the operations of nature, and the benevolent tendency of those

operations in the great majority of instances, form constant topics of discourse in their studies, and during the labours of the day; and though no one has ever observed the slightest appearance of fanaticism or of superstition (against which, in truth, the course of instruction pursued is the surest safeguard) yet ample testimony is borne by all travellers to the prevailing piety of the place.

That the habits of common labour are perfectly reconcilable with those of a contemplative and even scientific life; and that a keen relish for the pleasures of speculation, may be united with the most ordinary pursuits of the poor, seems to be proved by this experiment of Mr. F.. I am quite aware that he has only made it upon a small scale; that its application to a populous district may be difficult; and that a substitution of manufacturing for agricultural labour would greatly augment the difficulty. Nevertheless, before we say that little can be effected in this way, we ought to consider how limited have been Mr. F's. means. The farm on which he has done so much is under 220 acres; and his income, independent of the profit he derives from the breeding of horses, in which he is very skillful and his manufactory of husbandry implements, does not exceed £500 a year. The extraordinary economy which reigns in his establishment, is indeed requisite to explain the existence of an

institution; for although the Academy and Institute are supported by the richer pupils, they pay a very moderate sum; and the family, who are lodged and wholly supported at Hofwyl, amounts to 180 persons. These dine at six different tables; and their food, though simple, is extremely good.

Before concluding this statement, I must add that Mr. F'S. principal object in establishing the economy for the wealthier classes, is to teach them their duties towards the poor; and above all to inculcate the propriety of adopting, each in his own sphere, the system pursued with respect to the poor children at Hofwyl. As they learn that system in all its details, and as they almost all become enthusiasts in it, there is reason to hope that its benefits may spread to other parts of the world. The primary difficulty, no doubt, is to find such admirable superintendents as Vehrli. But we may confidently trust that some of the youths trained at Hofwyl will be able to carry the methods adopted there, into practice elsewhere. And I may add, that nothing would give Mr. F. more satisfaction than to receive a pupil sent there to learn those methods. In order to profit immediately by his stay at Hofwyl, such a person should understand German, as that is the language spoken by Vehrli and the labourers.

Mr. F. having observed the general defects in the education of youth in Switzerland, arising from the ignorance of the schoolmasters, (whose emoluments are inferior to the wages of ordinary labour) adopted a very judicious plan for remedying this evil. He assembled about 40 of them one summer and kept them at Hofwyl during their vacation of three months. He there had them instructed by the professors of the place, in various branches of knowledge. Being men of industrious habits, and sufficiently anxious to learn, they made great progress, and still further improved themselves on their return to their homes. Mr. F. invited them all to assemble the next year, but the Government for some reason which I cannot pretend to explain, took umbrage at this proceeding, and prohibited the meeting. However, the neighbouring canton of Zurich, encouraged their teachers to resort to Hofwyl, where a number of them were accordingly maintained and instructed in the same manner as the Bernese masters had been the year before."

Brougham went on to give a brief account of Pestalozzi's establishment at Yverdun. He spoke with diffidence on this subject as his visit had been brief and his examination imperfect.

APPENDIX B.

"THE EVILS OF THE FACTORY SYSTEM"

This book by Charles Wing was published in London 1837. Wing gives an exhaustive account of the dreadful factory conditions and the effect on the operatives. His work includes evidence of Medical Men in 1816, 1818 and 1819 before both the House of Commons and the House of Lords; ages, earnings, mortality etc. of the operatives; and Commissioner's Reports and Factory statistics.

The following extract is from part two of his work; "Abridgement of the Evidence of Operatives, Clergymen and Others --- before Mr. Sadler's Committee in 1832.

"Bentley Elizabeth, age 23, - examined, 4th. June, 1832, - as doffer, began to work, when six years old, in a flax mill, at Leeds.

1. What were your hours of labour? - From five in the morning, till nine at night, when they were thronged.

2. For how long a time together have you worked that excessive length of time? - For about half a year.

3. What were your usual hours of labour, when you were not so thronged? - From six in the morning to seven at night.

4. What time was allowed for your meals? - Forty minutes at noon.

5. Had you any time to get your breakfast or drinking? - No we got it as we could.

6. And when your work was bad, you had hardly any time to eat it at all? - No; we were obliged to leave it or to take it home, and when we did not take it, the overlooker took it, and gave it to his pigs.

7. Do you consider doffing a labourious employment? - Yes; when the frames are full, they have to stop the frames, and take the flyers off, and take the full bobbins off, and carry them to the roller, and then put empty ones on, and set the frames going again.

8. Does that keep you constantly on your feet? - Yes; there are so many frames and they run so quick.

9. Suppose you flagged a little or were too late, what would they do? - Strap us.

10. Girls as well as boys? - Yes.

11. Have you ever been strapped? - Yes, severely.

12. Were you strapped if you were too much fatigued to keep up with the machinery? - Yes; the overlooker I was under was a very severe man, and when we have been fatigued, and worn out, and had not baskets to put the bobbins in, we used to put them in the window bottoms,

and that broke the pane sometimes, and I broke one one time, and the overlooker strapped me on the arm, and it rose a blister, and I ran home to my mother.

13. How long were you in your first situation? - Three or four years.

14. Where did you go to then? - To Benyon's factory.

15. What were you there? - A weigher in the card-room.

16. How long did you work there? - From half-past five till eight at night.

17. The carding room is more oppressive than the spinning department? - Yes, it is so dusty; they cannot see each other for dust.

18. Did working in the card-room affect your health? - Yes; it was so dusty, the dust got in my lungs, and the work was so hard; I was middling strong when I went there, but the work was so bad; I got so bad in health, that when I pulled the baskets down, I pulled my bones out of their places.

19. You are considerably deformed in your person in consequence of this labour? - Yes, I am.

20. At what time did it come on? - I was about thirteen years old when it began coming, and it has got worse since; it is five years since my mother died, and

my mother was never able to get me a pair of good stays to hold me up; and when my mother died, I had to do for myself and got me a pair.

21. Were you straight till you were thirteen? - Yes, I was.

22. Have you been attended to by any medical gentleman at Leeds, or the neighbourhood? - Yes, I have been under Mr. Hares.

23. To what did he attribute it? - He said it was owing to hard labour and work in the factories.

24. Where are you now? - In the poor-house.

25. Do any of your former employers come to see you? - No.

26. Did you receive anything from them when you became afflicted? - When I was at home, Mr. Walker made me a present of 1s. or 2s.; but since I have left my work and gone to the poor-house, they have not come nigh me.

27. You are supported by the parish? - Yes.

28. You are utterly incapable now of any exertion in the factories? - Yes.

29. You are very willing to have worked as long as you were able, from your earliest age? - Yes.

30. And to have supported your widowed mother as long as you could? - Yes."

APPENDIX C.THE "MONITORIAL SYSTEM" AND "CHRESTOMATHIA"

The "monitorial system", probably devised by Joseph Lancaster, was a method to provide a cheap yet efficient means for bringing the elements of instruction within the reach of the masses. The scheme was to cover the whole of England with schools, in each of which a thousand children would be taught in squads of ten by a hundred monitors. These monitors, chosen from promising scholars, were to be inculcated with certain factual knowledge which they were then to pass on to their group. Lancaster believed, and induced others to believe, that this could be done at an annual cost of not more than five shillings per head.

It was not unnatural that the "mechanical age" should produce such a system, nor that it should have been acclaimed by most contemporaries. It was a "new expedient parallel and rival to the most modern inventions in the mechanical departments." (John Foster "An Essay on the Evils of Popular Ignorance." Section 2. P.87.) Whitbread referred to the system in his 1807 Bill as a scheme which combined "expedition and cheapness." (Birchenough "History of Elementary Education.")
 Dr. Bell a protege of the Established Church and

a rival claimant to have "discovered" the monitorial system, took charge of a school at Bishop Auckland, founded by the philanthropist Sir Thomas Bernard, for training promising Scholars and teachers. In explanation of the experiment and the method of instruction employed, Bernard published in 1809, "The New School." (Third Ed. March 1810 and an enlarged edition under the title of "The Barrington School" 1812.)

The "monitorial system" was hailed with delight by Bentham and his followers. A very strong impression had been made on Bentham's mind by accounts of the results attending the application of the new system to the acquisition of language, given by several eminent teachers from their own actual trials; and especially the statements of Dr. Russel then headmaster of Charter House School and of Mr. Pillans and Mr. Gray, masters of the High School of Edinburgh. (Chrestomathia. Apps. I and 2. Pp.59-61. See also Wallas "Place" P.99.) Bentham came to the view that "the matchless excellence, as well as novelty of the "New Instruction System", is a matter too universally recognised, to need mention in any other way than that of simple allusion." ("Chrestomathia" P.54.) He proposed to extend it to "the higher branches of

learning, for the use of the Middling and Higher Ranks in Life." The whole scheme of instruction and organisation he laid down in "Chrestomathia" which was first published in 1816. ("Works" Bentham Ed. J. Bowring 1843. Vol.8.) The school was to be for one hundred pupils between about seven and fourteen years of age. The plan never matured, but "Chrestomathia" produced some ideas which were made use of later in the founding of London University.

APPENDIX D.

THE CIRCULAR LETTER OF 4th. JUNE 1816 ADDRESSED TO THE
MASTERS OF VARIOUS CHARITY SCHOOLS IN THE METROPOLIS.

(Given in Appendix A. to the four reports of
1816 Parliamentary Reports 355A. Vol.37. P.313.)

The great labour entailed in the work of the Select Committees on Education is plain from the vast amount of evidence they took from individuals and institutions before they issued their several "Reports". Reproduced below is the circular letter of 4th. June 1816. It serves to show that the committee, under Brougham's chairmanship, was prepared to go to great labour in undertaking this precise and exhausting inquiry. Most replies came in promptly with all points answered and the committee digested and tabulated this vast quantity of material.

Committee on the Education
of the Lower Orders,
4th. June 1816.

Sir,

I have to require that you will furnish me with answers to the following queries, with as little delay as possible:

1st. What is the nature of the school with which you are connected?

2nd. How many children are educated there?

3rd. What are they taught?

4th. Is the new method of teaching adopted?

5th. Are they clothed and boarded?

6th. What is the expense? distinguish Master's Mistresses, and other salaries.

7th. What are the funds and how do they arise? Specify the particulars of the last year's Income.

8th. What old Foundation Schools are there in your Parish; how are they endowed; how many do they teach; and what are their main expenses, distinguishing salaries?

9th. Can you estimate the number of poor children in your Parish, who are without the means of Education?

10th. Do the Parents of such Children show any reluctance to have them educated?

I have to require that you will address your answer to me, at the Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders, House of Commons.

I am your obedient Servant,

H. BROUGHAM,

Chairman.

APPENDIX E.THE RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE PUBLIC MEETING TO CONSIDERTHE) FOUNDING OF A LONDON MECHANICS' INSTITUTE.

(Printed in the "Mechanics' Magazine" 15th.
November 1823. Vol.I. Pp.177-192.)

1. "That the establishment of institutions for the instruction of Mechanics, at a cheap rate, in the principles of the arts they practise, as well as in all other branches of useful knowledge, is a measure calculated to improve extensively their habits and condition, to advance the arts and sciences, and to add largely to the power, resources and prosperity of the country.

2. "That such institutions are likely to be most stable and useful when entirely or chiefly supported and managed by mechanics themselves.

3. "That the meeting acknowledge with approbation the example which the Mechanics of Glasgow have set their brethren at large, in being the first to establish, on this principle of self support and exertion an Institution for their own instruction in the arts and sciences.

4. "That there shall be established a London Mechanics' Institution.

5. "That the London Mechanics' Institution shall, in the first instance, comprehend all those persons who

have already given in their names as Members, as well as those who may do so, on or before the 2nd. December, on their conforming to the laws to be hereafter adopted for the constitution of the Institute; and that after the said 2nd. of December persons shall be admitted Members on such conditions and in such manner as these laws shall provide.

6. "That among the objects which the London Mechanics' Institution shall have especially in view, shall be the establishment, for the benefit of members, of lectureships on the different arts and sciences, a library of reference and circulation, a reading room, a museum of models, a school of design, and an experimental workshop and laboratory, provided with all necessary instruments and apparatus.

7. "That the annual subscription to admit a mechanic to all the benefits of the Institution shall not exceed one guinea, which shall be payable at once, or by such instalments as the laws shall direct.

8. "That the friends of knowledge and improvement be invited to contribute towards the accomplishment of all the aforesaid purposes by donations of money, books, specimens and apparatus.

9. "That the following persons be appointed a committee, with power to add to their numbers, five to be

a quorum, to draw up a set of laws for the constitution and government of the the Institution, and that these laws be submitted to a meeting, to be held on the second day of December, which meeting shall consist of all those whose names have been previously received, and who, upon the adoption of the proposed laws, or of such other laws as they may approve, shall in themselves constitute the London Mechanics' Institution."

There were more than 2,000 present at the meeting held at the "Crown and Anchor Tavern" where the above resolutions were carried unanimously.

APPENDIX F."THE ABOMINABLE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE."

A letter from Brougham to Cobden which the latter read at a meeting of the Association for the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge on 1st. December 1852, shows how the newspaper stamp had hindered the work of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. In this letter Brougham states that, "the instruction of the working classes in the country districts, where it is most wanted, has been almost prevented by it (the stamp). When the Useful Knowledge Society made, for years, efforts of every kind to diffuse sound information among the peasantry in the villages, cottages and farmhouses, we were always defeated by this stamp. Our only chance of making these poor people read was by wrapping good information of a lasting value in news, especially news respecting farming matters and things in their own neighbourhood. But the penny stamp made this impossible." (quoted in C.D. Collet "History of the Taxes on Knowledge." London no date. Thinkers Library re-issue 1933. P.17.)

The Quarterly Journal of Education (Vol. 2. London 1831. Pp.392-393) published an article entitled the "Expense of Printing a Book." The article, reproduced below, shows how the taxes were levied and demonstrates the difficulties of

printing and publishing.

"EXPENSE OF PRINTING A BOOK"

The taxes on books consist of the duty on paper and advertisements, and the eleven copies given to public libraries. The first are as follows;-

	£	s.	d.	
First class paper (including all printing matter).	-	-	3	per lb.
Second ditto.	-	-	1½	ditto.
Glazed paper, millboard etc.	I	I	-	per cwt.
Pasteboard first class	I	8	-	ditto.
Ditto second class	-	14	-	ditto.

These duties produced last year (1830) £665,872 5s. 8½d. of net revenue. The regulations and penalties under which they are charged and collected are about the most complicated, vexatious, and oppressive of any in the excise laws. On an average, the duties amount to from twenty to thirty per cent of the cost of the paper and paste-board used in the printing and boarding of books. Heavy, however, as these duties certainly are, they are light compared with those laid on advertisements. A duty of 3s. 6d. is charged on every advertisement long or short, inserted in the Gazette, or in any newspaper or

any work published in numbers or parts; and as the charge, exclusive of duty, for inserting an advertisement of the ordinary length in the newspapers, rarely exceeds 3s. or 4s., the duty adds fully a hundred per cent to its cost. And as it is quite as necessary to the sale of a work that it should be advertised as that it should be printed, the advertisement duty may be justly regarded as an "ad valorem" duty of a hundred per cent on the material of a most important manufacture. Had this duty furnished a large revenue, something might have been found to say in its favour; but even this poor apology for oppressive exaction cannot be urged in its behalf. It is exorbitant without being productive. Last year, (1830) it produced £157,482 7s. 4d. in Great Britain, and £16,337 14s. in Ireland, making altogether £173,821 1s. 4d., of which miserable pittance we believe we may safely affirm, a full third was derived from advertisements of books.

But the real operation of the duties on books will be best learned from the following statements, to which we invite the attention of our readers. They have been drawn up by the first practical authority in London, and the fullest reliance may be placed on their correctness. They refer to an octavo volume of 500 pages, printed on respectable

paper, to be sold by retail for 12s. a copy.

FIVE HUNDRED COPIES.

	Cost	Duty
Printing and corrections	£88 18 -	
Paper	38 10 -	8 12 10
Boarding	10 - -	3 3 8
Advertising	<u>40 - -</u>	<u>30 - -</u>
	£177 8 -	£31 16 6

II Copies to Public Libraries

I4 copies(say)to the author

475 copies for sale at 8s.5d. £199 17 II

Deduct cost £177 8 -

Profit to author and publisher

Commission, Interest on capital £22 9 II.

etc. when all are sold.

APPENDIX G.THE PENNY MAGAZINE AND THE PENNY CYCLOPAEDIA

The "Penny Magazine" first published on 31st. March 1832, had an immediate and striking success. Years later, long after the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge had been disbanded, Brougham recalled that it "drove the vile publications absolutely out of existence." ("Social Science." "Cheap Literature for the People." Address by Lord Brougham at Liverpool 12th. October, 1858. P.10.)

A typical issue, (No. 2. 7th. April, 1832. "Penny Magazine" Vol. I. Pp.9-16.) including articles on "Pompeii", "Van Diemen's Land," "The Lost Camel," "The Swallow," "The Week," "The British Museum," "Poesie" by George Wither (1588-1677), Wordsworth's "To a Daisy," an article "On the Choice of a Labouring Man's Dwelling" and various short reflections on topics like "Frugality." From its beginnings the magazine was well illustrated with engravings which improved in quality and increased in number as time went on.

The magazine always boasted a good leading article on topics of diverse nature. Among the first issues there were leaders on "The Warwick Vase," "The Colosseum", "Whitehall", "The Cartoons" and "York Minster." ("Penny Magazine" Vol I and 2.)

There were accounts of "The Paintings of Murillo," "Hogarth's Works," "The Kalong Bat" and "Freibourg." ("Penny Mag." V3.). Later on, Chaucer's "Tales" and other poems were illustrated and used as leaders. ("Penny Mag." VI4.).

The "Penny Cyclopaedia" was a much weightier production and provided more serious reading. It also was illustrated but not with such profusion as the "Penny Magazine". The preface to the first volume gave the object of the "Cyclopaedia," as not attempting to form systems of knowledge, "but to give pretty fully, under each separate head, as much information as can be conveyed within reasonable limits." It went on - "whilst it endeavours to present in detail the explanation of those terms of Arts and Sciences, the right understanding of which is independent of any system, it also attempts to give such general views of all great branches of knowledge, as may help to the formation of just ideas on their extent and relative importance, and to point out the best sources of complete information."

The "Cyclopaedia," it would seem, attempted too much; the articles were too long and rather abstruse and dry. It was one of the Society's less successful ventures.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OFUSEFUL KNOWLEDGE.APPENDIX H.

The Library of Useful Knowledge:

72 nos. on Natural Philosophy,
 33 nos. on Mathematics,
 6 nos. miscellaneous:
 History and Geography many numbers.

The Library of Entertaining Knowledge: (1829-1837)

Natural History 13 vols,
 History and Biography 13 vols,
 Arts and Antiquities 9 vols,
 Descriptive Geography 8 vols.

Gallery of Portraits; 7 vols. (1832-1836)

Manual for Mechanics' Institutes (1839), with a report
 by Thomas Coates (1841).

Diagrams illustrative of the principles of Natural
 Philosophy.
 A Statistical Account of the British Empire.

Almanacs: The British Almanac, The Penny Street Almanac,
 The British Household Almanac, The British Working Man's
 Almanac.

Quarterly Journal of Education; 10 vols. (1831-1835).

The Schoolmaster. 2 vols.

The Working Man's Companion; 4 vols. (1830-1831).

Library for the Young; 9 titles.

Farmer's Series; 4 titles.

Illustrations of the Poor Laws; 4 titles all by Harriet
 Martineau.

Globes; Maps.

Political Philosophy by Brougham.

Biographical Dictionary.

Penny Magazine (1832-41; then a new series to 1846).

Penny Cyclopaedia (1832-44; 27vols,).

Appendix I.TREASURY REGULATIONS

Treasury Regulations for the appropriation of the sum of £20,000 voted --- in aid of private subscriptions for the erection of schools for the education of the children of the poorer classes in Great Britain.

1. "That no portion of this sum shall be supplied to any purpose whatever except for the erection of new schoolhouses and that, in the definition of a schoolhouse, the residence for masters or attendants be not included.

2. That no application be entertained unless a sum be raised by private contribution equal to at least half the total estimated expenditure.

3. That the amount of private subscription be received, expended and accounted for before any issue of public money for such schoolhouse be directed.

4. That no application be complied with unless upon the consideration of such a report, either from the N.S.S. or the B.F.S.S. as shall satisfy the Board that the case is one deserving of attention, and there is reasonable expectation that the school may be permanently supported.

5. That the applicants where cases are favourably

entertained be required to bind themselves to submit to any audit of their accounts which the Board may direct, as well as to such periodical reports respecting the state of their schools and the number of scholars educated as may be called for.

6. That, in considering all applications made to the Board, a preference be given to such applications as come from large cities and towns, in which the necessity of assisting in the erection of schools is most pressing, and that due inquiries should also be made before any such application be acceded to, whether there may not be charitable funds, or public and private endowments, that might render any further grants inexpedient or unnecessary.

APPENDIX J.COBBETT ON EDUCATION.

The following extracts from Cobbett's writings are given to show his views on education in general and on Brougham's educational schemes in particular.

Learned Languages.

"Learning, truly so called, consists in the possession of knowledge and in the capacity of communicating that knowledge to others; and, as far as my observation will enable me to speak, what are called the learned languages, operate as a bar to the acquirement of real learning.--- I assert that what they call the LEARNED LANGUAGES are improperly so called; and that, as a part of general education, they are worse than useless." (P.R.XI. c.36. Summary of Politics. Proceedings in Parliament 10-I-07. Quoted in Opinions of William Cobbett.)

Mechanics' Institution.

"I gave my five pounds as a mark of my regard for and my attachment to the working classes of the community, and also as a mark of my approbation of anything which seemed to assert that these classes were equal, in point of intellect, to those who have had the insolence to call them the "Lower Orders." --- Mechanics, I most heartily wish you well;

but I also most heartily wish you not to be humbugged, which you most certainly will be if you suffer anybody but real MECHANICS to have anything to do in managing the concern. --- Scotch Feeloosofers are, sometimes, varey clever men; but if you suffer yourselves to be put into their crucibles, you will make but a poor figure when you come out. --- The "expansion of the mind is very well; but, really, the thing which presses most, at this time, is, the getting of smrthing to expand the body a little more; a little more bread, bacon, and beer: and, when these are secured, a little "expansion of the mind" may do vary weele." (P.R. LVIII. c.436. Mechanics' Institution I5-II-23. Ibid. Pp.288-289.)

On Popular Education (To Mr. Brougham P.R. LIII c.37. 5-2-25. Ibid. P.288-9)
 "You assume that the people: and, mind, you address yourself to the working classes, stand in need of what you are pleased to call "education". Now, you know, as well as I, that education means, not the reading of books; not being able to read and sing the psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins; that it means breeding up, and, that people may be brought up very well --- without any reading at all. But taking education to mean reading and writing; or, in other words, knowledge to be got from books; what knowledge I pray you,

are the people to get from those "religious tracts" with which you are so peculiarly gratified? --- It is food that is wanted and raiment; and not reading and writing, by the class of persons to whom you have addressed your "Practical Observations." It is the want of these, in which the once happy people of England were not in want, that causes the far greater part of all the thefts and dilapidations which now prevail, and the number and magnitude of which are daily increasing."

The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.
(To Mr. Brougham P.R. LXIX. c.710. 29-5-30. Ibid. Pp292-3.)

"This, like the rest of the "education" schemes, is a combination for the purpose of amusing the working classes, and diverting their attention from the cause of their poverty and misery. The methodist parsons are the most efficient tools in this way. --- You are at work in another way; but you have the same end constantly in view; namely, the keeping the cause of poverty and misery of the people disguised from them, and thereby perpetuating the plundering of them."

APPENDIX K..BROUGHAM'S LITERARY STYLE.

As Francis Horner pointed out, so far as literary production went, Brougham was one of "the most voluminous among the sons of men." The following note on his English style throws some light on the way Brougham's mind worked.

Brougham dealt not in abstract principles but in individual details; he made less use of general topics and more of immediate facts. His factual knowledge was immense; colonial policy, prison discipline, the state of the Hulks, agricultural distress, commerce and manufactures, the Bullion question, the Catholic question, education, the Bourbons or the Inquisition; he was at home with them all. With such a variety and solidity of information he was a powerful and alarming rather than an effectual debater. So detailed were his expositions that his main theme was lost in an unmanageable procession of facts and proofs. Thus Brougham relied too much on the patience of his hearers and readers. His eloquence was ticketed and labelled - "it is clever, knowing, imposing, masterly, an extraordinary display of clearness of head, of quickness and energy of thought, of application and industry; but it is not the eloquence of the imagination

or the heart, and will never save a nation or an individual from perdition." (Hazlitt "The Spirit of the Age." Everyman. P.303.)

Brougham was fluent, rapid, vehement, full of his subject. He wrote as he spoke, with a great deal to say and quite regardless of the manner of saying it. He gives the impression that he must not be delayed in his headlong rush to propagate his vast knowledge. He did not see that facts, figures and proofs were insufficient to stir men to act; he relied too much on the logic of the spoken and the written word, not on an appeal to men's hearts - this was his greatest shortcoming.