University of Glasgow

T h e s i s:

for the Degree of Ph.D.

by

ALICE R. PATERSON.

EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT IN BRITAIN.

1 9 4 1.

Chapter II.

ROUSSEAU AND THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT IN EUROPE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY.

INTRODUCTORY: The Paradox of Rousseau and his Age.

I. THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY

1. The Growth of the Cosmopolitan Spirit.
2. The Background of XVIIIth Century Thought:-
   (a) Science and Philosophy.
   (b) Literature.
3. France in the First Half of the XVIIIth Century.
4. The Influence of Rousseau.

II. ANGLO-FRENCH LITERARY RELATIONS, 1685-1760, AND THE GROWTH OF THE COSMOPOLITAN SPIRIT.

1. The Protestant Colonies in London, The Hague and Geneva.
2. The Dissemination of English Ideas and Culture:-
   (a) The Pioneers: Pamphleteers and Journalists.
   (b) Authors and Travellers: Muralt, Prévost, Voltaire.
   (c) Diderot and the Encyclopaedists.

III. JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU (1712-1778).

1. Moulding Influences in his Life and Thought:-
   (a) The Influence of Natural Scenery.
   (b) Home, Parents, Education.
   (c) The City State of Geneva:
      (i) Mixed Ancestry, (ii) Calvinism,
      (iii) Cosmopolitanism.

(d) Work, Wanderings, Friends.
(e) Books and Reading.

2. Rousseau and the Romantic Movement.

3. Rousseau and the Cosmopolitan Spirit:
Revolt against the Classical Tradition -
A new Theory of Education.

IV. A NEW EDUCATIONAL GOSPEL.

(a) Curriculum and Methods of Teaching.
(b) Attitude to the Child.

1. Child Life in the XVIIIth Century.

2. Free and Natural Education. Underlying Principles:

(a) The Aim of Education.
(b) Organic Growth.
(c) Discipline.
(d) Natural Law.
(e) Child Psychology.

3. Informal Education.

(a) Learning from Experience.
(b) The Teacher as Guide.
(c) The Training of Character.
(d) Social Adaptation.
(e) The Ideal: Manhood or Citizenship.

4. Individual Development.

(a) Basic Factors in Educational Development:
age, sex, individuality, rank.
(b) "The Art of Forming a Man".

V. CONCLUSION.

1. Recapitulation.

2. Comment and Criticism.

Chapter III.

EDUCATION and the ROMANTIC MOVEMENT in ENGLAND.

I. HISTORICAL RETROSPECT: THE PEACE OF THE AUGUSTANS.

1. Social and political conditions in the first half of the XVIIIth century - the squirearchy - the growth of the middle classes - interest in education.

2. Contemporary education. - Influence of the social conditions - schools - attitude to childhood.

II. THE REVOLUTION IN XVIIITH CENTURY THOUGHT.

1. Science. 2. Religion. 3. Influence of Women.
4. Romanticism. Influence of these on Education.

III. THE RETURN TO NATURE.

Romanticism and the return to Nature - a transvaluation of values -

1. The Poetry of Nature. - Nature as an independent theme - Thomson to Goldsmith - the 1780's.

2. The Poetry of Man. - The Revolutionary Spirit. Growth of the new attitude to man - before the Revolution.

3. The Return to Nature and Education. (a) Criticism of contemporary education. (b) New attitude to the child.

IV. THE POETS AND CHILDHOOD, (1783-89).

From reality to dream: Crabbe - Burns - Cowper - Blake.

V. WORDSWORTH: NATURE AND EDUCATION.

Wordsworth and the Romantic Movement:

1. The Groundwork of Experience.
2. Poet and Prophet.

Chapter IV.

ROUSSEAU AND THE ENGLISH ROMANTIC MOVEMENT IN EDUCATION.

I. SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND THE DISSEMINATION OF IDEAS.

Social and family life in the XVIIIth century - books and conversation - literary and scientific coteries - their range and influence.

II. ROUSSEAU AND ENGLISH EDUCATION.

The mid-century - nature and extent of Rousseau's influence: 1. Affinity with English outlook. 2. Divergencies. 3. Final judgment.

III. IMMEDIATE INFLUENCE.

Brooke's "A Fool of Quality" and Day's"Sandford and Merton": Comparison and contrast.

IV. THE EDGEWORTHS AND THEIR CIRCLE.

1. The Edgeworth Group.
2. R.L. Edgeworth and Miss Edgeworth.
3. The Household System of Education - fundamental principles - comparison with Rousseau - dangers of the system.
4. Edgeworth and Irish Education - control and organisation - curriculum and methods.

Chapter V.

THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT AND THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN BRITAIN, 1750-1850.

Chapter VI.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN'S LITERATURE.

1760-1833.

I. THE BEGINNINGS.

(a) Contributing causes.

(b) Early Books for Children.

(c) Illustration: Children's Miscellany 1788 and The Child's Own Book 1824 (1833).

II. STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN'S LITERATURE.

(a) The 'Eighties.

(b) c.1800 - The Edgeworths.

(c) Early XIX Century.

III. CLASSIFICATION OF CHILDREN'S BOOKS.

(a) Moral Tales.

(b) Stories for Entertainment.

(c) Books of Information.

(d) Reading and Spelling Primers.

Chapter VII.

ROMANTICISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

(i) REACTION, REVOLUTION and REFORM.

Chapter VIII.

ROMANTICISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

(ii) Towards Utopia.

Chapter I.

I. ROMANTICISM.

Many attempts more or less successful have been made to define romanticism and a great deal has been written on the literature with which the term is most closely associated. This study, however, is concerned less with its literary implications than with its practical bearing on social life, and particularly on education, and for this purpose we may begin by defining it very broadly and simply as a certain attitude of mind, a particular way of looking at life. Its roots lie deep in human personality; ~~and~~ its influence is most clearly manifest in those epochs which reveal a sharp upward trend in the progress of civilisation, and in those liberative movements that have contributed most directly to the emancipation of the human spirit.

The terms "romantic" and "classical" are frequently applied by way of contrast to successive periods of literature, art and music. We speak of XVIIIth century writers like Pope, Swift and Gibbon as "classical", and the poets of the succeeding age, from Wordsworth to Tennyson, as "romantic". We habitually place the composers Bach, Handel, Mozart and the English portrait painters of the XVIIIth century in the "classical" group, while Chopin, Schumann, Debussy, and Constable, Turner and the Pre-Raphaelites are relegated to the opposite category. In other fields the contrast is equally

Chapter II.

ROUSSEAU AND THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT IN EUROPE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY.

INTRODUCTORY: The Paradox of Rousseau and his Age.

I. THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY

1. The Growth of the Cosmopolitan Spirit.
2. The Background of XVIIIth Century Thought:-
   (a) Science and Philosophy.
   (b) Literature.
3. France in the First Half of the XVIIIth Century.
4. The Influence of Rousseau.

II. ANGLO-FRENCH LITERARY RELATIONS, 1685-1760, AND THE GROWTH OF THE COSMOPOLITAN SPIRIT.

1. The Protestant Colonies in London, The Hague and Geneva.
2. The Dissemination of English Ideas and Culture:-
   (a) The Pioneers: Pamphleteers and Journalists.
   (b) Authors and Travellers: Muralt, Prévost, Voltaire.
   (c) Diderot and the Encyclopaedists.

III. JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU (1712-1778).

1. Moulding Influences in his Life and Thought:-
   (a) The Influence of Natural Scenery.
   (b) Home, Parents, Education.
   (c) The City State of Geneva:
      (i) Mixed Ancestry, (ii) Calvinism,
      (iii) Cosmopolitanism.

Chapter III.

EDUCATION and the ROMANTIC MOVEMENT in ENGLAND.

I. HISTORICAL RETROSPECT: THE PEACE OF THE AUGUSTANS.

1. Social and political conditions in the first half of the XVIIIth century - the squirearchy - the growth of the middle classes - interest in education.

2. Contemporary education. - Influence of the social conditions - schools - attitude to childhood.

II. THE REVOLUTION IN XVIIITH CENTURY THOUGHT.

1. Science. 2. Religion. 3. Influence of Women.
4. Romanticism. Influence of these on Education.

III. THE RETURN TO NATURE.

Romanticism and the return to Nature - a transvaluation of values -

1. The Poetry of Nature. - Nature as an independent theme - Thomson to Goldsmith - the 1780's.

2. The Poetry of Man. - The Revolutionary Spirit. Growth of the new attitude to man - before the Revolution.

3. The Return to Nature and Education. (a) Criticism of contemporary education. (b) New attitude to the child.

IV. THE POETS AND CHILDHOOD, (1783-89).

From reality to dream: Crabbe - Burns - Cowper - Blake.

V. WORDSWORTH: NATURE AND EDUCATION.

Wordsworth and the Romantic Movement:

1. The Groundwork of Experience.
2. Poet and Prophet.

Chapter IV.

ROUSSEAU AND THE ENGLISH ROMANTIC MOVEMENT IN EDUCATION.

I. SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND THE DISSEMINATION OF IDEAS.

Social and family life in the XVIIIth century - books and conversation - literary and scientific coteries - their range and influence.

II. ROUSSEAU AND ENGLISH EDUCATION.

The mid-century - nature and extent of Rousseau's influence: 1. Affinity with English outlook. 2. Divergencies. 3. Final judgment.

III. IMMEDIATE INFLUENCE.

Brooke's "A Fool of Quality" and Day's"Sandford and Merton": Comparison and contrast.

IV. THE EDGEWORTHS AND THEIR CIRCLE.

1. The Edgeworth Group.
2. R.L. Edgeworth and Miss Edgeworth.
3. The Household System of Education - fundamental principles - comparison with Rousseau - dangers of the system.
4. Edgeworth and Irish Education - control and organisation - curriculum and methods.

Chapter V.

THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT AND THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN BRITAIN, 1750-1850.

Chapter VI.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN'S LITERATURE.

1760-1833.

I. THE BEGINNINGS.

(a) Contributing causes.

(b) Early Books for Children.

(c) Illustration: Children's Miscellany 1788 and The Child's Own Book 1824 (1833).

II. STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN'S LITERATURE.

(a) The 'Eighties.

(b) c.1800 - The Edgeworths.

(c) Early XIX Century.

III. CLASSIFICATION OF CHILDREN'S BOOKS.

(a) Moral Tales.

(b) Stories for Entertainment.

(c) Books of Information.

(d) Reading and Spelling Primers.

Chapter VII.

ROMANTICISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

(i) REACTION, REVOLUTION and REFORM.

Chapter VIII.

ROMANTICISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

(ii) Towards Utopia.

Chapter I.

I. ROMANTICISM.

Many attempts more or less successful have been made to define romanticism and a great deal has been written on the literature with which the term is most closely associated. This study, however, is concerned less with its literary implications than with its practical bearing on social life, and particularly on education, and for this purpose we may begin by defining it very broadly and simply as a certain attitude of mind, a particular way of looking at life. Its roots lie deep in human personality; ~~and~~ its influence is most clearly manifest in those epochs which reveal a sharp upward trend in the progress of civilisation, and in those liberative movements that have contributed most directly to the emancipation of the human spirit.

The terms "romantic" and "classical" are frequently applied by way of contrast to successive periods of literature, art and music. We speak of XVIIIth century writers like Pope, Swift and Gibbon as "classical", and the poets of the succeeding age, from Wordsworth to Tennyson, as "romantic". We habitually place the composers Bach, Handel, Mozart and the English portrait painters of the XVIIIth century in the "classical" group, while Chopin, Schumann, Debussy, and Constable, Turner and the Pre-Raphaelites are relegated to the opposite category. In other fields the contrast is equally

apparent: St. Francis and Rahere of St. Bartholomew's; Magellan and Captain Scott; James I of Scotland and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden; Mark Antony and Mary, Queen of Scots; patriots like Mazzini and Paderewski; factory owners like Robert Owen and Henry Ford - all in their diverse ways are exponents of the romantic view of life. Very little reflection will call up their counterparts, among whom may be numbered not only the great organisers and men of action but also the cold-blooded Octavians, Bolingbrokes and Elizabeths, and all that mighty host of capable, conscientious, unimaginative souls who pursue undeviatingly the path to their chosen goal, and whose eyes ane never dazzled by the light that strikes to earth a Moses, an Antony, a Burns, a Rousseau. Some, among them the great ones of the earth maybe, would seem to be endowed with characteristics of both types; they combine practicality and poetry, reason and imagination, initiative and organising ability, vision and grasp of affairs; but these are necessarily few, since in them the blend of individual and universal in human personality finds its consummation in the unique.

From the study of human personality and its expression in art and life we may form a clearer conception of the term romantic or romanticism. Always it implies something creative, constructive, dynamic, life-giving, liberative; a quickening of the senses and the imagination; an awakening of sympathies

dormant through lack of perception or long disuse; a reaching out to wider interests and loftier ideals; an appreciation of the sublime and beautiful in nature and human life. It is a turning of the mind and spirit towards the light - in Plato's expressive phrase, "a conversion of the soul"; an attempt to see life anew "in the white radiance of eternity", with something of the poet's vision and the mystic's faith. The horizons widen, the generous spirit apprehends the potential greatness of human nature in a mood of high hope and unconquerable energy, before which flee the phantoms of misery, depravity and fear, with all other phantoms of the night of the soul, and darkness pales before a new and splendid dawn.

As with the individual so with the panorama of history. There have been periods of darkness like the centuries following the fall of Rome; periods of moral deterioration and stagnation like that which marked the passing of the Middle Ages; periods, like the XVIIIth century, when dogma, or crystallized opinion, in life as in religion eclipsed the vital experience which had given it birth. Such periods culminate inevitably in some form of revolution which casts off the restrictions imposed by outgrown institutions, and reasserts the claims of the human spirit in its striving towards perfection. At the festering core of society a countermovement originates which will in time cleanse and uplift humanity. So ti is that in Vth century Athens, XVth century

Europe, and the period of the Romantic Revival, we have an age which heralds the dawn of a new era, and from which streams a guiding light for generations to come. For history like life is characterised by unity, continuity, and an inevitable logic; there are no inexplicable breaks, no effects without causes, no future without its determining past. The social life of today has its roots in immemorial antiquity, our intellectual and cultural life is the heritage of forty centuries. Within a far narrower range, many of our modern political and educational developments may be traced to the cataclysmic changes of a hundred and fifty years ago; nor has the curtain yet fallen upon the drama for which the French and Industrial Revolutions set the stage.

II. GENERAL TRENDS.

(a) Striving towards Simplification and Clarity.

A study of all such liberative movements reveals three clearly marked stages of development. First comes a striving towards simplification or clarity, "éclaircissement"; this is succeeded by a period of flux or unstable equilibrium, during which the opposing forces of progress and reaction contend ceaselessly against each other; finally a compromise is reached which for the time being satisfies human aspirations, and when this has served its purpose, the process begins anew.

"The impulse of great religions and political movements",

1) Morley: Rousseau, p.5.

2) The Book of Jonah is a commentary on such experience. An esting modern example is "The Fountain" by Charles Morgan.

writes Lord Morley, "arises from the craving for disentanglement of life."[1] This is true of individual and society alike; it is the path almost inevitably followed by mystic and poet, the leaders of human thought. Buddha meditated in solitude for twelve long years on the mysteries of sickness, age and death. Plato withdrew from Athens after his master's death in 399 B.C., and how true was the perspective and sense of ultimate values gained in those silent years of wandering no sympathetic reader can doubt. Wordsworth's "Tintern Abbey" was the fruit of "Five summers, with the length of five long winters" six bleak years in Craigenputtock went to the making of "Sartor Resartus" and established Carlyle's right to be regarded as the prophet and seer of the Victorian Age. Always the urge is towards greater simplicity and a truer perspective. For man's acquisitiveness is not limited to material possessions. He may become bound by tradition and enslaved by convention; he hugs prejudices, hoards unnecessary mental lumber, surrounds himself with an agglomeration of habits and opinions while he paddles in the shallows of life. Then comes some overwhelming personal experience, or some world-shaking crisis like war or social revolution, which crashes through his accepted notions and sweeps him out into the deep. The trappings are torn away; he is left with nothing but essentials, and in the light of stern realities he may attain to a new and deeper knowledge of the truth.[2] In this sense loss is freedom, and death life.

The process, then, is a threefold one. Out of experience and suffering is evolved a firsthand philosophy of life (no matter how incomplete it may be); on the ruins of the old, given time and courage, we build anew, "gathering up the fragments that nothing be lost"; the essential and enduring emerge clear and unmistakeable, while the trivial and the superfluous are seen in their just proportions, and the baser elements are shed away. With nations as well as individuals the process is dynamic and evolutionary. The spirit of man reaches out to a loftier ideal, discarding or transmuting worn-out beliefs, appropriating with generous enthusiasm conceptions new and strange, and infusing into both old and new that freshness and vigour which alone can launch a new era in history.

(b) Unstable Equilibrium.

This craving for disentanglement, however, though it manifests a definite progressive rhythm and unity of purpose, is not homogeneous throughout the whole course of the movement. The conflict ensuing from the clash of opposing tendencies produces a state of flux, or unstable equilibrium. Old and new, conservative and radical, reactionary and liberative trends, are combined and fused into a new whole, and then the process is repeated while the pendulum swings in the other direction. Always there is the interplay of opposing forces, not only at a given moment, a definite period of time, but over the entire field of history. Excess in any direction "dies in his own

too-much", and produces an inevitable reaction. Hence the "Age of Reason" is followed by one of heightened sensibility in which poetic imagination and human sympathies apparently run riot, when practical commonsense is thrown to the winds and an overwrought sentimentality takes its place. After a time the romantic spirit languishes, reason and commonsense reassert themselves in a world dominated by scientific and practical thought, and the golden hues of romance fade into the light of common day.

(c) Compromise and Acceptance.

Thus the process is one of flux as well as evolution; the emphasis is constantly if gradually changing until some compromise is reached whereby harmony is re-established and progress assured. From dream to reality and through reality to fulfilment - such is the path followed by the individual soul in its journey towards perfection; but experience is infinitely varied, and advance, though certain, is seldom unimpeded. In the wider life of humanity, in like manner, since "the life of man is for all loves in turn", an age of high endeavour, marked by enterprises of great pitch and moment, gives place to one in which men rather wearily question the worth of things in the light of reason, and find rest for their souls, in the haven of common sense. And so the age-old ebb and flow of the tide of history goes on through the centuries, and we become increasingly con-

1) cf. Leslie Stephen: The English Utilitarians, p.134, and Richard Dale Owen: Threading my Way, pp.107ff.

2) The mood changes after the death of Mirabeau in 1791. An interesting attempt to recapture the spirit of this earlier period is to be found in "Anthony Adverse."

slowly but silently changing her entire social order. The most remarkable feature of these years in England is the growth of the humanitarian spirit which finds expression, for example, in the poetry of Cowper and Blake, and in the efforts of men like Clarkson and John Wesley to mitigate the sufferings of the poor and oppressed, grown ups and children alike.[1] Increased sensitivity to social evils was accompanied by a hope of better things, and a belief that these could be attained by human zeal faithfully serving the cause of righteousness. The period is characterised by a mood of buoyancy and confidence, and by a certain restraint in action.[2] There was as yet no hint of the tyranny of mob rule; the Revolution was to usher in the golden age of men's hope and dreams, and -

> "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
> But to be young was very heaven".

(c) First Half of the XIXth Century.

Then came reaction. The excesses of the Revolution followed by the Napoleonic Wars, stifled all liberative enterprise for nearly forty years, and at the Congress of Vienna the revolutionary principles were apparently not only ignored but irretrievably abandoned. Events were to prove, however, that the check to political and social progress was only temporary, for the outward triumph of conservatism during the Age of Metternich provoked a proportionate reaction, an undercurrent of increasing

strength, which finally broke through the reactionary barrage and established a new political order in Europe.

(d) Second Half of the XIXth Century.

In the second half of the XIXth century Shelley's prophetic dream is in part realised, and the principles of the romantic and revolutionary movements are generally accepted, though usually in a modified form. At the same time fresh influences are brought to bear on contemporary thought; science is coming into its own, and from the blend of old and new, of the real and the ideal, a saner romanticism is born. Theories are tried out in practice, and dreams translated into fact. Everywhere are opening vistas and widening horizons. A new Europe emerges, a new world. Italy and Germany attain unity, serfdom is abolished in Russia, the third French Republic rises on the ruined fabric of Louis Napoleon's disastrous ambition. The blank map of Africa is filled in, the unchanging East stirs and awakes, impinging on the West; the British Commonwealth of Nations, a new venture in statesmanship, begins to take definite shape; the age of internationalism in trade, politics, and social relations is no longer the figment of a poet's imagination but an undeniable fact, bringing with it vast possibilities, and, in these latter days, new hope for a broken world.

In education, too, after many vicissitudes, romantic ideas triumph: a national system is in process of evolution; elemen-

tary instruction becomes free and compulsory, and the conception of education gradually widens. The result is seen in the growth of a new reading public and the revival of the drama, in the reform of secondary education and the rise of the provincial universities.

(e) 1890-1914.

The years 1890-1914 might perhaps be described as the Indian Summer of romanticism; it is a period of outward quiescence and latent change. In a world untroubled by any major struggle, time for a moment seems to stand still and we see more clearly the results of recent innovations. Among the most striking features of this period are, first, the emancipation of women, virtually completed by the war of 1914-18, and acknowledged by the unrestricted franchise of 1928; and secondly, the levelling of class distinctions and the ever-increasing influence of the labouring section of the community. Democracy verily has come into its own, though in ways very different from those employed by Robespierre and the tricoteuses.

Yet a third characteristic of these years is a pre-occupation with educational problems resulting in the emergence of a new theory and a changed practice in schools. The child at last becomes an individual - perhaps too much so; the problem child, the abnormal child, the necessitous child, the halt, the blind, ~~and~~ the deaf, and the ordinary child - are all

recognised as having individual needs and the right to individual care. Education is becoming child-centred, methods of instruction are being adapted to new conditions, and the school is recognised as playing a vital part in the life of the community.

The second decade of the present century would seem to mark the end of an age, and the troubled years since 1918 as a winter which in time will give place to another spring. Of its approach the signs are not wanting even now; and we may rest assured in the light of history and faith that when the superfluous and the eccentric in romanticism both old and new are shed away, the essential beauty and truth of its ideals will remain.

IV. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ROMANTIC REVIVAL.

(a) A New Attitude to Nature.

The general characteristics of the Romantic Revival have been so frequently and so ably formulated that a summary of them will suffice here. The entire movement involved a new attitude to nature and a new attitude to man. The first of these leads to (a) a more acute observation of nature as a whole; (b) an interest in animal life and in aspects of natural scenery hitherto disregarded; (c) a realisation of the profound influence of nature upon man. The poets led the

1) See below, Chapter III.

2) "Pride and Prejudice" chap.XXVII.

way in this attempt to portray nature more accurately and sympathetically - Blake, Cowper and Burns in their loving descriptions of animals and children and simple country life, Wordsworth in his studies of Lake scenery and peasantry, Byron in his passionate love of mountains and sea.[1] Prose as well as poetry reflects the changing point of view. The women's novel, for example, affords one of the most striking illustrations of the new influences in literature. In Miss Austen's "Pride and Prejudice" we have one solitary short paragraph of nature description;[2] in "Cranford" half a century later, we have trim gardens and box-hedged paths, but never a glimpse beyond the garden wall. In "Jane Eyre" we are transported to a new region of space and liberty, for the Brontë sisters were "the children of wind and moor"; in George Eliot's writings nature is the accepted background of the human drama she portrays. Later still, in the Wessex novels of Thomas Hardy, or in a group of modern Scottish writers, nature becomes one of the dramatis personae, as no reader of "The Return of the Native" or Neil Gunn's "The Grey Coast" is likely to forget.

(b) A New Attitude to Man.

Still more epoch-making is the second outstanding feature of the Romantic Revival, namely, the new attitude to man. It has been repeatedly pointed out that in Augustan poetry man was primarily a social being, one of a class or group, without

1) See Preface to "Lyrical Ballads" and consider such poems as "Goody Blake," "Harry Gill."

much significance as an individual. Yet how complete is the change wrought in little more than half a century! Gray's "Elegy", like "The Cotter's Saturday Night", is concerned with the simple and elemental facts of life, and Wordsworth deliberately sets himself the task of transfiguring the commonplace and even the mean; man is invested with an absolute and not a relative value, because the poet regards human life "sub specie aeternitatis", and treats man not only for what he is but with reference to what he may become. The Romantic Revival, like its predecessor of the XIIIth and XIVth centuries involved a trans-valuation of values, and in this case the emphasis was laid above all on the incalculable worth of the individual, an individual with potentialities and capabilities, a will and a self to be realised regardless of the trammels of circumstance and social status, tradition and convention. Man becomes a living soul; and in time the organic view of the individual life is amplified in the organic view of society.

It was a tremendous innovation. From the beginning of time human beings had been grouped according to birth, rank, wealth, and the accidents of life; Greek and barbarian, bond and free, patrician and plebeian, noble and peasant, gentle and simple - even after four centuries, which in England witnessed the increasing power of the middle classes, the old cleavage persisted, and only in death were all men equal. Then came the romantic movement with its insistence on the indestructible

value of human personality. Three centuries earlier, the Reformed Church had sounded that clarion note which now is given immortal expression in poetry and art, and later penetrates to the world of politics and fact. From this new conception that -

> "The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
> The man's the gowd for a' that",

that deeper than all accidental differences lies the bond of our common humanity, after decades of travail a new social order is born. From this spring the liberating tendencies of the XIXth century, the great democratic and humanitarian movements which are the distinguishing feature of the Victorian Age. Nor is this all, for to the same belief in the intrinsic worth of the individual may be traced yet another epoch-making change, in the new conception of Madonna and Child, whereby both assume an unprecedented importance alike as individuals with a life and destiny of their own, and as potential citizens with a part to play in the life of the state - a change of viewpoint which profoundly affected the whole social structure and in the XXth century has had an incalculable influence on politics, industry and education.

V. THE REVOLUTIONARY NATURE OF ROMANTICISM.

So much for the general features of the Romantic movement, the revolutionary nature of which must be abundantly clear.

Just how revolutionary was this transvaluation of values may be indicated by some of the paradoxes now accepted without question or comment, which to a monk of the XIIth century or to a representative of the XVIIIth century quality would suggest a world gone completely topsy-turvy. There is the modern culture of the body, for example, an ideal which reflects the standards of pagan Greece rather than those of the Christian Church at any period of its history up to the present. There is the growing recognition of the importance of environment as a positive help to mental and spiritual development, and the attempt to bring educational opportunity and some measure of material comfort and financial security within reach of all. The aristocracy of a past age could only contemplate with the utmost astonishment the transference of power to classes hitherto regarded as dumb and of no account. The hardly won freedom of women is still, even in some of the most enlightened circles, hampered by tradition, prejudice, and the apathy of their own sex.

The watchword is still evolution, progress, but of no age is it more true that "He hath put down the mighty from their seats and hath exalted the humble and meek". With all its receding vastness the XXth century is a world preoccupied with the everyday and the commonplace; it is "a day of small things" - only they are seen from a new angle, with a new light upon them. Standards of values which mankind has accepted since the

beginning of time are everywhere being questioned and overthrown; poverty, war, ignorance, and disease are being recognised for the evil anachronisms they are, and again men's thoughts strive to pierce the gloom of this fourth watch of the night as they wait for the dawn of a new and fairer day.

The past tells us how and whence these things have come to be; of their future import we may only dimly guess. But if the romantic faith interpreted in the light of history means anything at all, it means this: that the human soul, with an ever more luminous vision of perfection, is emerging from law to love, from darkness to light, from the moral plane to the spiritual, from shadows and symbols into the truth.

> "Then they essayed to look; but the remembrance of that last thing that the Shepherds had showed them made their hands shake, by means of which impediment they could not look steadily through the glass, yet thought they saw something like the gate, and also some of the glory of the place."

Chapter II.

ROUSSEAU AND THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT IN EUROPE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY.

THE PARADOX OF ROUSSEAU AND HIS AGE.

Jean Jacques Rousseau is one of the paradoxes of history. By far the most profound influence in modern education, he himself can hardly be said to have had any education at all in the accepted sense of the term. Born in humble circumstances and always poor, he was the prime mover in the overthrow of kings and all forms of political oppression. The man who preached the sanctity of home and family life never knew the security of the one or accepted the responsibility of the other. Now regarded as a genius, he was repeatedly faced during his lifetime with the problem of finding an occupation for which his natural gifts had fitted him; and the inaugurator of a new system of education, even when judged by XVIIIth century standards of professional attainment, proved to be unable to teach. Of all the sons of order-loving, Calvinistic Geneva, he was the most erratic and unconventional; one of the most stimulating influences in contemporary thought and subsequent practice, like Socrates though in a different way, he belongs to the company of those whose vision has compassed their martyrdom.

1. e.g. the English portrait painters; and cf. Pope: "The proper study of mankind is man."

2. cf. Leslie Stephen: The English Utilitarians, p.134.

The period in which he lived was also something of a paradox. It is commonly described as an age of prose and reason, deficient in feeling and imagination. Yet the romantic movement originated in the XVIIIth century, and its twenty-two literary genres included biography and the novel, the two most popular sections in our lending libraries today. It was nothing if not human; human nature in art and literature was its chief study[1] and the growth of the humanitarian spirit was one of its outstanding characteristics.[2] With all its stability and conservatism it was an age of expansion and progress; it gave us, together with the problems that accompanied the industrial revolution, the benefits accruing from a higher standard of material comfort and increased facilities in transport and communication. Variety and contrast are everywhere visible. The century which opened with the splendour of Louis XIV. closed with the French Revolution and the meteoric brilliance of the upstart Napoleon. The "Essay on Man", the crystallized expression of deism, was published exactly halfway through the decade which saw the beginning of the Wesleyan Revival. The era of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars witnessed the commencement on a large scale of missionary enterprise abroad. In the years when England and France were drifting towards the final conflict in America and India, for which the stakes were a colonial empire and world supremacy, the two countries continued to share a common

literary and scientific tradition, and thus hastened the triumph of the cosmopolitan spirit over national aspiration. In an age when institutions had waxed old, man became individualized and youth was invested with new power and charm.

I. THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY.

1. The Growth of the Cosmopolitan Spirit.

One of the most significant developments in European thought during the XVIIIth century is the growth of the cosmopolitan spirit, seen very strikingly among the French writers of the time. This again is in the nature of a paradox, since it marks the departure of France from her former policy of intellectual isolation. Always self-contained, almost self-centred, she had for centuries regarded herself, and been regarded by most of the civilised world, as the home of culture and the social graces. Beyond the Rhine and the English Channel lived an alien race, barbarian in outlook and language, and after the execution of Charles I and the rise to power of the Parliamentarians, the aloofness of conscious superiority was mingled with antagonism:

> "Once the dwelling-place of saints and angels, England is now the infernal abode of parricides and fiends. For all that, however, she has not changed her nature; she still remains where she was and just as in the lower regions the justice of the Almighty is associated with pity, so in this hateful island you may observe at the same time the traces of ancient piety and the commotion and disturbance caused by the

1. Father Coulon. Quoted in Texte: Jean Jacques Rousseau and the Cosmopolitan Spirit in Literature, p.4.

2. See the "Lettres anglaises".

3. Texte, Introd. p.xvi.

brutality of a people excited, spite of their Northern stupidity, to the verge of madness." [1]

The hostility of the French was returned with interest by perfidious Albion: even Sir William Temple refused to allow his daughter to marry a Frenchman. Yet in a hundred years we find a complete volte-face; thinking Frenchmen have made it their business to study the English constitution, reading Frenchmen are as familiar with English contemporary literature as with their own: England is a land of political freedom and religious liberty, the abode of philosophers and seekers after knowledge. Voltaire's description of the English,[2] however satirical and exaggerated, indicates an unmistakeable admiration on the part of the French for certain English qualities, and although it was an idealised England that France praised, the change of attitude is too remarkable to be passed over in silence. How did it come about, this enthusiasm for English habits and customs, this toleration of a people so radically different in temperament and outlook? What was its relation to the romantic movement, and what influence did it have, directly or otherwise, on education?

"The cosmopolitan spirit", writes Professor Texte in his illuminating study of the period, "was born during the XVIIIth century of the fruitful union between the English genius and that of Jean Jacques Rousseau." [3] But can it be stated quite so simply as this? While Rousseau may have been the dynamic

force which gave life to the movement, he could only work in harmony with predisposing causes and other powerfully contributing factors. Just as the Revolution came in any case because the times were out of joint, so the cosmopolitan spirit, a revival of the internationalism of the middle ages and a forerunner of the broader outlook of our own day, was fostered by epoch-making changes that had begun two centuries before, and Rousseau expresses as much as he influences current trends. He is both potter and clay; only so could his work endure.

2. The Background of XVIIIth Century Thought.

(a) Science and Philosophy. The first half of the XVIIIth century is distinguished intellectually by an absorbing interest in science and philosophy, the fruit of the Renaissance spirit of enquiry which took all knowledge to be its province. The influence of Bacon, Newton and Leibnitz had permeated the thought of Europe; Locke's "Essay on Human Understanding" and Pope's "Essay on Man" were accepted without question. Religious enthusiasm had waned, and on the eve of an age of mechanical invention and scientific discovery, men's attention was directed to material progress rather than spiritual well-being. Religion was itself expressed in philosophical terms according to the national and scientific mood of the time, and if the philosophical attitude of mind implies a certain detachment

1. cf. Laurie Magnus: European Literature, p. 208ff.

2. In the time of Chaucer - the influence of the Dream Allegory, Froissart etc.

and tolerance, a universality which makes man, in Plato's noble phrase, "the spectator of all time and all existence", it is equally true that science "which knows no country", and cares nothing for the individual, makes for the cosmopolitan spirit.

(b) Literature. Literature too, was a contributing factor in this momentous change. The century 1685-1789 has been called the period of the Anglo-French Alliance,[1] a description which is more than justified. Since the XIVth century[2] French influence on English literary development had not been so strong as during the years 1660-1730. The XVIIth century was the great age of French literature and all western Europe was affected by it. It is significant that the so-called Augustan Age of English literature was dominated by the classical tradition which France had always followed, and that the chosen medium of expression was prose while the chief topics were social and political. In the early Hanoverian period France in her turn came under the influence of English writers like Addison, Swift and Pope, and later Richardson, whose novels achieved international fame. In addition to these direct contacts there were others more difficult to trace but no less far-reaching in their effects. Protestant colonies in London, Geneva and The Hague, for example, provided one means of developing a more cosmopolitan literary culture. Further, it may be observed that this culture is

1. Classical literature and Italian literature (in the XIVth and XVIth Centuries).

2. cf. Oliver Goldsmith, passim, but markedly in his "Citizen of the World."

in its essence Northern and Teutonic, whereas previously the most powerful stimulus had come from Southern Europe.[1]

3. France in the First Half of the XVIIIth Century.

France was especially susceptible to new influences in this period of her history. Her golden age of literature was over, the reign of Louis XIV had left tangible and disturbing evidence of its greatness not only in the spacious magnificence of Versailles but in a vast accumulation of debts and a decaying social system. The tradition of noblesse oblige no longer survived within the framework of an outworn feudalism; the nobility claimed privileges without accepting responsibilities, the government, when it was not bureaucratic, was an arbitrary autocracy, the law a fiasco. It was a period of national and social disintegration, and in such times the individual is thrown upon his own intellectual and spiritual resources, and compelled to evolve his own scheme of life. Hence arises a philosophy which stresses the self-sufficiency of the individual and reaches out beyond the bounds of class and creed and nation. A man in these circumstances becomes a citizen of the world[2] and learns to think in terms of humanity. He sees life "sub specie aeternitatis", against a background not of relative but of absolute values, and learns to accept what he cannot alter or control. Or alternatively he may seek consolation in the joys of the moment, closing his eyes

1. The ancient Stoic and Epicurean, under various names .

to all that lies beyond a world of sense and time.

4. The Influence of Rousseau.

In the light of these considerations we are better able to appreciate the part played by Rousseau in moulding contemporary thought. The drama of history, like the drama of the individual life, depends upon the interaction of character and circumstances. The hour strikes and the curtain rises on a stage already set for the entrance of the principal actors. "The emergence of the prophet is a proof of the growing demand of his hearers for sound teaching." The complex social changes which mark the course of the XVIIIth century had long been preparing, and the message of Rousseau fell on receptive ears. To be a leader of the thought of his time a man must needs be both in advance of his age, and in touch with it, and his contemporaries must be ready in some degree to accept his teaching. The soil must be prepared before the seed will grow, and the planting must be in due season. Rousseau in this case was the sower. He was the dynamic genius who, uniting in himself the various interests of the age - science, philosophy, literature, romanticism and the cosmopolitan spirit - sowed the seed and, with many to help, prepared for a harvest not yet fully gathered in.

1. For an exhaustive treatment of this topic, see Texte, Chapters I and II.

II. ANGLO-FRENCH LITERARY RELATIONS 1685-1760 AND THE GROWTH OF THE COSMOPOLITAN SPIRIT.

1. The Protestant Colonies in London, The Hague and Geneva.

Before discussing in some detail the influence of Rousseau in contemporary thought and education it is advisable to trace briefly the development of the cosmopolitan spirit as it affected Anglo-French relations in the period before the Revolution. We may take the year 1685 as a convenient landmark. When Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes he caused upwards of half a million loyal Frenchmen to settle abroad, chiefly in Germany, Holland, and England. Protestant "colonies" were formed in cities like London, Geneva and The Hague, which thus became centres for the dissemination of English, German and Dutch ideas and literature. These mixed communities, actuated sometimes by gratitude to their adopted country, sometimes by loyalty to their homeland, sometimes from a sense of the injustice which had driven them into exile, and often purely from ~~for~~ the love of freedom and learning, propagated the knowledge and culture they had brought with them or acquired through new contacts. By this means an interchange of ideas took place, between England and France in particular that acted as a powerful stimulus to the romantic and revolutionary movements in which Rousseau played so spectacular a part.

2. The Dissemination of English Ideas and Culture.

There are three clearly defined stages in the process of

1. Dates are of course always approximate, and it is inevitable that the periods should overlap.

2. Trans. Coste, 1700.

infiltration by which France became familiar with English ideas and culture:

(a) The first stage is one of pamphlets, journals, newspapers, gazettes, through which articles on English science and philosophy, politics and literature found their way from various centres all over Europe. This phase may be said to cover the period 1688-1730.

(b) The second stage (1725-1740 approximately) is reached with the work of Muralt of Berne (Lettres, 1725), L'Abbé Prévost (Memoires d'un homme de qualite, and Pour et Contre (1732-40), and Voltaire (Lettres anglaises, 1734). These were men of letters, travellers, translators. By this time a knowledge of the English language was spreading and intercourse between the two countries was becoming more frequent.

(c) The third stage extends from 1740-1760 approximately. In France it is the period of the Encyclopaedists of whom Diderot, for example, was an enthusiastic admirer of everything English. It coincides with the advent of the English novel, and may be said to culminate with the publication of "La nouvelle Heloïse" (1761) and "Émile" (1762).

(a) The Pioneers: Pamphleteers and Journalists. The influence of the scientific and philosophical thought of England, as expressed in the writings of Bacon and Locke especially, was the first to cross the Channel and it travelled via Holland. From philosophy it was but a step to politics, and after the Revolution of 1688, which symbolised the triumph of Protestantism and the establishment of constitutional government in England, the colonies in London and The Hague deliberately set themselves to spread a knowledge of English political principles. So successful were their efforts that in the

1. Texte, p. 22.

early years of the reign of Louis XV Paris became the centre of an "English" sect which met at the Entresol Club to discuss current affairs and read Dutch gazettes and English newspapers; and in little more than a hundred years after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes church and monarchy, with much else beside, were swept away, when "noise conquered and the Bastille fell", and the Place Louis XV became the Place de la Guillotine.

The work of the journalists who attempted to popularize English literature by giving extracts, reviews, and even translations in this early period must not pass unnoticed. From The Hague came the Journal Littéraire (1713-36) in 24 volumes and the Bibliothèque Brittanique (1733-47) in 25 volumes. Such works, while not in themselves of great literary merit, prepared the way for the next group of writers, translators and men of letters in truth, and without the labours of these humble pioneers the development of an international outlook would almost certainly have been retarded.

(b) Authors and Travellers. Muralt, Prévost and Voltaire were all three travellers, linguists and writers of repute, with an intellectual capacity and knowledge of affairs which their predecessors did not possess. Of the three Muralt, the earliest, was the most cosmopolitan. A Swiss like Rousseau, and a Protestant, he was a native of Berne; half-French and half-German by education, he had a sincere admiration for

1. Quoted in Texte, p. 54, from "Pour et Contre," vol.I, p. 10.

2. "Pamela", trans. 1742, "Clarissa", 1750.

English character and intelligence, and his sanity of judgment, and singular charm are revealed in his "Lettres sur les Anglais et sur les Francais" (1725) which were deservedly popular and widely read.

L'Abbé Prévost is the most literary of the three and the most deeply in sympathy with England, interested not only in its politics and government, but also in its poetry and drama. "Pour et Contre" is a kind of "Spectator", and while its variety of topics and up-to-date information ensured a wide public, his avowed object was to increase his readers' knowledge about England:-

> "An entirely original feature of this paper will be the publication in each issue of some special fact respecting the genius of the English, the curiosities of London and of other parts of the island, the progress they are every day making in science and in art, and even at times of translations of the finest scenes from their plays." [1]

Prévost was also a translator, and from his able pen came the first French translations of Richardson's "Pamela" and "Clarissa Harlowe", which completely captured the French reading public and deeply affected Rousseau.[2]

Voltaire's particular contribution lay not in accuracy of description or well balanced judgment but in the wit, satire and peculiarly French effervescence which distinguish him as a writer. To him as to the Abbé, England offered an asylum from the travesty of French justice, and his "Lettres Ang-

1. In 1733. Pope's "Essay on Man" was published in the same year.

laises" (1734) was first published in London and reprinted in Dublin and Glasgow. This was the age of coteries and coffee houses, and Voltaire almost certainly frequented the Rainbow, in London; and he had met Pope, Thomson and Young whose work was already known to Prévost. His enthusiasm for English liberty and English literature was sincere and lasting, and his international reputation, added to his immense popularity in his native country, forged the last link in the literary relations of England and France between 1685 and 1740 when Richardson published "Pamela". A year later Rousseau came to Paris.

(c) Diderot and the Encyclopaedists. In this third phase of the infiltration of English ideas in France the issues are much clearer and it is only necessary to remind ourselves of a few significant facts.

(1) The Encyclopaedists, whose politics were revolutionary and whose philosophy was largely negative, were themselves very greatly influenced by England and very enthusiastic for all things English. Their work extended from 1751 to 1772 which takes us almost to the threshold of the Revolution.

(2) The English sect in Paris had by this time waxed so strong that the mid-century is sometimes referred to as a period of "Anglo-mania". Diderot, "the Anglophile" was one of the leaders of the group, and at this time one of Diderot's closest friends was Jean Jacques Rousseau.

1. In contrast with the romance and the picaresque novel.

2. "Cleveland," 1732-39.

(3) The popularity of the English novel in France was of very great social as well as literary significance, since the novel deals with bourgeois or middle-class society and gives a detailed and intimate picture of everyday life and manners.[1] Richardson is the successor of Addison, with whom the French were already familiar; L'Abbé Prévost stands between them.[2] "Emile" and "La nouvelle Heloïse" carry on the English literary tradition.

Having traced in brief outline the growth of the cosmopolitan spirit in XVIIIth century France, and noted its predominantly English tone, we have now to ask what relation it bore to the romantic movement already in progress, and what influence it had on education. To answer these questions we must turn to the study of the central figure in this act of the romantic drama, Jean Jacques Rousseau himself.

III. JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU (1712-1778).

The life of Rousseau has been studied from various angles, and criticism not always sympathetic or penetrating has been directed against the man and his work. The actual facts of his life do not concern us here except in their bearing upon his character and his educational theories. Five strands at least are clearly interwoven in his life and thought.

1. e.g. the Eskimos and the South Sea Islanders.

1. Moulding Influences in his Life and Thought.

(a) The Influence of Natural Scenery. It is now generally accepted that climatic and geographical conditions exert an appreciable influence on human character. Sea-faring peoples, like the Athenians and the Norsemen, for instance, develop initiative and enterprise, while extremes of heat and cold adversely affect intellectual and physical effort.[1] Mountain dwellers are proverbially lovers of freedom. Isolated by impassable mountain barriers or the severity of climatic conditions, they develop sturdy, self-sufficient communities of which the city states of ancient Greece, or the Scottish clans, furnish examples. There is always the danger, however, that a love of independence, and an existence from which the stimulus of normal human contacts is excluded, may in time lead to an indifference to one's fellows, and a disregard for the claims of society that will end in intolerance and prejudice. These children of tempest and storm-cloud are deep rather than broad; it is the difference between the precipitous crags and sunless ravines of mountain regions, and the long level lines of sea reaching out to an infinity of space and light. Again, despite clear air and lovely colours, mountains may, and do, foster a love of solitude, a brooding melancholy, such as we find in some of the Old Testament literature and in the poetry and music of Scandinavia. The uncaring majesty of snowcapped peaks, the ruthless devastation

1. cf. Hudson:Rousseau, p. 176, and in the "Musings," the description of the Island of St. Peter, as an example of the new feeling for nature.

of avalanche and blizzard, are a perpetual reminder of the littleness of man, and in the solitude bordering eternity the soul comes face to face with itself and God. In the mountains the prophet finds inspiration, the broken spirit cleansing and peace.

It is surely not fantastic to suggest that the grandeur of the Swiss Alps, with their delicate beauty in spring time, their music and colour and fragile life, played no little part in the formation of Rousseau's character. An appreciation of the wilder and grander aspects of natural scenery is characteristic of the romantic movement, and the background of the "Emile" and "La nouvelle Heloise" reveals a love of the out of doors which proclaims their author to be a true child of romance.

(b) Home, Parents, Education. It has already been remarked that the man who idealised home life especially in its relation to the child never knew anything really approaching a home, or a mother. His portrait of "the best of fathers" is far from reassuring; no wonder that in later life he preached a negative education; and remembering how informal and desultory was his own mental training, we need hardly be surprised that he flies in the face of the Renaissance tradition and flings book-learning to the winds.

In the lack of home life we touch one spring of deepest pathos in his character. As with the motherless heroines of

1. cf. the setting of "The New Héloïse."

Shakespeare we wonder what might have been. And - Thérèse? Is there, in some of these most characteristic utterances on the subject of home and mother, the expression of a deep-seated need, a subconscious desire and poignant longing for the happiness and security he never knew? Be that as it may he introduced into the life and education of western Europe a new idea of home, the need of which becomes apparent when we consider what were the usual relations of parents and children in the XVIIIth century. The first book "Emile" throws further light on the subject, and in this connection it is worth noting that the word "home" has no exact equivalent in the French language. Like much else in Rousseau's thought, the idea came from the Teutonic element in his background, and in particular from England.

(c) The City State of Geneva. No interpretation of Rousseau can afford to ignore the influence of the little city state which so profoundly affected his circumstances, outlook and character, and introduced him to England, the main source of his inspiration.

(i) Mixed Ancestry: As a Genevese he was both French and German, a fact which accounts at once for his sympathy with, and his dissimilarity from, his adopted country, and in no small measure explains the secret of his power. As a Frenchman he appealed to the French and southern element, as a Teuton he introduced an exotic atmosphere that shocked their

1. cf. Hayes: Foundations of Modern Europe, p. xxi:-
"The political history of the last four centuries is in essence a series of compromises between the conflicting results of the modern exaltation of the state and the modern exaltation of the individual."

2. e.g. St. John Rivers in "Jane Eyre," and Brand in Ibsen's play of the same name.

jaded sensibility into life. His emotional quality, no less than his disregard of conventional standards mark him off from the intellectual and social genius of the French.

(ii) Calvinism: Perhaps even more important are the dominating features of the life of Geneva; its Calvinism and its cosmopolitanism, both of which are strongly marked in Rousseau's character though in unexpected ways. Geneva was the home of the most extreme form of Protestantism, in which the individualistic and iconoclastic tendencies of the Reformed Church were most completely expressed. It was a cardinal doctrine of the new faith that religion was essentially a private rather than a public affair, a matter between the individual soul and God, with which no secular authority might interfere. The political significance of such a belief is obvious; it goes far to explain the struggle between King and Parliament in XVIIth century England, and it is one of the principles on which all democratic thinking is based.[1] Carried to extremes it leads to a contempt for accepted standards, a reference to a tribunal beyond the reach of man. The God-consciousness of the bigoted Puritan, whose religious zeal is nearly always untempered by humour and a kindly tolerance for human failings, largely explains the fanaticism and narrowness of vision that can neither see life steadily nor see it whole.[2] Like the mountain country whence it sprang, it fosters intensity of conviction rather than catholicity of outlook.

1. Savoyard Vicar.

2. Contemporary accounts of life under the Cromwellian régime bear out this statement, and plenty of illustration is to be found in XIXth Century Scottish biography and fiction. A modern study of the latter period is Janet Beith's "No Second Spring." Barrie, in "The Little Minister" treats it with both sympathy and humour.

There is plenty of evidence of this Calvinistic strain in Rousseau. It is seen in his independence and individualism, his revolutionary iconoclasm, his belief in the existence of God based on the Inner Light, in his attitude to society, so often distrustful if not openly antagonistic. It is found in his attitude to art, where like so many moralists, he is only too liable to confuse ethical and aesthetic values.

In one very important respect, however, Calvinism discouraged extreme individualism, for while denying the right of any secular power to interfere with religious belief and practice, it made no attempt to safeguard the individual from ecclesiastical control of the most rigid and even humiliating kind. The authority of the Church was substituted for that of the State, and the private life of the citizen was subjected to a scrutiny which can have left little room for freedom of thought or action.[2] In the attempt to realise the ideal of the just state by the rule of law and the practice of goodness, Calvinism imposed standards of life and conduct from which the individual departed at his peril, and religion became synonymous, not with liberty and the beauty of holiness, but with repression and deadness of soul. "All his life long", wrote one victim of its tyranny, "man is imprisoned by our institutions." Yet, outcast and exile, Rousseau loved Geneva and was loyal to her to the end. "It is a fine thing to have

1. **Emile, for example, learns carpentry.**

a native land: God help those who think they possess one but in reality have nothing more than a land to dwell in."

(iii) Cosmopolitanism: A more salutary corrective to the individualism and exclusiveness of the Genevese was found in the cosmopolitanism of the city, a distinguishing characteristic throughout its long history. Its Calvinism and its cosmopolitanism go together, for it had offered an asylum to Protestant exiles of all nations since the time of the Reformation. Calvin himself was French; his greatest disciple was the Scotsman, John Knox. English Protestant refugees, fleeing from persecution under Mary Tudor, found a haven there, and after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV in 1685 it received a fresh influx from France which was to change the current of French thought within a century. The result of this constant interchange of thought and ideas was an atmosphere both stimulating and universal, to which the sensitive mind of a boy could hardly fail to respond.

(d) Work, Wanderings and Friends. It is a commonplace that the ability to work at some specific task confers self-respect. Consider in this light the frustrated endeavour of Rousseau to find some niche in the world of occupations. Brutalised by the master whose trade really appealed to him, handicapped educationally from the start, and apparently unable to adapt himself successfully to his social environment, dependent to his life's end on a precarious means of livelihood,

1. Boyd: The Educational Theory of Jean Jacques Rousseau, p. 298.

with the spectre of poverty ever present at his elbow - was this experience likely to reconcile him to the established order of things in a society he had begun by distrusting and in which he never felt at home?

Had the more intimate relationships of his life been happier the evil might have been mitigated, but here too disaster dogged his footsteps. His marriage was in no sense a "marriage of true minds", founded on community of interest and spiritual sympathy. Thérèse and her husband existed on different planes, and the responsibilities of family life he shirked altogether. He was unfortunate too in most of his friendships; sometimes dissimilarity of outlook, as in the case of Diderot, led to final rupture; and he seems to have lacked the gift of keeping the friends he made. There is again and again the suggestion of "the idiosyncrasy of a morbid soul that had drifted from its moorings in ordinary human relations", and to make matters worse he seemed repeatedly to alienate those who could have redressed the balance. Introspective and solitary by nature, of all men most lonely, persecuted, humiliated, misunderstanding and misunderstood, without stay or anchorage. his whole life through, surely no man ever owed less to society or had more reason to doubt its veracity and goodness. Yet in the face of the Calvinistic doctrine of original sin he maintains an unshakeable belief in the innate goodness of human nature; and his faith in man

is the counterpart of his distrust of society. In the light of his experience his affection for "Robinson Crusoe", the only book the youthful Emile is permitted to read, is wholly understandable; Defoe's masterpiece is not only a commentary on the self-sufficiency and practicality he consistently advocated; it is a study of the great adventure of being alone.

(e) Books and Reading. Yet there is something to put on the other side. It was with Diderot, apparently, that he discussed his first venture in literature, the "Discourse on Inequality", by means of which he stumbled on his life work. His discussions with his women friends - many of whom were most generous patronesses - were of inestimable value in the formulating of his educational theories. There seems no doubt that it was during his stay in Paris, and mainly through his acquaintances, especially Diderot and his circle, that he came so completely under the influence of England, and particularly of Richardson. In those years he extended his knowledge of English literature, begun at Les Charmettes with the study of Locke's "Essay" and "The Spectator". These volumes, together with Pope's "Essay on Man", "Robinson Crusoe", Lillo's "London Merchant" (translated in 1748), and Richardson's novels, are all woven into the fabric of his thought, and helped to clarify his opinions and determine his philosophy of life. In English authors he found much to satisfy his deeper needs: the love of

1. e.g. in Thomson's "Seasons."
2. In the new romantic poetry.

3. The Jesuits were expelled from France in 1764.

nature and of home; the lyrical quality of English poetry; the preoccupation with detail; the self-revelation of a Swift, the psychological insight of a Richardson. The writers he knew best belonged to the Augustan or post Augustan periods, and with the political interests of the one and the early romanticism of the other he was in complete sympathy.

Rousseau's interest in science, especially biology, has been discussed at length by numerous critics. It colours all his thoughts about education. It provides him with the idea of organic growth and development on which his whole theory is based, and it leads him to prefer an education based on practical experience to one in which books provide the necessary information. In his emphasis on learning from "things" and his consistent advocacy of the heuristic method, he is a true disciple of Bacon and a vigorous opponent of the classical tradition which was rigidly adhered to in the Jesuit schools of his day. In his insistence on the need for individual child-study he is the pioneer of the modern scientific approach to educational problems.

2. Rousseau and the Romantic Movement.

A man's work is in large measure the expression of his personality, and the moulding influences of Rousseau's life and character were such as to endow him with strangely romantic sympathies. Romanticism as we know implied a new attitude

to nature and man, a revolt against existing conditions and a striving towards light and liberty. The mountain setting of his boyhood, the stress laid by the Reformed Church on the infinite worth of the individual soul, the inspiration of English literature, and his acceptance of established biological truths, all pointed in one direction. In his love of nature, in his almost fanatical individualism, in his revolt against accepted standards and outworn institutions, and in his cosmopolitan outlook, he is himself an embodiment of the romantic spirit.

The romantic and revolutionary movements, always closely interwoven, are indissolubly linked with the growth of the cosmopolitan spirit, without which the dissemination of new ideas could not have taken place. Romanticism, which in its broader aspects was not ultimately confined to any one nation or people, was northern and Teutonic in its origin, and it was precisely this influx of ideas from the north which gave the cosmopolitan movement its peculiar significance. The romantic and revolutionary aspirations symbolise, on the one hand, the revolt of the individual against the restraints imposed by a decaying social order, and his striving towards a more complete and harmonious existence; and on the other, they find expression in the humanitarian feeling which espoused the cause of the downtrodden and oppressed, and substituted for distinctions of class and colour the claims of justice and

a common humanity. All three are manifestations of the evolution of the human spirit in its ceaseless pursuit of the ideal and its craving for the larger life of wisdom, love and joy, and represent on a universal scale the process which takes place in the growth of the individual soul towards perfection.

3. Rousseau and the Cosmopolitan Spirit.

The essence of the cosmopolitan spirit in France was the introduction of northern and Teutonic influences in life and art. It mattered little that they came via England; indeed the Anglo-French Alliance provided the most direct means of approach, since in absorbing English culture France was at first only reaping the harvest which she herself had helped to sow. The determining influences in Restoration and Augustan literature were classical and French as much as English, and it was the authors of this period, notably Pope, Addison, Swift and Defoe, who with the philosophers and scientists, appealed most to the French and helped to bridge the gulf between the two peoples.

The new influences were directed not only against the French political and social system but also against the humanistic culture to which France had ever been faithful. Romanticism in education implied a revolt against the Latin tradition and in literature it introduced an exotic quality, in essence lyrical and sentimental, which is seen in its extreme

1. The description is taken from L.H.Farmer's "Book of Famous Queens," p. 351. (Chapter on the Empress Eugénie.)

form in writers like Richardson and Sterne. Of the leading figures in the spread of new ideas, Muralt, Prévost, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Diderot, the most truly cosmopolitan are the two foreigners, and of them all the most original and dynamic is Rousseau. The wind bloweth where it listeth, but it is the spirit which giveth life, and it is just this impact of a unique and colourful personality in touch with his age and responsive to all its moods, that makes him a leader and exponent of contemporary thought.

"The emergence of the prophet is a proof of the growing demand of his hearers for sound teaching." It is surely clear that Rousseau is as much the product of his age as its guide and teacher, but it may be added that he was singularly fortunate in the nature of his hearers. Apart from the fact that the way had been prepared for him by his predecessors, and that social and political conditions had made France willing to receive new impressions, in no people in the world could he have found an instrument more responsive to his touch, "a people as fickle as the wind, as restless as the sea, as whimsical as women, as fanciful as children, a people with whom novelty is a mania and faction a disease ....." Does not this help to explain why, when the hour came and the man, his message met with such an overwhelmingly cordial reception?

Rousseau then, uniting in himself the various interests

1. Edgeworth : Memoirs, vol.I, pp.377-80.

2. Rousseau : Memoir on the Education of the Prince of Wirtemberg's Infant Daughter Sophie. (1763).

of the age in science, philosophy and literature, himself an expression of the romantic, revolutionary and cosmopolitan spirit of the XVIIIth century, favoured by circumstances yet always following his own star, became the apostle of the romantic movement, and the preacher of a new educational gospel based on the romantic faith wherein his followers are walking still.

What was the new educational gospel and what did it imply?

IV. A NEW EDUCATIONAL GOSPEL.

Rousseau's theory of education grew out of his personal beliefs and experience, and bears throughout the impress of his character and creed. Individualistic, romantic and revolutionary, its appeal was immediate and its influence far-reaching, though the full effects were not at once discernible. A growing interest in education was a distinguishing feature of the second half of the XVIIIth century, and all over Europe enthusiastic disciples proceeded, sometimes with more haste than discretion, to put his principles into practice. Richard Lovell Edgeworth, for example, attempted to educate his eldest son after the manner of Emile,[1] and the Prince of Wirtemberg consulted Rousseau with regard to the training of his little daughter, the Princess Sophie.[2]

1. Emile, p. 71:- "The apparent ease with which children learn is their ruin."

p. 90:- "Book-learning teaches us to believe much and know little." p. 144:- "Teach by doing whenever you can."

Compare in this connection the views of Milton and Wordsworth. Rousseau's distrust of book knowledge helps to explain why he did not think the poor should be educated.

2. Emile pp. 134-5:- "It is not your business to teach him the various sciences, but to give him a taste for them and methods of learning them when this taste ~~was~~ is more mature."

p. 142:- "It is rarely your business to suggest what he ought to learn; it is for him to want to learn, to seek and to find it."

3. The Heuristic Method.

The following pages are concerned with ~~the discussion of~~ Rousseau's theories as they stand, rather than with their application in school practice, hence a criticism of the heuristic method is not offered. Some of its disadvantages may, however, be noted in passing. It is far less applicable to appreciation and skill subjects than to science; it presupposes a degree of intelligence for which intelligence tests and practical experience offer insufficient evidence; it entails an oriental disregard of time, and takes little account of the devastating effect of frustration and disappointment upon the sensitive and nervous type of child. It is a method excellently suited to home and laboratory, but the school is of necessity an artificial product in certain respects, and class teaching, with its power of inspiration and its training in corporate thought, must surely have its appointed place.

4. Emile, p. 56.

His influence on education is two-fold:

(a) Curriculum and Method of Teaching. He is a leader in the revolt against the classical tradition. Distrusting book-learning and anything that savoured of vain repetition, he would have the child learn from "things", from the world about him, by means of observation and experiment.[1] He represents the claims of science against those of the humanities, and his methods are those of the scientist in the pursuit of knowledge. The ideal he suggests in Emile is self-education[2] under the guidance of a capable and kindly teacher, the method used is the method of discovery.[3]

(b) Attitude to the Child. Even more fundamental than his revolt against the accepted curriculum and methods of teaching was his conception of child life and the relations between grown ups and children. In the first place he regards the child from the point of view of the scientist, as a growing and developing organism with a life of its own. In the second place he rejects the Calvinistic doctrine of original sin which had been the cause of untold suffering to the youngest generation, moral precocity, insincerity, and unnatural repression being among its most flagrant evils. Believing that there is no original sin in the human heart,[4] he claims for every child freedom to develop its natural powers unhampered by adult interference and arbitrary restrictions. This is free, natural and "negative" education.

1. cf. the child studies of the English portrait painters and in poetry, Crabbe's descriptions of school and village life.

2. Henry Hallam: Introduction to the Literature of Europe, vol. IV chap. iv, p. 185. (1885 ed.)

3. Locke: Thoughts on Education.

4. Locke died in 1704, Frederick was born in 1712, the same year as Rousseau.

5. See Daniel: Introduction to Locke's "Thoughts," 1880 ed.

1. Child Life in the XVIIIth Century.

The revolutionary nature of Rousseau's view of childhood is revealed by comparison with contemporary conditions of which the biography, art and literature of the period provide abundant illustration.[1] Children were little men and women; their clothes were similar in cut and material; their minds were regarded as smaller editions of the adult variety, and at an incredibly early age they learned the habits and too often the vices of their elders. Home and school met originality and youthful high spirits with a system of repression. Hallam, for example, describing the home life of children in the age of Locke, gives a disquieting picture of family relations.

> "The mode of treatment", he says, "seems to have been passionate and barbarous severity alternating with foolish indulgence. Their spirits were too often broken down and their ingenuousness destroyed by the former; their habits of self will and sensuality confirmed by the latter." [2]

Locke himself indirectly supplies a good deal of information concerning the relations between parents and children,[3] and the youth of Frederick the Great, who lived a little later, provided a grim commentary on Hallam's comment;[4] nor was his by any means a solitary example of parental mismanagement and brutality in that hard-living, hard-drinking age. Little wonder that the child sometimes "loathed the sight of his parents",[5] and that Rousseau was driven to indignant protest

1. cf. Henry Grey Graham: Literary and Historical Essays, Chap. II, p. 56 - Chapeau à la révolte.

2. See Mrs.Field: The Child and his Book, Chap. IX.

3. See Norwood: The English Tradition in Education, Part I. Chap. VII (Discipline).

4. Mrs. Hamilton: The Cottagers of Glenburnie.

against the callousness and cruelty of a hard and selfish generation.[1]

At school the victims fared little better. Education was still shadowed by the fear of the Lord and the broomstick.[2] "Change was made for broom and birch with the same regularity as for teaching and books." The level of instruction and morals was so low in some cases that conscientious parents refused to send their boys to boarding school, and Fuller's description of the tyrannical schoolmaster who reduced his terrified pupils to a state bordering on imbecility was to hold good well into the XIXth century.[3] Ignorance and tyranny went hand in hand in all classes of society and in all types of school; and the picture we have of XVIIIth century child life and education is one of the most convincing arguments in favour of reform.

Even in Scotland where education was more democratic, similar conditions were to be found.[4] The incompetence and severity of his teachers was a bitter memory to Carlyle, for example, whose impatience with institutions of learning generally would surely have earned Rousseau's commendation.

> "My teachers", says he, "were hide-bound Pedants without knowledge of man's nature, or of boy's; or aught save their lexicons and quarterly-account books. Innumerable dead vocables (no dead Language; for they themselves knew no language) they crammed into us, and called it fostering the growth of mind. How can an inanimate, mechanical Gerund-grinder, the like of whom will, in a subsequent century, be manufactured at

1. Sartor Resartus, Book II, Chap. iii. (1834).

2. Catherine II of Russia and Marie Louise of Austria seem to have been among the fortunate ones, and Marie Antoinette loved her children dearly.

3. W.H.Hudson ("Rousseau",p.227) has an excellent note on Rousseau's "Education according to Nature":- "Nature with him is everywhere synonymous with the eternal order of things - with life in its fundamental reality."

4. See below, Chapter III, and cf. especially Wordsworth's "Immortality Ode" and Blake's "Songs of Innocence."

5. Emile, p. 57.

6. Nouvelle Heloïse, V.iii; in Boyd: Minor Educational Writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau, p. 66, and cf. p. 58. cf. Emile p. 58 (child's individual bent) and p. 155 (study of the individual temperament).

> Nürmberg out of wood and leather, foster the growth of anything? ..... The Hinterschlag Professors knew syntax enough; and of the human soul thus much: that it had a faculty called Memory, and could be acted-on through the muscular integument by appliance of birch-rods." [1]

Generalisations are invariably dangerous, and unquestionably there were, as always, good parents, kindly teachers, and happy homes in the XVIIIth century,[2] but the accumulation of evidence on the other side bears witness to intellectual apathy and the severity associated with the Calvinistic view of human nature.

2. Free and Natural Education.[3]

It was against the ideas and practice indicated in the foregoing extracts that Rousseau rebelled, substituting his theory of a free and natural education based on that romantic view of childhood which in a more mystical form, finds expression in the poetry of Blake and Wordsworth.[4] (1) The child is himself a part of Nature, an organism, therefore capable of growth and development, and the process of growth must follow natural laws in perfect freedom, without external interference or compulsion. "The greatest, the most important, the most useful rule in education is: Do not save time but lose it."[5] (2) The child is an individual and must realise his own potentialities. "Each man brings to the world at birth a character, genius and talents peculiar to himself" and temperaments may

1. Nouvelle Heloise, V.iii. in Boyd: Minor Educational Writings, pp.64ff.

.....

2. Emile, p. 56. and cf. Nouv. Hel. V.iii:- "The initial characters are in all cases good and sound in themselves; there are no blunders in nature." (Min. Ed. Writ.,p.59)

3. Emile p. 65. cf. Edgeworth: Practical Education, chap. IX.

4. Emile p. 57. (§69).

5. Ibid. p. 9.

6. Ibid. p. 10.

be formed or perfected but never changed or repressed.[1] (3) Since the child is innately good, and only becomes bad through wrong handling, no harm will result from this life of freedom and opportunity for self-development. "There is no original sin in the human heart and the how and why of the entrance of every vice can be traced."[2] Only when he is thwarted and repressed will the sins of lying, vanity, anger, envy , and the like make their appearance. "Under a free and natural education, why should your child lie?"[3] (4) The best kind of education therefore is a negative education which consists "not in teaching virtue or truth, but in preserving the heart from vice and from the spirit of error."[4]

Underlying Principles.

Rousseau bases his theory on certain well defined principles which may be summarised as follows:-

(a) The Aim of Education. The aim of education, he asserts is the forming of a man, and life is the trade I would teach him."[5] Now education comes to us from nature, from men, or from things, and it must be clearly differentiated from instruction and discipline.[6] It is a free, self-determining activity, in which the outer and the inner, to borrow Froebel's terminology, are gradually fused.

(b) Organic Growth. But although education is the art of forming men, the child in his early years is not a little man but a child. "Childhood has its own ways of seeing, thinking,

and feeling, and nothing is more foolish than to substitute our ways."[1] Further, the process of growth is a gradual one, and can neither be hastened nor retarded. It is useless to expect a child to grasp what lies beyond his intellectual capacity or outside his sphere of interest. "Try to teach the child what is of use to a child and you will find that it takes all his time."[2]

(c) Discipline. Coercion, then, is to be avoided at all costs. Intellectually it is useless, and morally it is both unjust and harmful. The child has to grow both spiritually and intellectually, and in his early years knows neither good nor evil: "wholly unmoral in his actions, he can do nothing morally wrong, and he deserves neither punishment nor reproof."[3] Repression only provokes rebellion and resentment, and the wise parent or tutor will employ more impersonal methods of discipline.

(d) Natural Law. The law of necessity is the only law which the child acknowledges, therefore "let the curb be force, not authority."[4] "There are two kinds of dependence: dependence on things, which is the work of nature; and dependence on men, which is the work of society. Dependence on things, being non-moral, does no injury to liberty and begets no vices."[5] Nature is impersonal, impartial, consistent, therefore emulate her.

(e) Child Psychology. The success of any theory depends

1. Emile, p. 155.

2. Ibid., p. 162.

3. Ibid. p. 9.

upon the intelligence with which it is applied in any given situation, and since no two people are alike, modes of reaction to any treatment will be infinitely varied. Therefore a knowledge of child psychology, derived from and supplemented by association with individual children, is a pre-requisite in efficient teaching and the management of all young people. "I wish some trustworthy person would give us a treatise on the art of child study ..... neither parents nor teachers have mastered its elements."[2] "Emile", needless to remark, is an attempt to supply the deficiency.

3. Informal Education.

(a) Learning from Experience. It is clear that these principles presuppose an informal type of education, with life itself as the great educator, and that the training Rousseau has in mind is a training less of intellect than of character. "To my mind those of us who can best endure the good and evil of life are the best educated; hence it follows that true education consists less in precept than in practice. We begin to learn when we begin to live."[3] The ideal setting for a natural education, as we see in "La nouvelle Heloïse", is the home, and the ideal teachers are the parents - or failing them, someone who stands "in loco parentis"; affectionate, wise and reliable, who will discharge worthily the noble task of forming the character entrusted to his care.

(b) The Teacher as Guide. The parent or tutor, however,

1. Emile, p. 19.

2. Nouv. Hel. V,iii. (Min. Ed. Writ. p. 56).

3. Stanley's "Life," vol. I,p.135.

4. Project for the Education of M. de Sainte-Marie (Min. Ed. Writ.,p.22).

is not merely a teacher, for education is not synonymous with instruction; rather, the tutor is guide and counsellor to his charge in the latter's effort to master the difficult art of living. The process morally and intellectually is one of self-education; the teacher must not give precepts, he must let the scholar find them out for himself.[1] Indeed true education, Rousseau contends, begins at a much more elementary stage than many of his predecessors, including Locke, had realised. "The first and most important education - the one that everybody forgets - is to fit a child to be educated."[2] The soil must be prepared before the seed will grow: in the words of Arnold of Rugby, "It was not knowledge but the means of gaining knowledge" that the master was called upon to teach.[3] The emphasis is moved therefore from teacher to learner, and from teaching to learning; education has become child-centred.

(c) <u>The Training of Character</u>. It is wholly in keeping with Rousseau's Calvinistic background that he should stress the ethical rather than the intellectual aspect of education. "The end that one should set before himself in the education of a young man is to form his heart, his judgment, and his mind - in the order in which I name them."[4] Physical training, mental culture, knowledge of the world, all have their place, but as Locke, Rousseau's master, had argued before him, and as Arnold was to argue later, goodness is more important than knowledge.

"The heart's aye the pairt aye
That makes us right or wrang"

wrote Burns. "Though I have the gift of prophecy and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and have not charity, I am nothing" said St. Paul.

(d) Social Adaptation. The training in social adaptation which comes most easily to the child through participation in a happy family life is illustrated in "La nouvelle Heloïse", which must be read side by side with the "Emile" if Rousseau's theory of education is to be grasped in its entirety. Here we see him emerging for a little from the individualism and isolation which mar the spirit of his greatest work. Man is essentially a social being and an education which starves this side of his nature is confessedly incomplete. But social adaptability is a gradual development, and in the security of home the child learns his first lessons in adjusting himself to society. Kindly in its intimacy, yet exacting in its demands, the family helps him to a realisation of the claims of others and its discipline prepares him for the larger life of the community and the state.

(e) The Ideal: Manhood or Citizenship. That Rousseau never fully recognised the claims of this richer life was his misfortune rather than his fault; in the short sketch on Poland, it is true, he dealt exclusively with the training of the citizen, but he remained an individualist to the end, and

1. Not only his poetry ("O Caledonia! stern and wild," "Marmion," and the rest) but also his fiction. Edie Ochiltree and Meg Merriles are only two examples.

2. Scottish poetry especially. This is one of the recurring themes.
   cf. R.L.Stevenson:"Blows the wind on the moors to-day..."

3. Emile, p. 438.

4. The pubertal initiation ceremonies.

his ideal was the forming of a man whose character would enable him to overcome the limitations imposed by a corrupt society upon its members rather than teach him to find a fresh stimulus to action in the wider life of the community with its call to service and self-abnegation. There is nothing of the spontaneous joy of the patriot which ennobles the poetry of Burns and Scott and little of the subdued anguish that transfigures the poetry of exile:[2] "Do not say therefore, 'What matter where I am?' It does matter that you should be where you can best do your duty; and one of those duties is to love your native land."[3] Geneva had taught Rousseau not love but duty.

4. Individual Development.

(a) Basic Factors in Educational Development. Montague said "Know thyself"; Rousseau says "Know thy child - his capacity, his ability, his temperament, for only on the basis of such sound knowledge can teaching and learning proceed harmoniously.

Four aspects of the individual life are selected for special consideration: sex, age, individuality, rank. Age and rank had long been regarded as important factors in education. Plato, in the "Republic", had synthesised and elaborated the systems of Athens and Sparta, and the ancient world recognised the clearly marked division between childhood and adolescence on which primitive peoples have always set such store.[4] Rousseau

1. Emile V, p. 359. cf. p. 333:- "She should early learn to submit to injustice and to suffer the wrongs inflicted on her by her husband without complaint." Why?

however divides the period from birth to maturity into four stages and makes the difference in age fundamental in the learning process. Beginning with the animal life of the baby, he traces the gradual development of the individual through the self-sufficiency of the boy, and the awakening intellectual, social and spiritual life of adolescence to the full stature of manhood.

In the treatment of sex differences in education he invites comparison with Plato, who starting from the same premises, reaches a very different conclusion, a fact which is all the more striking when we remember that twenty-two centuries and the teaching of Christ separate the two writers. In this respect Rousseau substitutes other criteria for those of individuality, and in his attitude to the education of girls and of the poor he is not a whit in advance of his time. The freedom he claims as the inalienable right of every individual he is ready to withhold from half the human race. "Woman is made to submit to man and endure even injustice at his hands." Thirty years later Burke remarked that the age of chivalry was gone, and Mary Wallstonecraft wrote her "Vindication".

(b) "The Art of Forming a Man." Such then is Rousseau's interpretation of the art of forming men. The child must be left free to develop his own individuality in his own way, in an atmosphere of security, affection, understanding and toler-

1. cf. the training of Harry in "The Fool of Quality." See below, Chapter IV.

2. Boyd: Educational Theory of Jean Jacques Rousseau, p. 19.

ance. In the slow and gradual process of organic growth he comes to know himself, to realise his unity with all things, his relations to others and ultimately to God.[1] Education is very largely informal, and it is a life process: Emile as a boy reads no books except "Robinson Crusoe"; he learns not from books but from people and things; from doing and thinking for himself, not from slavish imitation or acceptance of the thoughts of others. It is self-education though under guidance and as such violated every article of the accepted classical creed.

Here we have "the conception of education as co-existent with the whole process of learning, not limited to the comparatively small segment of it that must be carried on under adult guidance and teaching."[2] Such a theory of education, among the upper and middle classes particularly, was revolutionary in the extreme; such faith as it implied in child nature was unheard of.

V. CONCLUSION.

1. Recapitulation.

The new theory of education was as romantic as it was revolutionary, and reflects both the personality and experience of Rousseau and the spirit of the age. It is a protest against the classical regime which had persisted for two and a half centuries and had long since descended into formalism. Like

1. Emile, p. 48:- "Freedom, not power is the greatest good."

It may be asked in passing just how much freedom Emile really enjoys.

the Reformation and the Revolution it asserts the supreme value of freedom and individuality. It reveals the educational possibilities of home and family life, of normal human relations and everyday experience; it represents the claims of science and practical activity in a curriculum hitherto dominated by the humanities. It revolutionises methods of teaching and discipline by introducing a new conception of child life, and a new interpretation of the educational process. The result is a child-centred education.

The new theory of education embodies the author's philosophy of life, and the practical suggestions he makes are based on his personal observation and experience. First and always is the influence of the mountains he loved as a boy. From "the upland lawns and serene air" Emile, like Milton and Wordsworth, is to draw his noble nurture. The home-life Rousseau never knew, and the father he idealised are woven into the setting he describes in "La nouvelle Heloïse". His own education was desultory, informal, "negative". His interests were scientific and literary, his beliefs had more in common with deism than with any religious sect. At sixteen he became virtually a citizen of the world, and developed the self-sufficient philosophy of an individual absolved from ordinary human ties. If a man's work is a true indication of his personality, and his philosophy is evolved from his experience of life, it is difficult to see how Rousseau's theory of education could have

been other than it was.

His influence on English contemporary thought and practice is discussed in another chapter. Greater than the immediate has been the subsequent influence of his writings in the entire field of western education. Pestalozzi, Froebel, Herbart, Montessori and their followers are among his disciples and the Dalton Plan, the experimental school of Professor Dewey, the New Education of today, ultimately trace their origin to his theories. In England his teaching was accepted and modified by the Edgeworths, adapted to English theory and practice by Thomas Hill of Hazelwood, and culminated in the work of Arnold of Rugby. He has become identified with the romantic movement in education which stresses the individuality and freedom of the child, the importance of scientific studies and practical activity in any comprehensive scheme of instruction, and the need for more natural human relations among parents, teachers, and children.

2. Comment and Criticism.

The service which Rousseau rendered to education has long been recognised, and his fundamental principles, though usually in a modified form, have gained general acceptance. Like Plato, with whom he invites comparison and contrast in so many respects, he occupies a unique place in the history and theory of education. He himself declared the "Republic" to be the

1. Morley: Rousseau, p. 248.

2. cf. Shaw: Man and Superman, Act I:

> ANN. ..... Destruction can only destroy.
> TANNER. Yes. That is why it is so useful. Construction cumbers the ground with institutions made by busybodies. Destruction clears it and gives us breathing space and liberty.

finest treatise on education ever written, and "Emile" has been described as one of the ~~most~~ seminal books in the history of literature:-[1]

> "Of such books the worth resides less in the parts than in the whole. It touched the deeper things of character. It filled parents with a sense of dignity and moment of their great task. It cleared away an accumulation of clogging prejudices and obscure inveterate usage which made education one of the dark formalistic arts; and it admitted floods of light and air into the tightly closed nurseries and school rooms. It effected the substitution of growth for mechanism ..... It was a veritable charter of youthful deliverance."[1]

Morley's comment is just and in the main true. Rousseau's service to education was fundamentally that of the revolutionary and iconoclast who clears away the debris and so enables men to adjust their theories to new conditions and evolve a fresh scheme of life.[2] In the nature of things it was inevitable that his education gospel should be incomplete for no man ever yet wholly transcended the limits of his age and personality. These limitations are most clearly evident in his treatment of the education of women and of the poor, but time and circumstance, the self-appointed censors of human thought, have bid fair to right the injustice.

More serious is his lack of social feeling, the sense of isolation and aloofness that so often descends like a chill mist upon his warm humanity. The antagonism to society which marked his early work is never quite lost, and like some hidden

.....

1. See J.S.Mill: Autobiography, pp.48-9, but James Mill belonged to the XVIIIth. Century while Rousseau was romantic, and he retained the cynicism which Rousseau outgrew.

2. Emile, p. 374.

3. cf. Hume's comment: "He has only felt during the whole of his life." (Quoted by Morley, p.200).

4. Emile, p. 44. And cf. above: "Man's happiness in this world is but a negative state; it must be reckoned by the fewness of his ills."

5. "Rasselas"- the philosophy of Imlac and the whole book. cf. the closing lines of "The Vanity of Human Wishes" and Goldsmith's "The Traveller."

sorrow it saddens his whole outlook. Egotist and idividualist, he never really escapes from the prison of himself, and so fails to attain to the full stature of a mature, balanced and harmonious personality. One is tempted to compare him with the boy he depicts with such insight - detached, self-sufficient yet incomplete, like a plant whose growth has been checked by frost. He never fully realises that rights involve responsibilities and that in the fulfilment of his social obligations a man finds his own life anew.

Which brings us back finally to his philosophy of life. Like James Mill,[1] he is a curious blend of stoic and epicurean, - the first by experience, the second by nature. "I have brought Emile up neither to desire nor to wait but to enjoy."[2] "It is necessary to be happy", he tells his pupil. "That is the end of life for every creature of sense." But man is not merely a creature of sense, and Rousseau of all people needed the restraining and co-ordinating power of reason.[3] In places he realises this need, and takes refuge in the stoicism characteristic of his age. "True happiness consists in decreasing the difference between our desires and our powers, in establishing a perfect equilibrium between the power and the will."[4] "Life", said Dr. Johnson, "is a state in which much more is to be endured than can ever be enjoyed."[5] But beyond endurance lies something finer; beyond fortitude, faith.

Two names stand above all others in educational theory, each representing a great tradition. In Plato we have the beauty, dignity, restraint and completeness of Greek art; a serene philosophy based on the harmonious adaptation of the individual to himself, to the community and to the infinite; a life in which service is perfect freedom in the just state. Very different is the turbulent genius of Rousseau, aflame with passionate sincerity, labouring under every disadvantage with which society and fate could burden an enfeebled body and an ill-balanced intellect. His is the unearthly and fitful beauty of mountains and lonely places, of dawn and sunset and storm. To him it was not granted to see life steadily and see it whole; but truths men had forgotten he reaffirmed, and walking in darkness and in the shadow of death, he directed their thoughts towards the light.

CHAPTER III.

EDUCATION AND THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND.

I. HISTORICAL RETROSPECT:

The Peace of the Augustans.

1. Political and social conditions in the first half of the XVIIIth century.

The first half of the XVIIIth century in England was generally speaking a period of almost unbroken peace, increasing prosperity and internal consolidation. The long ministry of Walpole gave the nation an opportunity to recover from the revolutionary struggle and the foreign wars of William and Anne. Largely as a result of overseas expansion trade flourished, the prestige and power of the middle classes increased, and the occupation of the throne by a succession of rulers whose interests lay outside their newly acquired territories afforded Parliament a unique opportunity for establishing beyond all question the claims of 1689. Constitutionally and industrially as well as territorially, the period is one of progress and expansion.

The effect of these political conditions is clearly seen in the social history of the time, in which conservative and revolutionary elements are inextricably combined. The government of England from 1688 to 1832 was in essence

1. cf. the life at Raveloe, in George Eliot' "Silas Marner."

2. cf. Galsworthy's "Freelands" with its portrait of the old labourer and the wonderful description of the land.

3. Sir Roger de Coverley.

4. As the century grows old London loses its monopoly. Edinburgh, Lichfield, Norwich, Bath, all gain in importance, and become centres of literary and fashionable life.

an oligarchy, and on the one hand are all the static forces associated with land tenure - the aristocracy, the country gentry, the uneventful life of rural England which had its roots in the heptarchy and was as yet undisturbed by the effects of scientific discovery or mechanical invention.[1] The unit of social life is the family, whether it be in Hall, hamlet or isolated farm, and the unifying force is the land.[2] In France during the same period the centre of political and social life was the court; and country estates were regarded by the nobility as places of bitter exile. But in England under the Georges the court was no longer a powerful centre of attraction; the squirearchy preferred to live in the country combining home and outdoor life in an essentially English way.[3] Occasional visits were made to London, still the centre of intellect and fashion; but social life in this period is most characteristically provincial, as we see it portrayed, for example, in "Tom Jones" or the novels of Miss Austen.[4]

Side by side with the traditional landed interest, however, is growing up a rival power in the middle class of wealthy manufacturers and merchants.

"Permit me to repeat", says Harry Clinton to the Earl of Moreland, "that the wealth, prosperity and importance of everything upon earth arises from the Tiller, the Manufac-

1. Instances abound. cf. Goldsmith,

"Say, should the philosophic mind disdain
That good which makes each humbler bosom vain?
Let school-taught pride dissemble all it can,
These little things are great to little man."
(Traveller.)

See too his fine essay on "Trifles." (Citizen of the World.)

turer and the Merchant; and that as nothing is truly estimable save in proportion to its utility, these are consequently very far from being contemptible characters." (Brooke: Fool of Quality, I, p.41).

This new dynamic force makes its presence felt in almost every sphere of the life of the second half of the XVIIIth century. Politically it provides the stimulus for parliamentary reform which was actually on the way in England before the French Revolution stayed its progress for a generation. Its philosophy was the utilitarianism of the first half of the XIXth century; its influence in education was little short of revolutionary. Its social importance is reflected in the literature of the day, especially in the development of the periodical and the novel, the distinctive creations of the XVIIIth century, wherein we find all that vast background of everyday life with which for the first time English literature deliberately concerns itself.[1] The heroes and heroines of romance make way for Pamela and Joseph Andrews, George Barnwell, and their XIXth century successors, and a striking convoy of oddities of the Adams-Bramble persuasion liven these copious volumes. Not since the days of Chaucer and Langland have we had such a cross-section of society, but the central figure is always the common

1. This fact invests Robinson Crusoe with an added significance.

2. The theme of Shaw's "Major Barbara." This explains at least in part the time-lag in cultural development in colonial and pioneer life generally.

man, and his coming is the sign of romanticism and revolution.[1]

These general political and social conditions have a direct bearing on contemporary education. Here we have a society of which the most influential components are a wealthy leisured class, and a middle class consisting largely of men whose newly acquired wealth stimulated their desire for power, and, since the privileges of birth and social status were denied them, for the knowledge by which it might be attained. But apart from any utilitarian motives, the possession of wealth and leisure is in itself conducive to cultural development; where immediate and material needs are satisfactorily provided for the things of the mind are more likely to receive attention,[2] and that the XVIIIth century was interested in education we have ample proof from the numerous writings on the subject beginning with Locke's "Thoughts" (1694). With the increase of leisure in the upper classes, and the social and moral problems created by the industrial revolution, we have a strong incentive to reconsider the whole question of educational theory and current practice. A generation already questioning, dissatisfied, and seeking new light was prepared to welcome the humanitarian spirit engendered by the Revolution and the new way of life to which they

1. And it was inadequate there too, for lack of funds.

2. In "The Borough," Letter XXIV. (1810)

were called by the poets and prophets of Romanticism.

2. Contemporary Education.

Social conditions in the XVIIIth century set the standard of educational attainment. The hard-riding, hard-drinking, fox-hunting squire cared little for books and less for learning; he tolerated his chaplain at dinner but only up to the removal of the cloth; his lady's reading was strictly limited - in the majority of cases probably comprising her Bible and cookery book. The world of fashion was concerned chiefly with deportment and the social graces. Except in Germany and Scotland there was no adequate provision for educating the poor,[1] nor was education in their case considered advisable. A harrowingly realistic picture of English schools is given by the poet Crabbe.[2] At the lower end of the scale we have the Dame School, the characteristic English elementary school before the middle of the XIXth century.

> "That where the deaf poor patient widow sits
> And awes some thirty infants as she knits;"

we have the boarding school,

> "Where teachers make the heartless trembling set
> Of pupils suffer for their own regret."

and the public school which boasts neither discipline nor

1. cf. "The Governess." (1785) :- "Cheapness and economy in education are very predominant at this time.....And certain it is that Education decreases by the diminution in price; for persons of ability will and ought to be paid as such." (p.59)
See below, ch.V.

2. This is a generous estimate. Many children began work much earlier, and many had no education at all. See below ch. V.

3. Chapter II.

scholastic attainments.

All alike present a depressing spectacle which not even Goldsmith's humanity and humour can relieve. Schools were often held in workshops, or in living-rooms, for there were no suitable buildings; play areas were of course undreamt of; and towards the end of the century the living conditions of factory children - they had no schooling - do not bear thinking about. Teachers were inefficient, untrained, badly paid;[1] there was no division into classes, and in any case the curriculum did not extend beyond reading, writing, and religion. Correct spelling was an unattainable ideal; arithmetic was generally beyond the teacher's powers. And this meagre schooling, wherever it began, and however intermittently it continued, was over by the time the child was ten or eleven, when earning became a necessity.[2]

XVIIIth century attitude to childhood.

The explanation of these appalling conditions is partly to be sought in the prevailing attitude to the child, to which some reference has already been made.[3] The child had no place on his own right in XVIIIth century life. He was a small edition of the grown up, forever on the rack mentally and morally, and often even physically compelled to go beyond his strength; small wonder if sometimes his

1. cf. for example, the terrible picture in "Peter Grimes":-

"....And some on hearing cries,
Said calmly: 'Grimes is at his exercise.'"

(Crabbe.)

mental stature was stunted, his habits vicious, his outlook warped. And this state of affairs was accepted with inconceivable equanimity. Man's inhumanity to man was nothing compared with his inhumanity to children, and until the prevailing notions which gave rise to such treatment were swept away, the child was doomed to exist in an atmosphere of misunderstanding and repression. With a change of outlook, a new attitude to the child, educational reforms were bound to follow. And once again it is the revolutionary and romantic spirit which points the way, allying itself with the new interest in science and the spread of the new philosophy which was translated from German to English thought by Coleridge and Carlyle. The emancipation of the child is a part of the Renascence of Wonder, and with the joys of spring, rediscovered in the Return to Nature, childhood is restored to human life.

II. THE REVOLUTION IN XVIIITH CENTURY THOUGHT.

The influences contributing to this transvaluation of values in educational matters may be grouped conveniently under four heads.

1. Science.

Earle writing in the XVIIth century had compared the

1. Earle: Microcosmographie - "The Child."

2. cf. Rousseau: La Nouvelle Heloïse, the simile of the two dogs. (W.W.)

child's soul to a sheet of white paper which records all impressions, and the conception of the child as a tabula rasa, a passive receptacle of experience, persisted for a hundred and fifty years. As the tree falls so shall it lie: as the twig is bent, so the branch will grow. Thus the educationalists argued, forgetting the danger of reasoning by analogy. But the spread of scientific ideas in the XVIIIth century emphasized the organic unity in living things, and the principle of growth. Apart from any external conditions an organism has a life of its own; deny it favourable conditions and it will die, but the same conditions will produce widely differing results in different organisms. A grain of wheat, an acorn, a noxious weed, all require sun, air and moisture for their development, but they each remain true to their particular species. Man, it was recognised, is also an organism; he too will evolve in response to environmental conditions while remaining true to his nature. Hence we have the new organic conception of the child - a living, growing, changing unity, neither wholly passive and plastic, nor yet an adult in miniature.

2. Religion.

The earlier conception of the child as a tabula rasa harmonised with current theology. The Calvinistic doctrines

1. Addison and Richardson wrote expressly for women, readers Richardson with their help and tearful inspiration.

2. e.g. the Scottish poetesses of the XVIIIth century, the English women novelists.
English

education was the stronghold of the Puritan spirit.

But with increased political and religious freedom, with greater latitude in morals and conduct, and with the humanistic influence of France, Calvinism became less rigid. Above all, with the growth of the organic conception of childhood, there developed the new attitude to the child, which allowed him a life of his own, and some measure of freedom to pursue it.

3. The Influence of Women.

Another factor which contributed to the movement towards a new theory of education was the increasing influence of women from this time onwards. Less obvious, it is of considerable importance in many ways. The fact that they constituted a large proportion of the reading public goes far to explain the vogue of the novel and the periodical in this period.[1] These literary genres catered specially for women readers, and the prevailing sentimentality, which more robust taste would surely have dispensed with, was unquestionably the delight of their leisure hours. The status and education of women during this age demands separate treatment, but we may note in passing (a) that for the first time, in the XVIIIth century, women as a class enter the field of literature,[2] and (b) that a literature specially

designed for children only arises where women set themselves seriously to the task of providing it. Women's interests naturally centred on home and children, especially as there were at that period no powerful distractions in vocational or public life, and the greater leisure arising from increase of wealth and material comfort left them free to apply themselves to educational and social problems of an immediate and practical kind.

4. Romanticism.

Science, philosophy, religion, and the influence of women all contributed towards the new conception of the child, which admitted his claim to individuality and freedom in a life of his own. It was the Romantic spirit above all which suggested the means by which that individual life might be most truly developed. Protestantism had stressed the worth of the individual, but in its extreme form it devolved into a system of repression and isolation "too near neighbour to despair". It was from the romantic movement, with its emphasis on space and liberty, its fresh interpretation of nature and humanity, that the new educational gospel derived its power. In romanticism was the spirit that gave it life, and by substituting a positive for a negative ideal, Olivet for Sinai, set free the pent-up energy and directed it into

more fruitful channels. The mosaic law in education was to be fulfilled and superseded.

How?

III. THE RETURN TO NATURE.

In the first place, the Romantic Movement is always associated with a "return to nature", to simplicity and freedom from the conventions imposed by society, to an interest in the country as opposed to the town. This is illustrated, for example, in the disappearance of the artificial gardens of the XVIIIth century and the rise of landscape painting, in the descriptions of natural scenery common in the novels of the early XIXth century, in the study of rural life, and in the portrayal of rustic or humble characters. The return to nature is also associated with the other great intellectual and spiritual movements of the time, with the ever increasing interest in science, with which the religious revival of the XVIIIth century and the transcendental philosophy of the early XIXth century. And lastly it is interwoven with the revolutionary spirit, which originating in a belief in the freedom of the individual emerged finally in the doctrine of the brotherhood of man.

The connection between the return to nature and the contemporary scientific and religious movements is not

1. For the experimental syudy of education cf. Rousseau, Edgeworth, esp. Vide infra, ch.IV.
cf. Emerson:
"The chemic lump becomes the plant and breathes,
The plant becomes the animal and walks,
The animal becomes man and thinks."

difficult to trace. Science is fundamentally concerned with natural phenomena, with the problems of origin, environment and growth. It questions, observes, experiments, records, classifies and systematises. Faithful and accurate observation of detail is a postulate of all scientific study; and detailed description of nature makes its appearance in English literature during this period and not before - in the letters of Gray, and the poetry of Cowper and Wordsworth.

The relation of the return to nature and the modern scientific spirit to contemporary trends in education is again fairly clear. It is but a step from the study of plants and animals to the study of man; the child presents the same problems of heredity growth and environment, and to some extent at least the same methods of observation and experiment are applicable. The new educational theory implied a development co-existent with the whole process of living: from one point of view this is biology, from another "education according to nature" - "nature" being the country and a life as free as possible from artificial restraint, in which the individual has both the freedom and the conditions favourable to development along his chosen lines.

Nature and man are two elements in a trinity of which

1. cf. Marcus Aurelius:

O Nature, ~~in~~ from thee are all things,
in thee are all things,
to thee all thinga return.
The poet saith: Dear City of Cecrops;
Shall I not say, Dear City of God?

the first and last is God. The Reformation emphasised the worth of the individual; Calvinism shifted the emphasis to <u>some</u> individuals - the elect and predestined; Romanticism, in conjunction with the revolutionary spirit moved it back to <u>all</u>. Finally romantic mysticism fastened on the soul or spiritual part of man, which exists in every man, but which is also the motion and the spirit

> "that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought
> and rolls through all things"
>
> (Tintern Abbey)

and which emanates from the Creator Himself. This is the doctrine of the Immanence of God, which coloured and penetrated the whole of romantic thought. In the light of such teaching, the universe becomes the Garment of God, "there is a god-like in human affairs", and something of the divine in every man. Then, since men are but children of a larger growth, and

> "Not in entire forgetfulness,
> And not in utter nakedness
> But trailing clouds of glory do we come
> From God Who is our home:
> Heaven lies about us in our infancy!"

From this realisation of the divine in man, and the belief that the child in his innocence and unsullied freshness is

1. Verses vii, viii, and ix of the Ode are a commentary on the mystic's creed: Illumination - Purgation - Unity.

nearest of all to God, arises the romantic reverence for childhood,

"Thou best Philosopher ... readst the eternal deep
Haunted forever by the Eternal Mind -
Mighty Prophet! Seer blest!
On whom these truths do rest
Which we are toiling all our lives to find
In darkness lost."

The romantic view of life herein expressed, which revealed to men a new heaven and a new earth, and incidentally led them to approach from a new angle the problems of child life and education, may be clearly studied in the poetry of the time; for invariably poets, those "music makers and dreamers of dreams" are most sensitive to atmosphere and coming change, and express, even as they mould, contemporary thought.

Romantic poetry, like any other poetry, has its recurring themes. Of these we shall consider two: (a) the poetry of Nature, and (b) the poetry of Man. In these is to be found the germ of the romantic theory of education.

1. The Poetry of Nature.

Nature emerges as a separate theme in the poetry of the Romantic Revival. True, Chaucer had succumbed willingly when spring lured him from his books and accounts to ramble

11 Hous of Fame, Legende of Good Women, Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, etc.

2. e.g. "the temple-haunting martlet," (Macbeth I, vi), the "hoar leaves of the willow (Ham. IV, i)

3. As in Herrick's "To Daffodils."

4. This does not apply to Scottish poetry. The Scottish climated prevented it!

5. e.g. Cowper: later books of "The Task", the poems of Keats and Shelley on Autumn.

in Kentish glades; Shakespeare's observation of nature no one would deny.[2] In the XVIIth century Vaughan had seen Eternity

> "Like a great ring of endless light
> All calm as it was bright",

and Herrick had sung

> "Of books, of blossoms, birds and bowers
> Of April, May, of June and July flowers."

But these were interspersed with his song

> "Of mapoles, hockcarts, wassails, wakes,
> Of bridegrooms, brides, and of their bridal cakes",

and to all intents and purposes until the romantic period Nature is only a background, a setting for human life.[3] She is vaguely felt rather than carefully studied, and of winter and rough weather there is only enough to provide an artistic contrast to eternal spring.[4] Not until the XVIIIth century, and indeed towards its close, do we find nature occupying a central place and poets writing at length of winter and decay.[5] The impetus of course came from north of the Border, from James Thomson writing of the hard life of the labourers in the bleak north country, of the changing seasons and the grey seas of his boyhood home,

1. "I care not, Fortune, what you me deny,
You cannot rob me of free Nature's grace.
You cannot shut the windows of the sky,
Through which Aurora shows her brighrening face.
You cannot bar my feet to trace
The woods and lawns by living stream at eve...."

2. Publication of "The Seasons," 1726-30 - "The Task," published 1785.

3. "Thus at the shut of even the weary bird
Leaves the wide air and in some lonely brake
Cowers down and dozes till the dawn of day,
Then claps his full-fledged wings and bears away."
(Ressurection.)

4. Letters: "A Tour in the North."

5. e.g. "And hamlets brown, and dim-discovered spires;
And hears their simple bell; and marks o'er all
Thy dewy fingers draw
The gradual dusky veil."

6. Crabbe was a botanist and mineralogist.

"Where the northern ocean in vast whirls
Boils round the naked melancholy isles
Of farthest Thule, and the Atlantic surge
Pours in among the stormy Hebrides."

(Autumn, 862-6).

Such lines springing from love and knowledge combined strike a new note in English poetry.[1]

Between 1730 and 1785[2] it is possible to trace the expanding interest in nature through the work of such representative authors as Blair, Gray, Collins and Goldsmith to Cowper. We have Blair's quiet sympathy with bird life,[3] Gray's faithful rendering of Wordsworth's beloved Lake scenery,[4] the exquisite music of Collins' "Ode to Evening",[5] and the Arcadian charm of Goldsmith's Village. The eighties, so remarkable in many ways, witnessed a rapid advance in the poetry of nature. Within six years were published Crabbe's "Village" (1783), Cowper's "The Task" (1785), Burns' "Kilmarnock Poems" (1786) and Blake's "Songs of Innocence" (1789). Crabbe's detailed and accurate descriptions reveal the mind of the scientist rather than the poet,[6] and in his detachment he belongs entirely to the XVIIIth century. Burns and Blake in their treatment of nature are essentially romantic. Cowper stands between the two groups, and foreshadows Wordsworth. He strikes two new notes in the poetry of nature.

1. Stopford Brooke: Naturalism in English Poetry, p.
In his love of animals Cowper foreshadows Blake who sees the kinship between them and the child. In his love of inanimate nature he foreshadows Wordsworth, but it is religious without being mystical. Wordsworth is both religious and mystical.

(i) In the first place, he illustrates the growing sympathy with "the strange dumb hidden life of animals":

"He humanised animals; he felt his kinship with them; he made them our teachers and our friends. He watched their ways with his tender smile, and he fills his landscape with their life."

(ii) In the second place he sees more deeply into the soul of nature than any of his predecessors. The wonders of the seasons proclaim the glory of God and His never failing bounty;

> "He marks the bounds which Winter may not pass,
> And blunts his pointed fury; in its case
> Russet and rude folds up the tender germ
> Uninjured, with inimitable art,
> And e'er our flowery season fades and dies
> Designs the blooming wonders of the next."

Here we have both XVIII and XIX century thought, Crabbe and Keats.

But one thing more was needful in each case, and it was not long delayed. Burns, one with the earth he loved, and possessing a lyrical power and a depth of feeling Cowper never knew, restored passion to English poetry and added a more intimate and personal note to the poetry of nature and man. And whereas Cowper's religious faith led him to see the working of the divine mind in its creation, Wordsworth beginning from the other side reaches through

1. "The Simplon Pass." The experience had a profound influence on Wordsworth. It was one of the "supreme moments of his life. We may note how far the poetry of nature has progressed by comparing the two passages quoted. The grandeur and the visionary splendour of the second is wholly romantic; and such a vision is only vouchsafed to a sympathetic mind in just such circumstances. Cowper had neither the capacity nor the opportunity.

2. cf. the philosophy of Thomas Hardy, expressed throughout the Wessex novels and summed up in many of his shorter poems, such as "In Time of the Breaking of Nations," from "The Dynasts."

"War's annals will fade into night
Ere their story die."

the darkness and the burthen of the mystery up to God.

"The unfettered clouds and region of the heavens
Tumult and peace, the darkness and the light -
Were all like workings of one mind, the features
Of the same face, blossoms upon one tree,
Characters of the great Apocalypse,
The types and symbols of Eternity,
Of first, and last, and midst, and without end."[1]

2. The Poetry of Man: The Revolutionary Spirit.

It is not possible in studying the development of naturalism in English poetry to separate the poetry of nature from the poetry of man. Though the first is essentially of English origin, and the second is a blend of the English love of nature, and the English individualism with the cosmopolitan and revolutionary spirit, the two are inextricably intertwined and follow the same general course. We have the same impersonal beginnings, from the ordered universe of Pope, through the detached descriptions of "The Seasons", to the kindly and humorous picture of village life in Goldsmith. At this point the horizons begin to widen, for Goldsmith was a "citizen of the world", and probably the most truly cosmopolitan figure of his time. In "The Traveller" he introduces us to new faces, other minds. Gray, in his short and simple annals of the poor, is concerned with the elemental which is also the commonplace.[2]

1. Crabbe stands apart from the others in that he belongs temperamentally to the XVIIIth century, but his realism entitles him to a place in this group.

2. And of the Russian writers before the Revolution - e.g Dostoievski, Gorki.

3. Declaration of the Rights of Man, Nov. 1792.

4. In on respect Burns is an exception. His common man is poor but not oppressed, and not miserable because of his poverty. Rather he depicts the simple joys of lowly folk. This is partly due to his own temperament, partly due to Scottish conditions and character. (See below, ch. V.)

5. Stopford Brooke: Theology in English Poets, pp. 26-7.

But Goldsmith writing as an artist, half idealising, and Gray the scholar, viewing life from a college window, are still but forerunners of the promised time. It is when we come to Crabbe, Cowper, Burns and Blake that we find with the new treatment of nature inevitably a new vision of man.[1] It is the man of the French Revolution,[2] lowly, suffering, poor and oppressed, the slave and the outcast, whose kinship with his human brothers is at last recognised whereas before he had been allowed kinship only with the humble beasts, his companions in misery. The Revolution of 1789-93 blazoned to the world at large[3] the truth which Crabbe, Cowper, Burns and Blake had already proclaimed in their poetry.[4]

In the unsparing dispassionate realism of Crabbe we are brought face to face with poverty, starvation, crime, misery. There had been nothing like it in English poetry since Langland's dream four hundred years before. The cottagers - a "bold, artful, surly, savage race" - their wretched huts, their hopeless struggle to eke out a scanty living, their exploitation by employer and quack, their callousness, their terrible sufferings which only death will end, are all set forth. "Nothing is omitted, and as we turn back fifty years and read the Essay on Man, we rub our eyes and ask, In what world are we?."[5]

1. Stopford Brooke, Theology in English Poets, pp. 56-7

In Cowper "the poetry of human wrong begins, that long long cry against oppression and evil done by man to man, against the moral, political or priestly tyrant which rings louder and louder through Burns, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Shelley and Byron, ever impassioned, ever longing, ever prophetic - never in the darkest time, quite despairing." In the passionate utterance of Burns, himself one of the poor whose joys and sorrows he shared and sang, we have a deeper and more moving appeal. Calvinism, which drove Byron to defiance and Cowper to despair, he abhorred and rejected; tolerant beyond measure, with the knowledge of his own faults, he is the friend and playmate of all nature, and in no other poet do we find alike the same endearing intimacy with the little wild creatures of field and moorland, or the same largehearted gentleness towards his fellow men.

Thus we see the romantic movement and the revolutionary spirit, though in different ways, working towards the same end of social and moral regeneration. The extremists attempted to hasten by destruction and cataclysmic change the coming of the new era which had already dawned. The poets with surer instinct saw the need for a revolution in the heart of man, for -

1. Laurie Magnus: European Literature, p.234.

2. Morley: Rousseau, ch. XIII, p.193p

"The heart aye's the part aye
That makes us right or wrang."

(Epistle to Davie).

3. Educational Implications.

"Common people moving out of the shadow from factories to fields, from the old pedagogy to the new, from inhibition and repression into the light of full sensibility."[1]

It was inevitable that such a social and moral revolution should have a profound influence upon education, which can never be divorced from social welfare. Moreover, the keynote of the romantic movement was hope, and "an age touched by the spirit of hope inevitably turns to the young, for with the young lies fulfilment."[2]

The influence of the romantic movement on education was expressed in two ways:-

(a) In ideas about education, in criticism destructive or constructive, about contemporary institutions, methods, and practice generally;

(b) In an attitude to childhood, marked especially by an attempt to understand the working of the child's mind. Though necessarily nebulous in many respects, the second is the more interesting and valuable, partly because it is an outcome of the humanitarian spirit, and also because it adumbrates a vague but positive ideal which the XIXth and

1. "The Borough," Letter XXIV is devoted to education.

2. cf. the description of the life of the XIXth century governess in "Shirley" and elsewhere. (see below, ch. V)

XXth centuries have in some degree realised.

IV. THE POETS AND CHILDHOOD (The 1780's).

As we might expect, the attitude of the poets to contemporary formal education is mainly destructive. Poets do not naturally fit into well worn grooves, romantics and rebels least of all. Cowper had no reason to admire educational methods; Wordsworth openly defied academic prestige. Shelley whose temperament precluded happiness anywhere, found little inspiration or sympathy in school. Crabbe, Cowper and Burns are all rebels though with a difference.

Crabbe is the most matter of fact, but his relentless statements are cruelly illuminating.[1] Children and teachers alike have their sensibilities dulled by their dreadful surroundings:

> "Reuben has no nerves,
> Mid noise and dirt and stench and play and prate
> He calmly cuts a pen or views a slate."
>
> (Borough, XXIV).

The teacher's lot is one of unrelieved gloom, "unvaried toil, and care that never ends".

> "What can teachers feel,
> Dependent helpers always at the wheel?
> Their power despised their compensation small
> Their labour dull, their life labourious all."[2]
>
> (Ibid.)

1. Of all the romantic poets Burns is most richly gifted with humour and dramatic power, both of which are woefully lacking in poets and educational reformers alike. It is this quality, "the guardian of mental and moral sanity," which gives point to his criticism.

2. Here Burns puts his finger on an urgent modern problem, that of "Secondary Education for all."

Depressed by poverty, knowing neither freedom nor joy, how could they pass on these gifts to pupils in some respects less wretched than themselves? It is a grim travesty both of educational standards and ordinary decent human relations. Most terrible of all is the sketch of Peter Grimes and his wretched apprentices. No wonder both Rousseau and the utilitarians seized upon happiness as the ideal for human society, and the aim of humanitarian legislation; and no wonder they limited its significance.

In Burns we have a point of view different from anyone else's. He is not primarily interested in education at all and his references are of the most casual kind. But they are none the less trenchant in their mixture of biting sarcasm, careless humour, and a certain homely wisdom, which, seizing upon essentials, dispenses ruthlessly with shams and humbugs.

"What's a' your jargon o' your schools -
Your Latin names for horns and stools?
If honest nature made you fools
What sairs your grammars?
Ye'd better ha'en up spades and stools
Or knappin-hammers." 2

Burns never suffered fools gladly or otherwise, least of all the pretentious fool:-

1. cf. Newman's description of the trained mind in the "Idea of a University," and Milton's

"Who reads
Incessantly, and to his reading brings not
A spirit and judgment equal or superior,
Uncertain and unsettled still remains,
Deep-versed in books, and shallow in himself."
(Paradise Regained, IV,322)

2. In Experimental Education.

"A set o' dull conceited hashes
Confuse their brains in college-classes!
They gang in shirks and come out asses
Plain truth to speak;
And syne they think to climb Parnassus,
By dint o' Greek!"

(Ep. to J.Lapraik).

Other poets before him had been aware of this very salutary truth, which succeeding generations habitually forget. It is an axiom in education that acquisition is not assimiation, and though we may deprecate the opposite extremes expressed practically by Dewey or poetically by Burns himself -

"Gie me ae spark o' nature's fire,
That's a' the learning I desire."

(Ibid.)

we shall do well to remember and practise its sound commonsense.

If he has little patience with the learning of the schools and still less for the products thereof, he has a very lively sympathy with childlife as indeed with all little helpless things. The picture of the Cotter's return is an example:-

"The expectant wee things, ~~hoddlin~~ toddlin', ~~staehed~~ stacher through
To meet their dad, wi' flichterin' noise and glee"

and in his description of the group round the "clean hearth

1. "No English poet has ever excelled Cowper when he writes of daily human affections. In him begun, one might almost say, that direct, close, impassioned representation in the least sensational manner of such common relations as motherhood, filial piety, friendship, married love, the relation of man to animals - and in him they are made religious."

(Stopford Brooke; Theology in English Poets, p.61)

2. But with a fundamental difference. Burns realises the need for mental equipment ("I.Q.") or innate capacity, which Wordsworth ignores. Indeed, Harry Gill and company receive quite disproportionate attention.

3. Thus Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Edgeworth. The Household System of education inevitably affected the status of women. (See ch.V.)

stane" he recalls Cowper's treatment of simple human relations.[1] Like Cowper's too, only more personal and intimate, is his treatment of animals, and the pity and tenderness with which he wrote of Mailie and old Maggie, of the mountain daisy and the wee, sleekit, cow'rin', timorous mousie could hardly fail him when he turned to children.

Burns, then, in his distrust of book learning and his insistence on fundamentals illustrates the romantic view in education more fully expressed by Wordsworth.[2] It may be added that the increasing importance attached to family life, as described in the "Cotter's Saturday Night" is not only peculiar to English and Scottish custom, but is also part of the new education. With the discredit attached to classical learning and the formal teaching of the schools, education became "informal" or natural; and with the suppression of the Jesuits and in general the removal of the priest as educator, the parent became the teacher, and the home the school.[3]

Cowper is the forerunner of Wordsworth, and also the disciple of Rousseau. He combines the romantic and revolutionary spirit, and he is the first to consider education as a definite means to social and national progress.

> "From education as the leading cause
> The public character its colour draws"
>
> (Tir. vii, 172).

1. "Schooling trade", an expressive comment, reflecting contemporary conditions.

2 cf. Rousseau : "To form a man."

His criticism is both destructive and constructive, and his outlook is that of the moralist. He deplores the miserable scholastic attainments, the lack of discipline and the dangers of bad company which marred contemporary public school life:

> "No nourishment to feed his growing mind,
> But conjugated verbs and nouns declined;
> For such is all the mental food purveyed
> By public hackneys of the schooling trade."

For the soulless inept teachers he has nothing but contempt: they

> "Dismiss their cares when they dismiss their flock,
> Machines themselves, and governed by the clock."
>
> (Ibid.)

Rather let the father take upon himself the duty of tutor and try

> "To show him in an insect or a flower
> Such microscopic proof of skill and power
> As hid from ages past, God now displays
> To combat atheists in these modern days."
>
> (Ibid.)

Or should this not be possible, then let him engage a tutor

> "Prepared by taste, by learning and true worth
> To form thy son and strike his genius forth"
>
> (Ibid.) [2]

principles wholly in accord with the doctrines of Rousseau. So too is his belief that the earliest years are the most important:-

> "The mind impressionable and soft, with ease
> Imbibes and copies what she hears and sees."
>
> (Prog. 'Error')

but his ideas on discipline reveal the Calvinistic kernel of his belief:-

> "Plants raised with tenderness are seldom strong,
> Man's coltish disposition asks the thong."
>
> (Ibid.)

Accomplishments, he thinks, have ousted virtue:-

> "A just deportment, manners graced with ease,
> Elegant phrase and figure formed to please
> Are qualities that seem to comprehend
> Whatever parents, guardians, schools, intend",

And, dreadful thought, all this

> "While learning once the man's exclusive pride
> Seems verging fast toward the female side."
>
> (Ibid.)

Like Milton he realises the folly of superficial knowledge. Learning, he says, is a danger to a weak or vicious mind; and travel undertaken by an ignorant pupil

accompanied by an equally ignorant tutor, is worse than futile. The young blood returning from the Grand Tour

> "proclaims by many a grace
> By shrugs and strange contortions of his face
> How much a dunce that has been sent to roam
> Excels a dunce that has been kept at home."
>
> (Ibid.)

More stirks. But transformed to worse than asses this time.

Indeed the whole educational process is wrong. It is based on false assumptions, the result of superficial thinking, or neglect to think at all.

> "But we, as if good qualities would grow
> Spontaneous, take but little pains to sow.
> We give some Latin and a snatch of Greek;
> Teach him to fence and figure twice a week,
> And having done we think the best we can,
> Praise his proficiency and dub him man."

Two current practices he roundly condemns: (1) the motive of emulation, or reward, in schools, which he feels can only end in unhappiness, chagrin, hatred; and (2) still worse, the evil of preferment, the practice of bestowing positions not according to merit but through influence, which was rife in the XVIIIth century.

> "Church ladders are not always mounted best
> By learned clerks and Latinists professed ....
> Small skill in Latin and less Greek
> Is more than adequate to all I seek .....
> The parson knows enough who knows a duke."
>
> (Tiv.)

1. Cowper: Winter Evening.

2. "Envy, ye great, the dull unlettered small." (Truth.)

3. cf. "The Castaway." Cowper accepted the doctrine of predestination, Burns defied it. But it broke them both. ("To a Mouse," last verse.)

4. "To you then, tenants of life's middle state,
Securely placed between the small and great..."
(Tirocinium - end.)

....

.....

Many of these ideas are already familiar - the parent-teacher, the "forming of a man", the duty of goodness, the importance of the early years, the defects of contemporary education, the denunciation of "factories built by blood"[1] the happiness of the poor,[2] the exaltation of "Liberty the Crown of Life". The influences of Rousseau, Locke, and the revolutionary spirit are all easily discernible. The points to note are:-

(i) the religious colouring - he is obsessed by the need for character training, rather than intellect, but he asks far more than the current moral coin. His religious faith was the central fact of his existence as it was also the tragedy of his life.[3]

(ii) the treatment is deliberate, not casual as in Burns.

(iii) he addresses himself to the middle class in particular,[4] that section of society which had gained ground so rapidly during the preceding half century and which was educationally the most influential during the nineteenth.

Cowper is as much - or more - preacher as poet. He is the last of the old order and the first of the new. The old devoted its attention to institutions, methods, to externals; the new is concerned primarily with the child whose nature it seeks to understand and whose needs and

1. <u>Blake.</u> The discussion is restricted to his child poetry and poems for ordinary readers; his later prophetic books stand in a class by themselves.

2. He was not alone in this. Most of the XVIIIth century writers whose judgment posterity has approved were similarly touched. Which raises an interesting problem concerning posterity.

aspirations it attempts to satisfy. Crabbe and Cowper wrote about schools and education and things as they were; Blake and Wordsworth write of children and the child mind; Blake and Shelley dream of what might be. Along the different avenues of science, fact and observation, of psychology and poetry, of religion and philosophy and the ideal, the poets were seeking the Kingdom of God of which it is written that whoso would enter therein must first become as a little child.

Blake is the child spirit of Peter Pan come to life, "and all about the heavens were filled with the morning stars chanting the praise of God". Poet and mystic, artist and revolutionary, like Mozart he remained a child at heart, in joyous moments "piping his songs of pleasant glee and tasting all the summer's pride"; and when very old and near to the gate of sleep able to say to a lovely young girl: "May God make this world, my child, as beautiful to you as it has been to me."

"William Blake", says Professor Saintsbury, "is one of the eccentrics of poetry. It was never his chief business which was that of a painter, or his chief hobby which was that of a seer. His character was extremely odd; and it would be difficult to frame any definition of complete sanity which would take him in."[2] But of all the Romantic

1. Contrast, for example, the themes and language of the "Songs of Innocence" with some of Wordsworth's amazing exhortations to young people (e.g. "To Dora," aged 13.)

2. He is utterly sincere, yet the art is so mature. Blake wrote for children (see the opening verses in the "Songs of Innocence"), the first poet of note to do so to any appreciable degree. His contemporaries in prose lectured them.

3. "I have no name -
I am but two days old.
What shall I call thee?
I happy am.
Joy is my name -
Sweet joy befall thee."

4. cf. Barrie "The Little White Bird," "Mary Rose," Act II.

poets he comes nearest to understanding the soul of childhood.[1] To the personal note, the love of nature and animals and the revolutionary enthusiasm, all of which he shares with Cowper and Burns, he adds a depth and mystical beauty found in only a very few, and a limpid clearness of style almost Elizabethan in its lyrical power and complete absence of self-consciousness. He speaks in very truth with the voice of a child, and his songs are like Mozart's music, clear, passionless and pure.[2]

1. He offers us no theory of education but an interpretation of childhood, an intuitive understanding of its interests and needs, shot through with the irresistible joy of ageless youth. Take for example his "Infant Joy", almost womanly in its sweetness;[3] or the poignancy of the "Land of Dreams" where the mother love reaches the child but leaves the father comfortless.[4] Not again until we come to modern writers like Francis Thompson, Walter de la Mare, A.A.Milne, Sarogini Naidu, de we find the same understanding or the same ethereal tenderness.

2. It is with the child out of doors that we see Blake at his best. To the faithful observation of nature in Crabbe and Cowper is added a more poetic insight which conveys not only a scene but an atmosphere. We have, for example, the dancing movement of the child poems, "Echoing

1. Hermon Ould: "The Pied Piper" - description of the Far-away-land of I-Know-Not-Where.not

2. cf. too, "The Shepherd's"

Green" and the "Laughing Song", full of the joy of life and youth.

"When the green boughs laugh with the voice of joy,
And the dimpling stream runs laughing by;
When the air does laugh with our merry wit,
And the green hill laughs with the noise of it."

Here is a world forever young and lovely; "Joy and imagination are its king and queen, and their child is Love".[1]

3. It is a love which solves all the problems of society, that puzzled the XVIIIth century, for it is based on mutual trust, which is centred in the guardianship of God. Thus the little black boy whose mother taught him that

"We are put on earth a little space
That we may learn to bear the beams of Love",

has no fear of his white brother's scorn:-

"For I shall be like him,
And he will then love me."[2]

It is the poet's faith that

".... mercy has a human heart,
~~And~~ pity ~~has~~ a human face,
And love ~~is~~ the human form divine
And peace the human dress."

Mercy
Pity
Love
Peace

(The Divine Image).

These are divine attributes, and therefore

"Where mercy, love and pity dwell
There God is dwelling too."

(Ibid.)

The whole world is in God's great keeping:-

"Where lambs have nibbled, silent move
The feet of angels bright;"

(Night)

and the lion guards the fold since

"Wrath by His meekness
And by His health sickness
Is driven away
From our immortal clay."

(Night - end).

"Love is the perfection of consciousness", says Tagore; hence arises the poet's companionship with animals and children, and the perfect sympathy between them, emanating from the love of God.

"Little lamb, who made thee? ....
I a child and thou a lamb
We are called by His name.
Little lamb, God bless thee,
Little lamb, God bless thee."

4. This self-identification with all living things leads to the savage outbursts against cruelty seen elsewhere in

1. "The Chimney Sweeper." (Songs of Experience)

2. "The loves of earth are but our schoolmasters, to bring us at last when all the tempest of the soul is laid, and all its passion purified, unto the heavenly love, the love of God Himself." (James Seth, in Ethical Principles.)

3. The superb setting by Sir Hubert Parry well conveys the sublimity of this challenge.

his work. A caged robin, a starving dog, are sins against the law of love,

> "A horse misused upon the road
> Calls to heaven for human blood."

As passionately as Burns he felt man's suffering, especially in the case of children and outcasts, like the negro child and the forlorn mite crying in the snow:-

> "A little black thing among the snow
> Crying 'I weep! weep!' in notes of woe.
> Where are thy father and mother, say?
> They are both gone up to the Church to pray."

The awful unchildlikeness of the last verse is Blake's assessment of this human sacrilege:

> "... They think they have done me no injury,
> And are gone to praise God and His Priest and King
> Who make up a heaven of our misery." [2]

"Did He who made the lamb make thee?" Not even Burns put it quite like this.

The climax of this fearless denunciation is found in "Jerusalem" where with Cowper he attacks the "factories build with blood" and dedicates himself to their destruction.[3] This is the revolutionary spirit at white heat and he shares it with Burns and Shelley. But again there is a difference. Burns is more human; his view is more re-

1. "For the absolute good is the source of all beauty even as the sun is the source of all light." (Plotinus.)

2. cf.

"On some gilded cloud or flower
My gazing soul would dwell an hour
And in these weaker glories spy
Some shadows of eternity."

Vaughan: The Retreat.

3. Blake: The Divine Image.

4. "What is there we cannot love since all was created by God?" (Carlyle)

stricted; Shelley is more unearthly. Neither of them possessed Blake's religious faith, more mystical than Wordsworth's own.

5. For he lives in two worlds. Or rather shall we say, in that spirit world of which the seen and temporal is at once the revelation and the veil. It is the natural-supernatural of Carlyle, the "world invisible" of Francis Thompson, Vaughan and all the other mystics.

> "To see a world in a grain of sand,
> And a Heaven in a wild flower,
> Hold Infinity in the palm of your hand,
> And Eternity in an hour."
>
> (Aug. of Innoc.)

To the mystic all things are one because all things are of God.[1] And since God is Light and Beauty, the world and everything in it are seen in that radiance,[2] from the other side and in perspective; without beginning and without end, because both beginning and end are lost in the vanishing horizons of space and time. Hence the brotherhood of man which is rooted in the Fatherhood of God;[3] hence the importance of the child in that moment we call the life of man; hence the bond uniting all created things in a world of beauty and adoration;[4] and the cleansing power of anger against cruelty, oppression, and all things selfish and evil. Clearly in such a world love is

1. This twin theme of love for all created things and growth in selflessness which accompanies it is to be found throughout the work of John Galsworthy. Soames Forsyte is a striking illustration. It is the thread linking all his plays 1907-27, "Joy" to "Escape", and is summed up wonderfully in Michael Strangway's cry for strength in the closing scene of "A BIt o' Love" and in the lovely Alpine study "A Little Dream."

"God of the moon and the sun, of joy and beauty, of loneliness and sorrow, give me strength to go on till I love every living thing."

2. One is reminded of the beautiful story of the last days of St. John:

"Being very old he was carried daily to the place where the brethren worshipped, and when asked to speak said always: "Little children, love one another."

"Is there no more to say?" the disciples asked. And he answered,

"There is no more; if ye have love it is enough."

3. To his realism is added intuition. His cuckoo, for example, is

"No bird but an invisible thing,
A voice, a mystery."

His skylark is neother Hogg's friendly companion of the wilderness nor Shelley's unbodied joy, ignorant of pain and untouched by human suffering. It is characterictica ally

"Type of the wise who soar but never roam,
True to the kindred points of heaven and home."

4. So much so that he does not preach democracy, he takes it for granted.

5. In France, 1792.

6. His poetry on political subjects is surprisingly voluminous. See "Excursion IX" for his dicta on the political importance of education.

the mainspring of life, and where such love rules, freedom, selflessness and joy abound;[1] for in love is the fulfilling of the law.[2]

And this was what the new social order was aiming at, and what the new education at its best implied.

V. WORDSWORTH: NATURE AND EDUCATION.

In the poetry of Wordsworth the dominant ideals, the recurring themes and the characteristic moods of the Romantic Movement meet and fuse. First and foremost a nature poet, he is also the poet of man and of the French Revolution. It was his avowed intention to treat of everyday things and people, using the simplest language, but portraying them in a new light. No poet ever described more realistically the little things of nature. Yet he too like Coleridge is a transcendentalist and nature is guide, healer and inspiration,

> "The anchor of my purest thoughts,
> The guide, the guardian of my heart and soul,
> Of all my moral being." [3]

He is as much of a democrat as Burns[4] and was at one time more revolutionary;[5] with a strong individuality, he combines a deep and abiding interest in the whole body politic;[6] an introvert like most of the romantics with the possible

1. He knew Beaupuy intimately, and Beaupuy was an ardent revolutionist.

2. Harper: William Wordsworth, vol.I,

3. Wordsworth's sources are notoriously difficult to trace, and the difficulty is increased by the fact that we know so little of certain parts of his life, e.g. his stay in France. Professor Harper discovered some data to which the poet never refers.

4. These facts are all taken from the "Prelude."

exceptions of Burns and Byron, he never loses touch with society. Finally, of all his contemporaries he lived the longest, watching the glory of the Revolution fade into the light of common day, and experiencing to the full the bitterness of its apparent failure.

In education too he expresses the romantic attitude to the child and provides the highest common factor of romantic theory, which in him becomes articulate. With the fullest possible treatment of individual development (in the Prelude especially) he combines an enthusiasm for national education (Excursion, IX); and in a rather obscure way he unites both the romantic view of education as expressed in the poets and the principles enunciated half a century earlier by Rousseau, whose work he must have known.[1] How far his theory was definitely affected by the latter's teaching it is perhaps impossible to say. Professor Harper[2] on good grounds inclines to the belief that he knew the "Nouvelle Heloise" and the "Emile", but he could quite well have developed his ideas along similar lines independently, and his works offer little evidence of direct indebtedness.[3]

1. The Groundwork of Experience.[4]

The central fact in this connection is that in a far truer sense than Richard Edgeworth or Day's adopted daughters, Wordsworth was himself an English Emile. Without any

1. He specially mentions the shepherds:
"Child of the mountains among shepherds reared."
(Prelude, XI, 424.)

2. Books mentioned include "Don Quixote", "Gil Blas", Swift's "Gulliver's Travels" and "Tale of a Tub", Fielding's works; romance and fairy tales made a strong appeal. (Ibid. V, 490)

3. In "Three Years she grew" and elsewhere.

4. The Via Dolorosa of the French Revolution. One is reminded, in thinking of Wordsworth's later mellow outlook, of Browning's
"All his days he went softlier, sadlier,
For that dream's sake."
cf. "Tintern Abbey" in this connection.

5. He is primarily concerned with his own development as a poet. It seemed "a reasonable thing that he should take a review of his own mind, and examine how far Nature and Education had qualified him for such employment." (Preface to the Excursion.)

outside interference from parents, guardians and teachers, he was educated according to Rousseau's principles of freedom, and a natural and negative education. His "honoured mother", he tells us, wisely made no attempt to curb his growing spirit; his parents both died before he was 13, and his relatives troubled themselves little about "training" the orphans. He went to a country school, where there was evidently a large measure of freedom, he mixed with a fine stamp of country people in his spare time,[1] lived practically out of doors, read but little, and what pleased him[2] - in a very real sense undergoing the experience he was later to prescribe.[3] If it is true that most educators base their theory on their own experience then we need not seek very far afield for Wordsworth's sources. They lay to his hand - in the all encompassing influence of his beloved nature, in his own poetic insight and in his later experiences abroad, when he beheld the apocalyptic vision of the Simplon Pass, and kept watch o'er man's mortality in the Rue de Rivoli.[4]

2. Poet and Prophet.

Wordsworth's attitude to educational questions is that of the poet and philosopher. He is not primarily concerned with externals[5] - in his own case the necessary conditions

1. Prelude; V,347-65 (On Books).

2. Expostulation and Reply.

3. "Our minds are part of the divine mind; it is our duty to keep them so."

4. Its chief attributes in Wordsworth's poetry are
(1) Love - of this Blake had sung already;
(2) Wisdom or Truth, which is Wordsworth's own contribution to the "Divine Image". It colours all his thought and leads him to stress intellect and will.

5. Tintern Abbey - and passim.

were amply fulfilled - not with methods of teaching, details of organisation, curriculum, and all the attendant paraphernalia that occupied the minds of Edgeworth and Day. Rather, too much guidance and control he deprecates:

> "Guides and wardens of our faculties
> Sages who in their prescience would control
> All accidents .....
> When will their presumption learn
> That in the unreasoning progress of the world
> A wiser spirit is at work for us,
> A better eye than theirs, most prodigal
> Of blessings, and most studious of our good,
> Even in what seem our most unfruitful hours." [1]

In this passage we have adumbrated Wordsworth's philosophy and his educational theory. But what is this wiser spirit which ministers to our needs even in hours of seeming idleness? [2] It is the spirit of Nature, the active principle in all things, the wisdom and spirit of the universe,[3] of which the mind of man is a part, "spirit that knows no insulated spot, and the soul of all the worlds." And the fruits of that spirit are freedom, joy, and peace. Nay more, as we shall see.[4]

In its relation to man Wordsworth regards Nature in its twofold aspect of teacher and healer. It is the source of balm and inspiration to the mature mind,[5] and it is the teacher and guardian spirit of childhood, revealing -

"truths that wake
To perish never:
Which neither listlessness nor mad endeavour,
Nor man nor Boy,
Nor all that is at enmity with joy,
Can utterly abolish or destroy."

This arresting passage can best be explained by reference to Wordsworth's own boyhood. In the Prelude, I, 300-400, for example, he tells how -

"Sometimes it befell
In these night wanderings, that a strong desire
O'erpowered my better reason, and the bird
Which was the captive of another's toil
Became my prey: and when the deed was done
I heard among the solitary hills
Low breathings coming after me, and sounds
Of undistinguished motion, steps
Almost as silent as the turf they trod."

"Apparent dirae facies inimicaque Troiae ~~Numina magna deum~~"! Numina magna deum"!

Sometimes such juvenile offences were brought home to him not by any intruding presences, but by the changing face of Nature herself, as when he confiscated the "elfin pinnace" moored to a willow tree. At the height of his enjoyment

"from behind that craggy steep, till then
The horizon's bound, a huge peak, black and huge,
As if my voluntary power instinct
Upreared its head. I struck and struck again,*
And growing still in stature the grim shape
Towered up between me and the stars, and still
For so it seemed, with purpose of its own,
And measured motion like a living thing,
Strode after me."

---

* i.e. the water - he is ~~roaring~~ rowing.

1. Freudian psychology and a good deal of modern psychotherapy are based on this fact.

He goes on to tell how he replaced the boat with the utmost haste and went home "in grave and serious mood", pondering over the incident for many days. The result of his meditations is given in the well known passage immediately following, beginning "Wisdom and spirit of the Universe".

These experiences indicate quite distinctly stages - or landmarks - in the growth of moral consciousness. They are

> "Those shadowy recollections
> Which be they what they may,
> Are yet the fountain light of all our day,
> Are yet a master light of all our seeing."

The truth inherent in such a view is confirmed by observation and self-knowledge. Certain incidents in childhood are invested with a significance quite disproportionate to the event itself. The soul is "startled into self-consciousness" and a lesson is learnt which may be remembered long after the circumstances are forgotten. In adult life the same principle applies. A revolution in our whole point of view may be effected in a moment of time, from some brief encounter with a spirit finely touched, or by some quiet thought as we wander by the way.

1. "Most sweet it is." (Sonnet, 1833.)

The truths so learned however, are intellectual as well as moral or spiritual. One can hardly fail to be impressed by the number of references to "truth", "wisdom", "intellect", "mind", "thought", in Wordsworth's poetry. Nature

> "has a world of ready wealth,
> Our minds and hearts to bless
> Spontaneous wisdom breathed by health,
> Truth breathed by cheerfulness."
>
> (Tables Turned)

From that shore

> "We can feed this mind of ours
> In a wise passiveness."

The child is the "best philosopher",

> "Who readst the eternal deep,
> Haunted forever by the eternal mind",

and the philosophic mind as well as the faith that looks through death is the compensation of suffering and the passing years. For Blake's world of love and joy, Wordsworth substitutes a world of love and wisdom:-

> "With thought and love companions of our way -
> Whate'er the senses take or may refuse -
> The mind's internal heaven shall shed her dews
> Of inspiration on the humblest lay."

This blend of intellect and passion, of outward calm

1. It provides him with an ideal, in which pleasure plays a subordinate part.

2. "It is necessary to be happy. That is the end of life for every creature of sense." (Emile V,

and inward fire, this recognition of the place of intellect in the spiritual life of man, is Wordsworth's distinctive contribution to the thought of the romantic poets about education. Rousseau and the earlier poets had sounded the death knell of classicism in their demand for a life and education in accordance with the laws of nature; Blake, and to some extent Burns, had rethought the scheme of things in the light of feeling and imagination. Wordsworth penetrates to the hidden wisdom,

"Thou soul that art the eternity of thought", and opens the gates to new intellectual and spiritual experience.[1] In so doing he focusses attention on at least two aspects which had hitherto been largely neglected. The first of these is the part played by the will; and the second is the right of all men to share alike in Nature's gifts - which means State Education. Actually the two are related, because civic life of necessity implies an individual and moral life.

The last verse of the "Ode to Duty" sums up his ideal and indicates the part played by the intellect and the will respectively. Rousseau's ideal was happiness, and it was based on the supposition that man was fundamentally a creature of sense;[2] the utilitarian ideal, which arose from the industrial and social conditions of the time, was like-

1. cf. Carlyle: "Love not pleasure, love God; this is the Everlasting Yea wherin all contradiction is solved; wherein whoso walks and works it is well with him."
(Sartor Resartus, II, ix.)
But there is a difference. Wordsworth is still "in bondage" while Carlyle is free; he is a stage farther on.

2. cf. Bain: "Every moral error is primarily an intellectual error."

3. This is the weakness of Socrates' "Virtue is knowledge." It is clearly brought out in Drinkwater's "A Prayer."
"Give us to build above the deep intent
The deed - the deed!"

4. Plotinus.

5. Wordsworth does not sufficiently take account of mental capacity. Would his Idiot Boy have attained in a lifetime to the stature mental and spiritual of "Nature's Child" in "Three Years she grew"?

wise the ideal of happiness. Wordsworth by nature and experience was drawn to a higher end than pleasure. Weary of "unchartered freedom and the weight of chance desires" he prays

> "Give unto me, made lowly wise,
> The spirit of self-sacrifice;
> The confidence of reason give
> And in the light of truth thy Bondman let me live."[1]

In these lines we have plainly indicated his realisation of the connection (a) between ignorance and wrongdoing, and (b) between the intellectual and the moral life.[2] Bacon had said long ago: "The first creature of God was the light of the sense; the last was the light of reason; and His sabbath work ever since is the illumination of His Spirit." But for their XVIth century connotation the words might have been uttered by Wordsworth himself; and their realisation he knew, lay in the capacity of the will to co-ordinate the knowledge of virtue with the power to act in accordance with that knowledge - that is, the will to goodness.[3] The capacity of the intellect determines the vision: the power of the will determines its outward expression in action, but "the vision itself is the work of him who hath willed to see",[4] and this is a first principle of both ethics and education.[5]

1. Even Miss Edgeworth!

2. Plato: Republic, III, 401. The poem is a commentary on Plato's belief that the love of the beautiful leads on to understanding, even to "divine philosophy" itself.

VI. THE EDUCATION OF NATURE.

The simplest expression of Wordsworth's theory is to be found in a number of his shorter poems. As the title suggests it is an education mainly derived from the influence of natural objects:

> "Come forth into the light of things,
> Let Nature be your teacher."

It is therefore essentially informal. Books play a relatively small part and the emphasis is laid not on the teaching process of which there is virtually none, but on the learning. Interest is centred in the child, and education is a life process, the development of the individual soul.

(a) It is an education for goodness, but not goodness in a narrowly moralistic sense. The XVIIIth century translated education into morality with a wealth of prohibitions and cautionary tales.[1] Wordsworth with deeper insight provides the motive for goodness in a life of spiritual beauty which permeates the whole being, and "wins them imperceptibly from their earliest childhood into resemblance, love and harmony with the true beauty of reason."[2]

(b) The outward form is the expression of the inner beauty and poise. The stars of midnight, the misty mountain winds, the silence of the hills, the companionship of

1. "The man who has seen the beautiful is easily recognised. His face shines with the light of that divine vision, he is delicate and tender and about him there is a gentleness and a grace which we miss in the hard practical man and even in the mere intellectualist. The beauty of the world has passed into his face."
(Seth: Ethical Principles.)

2. Carlyle. He expresses a great deal of Wordsworth's thought. Apart from individual experience, their common source is German philosophy.

3. Kant. Treat man as he is with reference to what he may become. It is especially applicable to the teacher who is dealing with potentialities, sowing for a harvest he will never see.

lovely things, transform the soul that loves them into their likeness:-

> "Beauty born of murmuring sound
> Shall pass into her face." [1]

(c) It is an education for civic life. Such a training might turn the soul in upon itself? we ask. But no, for the Presence whose dwelling is the light of setting suns is to be found also in the mind of man, and nothing human can be alien to the soul which has itself become one with the eternal.

> "Thus from a very early age, O Friend,
> My thoughts by slow gradations had been drawn
> To humankind; and to the good and ill
> Of human life: Nature had led me on."

(Prelude, VIII, 676-80)

"With other eyes too", says Teufelsdröckh, "could I now look on my fellow man; with an infinite love and an infinite pity." [2]

> "Neither vice nor guilt
> Debasement undergone by body or mind
> Nor all the misery forced upon my sight
> ..... could overthrow my trust [3]
> In what we may become ....."

(Prelude VIII, 645).

This is not merely a poet's dream. It is the simple truth,

1. **Seth: Ethical Principles.**

2. **It is related to his doctrine of the true equality of man, based on Nature's impartial distribution of her gifts.**

and its educational value brooks no question. "The soul that believes and lives in communion with goodness absolute, is touched to goodness as a soul that sees only the poverty of the actual cannot be."[1] Here the creaking machinery by which the XVIIIth century educators sought to manufacture piety, morality and so forth is swept away in the "expulsive power of a new affection", the dynamic energy of an ideal which generates its own motive force.

(d) "Wise passiveness". By his education of nature does Wordsworth imply complete passivity on the part of the pupil? The answer is No. The pupil's attitude is described as a "wise" passiveness, and the epithet is significant.[2] The companion poem gives the key:

> "Come forth, and bring with you a heart
> That watches and receives".

Interest, alertness, judgment, are all implied, besides the fundamental truth that the best teaching in the world will avail naught where the pupil is unable or unwilling to learn. This is a case where Wordsworth's insistence on intellect and will has a direct bearing on education. Learning in his view is more important than formal teaching, and these lines suggest the active co-operation which is at all times necessary between teacher and taught. Indeed, the opposite

view would be entirely contrary to the poet's own experience and doctrine. The boy of the Prelude whom the sounding cataract haunted like a passion and the youth heading for the guillotine in 1792 were certainly not merely passive. He speaks repeatedly of man

> "as a living soul,
> With an eye made quiet by the power
> Of harmony and the deep power of joy"

a description which breathes intensity, not suspension of activity, concentrated and lifegiving, the quintessence of thought.

(e) The Place of Intellect. Again we ask, But what place does the intellect occupy in this education of nature? To which Wordsworth might very well reply that any education which develops the whole man will develop the intellectual part of him. He answers the question both from the philosophical and the practical point of view. Nature is the expression of God "in whom all Beauty, Truth and Love are one"; "the soul is the perceiver and revealer of truth", and the intellect by which such truth is apprehended will develop with the other powers of mind body and spirit. Man is an organic unity in a world governed by spiritual law.

The truth of philosophy is borne out by the facts of experience. We learn to live by living. We learn by doing;

1. "It is not the mere addition to our knowledge that is the illumination; but the locomotion, the movement onwards, of that mental centre, to which both what we know, and what we are learning, the accumulating mass of our acquirements, gravitates."

Newman: Idea of a University.

2. cf.

"Ye who pore
On the dead letter miss the spirit of things."
(Prelude VIII, 296ff.)

3. "Canst thou by searching find out God?"

4. cf. Wordsworth's account of his own experience, e.g. Prelude IV, 307-337: "The memory of one particular hour .....a dedicated spirit."

learning divorced from experience loses more than half its value and true knowledge is not acquisition but assimilation.[1] We are a part of all that we have met and interpret all fresh knowledge with the help of our mentality and experience, revising our past knowledge in the light of the new. Wordsworth tells us (e.g. Prelude V) how his own knowledge of books was interpreted in the light of his experience, and indeed the truth is self-evident.[2] The life of man is a progressive realisation of truths sympathetically perceived and intellectually apprehended.

Finally, the intellect has its place in the twilight region of the subconscious, where Wordsworth is a lonely visitant. Like Blake, though more rationally, he is forever conscious of the two worlds, and modern research bears out his theory of the hidden light of thought. There are truths which elude all our seeking, and only when the mind is at leisure from itself does illumination come, whence we know not.[3] Then, one hour of insight, "one impulse from a vernal wood", will tell us all and more than all we need to know.[4] In its active form, the search for knowledge, the process involves both mind and will, and is applicable to both the immature and the adult mind; for in the regions of higher truth man is still a child.

1. **In his Letter on Polish Education.**

2. **Excursion IX, 206ff.**

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

The urge towards national or popular education in England is to be found not in any abstract philosophical theory but rather in (a) the compelling belief in the brotherhood of man originating in the revolutionary spirit, and in (b) the practical needs of the time arising from the development of industrial and national resources. Attempts at educating the children of the poor were already being made by the Dissenting colleges and Chartist schools (e.g. Lichfield, and in Ireland). Scotland had had a parochial system of education since the Reformation - Rousseau had dealt with the subject only very briefly, and from a strictly patriotic, even totalitarian point of view. It is characteristic of Wordsworth that he should plead for national education on humanitarian and religious grounds, basing his arguments on what he calls the true equality of man.

In the Prelude (Bk. IX) he tells us he had often discussed with Beaupuys this problem of the "ignorance in the labouring multitude" (1.328), and realised its political and social importance as

> "making social life
> Through knowledge, spreading and imperishable,
> As just in regulation and as pure
> As individual in the wise and good."
> (359-63).

1. cf.

"O world as God made it! Love is beauty,
And knowing this is love, and love is duty.
What further may be sought for or declared?"
Browning: The Guardian Angel.

The motive however is cultural and humanitarian:

> "for where hope is, there love will be
> For the abject multitude."
>
> (507-8)

Like Blake, Wordsworth, with his memories of the independent dalesmen in his mountain solitudes, had a boundless love of freedom and profound pity for

> "The senseless members of a vast machine
> Serving as doth a spindle or a wheel"
>
> (Exc. IX, 159)

Old age can hold no hope or comfort for those whose minds have been starved by neglect while their bodies have been crushed by unremitting toil (97-8); man is an end in himself, not an instrument; he was created

> "to obey the law
> Of life and hope and action"

and to enjoy the beauty of the world.

This in Wordsworth's view is the crucial argument in favour of educating the masses. Riches and poverty create false standards. The gifts of God and Nature are for all - this is the true equality - and therefore truth, knowledge, and all things lovely and of good report should be accessible

1. Elementary education is a first attempt to bridge the gulf, perceived by the romantic poets and philosophers, between man as he is and as he may become. They saw most clearly the gap between the man of the French Revolution and the ideal man made in the image of God.

to every man. Hence he prays

> "..... for the coming of that glorious time
> When prizing Knowledge as her noblest wealth
> And best protection, this imperial Realm
> While she exacts allegiance, shall admit
> An obligation on her part to teach
> Them who are born to serve her and obey ...."
>
> (Exc. IX, 292)

It is a training for civil life at state expense, and has been put into practice in different ways in different lands, giving rise to some thorny problems of which Wordsworth takes no account; possibly because, as we might expect, the kind of education he envisaged was spiritual and cultural rather than practical. It will

> ..... inform
> The mind with moral and religious truth
>
> (Ibid., 301 -)

and "Wisdom's Voice" shall be heard in "culture unexclusively bestowed" (l.392). The system is not worked out in detail, but he emphasises the groundwork in elementary education:-

> "And faithful care of unambitious schools
> Instructing simple childhood's ready ear."
>
> (395-6)

Education then - by which he means the rudiments of letters as well as the book of Nature - is the right of every individual: "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." In such freedom and truth lies the surest augury of civic good and international co-operation. Yet - is this a dream only?

> "The law of faith
> Working through love, such conquest shall it gain,
> Such triumph over sin and guilt achieve?"
>
> (672-7)

We are still awaiting the answer.

Concluding Note.

With Wordsworth our study of the poets may fitly end. He is transitional in that he portrays the wild ecstasies of the Revolution while pointing the way to the sober realities of the XIXth century. Still influenced by the XVIIIth century preoccupation with moral training, he provides a motive, and enlarges its scope. He confirms and illustrates Rousseau's education according to nature and supplements it with a civic ideal undreamt of by the great reformer. In his insistence on love and faith he is at one with Blake and the revolutionary and romantic spirit; in his regard for mind and will he is on common ground

1. They had neither time nor experience. The lives of a all three end just as they are emerging from the prison of themselves and establishing a rational contact with their fellow-men. (See the unfinished "Hyperion" of Keats, Shelley's unanswered question "Then what is Life?" to which Death was so soon to make reply, and Byron's "Missolonghi.")

2. ".....Shelley who heard and heard again the music of the spheres,- the voices of the angels round the throne of God and tried to recall their accents in words that men could read."

(L.S.Hunter: The Artist and Religion.)

3. Islam - Hellas - Prometheus Unbound.

with the scientists and practical men. His philosophy is his own; in it the discords of the Revolutionary age die away and a saner faith comes into being.

The later romantic poets add nothing to his educational theory, for education is not their chief concern, and they are artists rather than preachers.[1] Shelley comes nearest to him: in "Alastor", for instance, he describes his mental and spiritual development, and his message in the longer poems is as revolutionary as but more comprehensive than that given by Wordsworth or Blake. But "Alastor" is poetic and visionary, not deliberately educational, and his peculiar gifts to men are not those of teacher and reformer, but of poet and artist.[2] They lie in his supreme revelation of beauty and in his dream of a universe purified by suffering and ruled by Love,[3] when conquest shall be dragged captive through the deep, and men shall know in truth that golden age in which youth and the romantic spirit never cease to believe.

CHAPTER. IV.

ROUSSEAU AND THE ENGLISH ROMANTIC MOVEMENT IN EDUCATION.

His Influence on Contemporary Thought and Practice.

I. SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND THE DISSEMINATION OF IDEAS.

Great movements originate in ideas which, taking root in individual minds, spread gradually but with gathering momentum until they find a suitable and permanent medium of expression. The humanitarian movements of the XIXth century began long before in the questioning minds and memorable conversations associated with an age in which conditions were ideally favourable to the dissemination of ideas. It was the most socially-minded period in our rather taciturn history; not only in the clubs and coffeehouses of the day but in the drawing-rooms and dressing-rooms and in the family living-rooms, ideas were constantly being exchanged. It was par excellence the age of conversation and letter writing, of visiting and social accomplishments.

Its social qualities are intimately connected with the family life and political interests of the time. The unit of society in the country was the home which was therefore the centre of interest and entertainment. There were few distractions, few books, especially of the lighter sort; no theatres, no cinemas, cabarets or celebrity concerts; coaches

1. In France before 1776 only two coaches were running. The journey from Glasgow to Edinburgh took 12 hours. (See Henry Grey Graham: Social Life in Scotland in the XVIIIth century.)

2. For the description of XVIIIth century roads see Macaulay's famous third chapter. (History of England.)

3. Jane Austen: "Sense and Sensibility", and passim.

4. There were only three licensed theatres.

5. It is significant that during this period the long-standing system of patronage comes to an end. (cf. Dr. Johnson's Letter to Lord Chesterfield, 1755) Thereafter authors gained direct access to the reading public. And it was during the XVIIIth century that a social every-day prose developed. The size of books, too, diminished. They became portable!

were few,[1] the means of locomotion slow and expensive, and the state of the roads precluded any but necessary travel.[2] Visits were protracted; for those who did not hunt or ride, entertainment and recreation were provided indoors in conversation, dancing and sometimes amateur theatricals where the head of the house approved.[3] Always there is the influence of personal contacts and the spoken word.

The same is true, on a bigger scale, of town life. London was still measurable in size, and in town "the quality" resorted to the clubs or such entertainments as the city afforded, the theatre,[4] boxing and wrestling, sometimes a travelling conjuror or even a company of strolling players. The influence of the Court was slight and with the exception of society balls in the season, city night life there was none. The condition and lighting of the streets and the activities of the mohawks demanded prudence in the matter of nightly excursions. Again, as in the country, people were thrown upon their own resources, and for those who eschewed cards and gambling, conversation and books or "magazines" were the inevitable standby.[5]

Two results follow from such conditions. In the first place, it is an age of coteries or small groups, often scientific and literary, which promote the spread of new ideas and the development of personality. Examples occur readily

1. With the growth of rival centres in the provinces London is losing its monopoly.

2. For a vivid picture of Edinburgh life during this period see "Life and Letters of Alison Cockburn."

to mind: there is the Addison-Steele group; the Johnson-Boswell-Reynolds group; the Edgeworth group with its head-quarters in Lichfield; the Norwich group, which included the Taylors, the Barbaulds, and the Opies; in the north, Edinburgh was a brilliant centre of intellect and culture during the second half of the XVIIIth century;[2] in Paris we have the Encyclopaedists and the salons of society women, Rousseau's patronesses among them; at Potsdam Sans Souci - the list might be extended indefinitely. The point to note is that from such groups ideas originate and a process of infiltration begins which results in mass movements of the most far-reaching kind. The truth of such an assertion becomes apparent when we compare the results of XVIIIth century thought with the sporadic and somewhat abortive efforts of men like More, Colet or Comenius.

The second result follows from the first. The small group is not only an intellectual dynamo - it is the training-ground of character, and in no century have we a more representative gallery of outstanding personalities, often more real to us than those of a generation nearer our own. The groups already referred to provide illustration in plenty. In a unique degree these people combine a certain magnitude and universality with a thoroughly distinctive personality. Great figures, they have their foibles, but all of them have that peculiar breadth

and sanity of outlook which is the chief glory of their age.

Nor were the activities and influence of such groups, especially those of literary or scientific pretensions, limited to any one locality. The Edgeworth group, for example, had its centre in Lichfield and Edgeworth's lifework lay in Ireland, but their prestige preceded them to London and Paris - or further. Celebrities were international figures on a European scale, and were frequently welcomed in the various capitals by enlightened despots like Frederick the Great and Catherine II. Miss Thacheray's account of the Edgeworths' visit to Paris in 1802 is interesting in this connection:-

"..... Besides all this, Mr. Edgeworth's name was well known in scientific circles. Breguet, Montgolfier and others all made him welcome. Lord Henry Petty (Lord Landsdowne) was in Paris, and Rogers the poet, and Koskiusko cured of his wounds ..... M. Dumont .... the Delesserts of the French Protestant faction, Mme. Suard,* Mme. Campan, Mme de Recarnier, Mme Remusat, and Mme de Houdelot, now 72 years of age but Rousseau's Julie still, and Camille Jordan, and the Chevalier Edelcrantz from the Court of the King of Sweden ....." (Book of Sibyls, pp.106

Ten years later, after Edgeworth had spent more than thirty years in Ireland, the story is repeated. They visited

---

* Friend of Day 30 years agone!

London in 1813:-

"Miss Edgeworth was at the height of her popularity. Mr. Edgeworth was 70, but he looked years younger, and was still in undimmed health and vigour. The party was welcomed, feted, sought after everywhere. Except that they miss seeing Madame d'Arblay and leave London before the arrival of Mme. de Staël, they seem to have come in for everything that was brilliant fashionable and entertaining. They breakfast with poets, they sup with marquises, they call upon duchesses and scientific men ....." (Ibid., p.127).

In such contemporary accounts we see the cosmopolitan spirit at work, and we remember that though its activities were concentrated in centres like London, Paris, Geneva and The Hague, its influence was widespread and revolutionary among the intelligentsia of the northern European nations in general. One of its phases is a common culture and an accepted standard of values, and to the consideration of these we must now turn.

II. ROUSSEAU AND ENGLISH EDUCATION.

The year 1760 has often been regarded as a landmark in English political and industrial development, and the middle decades of the century are no less remarkable in the sphere

1. Monroe's Cyclopedia, vol.II,p.340 - article on "Dissenters in Education."

2. Ibid.

3. No specific dates can be assigned to a literary period. It is not an event but a process we are watching, and it really begins before 1685 (probably about the time of the regicide,1649) and continues after 1789. These are convenient landmarks.

of education. By 1756 Dissenting schools were so numerous in the City of London that 1/12th of the charity school children were educated by Dissenters.[1] Sunday schools were started in 1763 and by 1834 in England the pupils totalled 1½ millions and the teachers 160,000.[2] About 1750 the Blue Stocking Club was founded as a protest against the defective education of women; by 1760 Newbery was applying himself to the production of books suitable for children. Finally, in 1760-62 when Europe was entering upon a brief period of peace and reconstruction, Rousseau published "La Nouvelle Heloise" and "Emile". These publications were immediately taken up in England, and by 1770 his theories were being put into practice by a group of enthusiastic disciples led by Day and Edgeworth. The question arises therefore at this point: what was the nature and extent of Rousseau's influence on English education?

1. Affinity with the English Outlook.

In chapter II we saw how the cosmopolitan spirit reached France through England and Rousseau, and how he was most powerfully stimulated by the English literature and philosophy of the XVIIIth century - itself a blend of English and French influence in the preceding age. Between 1685 and 1789 England and France shared a common intellectual tradition[3] and the

1. Laurie Magnus, in "European Literature."

2. One has but to recall XVIIIth century Scottish silver, Adams and Sheraton furniture, Wedgewood pottery (Josiah Wedgwood was one of the Edgeworth group), Cristofori and the evolution of the piano, and XVIIIth century architecture.

scientific, philosophical and literary developments of the two countries during that period are inseparable. Indeed, the hundred years which elapsed between the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the outbreak of the French Revolution has been referred to by students of literature as the period of the Anglo-French Alliance.[1] This fact helps to explain the nature of Rousseau's influence across the Channel.

With the common background of Augustan thought and literature, notably with the work of Locke, Pope, Addison and Swift, and later with the novel, some affinity with the English public was inevitable. This had been deepened by Rousseau's sympathy with various distinctive features of English life - with the English love of nature and regard for family ties, with the Puritanical outlook in religion, the "middle-class morality" (exemplified in the novels of Richardson) and with the love of independence which underlies all their social and political life. In a scientific age his approach to educational problems along biological lines was bound to appeal to the leaders of scientific thought - Dr. Darwin, for example, friend of Day and Edgeworth and grandfather of the famous Charles Darwin; in an age renowned for its fine craftsmanship and its growing interest in machinery his advocacy of mechanical training was certain to find favour.[2] Moreover, as a practical, matter of fact people, with a marked distrust of

1. **Among the worst offenders are Richardson and Sterne.**

2. **The Rev. Mr. Barbauld was of French Protestant descent and had lived abroad.**

theory, the English could appreciate his depreciation of book learning and his insistence on reality and practical ability. Up to this point the fundamentals of Rousseau's teaching and the basic principles of English life are the same.

2. Divergencies.

The affinity is incomplete, however. Rousseau's strain of highly developed sensibility, overwrought emotionalism and sentimentality is foreign to the English temperament. It is German, and English humour makes short work of it. For a time, sentimentalism ran riot certainly, but commonsense and hardheadedness ultimately reassert themselves. In the same way, his exaggeration and eccentricities repelled English readers despite the fact that the English are admittedly tolerant of other people's idiosyncrasies and possess a good many of their own. His theories had to be put to the test (as they were, by the Edgeworth-Day group in particular) before they were accepted and even then, they were accepted only in a modified form.

One contemporary illustration must suffice. Mrs. Barbauld who by association, interest and experience was a disciple of Rousseau in her Essay on Education (Works, Vol.II) while in general accepting his theories points out some limitations and

1. "The parent or teacher does not perhaps seem to dictate but he wishes gently to guide his pupil."

2. "On Préjudice." The word as applied to the child is in the sense of "readiness to accept"- facts, information etc. from which he will form opinions.

inconsistencies. For example:-

(i) "Simplicity" and training in "hardiness". The experiences of the young aristocrat and the peasant differ of necessity. The aristocrat's food and clothes may be simple, certainly, but they will also be choice, and there is no question of his having to go without either.

(ii) So, too, learning a trade merely as a hobby, and learning it as a means of earning a livelihood are obviously two very different things.

(iii) Education by "circumstances". Mrs. Barbauld wholly rejects all Rousseau's elaborate staging to drive home a particular lesson. Circumstances will educate, both individuals and states, without any trumped up intervention by presumptuous mortals!

(iv) Negative Education: "Let the child have nothing to unlearn", says Rousseau. "Impossible", replies the lady. "You cannot live without learning, or for that matter without making mistakes." The child must learn to act; life is learned by living it - in fact, not in cotton wool. The parent teaches, willy-nilly; the important thing is what and how he teaches, and surely the wise adult is willing to let the child have the benefit of his experience?[1]

In a second essay[2] she deals with the tendencies in the child which lead to his acquiring knowledge; the child is

naturally inquisitive and naturally ready to learn. The teacher must make use of these innate dispositions, curiosity and credulity, or forsake the dictates of commonsense. With a reasonable tutor, she asks, "would the child have less to unlearn if he followed his own reason or yours? Surely it is better to have something to unlearn than to have nothing learnt." (Works, Vol.II, pp.332-3). Summing it up, her final pronouncement is that "to reject the influence of prejudice in education is itself one of the most unreasonable of prejudices." (Ibid., II, p.337).

Thus Mrs. Barbauld, whose opinion may be taken as fairly representative. But there is more to say for contemporary criticism, so frequently hostile to innovation and so liable to lack a sense of proportion and perspective, must be corrected by the judgment of posterity.

3. The Final Judgment.

Henry Gray Graham puts the matter very clearly:-

"The immediate effect of Emile in England was very slight. Although it was twice or thrice translated into English, gained recognition from philosophical writers and was ultimately to modify the systems of education, perhaps Henry Brooke's "Fool of Quality" and Day's "Sandford and Merton" with the patient and pedantic tutor, Mr. Barlow, are the only books which show

1. Henry Grey Graham: "Rousseau", p.174.

distinct imitations of this educational method, while the direct influence of social teaching is chiefly found in Godwin's "Political Justice". Yet there is not a school in our country, with its freedom from pedantry, its physical training and modern modes of education which has not been indirectly affected by the Emile.

Such a result was in the nature of things. As in France the seed fell on prepared soil, and indeed the fields were already showing signs of spring. The affinities with English life already noted explain why the influence of Rousseau was so much less obtrusive in England than in France. The conditions which he postulates are in large measure already fulfilled. The English already had in their poetry and their provincial society the potentialities of the "Return to Nature" which was the essence of his teaching. In their provincial and family life the squirearchy held at least the external requirements for a sound education such as he outlines in "La Nouvelle Heloise", some of which indeed is based directly on English habit and custom.

Hence our conclusion on the nature of Rousseau's influence in England is as follows:-

(1) With his readers he shares in the common background, the "Anglo-French" culture, and is in sympathy with the English standards of life and conduct.

1. "Romantic" not cosmopolitan in England. A cosmopolitan outlook is not an outstanding quality of the average Englishman.

2. Especially social and political, as we see fo example in the influence of Godwin's "Political Justice."

3. Those influenced Ruskin and J.S.Mill inparticular.(See Alice Paterson: "The Edgeworths," p.84.(1914.)

(2) The impact is less forceful than in France since there was not the need for the drastic changes necessary in the highly artificial society of France; and also because of the more stolid temperament of the English people. The resultant compromise between theory and practice, between tradition and innovation, is in every way characteristic of English methods.

(3) "The seed falls on good ground", but the romantic movement is already under way,[1] hence -

(4) the specific influence of Rousseau is that of a latent though dynamic force, a leaven which spreads through the long years ahead, and is still making its presence felt, now perhaps more than ever.

(5) His influence is expressed in two ways:-

(a) In educational theory (and political, economic, social as well),[2] in (i) the writings of his younger contemporaries of which Day and Edgeworth are the chief; and much later, (ii) in the writings of Ruskin and J.S.Mill. The XIXth century influence is less direct and comes mainly through Miss Edgeworth's "Tales".[3]

(b) In educational practice:- (i) In the experiments of Day and Edgeworth. (ii) In English schools like the early Palgrave school of the Barbaulds, in Hill's school in Birmingham, in Rugby under Arnold, and Abbotsholme. (iii) In child

1. Brooke's "The Fool of Quality" was written 1766-70, Day's "Sandford and Merton" 1783-89, which is much later and really belongs to the child literature of the 'eighties. But Day experimented long before then, and the book is the outcome of Rousseau's influence in the 'sixties.

literature - in the late XVIIIth century women writers and especially in Miss Edgeworth's work.

These will be considered in turn. Let us begin with the XVIIIth century pioneers, who fall into three groups:-

(a) From c. 1765-1775. Henry Brooke and Thomas Day.

(b) In the 'ninties and following, the Edgeworths and their circle.

(c) From the 'eighties and following, the writers of early books for children.

III. THE IMMEDIATE INFLUENCE OF ROUSSEAU:

"The Fool of Quality" and "Sandford and Merton".

Both Henry Brooke and Thomas Day, the first of Rousseau's confessed disciples in England, were men of eccentric habits, but of the two Brooke is eccentric in the realm of ideas, Day in the sphere of conduct. The two books are complementary. In "The Fool of Quality" we have a gentleman-hero as compared with the peasant hero in Sandford; an ideal foster father as compared with an ideal tutor; a quixotic ideal of conduct as opposed to an eminently practical one. The plot of the Fool of Quality is impossible, involved and disconnected while that of "Sandford and Merton" is a straightforward tale which any child could follow; in "The Fool of Quality" the majority

of characters are grown-ups and it is concerned with principles and motives of conduct, while "Sandford and Merton" gives a cross-section of everyday life, with young people as the chief characters. Both books are of the XVIIIth century but they deal with different aspects of its life; both show the influence of Rousseau while viewing his doctrines from different angles; Day seizes upon the teaching method, Brooke on the romantic spirit and basic human relations.

"The Fool of Quality".

Like "Emile", "The Fool of Quality" is the story of a boy's life from birth to manhood and marriage. Harry Clinton the younger son of an Earl is sent to live with foster parents on a farm until he is five, but the attempt to domicile him in the castle at that age meets with unqualified disaster. A second attempt is more successful; he dons the orthodox ruffles, lace and silk stockings, and with his father's tactful handling (his mother is a fool) might ultimately have been tamed. Fate interposes, however. His childhood friend, "Mr. Fenton" (in reality his uncle in disguise) to save him from the evils of life in high society, kidnaps and adopts him.

They settle in Hampstead and during the next ten years we have intermittent glimpses of Harry's progress. His education as we see it is mostly informal, though we gather that

1. His friend and companion, for example, is a waif (apparently) to whom he gave food and shelter. Again, Mr. Fenton and the boys wait on the servants after the manner of Lord Loam and his daughters (Barrie: The Admirable Crichton, Act I). And Harry's chief joy lies in waiting for passersby who may need help. The needy he gleefully supplies with food and clothes.

2. Vol.II, pp.49-56.

intellectual matters are not neglected; but it is pre-eminently a study in character with a strongly socialistic bias.[1] His most ambitious piece of quixotry is a fortnight in London with his tutor during which time he spends £1500, donated by his uncle for the purpose, on relieving the inmates of the Fleet prison. One might well question the probability of such actions were it not that Day, Brooke's fellow disciple, went to even greater lengths in practice - and with still less satisfactory results.

So Harry's education proceeds until the age of 16 or thereabouts by which time we read he had survived attacks of measles and smallpox, had nearly mastered Latin and Greek, had developed a fine physique and had delved into the more interesting portions of history and geography selected for him by his tutor the worthy Mr. Clements (vol.II, p.22). We are given few details, but by 17, we are told, "His action was vigour, his countenance was loveliness, and his movement was grace." Nor can his intellectual abilities have been of any mean order, for he acquires a perfect mastery of the British Constitution in a month, with written exercises thereon, to the complete satisfaction of his tutor - and the dismay of the modern teacher of history.[2]

His history studies serve as an introduction to the world of affairs, whither like Emile he is now shepherded by his

1. Vol. II, p. 107ff.

2. Five volumes, solid.

3. He leaves over £800 "to be given to the first passerby." Whereupon they rush out of doors on the instant and, discovering a beggar woman in the street, make her the beneficiary. On coming face to face with the dying John she recognises her husband who had murdered her brother many years before and fled to escape the consequences of his crime. Explanations follow, and John departs in peace.
(Vol. I, ch. xiii.)

4. e.g. end of vol.I:-
"Mrs. Ruth clapping her hands together and lifting her eyes, cried: 'It cannot be! It is impossible! Ours the title! Ours the fortune! O my God! O my husband! O my children!' And down she dropped."
Volume II ends with the recognition of the long lost Ned - in an indescribable welter of hysteria, coma and syncope, from which the object of all this solicitude escapes with difficulty.

5. The rout of Mr. Vindex. (Vol. I, ch. vi.)

conscientious foster-father. A few weeks in London,[1] that "mausoleum of dead souls", broadens his outlook without vitiating his taste, and he returns to Hampstead to continue his charitable ministrations until his life-partner, Abenaide, his cousin and a princess of Morocco, no less, comes to England. With their marriage the book ends.[2]

The influence of Rousseau and the romantic spirit is fairly plain, but in some important respects Brooke's theory differs from Rousseau's and in others he outruns his master. Nothing in the socialism of Rousseau is quite so eccentric as the visit to the Fleet and the dying bequest of John the old servant, with its most improbable sequel.[3] The sentimentality of the book - Irish, not English! - leaves even Rousseau well behind,[4] and it is difficult to imagine the mixed marriage at the close meeting with the approval of English readers.

The account of Harry's childhood, his relations with his own family and Mr. Fenton, the emphasis laid on informal education and on socialistic training, and the rejection of methods of compulsion[5] are all in the Rousseau tradition; but the philosophy of the book and the manner of expressing it are Brooke's own except where the influence of German mysticism is discernible.

Brooke is a religious mystic, and his beliefs underlie

1. Calvinism. Rousseau differed.

2. cf. Browning: "Rabbi ben Ezra,"

"To man propose this test:
Thy body at its best,
How far can it project thy soul on its lone way?"

3. Contrast and compare Rousseau's "negative education".

his educational theory. In his insistence on the dual nature of man he differs from Rousseau and goes deeper. Like Aristotle he believes in a rational and an irrational part of the soul. Man is not innately good, and the evil in him (it is evil, not deflected goodness) arising from his earthly origin, expresses itself as craving and desire. But this craving and desire are not in themselves evil, rather they are indispensable aids to progress since they give us the capacity to desire good as well as evil.[2] The ethical and educational importance of such a doctrine is obvious: we must teach the child to desire the right things, "true education is just that."

But how are we to train the child to desire the right things? The answer is twofold: (a) by bringing him into contact with the right kind of personality in parent or tutor, one whom the child will love and whose example he will follow.[3] Thus his foster father "never proposed any encouragement or reward to the heart of our hero, save that of the love and approbation of others" (vol.I, p.10). Brooke realises the incalculable influence of character and example, for character is caught, not taught, and the whole book is a commentary on this central principle. It is perhaps most clearly summed up in Harry's comment, unsolicited, on the fable of the three silver trouts: "You would not have me wish for anything but

1. A recurring theme. Note (1) Emphasis is repeatedly laid on the duality of man's nature - cf. the "two Harrys" of vol.I ch.xi -and the need for conscious striving. (2) God Himself is described as "no other than infinite and eternal goodwill," and man attains happiness by "getting out of himself."" (3) Civil liberty is based on "therestraint of each from doing unjustly to any."

leave it to God. And if I thought that God loved me as well as you love me I would leave everything to himself, like the good little trout." (I. p.17. Harry is 6). XVIIIth century moralising has vanished, and the parent-child relationship of Rousseau has become the symbol of a higher truth.

(b) The child learns first by example, but he must learn to stand on his own feet, and character training involves fundamentally the training of the will. Brooke does not stress the intellectual side of development like Wordsworth; he never does this anywhere; rather he lays the emphasis again on affection and motive. The child as he grows up is led gradually to ally himself with the power working for goodness in the world, that is, with God. And in this conscious will to goodness guidance becomes self-discipline. In this co-operation of the soul with God, induced by love strengthened and stabilised by will power, success and happiness may be attained. But the happiness so gained is not personal qualification; it is the accompaniment and the result of a good life, the life of benevolence towards man, and faith towards God. "....And what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God."

That such a book, with its intricate plot and mystical

1. H.R.Keller: Reader's Digest of Books.

2. e.g. their discovery of the earth's rotundity, or their studies of the stars. (vol. II)

The didactism interferes with the book as literature and perhaps as education as well. The heuristic method cannot be applied indiscriminately and without limit in teaching practice.

philosophy could hardly appeal to children is obvious, but it is stated on good authority that it occupied no mean place in the popular fiction of the XVIIIth century.[1] Its appeal would therefore be to the older generation, and that it was wide though unobtrusive we may well believe. There were fewer books then than now, it dealt with subjects in which the late XVIIIth century was deeply interested, and no doubt its theories were discussed in some detail. Wesley described Brooke's ideal as "one of the most beautiful pictures that ever was drawn in the world." It was reprinted as late as 1853 and Charles Kingsley, who wrote the preface to that edition, speaks of its influence. Mystic as he is, Brooke transcends the limits of his century and his message is an inspiration rather than a duty. Alike by his faith and the romantic spirit which he shared, he reveals undreamed possibilities in ordinary family relationships. It was a revelation of which the XVIIIth century stood much in need, and doubtless some of the parents heard him gladly.

"Sandford and Merton".

Thomas Day's book is really propaganda. It expounds a method of teaching and follows in detail, often rather tediously, the doctrines of Rousseau. We have the insistence on learning through self-directed activity, by the method of discovery,[2] we have the XVIIIth century didacticism, in such tales as that

of the epicure cured of the gout (surely a more suitable - or at least a less repellent - illustration would have served equally well); and Rousseau's deus ex machina strays into the story of the juggler and the swan. The scenes at Tommy's home are vignettes of XVIIIth century life; Miss Sukey Simmons, whose upbringing followed the teaching of Rousseau, is a rather ill-fitting anomaly.

It would be true to say that because of his more deliberate exposition of Rousseau's pedagogy and because he is more closely in touch with contemporary life, his book may well have had more direct influence on education than "The Fool of Quality". Of its long-standing appeal to children there is no question whatever. But the pedagogy is over-weighted, its novelty has long since worn off; and the principles underlying all formal expression of fundamental truths have been incorporated in later theory and practice.

His practical application of Rousseau's theories had apparently little direct influence, nor is this surprising. Educational changes require a community and a school for their realisation and Day was by nature a solitary, and given to extremes which no society and few individuals would tolerate. Well meaning and devoted to humanitarian causes, he was unpractical and in private life eccentric beyond compare. Such a character was ill-fitted to be the apostle of a new educa-

1. Articles in Watson's Encyclopedia and Dictionary of Education, vol.I pp.511-2.

tional creed.

His importance lies not in his writings and his individual practice of Rousseau's teaching (discountenanced even by such a sympathetic and tolerant critic as Miss Edgeworth) as in the fact that he forms a link between Rousseau and the "Edgeworth Circle", one of the most influential of all the literary coteries of the century.

IV. THE EDGEWORTHS AND THEIR CIRCLE.

1. The Edgeworth Group.

Professor Sadler has suggested that in the Edgeworths we have one of the main channels by which the influence of Rousseau penetrated to English education. Even in the XVIIIth century the group is outstanding for talent and influence. Its members drawn from many walks of life were singularly gifted and many-sided. The central figure was the physician and scientist, Dr. Erasmus Darwin, the intimate friend of Edgeworth and Day until death severed the relationship. It included Dr. Small of Birmingham, James Keir the biographer of Day, the Scotsman James Watt, Josiah Wedgwood maker of the famous pottery, and Mrs. Barbauld one of the pioneers in children's literature. It was associated also, through its members, with some of the outstanding men and women of the time, with John Howard and

1. cf. Wedgwood's school.

2. cf. his memoranda on draining bogs (Appendix to "Memoirs") and his work on the telegraph.

Elizabeth Fry for instance, with Dr. Taylor of Norwich, with the Duke of Wellington whose wife, "still Kitty to her old friends", was a friend and neighbour of the Edgeworths in Ireland. In the school at Palgrave, which was an early venture on reformed educational lines, Mrs. Barbauld taught a number of boys who later figured in public life. But the most influential was probably Richard Lovell Edgeworth himself, whose main interests lay in Ireland, but who had associations not only with the Birmingham group but with others no less gifted in London, Edinburgh, and Paris.

The value of the group was threefold:-

(a) It represented the chief trends in the political and social life of the time. Its position in the heart of the midland industrial area, and the influence of men like Watt and Wedgwood, made it a vehicle for the expression of the needs and aspirations of the new artisan class which the large towns produced.[1] Edgeworth and Day, on the other hand, represented the older, wealthy and leisured section of society.

(b) It combined scientific and practical interest with a humanistic outlook. Dr. Darwin was physician, scientist and poet (though not in equal degree): Edgeworth seems to have been quite as interested in mechanics and the economic development of Ireland as he was in education.[2] Watt and Wedgwood, the most practically minded of them all, we are told, "were

1. The Fabian Society was founded in 1884. It exerted a far-reaching influence on the work of Mr. George Bermard Shaw, who was one of its first members..

2. "Physically indolent and mentally alert." His lack of ordinary common sense is illustrated in his attempts at house building - e.g. in Mrs. Day's dressingroom!

3. See ch. III. The romantic poets as well as Rousseau were responsible for a new approach to education, and to a deeper understanding of the child. The illuminating process precedes reform, although actually the work of Wordsworth is exactly contemporary with that of Edgeworth. "Lyrical Ballads" and "Practical Education" were both published in 1798.

4. Dr. Darwin himself tried his hand on educational topics. His "Plan for the Conduct of Female Education" was published in 1797. (See Chapter V.)

concerned with the amelioration of society on the lines of scientific and humanitarian progress" - Fabians, in short, a century before the Fabian Society was founded;[1] Day, eccentric and hopelessly unpractical,[2] was an enthusiast in the cause of parliamentary reform and the abolition of slavery. The circle stood for enlightenment and toleration, for freedom and individuality; but it combined old and new, conservative and revolutionary ideas, practice and theory, in a way that compels admiration.

(c) Educationally the circle through Day and Edgeworth forms a link between Rousseau and later developments in Great Britain and on the Continent, and paves the way for a natural and more effective education. That they built on a foundation already laid must be admitted;[3] that Rousseau's theories were accepted only in a modified form must also be admitted. But the Edgeworth circle was largely responsible for the sifting and to them is due in no small measure the credit of passing on the new theories in a form acceptable to English standards and practice. In this work Edgeworth and his friends must be awarded first place, but it is interesting to note that while Day introduced his friend to Rousseau's theories (and later to Rousseau himself) it was Dr. Darwin who persuaded him to write on educational subjects.[4] How vital must have been the stimulus afforded by such a group we gauge from

1. His neice. Quoted by Miss Thackeray in "A Book of Sibyls," p.95.

2. See references in the "Memoirs" including letters from his proteges abroad.

3. Alice Paterson: "The Edgeworths", Preface, p. v.

the correspondence and the account of personal contacts at different times; all of which is to be found in the "memoirs" themselves.

2. Richard Lovell Edgeworth (1744-1817).

"Brilliant, full of energy and charm, he was something quite extraordinary and irresistible. If you had known him you would not have wondered at anything."[1]

So is Edgeworth described by an intimate, and we can well believe the words considering the achievements of that single lifetime. The parent-teacher of 18 children, the guide, philosopher and friend of scores besides,[2] a just and capable landlord in difficult and trying circumstances, a prudent business man, a skilled and resourceful mechanic, a politician and a man of letters, a loyal and disinterested friend, a leader of society and, with his daughter, the compiler of "the most important work on general pedagogy to appear in this country between the publication of Locke's "Thoughts" in 1693 and that of Herbert Spencer's "Essay on Education" in 1861.[3]

What were the influences which produced this singular record for a country gentleman? We have seen glimpses of his amazing personality and the stimulating friendships he enjoyed. There are in addition the interests and activities

1. See Miss Edgeworth's description of their return to Edgeworthtown in 1782 ("Memoirs",vol. II,ch.vii.) and her sidelight on Irish character in "Practical Education" (vol.I,ch.vii,on Truth).

2. His mother was an ardent follower of Locke.("Memoirs"I)

3. "Memoirs",vol.I,ch.x,pp.273ff.

in which he habitually engaged, and the opportunities afforded by a reputation which during his later life was international. Educational problems as well as religious and practical difficulties faced him daily in his life in Ireland:[1] as a member of the last Irish Parliament before the Union he advocated education for the masses, and as a member of the Irish Board of Education he draughted a system of national education in the benefits of which he wholeheartedly believed.

Two main strands are interwoven in his educational theory and practice. The first and fundamental one is English, viz. the theory of John Locke on which he himself had been nurtured and to which he returned in later experience.[2] The second is that of Rousseau, one which it will be remembered is by no means wholly foreign to English tradition, and must have made a strong appeal to Edgeworth's temperament. During the years 1767-72 he appears to have followed Rousseau's teaching completely in the education of his eldest son, who was virtually an English Emile and was allowed the maximum of freedom with the minimum of ordinary schooling; but, partly because of circumstances, the experiment was not a success and was never repeated.[3]

3. The Edgeworth System of Household Education.

Yet how much he owed to Rousseau Edgeworth would have been

1. e.g. the rainbow on the carpet. (Practical Education, ch. ii) Vol I.

2. Practical Education, vol II, ch. xviii, on Chemistry.

3. One of the children asks the meaning of the expression "Chimney on fire."

the first to admit. His whole system was based on the twin principles of child study and contact with reality and though he recognised as Rousseau did not the need for "hardening" in the training of mind and character as well as physique, he eschewed methods of compulsion and repression and emphasized the benefits of individual guidance.

His educational practice may be discussed under four headings.

(a) It is based on a study of the individual child, his mental capacity, temperament, interests. The claims has been put forward that with his records extending over 20 years, and providing the material for "Practical Education", he is the founder of the experimental method of education in England. These records are not scientific in the modern sense, but they are a step towards the modern practice of individual diagnosis and treatment as seen in the various verbal and performance tests of today.

(b) It is an experimental or practical education. The child learns by working with things, by investigating everyday occurrences or phenomena.[1] And it is in accordance with spirit and age that a practical and scientific bias[2] should be present. As Miss Edgeworth remarks in one of her letters, there was always plenty doing in that household, from patching roofs and watching chimneys on fire[3] to installing a telegraph or taking

1. Edgeworth of course bases his theory on the then accepted "Faculty Psychology".

2. A thought which occurs frequently in the second half of the XVIIIth century. Goldsmith perhaps expressed it most perfectly in his essay on "Trifles" (Citizen of the World.)

3. The phrase is Dryden's.

4. This entire chapter (Practical Education, vol.I, ch.ix) is a model of sanity and understanding born of intuition and experience. It is written by Miss Edgeworth.

turned as much as possible to sober realities", for example the habit of measuring, "which enlarges and occupies the mind."[1]

Yet whatever we may think of this obsession we must admit sound commonsense in his use of it. He urges (i) a humane and sympathetic understanding of children's intelligence and "moral" difficulties, and (ii) an attempt to make learning pleasurable as well as profitable. Prevention of misdemeanours is in all cases preferable to punishment for offences which with tact and good management need never have been committed. The fewer commands the better; fear is neither a worthy nor an effective deterrent, and bygones should be bygones. "How careful we should be never to chain children to their dead faults." (Pr. Ed. I. ix, p.303). The right habits should be formed with the minimum of trouble, and since the happiness of life depends more upon a succession of small enjoyments than upon great pleasures",[2] pleasure should be an indispensable accompaniment of all teaching - Teaching is an art after all and, like poetry, education "only instructs as it delights"[3]; when the child's interest and confidence are won, very often results may be safely left to look after themselves.[4]

How modern all this is; yet it is not new. Quintilian abhorred corporal punishment, and preached understanding and appreciation of the pupils' capabilities. Comenius, whose work the Edgeworths knew, insisted that the nature of the learner

1. Practical Education, vol.I,ch.ii.

2. Ibid. vol.I,ch.xii.(On Books).

should be taken into account. Aristotle and Plato long ago recognised the value of right habits. Rousseau dwelt upon the necessity for pleasure in learning, but at the expense of the self-discipline which accompanies voluntary effort and his contribution to educational theory is by so much the less valuable.

(d) Methods. Edgeworth's principle of pleasurable learning underlies much of his method. He suggests, for example, that lessons should be short, oral in the case of young children, that the intervals between the lessons be short and regular, and that interest and appeal should be varied. Habits of application should be unobtrusively developed and fatigue of any sort avoided. He was dissatisfied with excellent reason with contemporary methods of teaching reading and spelling, so he evolved a "rational primer"; and if sometimes we are staggered at the choice of literary material for young children, at least we can appreciate the thoroughness of his teaching method. Like Rousseau he had a profound distrust of "mere words", and the superficial thinking that so often accompanies fluency too easily acquired.

Comparison with Rousseau.

Edgeworth is completely in accord with Rousseau in his recognition of the need for individual tuition based on child

1. cf. his mother's "appeal to his reason" - Memoirs, I, 1.

2. Edgeworth in contrast to Rousseau, is a pronounced extravert.

study, for knowledge closely related to real life, and instruction that is pleasant and never enforced. He differs from his master, however, in several respects.

(1) In accordance with the teaching of Locke, he regards the child though immature as a rational being, not merely a creature of sense. This attitude reacts upon his teaching methods and his discipline, for the field is immeasurably widened.

(2) He recognises the need for a solid foundation in any branch of knowledge, hence, he says, attention and habits of application must be developed. Here he has an unquestionable advantage over Rousseau whose "hair-trigger" propensities and incurable sensibility precluded much weight being attached to voluntary effort. His policy of educational laissez faire Edgeworth had already proved unpracticable.

(3) Edgeworth's social sense is far more highly developed[2] and is revealed for example in (a) his recommendation that children should enjoy the stabilising effect of adult companionship (Rousseau disagreed) and (b) his whole conception of the relation between rewards and punishments, happiness and discipline. Neither in Brooke nor in Edgeworth is the pupil stimulated to material rewards, nor taught a lesson by some prearranged contretemps. Their view of happiness includes much more than feeling and extends far beyond a concern for one's

1. cf. Sir Francis Blake Delaval's dying admonition (Memoirs vol.I,ch.v,p.156):

"Pursue what is <u>useful</u> to mankind and you will satisfy them, and what is better, you will satisfy yourself."

Edgeworth's philosophy was of course utilitarian.

2. After 150 years we are taking this advice to heart.

3. Professional Education(Preface).

4. See by way of illustration, "La Nouvelle Heloïse," Part V, Letter iii,-

own well-being. The happiness of the whole community is at stake,[1] and education and legislation are contributing factors:-

"The greatest possible happiness of the whole society must be the ultimate object of all just legislation .... It is the business of education to prevent crimes and to prevent all those habitual propensities which necessarily lead to their commission." (Pr. Ed. I, ix, p.288).[2]

This principle leads him to stress the need for religious training. Not sympathy, as with Rousseau, but religion is the foundation of right human relations. As in the case of Wordsworth his estimate of its importance increases with experience: "I consider religion in the large sense of the word to be the only certain bond of society."[3]

(4) With Mrs. Barbauld he rejects Rousseau's negative education as an impossibility, and on similar grounds. Even in the matter of environment how are you to cope with undesirable servants and associates? Mothers still find this a thorny problem.

(5) He denies that men are born with equal talents and that inequalities are the result solely of education or due to the evils of society. (Pref. to Professional Education). His divergence from Rousseau at this juncture is patent. Yet curiously enough Rousseau was a student of biology; and he recognised temperamental differences in individuals.[4]

1. Considerations on the Government of Poland, 1773.

(6) He advocates education of the masses, whom Rousseau did not cater for, except with some definite aim in view. But his attitude to them is interesting and fundamentally different in spirit from Rousseau's. He not only recognises differences in individual talent but in social status, as becomes apparent when we examine his suggestions for Irish education.

The Edgeworth System - Disadvantages.

The disadvantages and even dangers of such a system are obvious. It turns a home into a boarding school, for with lessons to be drawn from every incident, and the most casual remarks liable to investigation, spontaneity would inevitably be curbed, and the spirit of play crushed. It was a necessary outcome of contemporary circumstances and general educational trends, and would present practical difficulties in even the most capable hands. One imagines Edgeworth with all his kindness and fatherly care as resembling Prospero - with a good deal of the pedant and the schoolmaster; and like him totally deficient in a sense of humour, that safeguard of mental and moral sanity. Even with a different personality there might be the same dread tendency. How real was the danger in Edgeworth's case we may surmise from the work of his daughter; how complete was the enslavement of his entourage her own words of appreciation and her own record of their

1. Wordsworth on the contrary favours fairy tales. (Prelude V)

2. So said Goldsmith (with whom Miss Edgeworth has much in common) when he failed dismally in his attempt to ape Dr. Johnson.

3. Memoirs vol. II, ch. vii, p. 156.

relations are the surest testimony. (Mem. vol.II).

Pedantic, pompous, with all his gifts, he was obsessed with the morality of his day and generation, and make-believe and fairy tales are taboo;[1] children are to be nourished on solid fact and sober truth - hence the tales of Rosamund and Simple Susan. That these compositions appealed so wonderfully to young folk is a tribute not to the father's principles, but to the daughter's grace and charm in these still readable stories with their irrepressible fun and laughter. She had in abundance what he lacked: humour and its companion grace, humility. In spite of her father's solemnity, "cheerfulness kept breaking in";[2] without her the story of the Edgeworths' education would have been very different, and the child life of the first half of the XIXth century inestimably poorer.

4. Edgeworth and Irish Education.

Rousseau gave a sketch of national education on the short work on Poland. It was a field which in the circumstances interested Edgeworth profoundly. He had said in a letter to Darwin (Sept. 7th, 1794): "A good government may make this a great country because the raw material is good and simple",[3] and his daughter writing twenty years later testifies to his personal effort to improve conditions at Edgeworthtown and the success which attended it. The project he cherished of

1. The problem of staffing proved to be the stumbling-block. No facilities for the training of teachers existed at this time and competent instructors were almost unprocurable. Vide infra, ch.V.

2. Memoirs vol. II, appendix, p. 464: Letter to the Lord Primate.

3. Ibid. p. 465.

4. Appendix to Memoirs, vol. II, p. 454: on Chartist Schools See Crabbe's description of infirmaries. Edgeworth is interested in diet because of its relation to prevalent skin diseases.

5. Appendix to Memoirs, p.469 (Letter to the Lord Primate).

founding a school in the village was not fulfilled in his lifetime,[1] but in the extracts from the various reports given in the appendix to the Memoirs we can form a tolerably clear idea of his plans for a nation-wide system of education of which the local schools were to be an important part.

He had said in the letter to Darwin already quoted: "I am every day more convinced of the advantages of a good education." (Mem. I, vii, p.156), and he repeatedly expressed his belief in popular education provided the education was on sound lines. As we should expect, his suggestions reveal a comprehensive grasp of the country's needs together with a wholly admirable spirit of toleration considerably in advance of his time. Where rival faiths exist, side by side in parish or county, he says, cater for both, and let each supervise its own educational affairs.[2] He has the wisdom to be wisely conservative as well as revolutionary: keep the Parish schools, and anything else which is good, he urges.[3] His grasp of practical matters is seen in his suggestions with regard to buildings, infirmaries, cultivation of the land and, what must have appeared absurdly trivial in those days, the diet of the children.[4] He is well aware of the importance of home influences and suggests that dame schools should be inaugurated for the very young children "to habituate them to cleanliness, order and obedience as a preparation for the elementary school."[5] In

1. Memoirs vol. II, p. 466 (Letter to the Lord Primate).

(a) For Preparatory schools:
£20 per annum with house and garden, plus fees - equivalent to £40 - £60 approx.

(b) For Provincial Schools:
£100 per annum with a pension of £20 - £30 per annum after 20-30 years of service.

2. Appendix to Memoirs, vol. II, p. 456.

trolled all applicants. Staffs were to be composed of Roman Catholic or Protestant members according to the population. An urgent plea is made for the training of teachers and a scale of remuneration is suggested.[1]

(b) Curriculum.

(i) The curriculum for elementary schools offers the usual reading, writing and arithmetic, with special emphasis on the last in accordance with Edgeworth's predilections. For books, abridged Greek and Roman histories are presumably, as in the Chartist schools, "rigidly forbidden - they inculcate democracy and a foolish hankering after undefined liberty; particularly dangerous in Ireland" [2] .... "Barbauld's (beautiful) hymns, Moral Annals, Butler's Arithmetic, full of solid useful facts", are suggested, together with a miscellaneous mixture of general knowledge. Children are to be taught "the points of the compass, the position of the pole star, 3 or 4 constellations, the causes of day and night, the annual motion of the earth, draining, agriculture, a knowledge of poisonous herbs and their corresponding antidotes." For economic reasons, school hours were to be limited to 3 hours daily, but outdoor activities like gardening were to be encouraged. A weekly record of each pupil's progress was to be kept and on the basis of this register and a biennial examination candidates were to be selected for promotion to the provincial schools.

1. Ibid. p. 469.

2. Ibid. P. 459.

(ii) The higher schools were to specialise in a vocational training - bookkeeping, surveying, agriculture, practical mechanics, some practical chemistry. There were to be two classes; the lower class was to be taught for three hours in the morning, by monitors carefully selected not so much for their scholastic ability as for their good temper.[1] The upper class received its instruction after the juniors were dismissed. Discipline was to be on military lines, with groups or companies, and promotion by merit "which would induce habits of submission and emulation"[2] - presumably the fundamental qualifications for the perfect civil servant. Of physical culture, organised games, or recreation we hear almost nothing; of a basis of broad general culture, nothing. Apart from the fact that the pupils came from a country background, Ireland was doubtless not yet at the stage for such things. The training is wholly utilitarian where it is not fascist, with its avowed end the production of a citizen able to contribute his share to the practical well being of the state.

Edgeworth's system of national education is thus fundamentally a training not of individuals but of citizens and we find throughout little stress on the freedom and individuality of which Rousseau makes so much in "Emile". In fact it is rather the reverse of the picture. The education is of the

1. Edgeworth suggests "truth, honesty, obedience, scholarship," an interesting revelation of his own character and outlook.

2. The explanation lies partly in the fact that there were at that time very few openings for women and girls. (See below, ch.V.)

most rudimentary kind except along practical and vocational lines, and the discipline leans to the military. In the wrong hands even the "Register" could become a dangerous weapon, as in Germany and Japan today; and there is a very real risk of education becoming the handmaid of politics, and a system developing in which one ideal and one only is tolerated - conformity to the existing order.

Taken on its merits, however, the suggestion of keeping a register of the "genius, merits, faults, and progress" of every pupil is to be commended, and this practice is established now in some parts of the Empire, though the details are grouped under very different headings.[1] It is an attempt to assess a whole personality, not by a record of marks only but by taking into account the individual's power of adaptation to himself and to the community.

The system applies only to boys.[2] Throughout these pages there are two references only to the other sex - (1) the possible assistance of the ladies of the country gentry in the home training of small children, and (2) one expressive sentence in the discussion of the organisation of the provincial schools:-

"Whenever girls are taught they should be dismissed with the younger class."

The unconscious humour of the remark is obvious, and any

comment would surely be superfluous. The common man was coming into his own, but the common woman, like Una's dwarf, as yet lagged far behind.

The project was never fully realised, and as to its possible effect on Irish life and character it is idle to speculate. Edgeworth's influence on national education, ~~Professor~~ Sir Michael Sadler maintains, was powerful though not immediate, and had much to do with the reorganisation of the school system in England and Ireland in the XIXth century. This however belongs to another chapter.

University of Glasgow

T h e s i s:

for the Degree of Ph.D.

by

ALICE R. PATERSON.

EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT IN BRITAIN.

1 9 4 1.

CHAPTER V.

THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT and THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

I. INTRODUCTORY AND GENERAL.

1. The Social Background.

"The amount of Education given to women", says B.A. Howard, "has always depended on two factors: the general view of the position of women, and the specific duties for which she was to be trained."[1] Whether we agree with the general statement or not, the history of women's education between 1700 and 1850 is an eloquent commentary upon his words. At no period in English history was the social status of women so low or their education held to be of so little account.[2] Regarded by society and by themselves as fundamentally inferior to men in every sphere, their position was one of physical, social, intellectual and economic dependence; marriage was their only career, and freedom of opportunity was denied to rich and poor alike. The women of quality - ornaments of society and the playthings of men - were given a smattering of accomplishments; the majority of the poor, boys and girls alike, received no schooling at all. Education for the right use of leisure had no meaning in the XVIIIth and early XIXth centuries.

1. B.A.Howard: The Mixed School, p.20.
2. For Scotland, see below, pp.199ff.

(1) Historical perspective is necessary to an understanding of this most complex period. For example, in the sphere of politics, the idea of nationality evolved during the XIVth. and XVth. Centuriesand has been the determining factor in European diplomacy for the last four hundred years. During the XIXth. Century we see (a) Britain emerging from her policy of isolation, and (b) Europe and the world reacting upon each other.The League of Nations was an expression of the new international spirit. An example in the sphere of education is to be found in the admission of women to the higher centres of learning. (See below, p.30.)

(2) Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol.IX, ch. xv, p.40

(3) Cf. Mrs Hamilton: Hints to School Teachers, and "Cottagers of Glenburnie," also the Scottish novels of the "Kailyard School"

(4) Mrs. Hannah More: Works, vol. 1, p.192: "The whole extent of learning which we intend to give to the poor is only to enable them to read the Bible....." Mrs. Jones is trying to wheedle a subscription out of Farmer Hoskin who thoroughly disapproves of educating his workmen.

(5) Report of the S.P.C.K.

The women of the poor knew only work, the rich idleness. The highest common factor in the lives of both was subjection to the social and economic forces controlling their existence from birth to death.

The truth of this hypothesis is illustrated in the pages of contemporary English literature,[1] and verified by historical research.[2] Social reform did not take practical effect before 1832; in 1842 women and children, mere babies, were still immured in the mines of East Scotland;[3] in 1854 only the weight of indignant public opinion enabled Florence Nightingale to triumph over the opposition directed less against her reforms than against her sex. Up till 1891 a woman could be imprisoned by her husband in her own house, and a wife was a mere chattel, without the personal freedom of a slave.[4] Without means, without education, without vocational training of any kind, life for women held all the potentialities of tragedy.[5] Humanity and individuality alike were submerged in sex, and in a world which for the first time in history recognised the rights of workers and common people, she had barely staked a claim.

Nor were these conditions restricted to England. In 1901 all except the lowest classes of Calabrian women still lived in oriental seclusion,[6] and in Turkey where today women

(1) cf. Article by Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah: "Changing Turkey".

(2) The swastika is a symbol of the subjugation of woman.

(3) Dr. E.H.Clarke: "Sex in Education", ch. 5. (1873 edition.)

(4) In which, it will be remembered, horses are shown to be superior in every respect to human beings.

(5) J.S.Mill: "The Subjection of Women", pp.35,36. (1869).

(1) Maria Edgeworth was educated at a boarding school. Later in the century these institutions opened their doors to lower middle class children. Even some of the boys' boarding schools became less select: Brookfield admitted "the town cheese." (see "Goodbye, Mr. Chips!")

enjoy in some respects an equality denied her throughout the British Empire,[1] age old conditions prevailed as late as 1909. Of the degradation of womanhood inseparable from Nazi rule it is unnecessary to speak,[2] but the vaunted Kultur of pre-war Germany might lead us to expect something better than the standards which obtained in the middle of last century:

"I once saw in the streets of Coblenz", wrote an American doctor in 1873, "a woman and a donkey yoked to the same cart, while a man with a whip in his hand drove the team. The bystanders did not seem to look upon the moving group as if it were an unusual spectable .... The donkey appeared to be the most intelligent and refined of the three."[3] Less than 150 years before, Swift had written the fourth book of "Gulliver's Travels".[4]

The situation as far as English women were concerned was summed up by J.S. Mill in his chivalrous protest against an indefensible and unjust anachronism.[5] The subordination of women was in effect a flagrant violation of the cardinal principles of the Revolution, and it is without surprise that we trace their emancipation back to the dynamic forces which underlie all the liberative tendencies of the XIXth century - the forces which produced the Revolution and the Romantic Revival and gave to

(1) For example, Scottish schools and teachers in theory and in practice during this period. See in this connection Mrs. Hamilton's "Cottagers of Glenburnie" or George Macdonald's "Alec Forbes." Things are seldom what they seem!

(2) (a) Abolition of slavery (b) Political reform. (c) Interest in childhood and educational movements. (d) Legislation affecting women, e.g. Property Bills.

3. (a) e.g. Carlyle. (b) e.g. Corot, Millet, Israels. (c) e.g. Wordsworth, Burns.

(3) (a) e.g. Carlyle. (b) e.g. Corot, Millet, Israels. (c) e.g. Wordsworth, Burns.

the world a new social code and a new Education.

2. Conflict and Progress.

The study of women's education between 1750 and 1850 is complicated and difficult in the extreme. It was a century of transition and change, marked by the contradictions and anomalies which inevitably accompany any stage of social evolution and spiritual development. At every turn we are confronted with problems that pertain not to education only but to the very fabric of our civilisation; with paradoxes and inequalities inherent in human nature itself.[1] The influence of great contemporary movements, political, social and economic, is seen in direct conflict with age-old conventions, traditions and prejudices from an immemorial past; and the veil of the temple is rent in twain. The cult of individualism rises side by side with a new conception of the state; and the state is seen in its relation to other states in a way that heralds the internationalism of the XXth century. The privileges of race and class come to be regarded ever more and more against a background of humanity;[2] bars of colour,[a] class,[b] age[c] and sex[d] are recognised as artificial, and efforts are made to set the prisoners free.[3] In the eyes of philosophers,[a] artists[b] and poets[c] labour be-

(1) Historical perspective is necessary to an understanding of this most complex period. For example, in the sphere of politics, the idea of nationality evolved during the XIVth. and XVth. Centuriesand has been the determining factor in European diplomacy for the last four hundred years. During the XIXth. Century we see (a) Britain emerging from her policy of isolation, and (b) Europe and the world reacting upon each other.The League of Nations was an expression of the new international spirit. An example in the sphere of education is to be found in the admission of women to the higher centres of learning. (See below, p.30.)

(2) Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol.IX, ch. xv, p.403

(3) Cf. Mrs Hamilton: Hints to School Teachers, and "Cottagers of Glenburnie," also the Scottish novels of the "Kailyard School".

(4) Mrs. Hannah More: Works, vol. 1, p.192: "The whole extent of learning which we intend to give to the poor is only to enable them to read the Bible....." Mrs. Jones is trying to wheedle a subscription out of Farmer Hoskin who thoroughly disapproves of educating his workmen.

(5) Report of the S.P.C.K.

comes invested with dignity, the claims of ability are put forward in opposition to those of rank and wealth, and England embarks fearfully upon a system of elementary education. The whole period is one of transition and fulfilment; the cycle which began in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries is nearing completion, and while the facts of life may remain unaltered they are seen in a fress perspective.[1]

3. The Church.

Paramount among the traditional influences affecting the lives of girls and women in this period is that of the church. Professor Adamson[2] has pointed out that three avenues were open to the XVIIIth century English girl, those of the housewife, the devotee and the fine lady, but the religious motif dominated them all, and the church both in England and Scotland was a controlling force in Education.[3] The poor were taught reading primarily in order to read the Bible, and to learn therefrom the morality of obedience to their masters and contentment with their lot[4] - with the performance "of those servile offices which are necessary in all communities, and for which the wise Governor of the World has in His providence designed them."[5] The XVIIIth century housewife's meagre bookshelf contained little

(1) It is difficult to imagine what Mrs Malaprop and company made of Locke's "Human Understanding", Bishop Butler's "Analogy",Duncan's "Logic"(these virile suggestions come from Mrs. Hannah More) or even such lighter morsels as Seneca's "Morals."(The latter is Dr. Hickes' suggestion.)C Clarissas and Pamelas were rare.

In the North philosophy gave place to religion if Lady'Cawdor's library is to be regarded as typical. The list included Alain's "Godly Fear," "Balm of Gilead," "Sighs from Hell,"and Geddes's"Saints' Recreation" as an antidote. Terrestrial affairs were represented by the "Art of Complaisance" and "Rules of Civility." (Henry Grey Graham:Social Life of Scotland in the XVIIIth. Century, p. 23.)

(2) The influence of religion is twofold. It leads to (a) the idealisation of woman, seen in the worship of the Virgin and in chivalry; (b) the seclusion and degradation of woman, seen at its worst in Islam, e.g. in the Soviet East, especially among the Turkmans. Both of these influences repressive.

(3) Cf. the work of the Dissenting churches innthe education of the masses by the middle of the XVIIIth. Century.

(4) This is reflected in "Adam Bede"(Dinah Morris). Cf. too the account of the Lollard women martyrs. Mrs. Barbauld is an exception.

beyond her cookery book and her Bible, with perhaps a devotional volume or two which she could probably neither read nor understand.[1] Deeper than any formal teaching, however, is the persistence of the early Christian tradition in standards of conduct and manner of instruction. To this source may be traced in no small degree the emphasis on deportment which constituted the essential part of a society girl's training in the middle ages, and as late as the Victorian era; to it also we owe the Victorian governess.

The influence of orthodoxy was invariably repressive.[2] The Dissenting Churches on the other hand - especially the Quakers - allowed their womenfolk more latitude, and laid far more stress on education generally, including the education of the masses.[3] Scottish Calvinism acclaimed the right of every individual to education, a factor which greatly contributes to the difference between English and Scottish women of the period. In England the biographies of George Foxe, Susannah Wesley, Elizabeth Fry and others afford ample proof of the emancipating influence of the nonconformist faith.[4]

Other factors almost as powerful play their part in the emancipation of women and these will receive due pro-

(1) The emphasis laid by Mill, for example, on the social inequality of women may blind us to the fact that working men and children also suffered. Social injustice was rampant. Only in theory so far has the ideal of the just state been realised: "Il n'y a pas de justice sur terre."

(2) Cf. Bartle Massey's night school (George Eliot: "Adam Bede," ch. xxi.

minence in the discussion which follows. Chief among them is the economic situation resulting from the spread of industrialism and the financial strain of the Napoleonic Wars. Women were driven by necessity to earn their own living and in order to do so education was indispensable. Two results followed inevitably: (1) the reorganisation of girls' education and their admission to the universities and higher centres of learning on the same footing as men; and (2) the emergence of woman from the home to take her place in the army of the world's workers.

4. General Considerations.

Finally, before considering in more detail the separate phases of women's education in the XVIIIth and early XIXth centuries we may note these general qualifications.

1. The education and social background of women and girls to be seen in true perspective must be regarded as part of the general scheme of things during the period. For example, the appalling conditions under which women worked in factories were originally shared by men, or worse still by tiny children of either sex;[1] and neither men nor women had much chance of education before 1870.[2]

2. Historical perspective - an appreciation of the unity and continuity of history - is absolutely essential to the

(1) Cf. Norwood: The English Tradition in Education, p. 19:- "For what has happened in the last hundred years is that the old ideals have been recaptured....."

This observation requires modification, however, for ideals change in the process of being "recaptured." There is variety rather than repetition and evolution is spiral, not circular. But the essential truth remains.

right understanding of any isolated movement. In these hundred years we discern plainly the interplay of forces operating over long periods of time. Ideals of chivalry, the emphasis laid by the Protestant faith upon the individual, the rebellion against class distinctions which became articulate in the French Revolution, the humanitarian sympathy with the suffering and oppressed - all these and more contribute to XIXth century progress, of which the emancipation of women is simply one aspect.

3. The existence of fundamental differences between English and Scottish education must be clearly grasped. Social conditions, ideals, and educational practice are so much at variance that a separate section is devoted to Education north of the Border.

4. Speaking generally, the century 1750-1850 may be regarded as a whole. Although it has all the characteristics of a period of transition, and new ideas are gradually gaining acceptance, practical education remains largely the same throughout. The whole period in some ways resembles a railway tunnel through the Alps; behind lie the sterility and bleakness of the Restoration and Augustan age, in front are spacious plains and far horizons lost in light. In the darkness of the tunnel no progress can be appreciated - but it emerges into another world.

"Not till the hours of light return,
All we have built do we discern."

(1) Maria Edgeworth was educated at a boarding school. Later in the century these institutions opened their doors to lower middle class children. Even some of the boys' boarding schools became less select: Brookfield admitted "the town cheese". (see "Goodbye, Mr. Chips!")

II. THE THINGS THAT WERE.

The hierarchy of class distinctions, the most outstanding feature of English society, is inevitably reflected in the education of English women. By the middle of the XVIIIth century three strata are clearly distinguishable, each with its accepted mode of education. Girls of the aristocracy were as a rule educated at home by a governess, and sometimes sent to a "finishing school" to confirm them in the ways of ignorance and emotional instability. Boarding schools were attended by the daughters of wealthy middle-class parents and sometimes by the country gentry. Schools for the poor included dame schools, and various types of charity and industrial schools, but these were attended only by a fraction of the population, the rest being left in total ignorance.

The education of girls, to whatever class they belonged, was wholly private and, in England, conducted entirely by women; the responsibility rested with mothers (these constituted the majority of "teachers") or with governesses at home and in boarding schools; and the instruction given was unbelievably inadequate. The accepted theory of the intellectual inferiority of women is here seen at its worst. Apart from the absurdly narrow and ill-balanced curriculum,

(1) Swift asserts (1765) that in the middle of the XVIIIth. century, of 15,000 gentle families, one in thirty was tolerably educated.
Mr. G.R.Porter remarks that in 1839-41, in the counties of Cheshire and Lancashire, 40%of the males and 65% of the females signed the marriage register with a cross. (Progress of the Nation, Vol. II, p.181.) Quoted in Neff, p.58.

(2) Cf. Cameron's admiration for Simon Blake(Barrie: Mary Rose, Act II):- "It iss not Mr. Blake's learning. He has not much learning. But I haf always understood that the English manage to do without it."
At the time of which we are speaking, Burke, unique among English politicians for his combination of philosophy and knowledge, was dubbed the "dinner-bell of the House."

(3) Cf the attitude to the Blue Stockings. And Mrs. Malaprop's "I don't think so much learning becomes a young woman."
The same theme pervades the sickly "Woman as she is and as she should be," published in 1835. (2 vols.)

(4) Mrs. Gardiner: English Girlhood at School, pp.361-2.

(5) "The Governess"-1785.

varying with the social status of the pupil, and the prevailing illiteracy of parents[1] and teachers, there were no accepted standards of attainment and no enlightened public opinion to provide them. The English as a people have always been peculiarly insensitive to the value of intellectual attainments[2] and in the case of women these were accounted not only superfluous but unnatural.[3] From higher and University Education they were of course rigidly excluded, and the vicious circle of ignorance in teacher and taught continued unbroken.

1. The Education of the Middle and Upper Classes.

"The young gentlewoman", writes Mrs. Gardiner in her review of girls' education during the first half of the XVIIIth century, "was in all essentials more neglected than she had ever been, a poor captive bound from early childhood to the chariot wheels of ludicrous and unseemly fashion."[4] The statement is only too readily supported by contemporary evidence. "How few do we find of our sex whose education surpasses a minuet, a cotillon, talking a little French, playing a few airs on the harpsichord, and an easy deportment!....."[5] The wail rises louder and louder as the century proceeds, culminating in the "strictures" of Mrs. Hannah More and the invective of Mary Wallstonecraft.

(1) See "The Rivals" I,ii,esp. The kernel lies in her outburst: "You thought, miss! I don't know any business you have to think at all. Thought does not become a young woman."

(2) Sheridan:"The School for Scandal," II,i.

(3) Day: Sandford and Merton,vol.II, pp.225-9(1786ed.).

(4) Ibid. II,p.225.

(5) "Jane Eyre," ch. X. Except that Jane's English is not called in question the standards are much the same.

(6) "The Governess, or the Boarding School Dissected ... wherein are exposed, in Dramatic Order, the Errors in the present mode of FEMALE EDUCATION, and the Method of correcting them, in order to form the Mind and Improve the Understanding." (Title page.)

(7) The rudiments of orthography and arithmetic presented insurmountable difficulties. Ingenuity in spelling became a stock devise of the novelist (cf. Smollett;Humphrey Clinker.) In 1901 Miss Phoebe was still working out the standard problem of the herring and a half "with real herrings." (Barrie:Quality Street,Act II.)

The plays of Sheridan afford many excellent illustrations of contemporary theory and practice. Mrs. Malaprop's opinions will recur to everyone,[1] and Lady Teazle's account of her girlhood was probably no exception to the general rule.[2] Miss Sukey Simmons, educated by an eccentric uncle on spartan and practical lines, with no accomplishments and social graces, was an object of contemptuous ridicule.[3] The ideal of the XVIIIth century young lady was embodied in her fellow guest, Miss Matilda, whose mother had spared no pains to give her every possible advantage.[4] "She plays most divinely upon the harpsichord, talks French even better than she does English, and draws in the style of a master" - a tribute which recalls Bessie's inquisition of Jane Eyre sixty years later.[5]

Contemporary ideals and standards of attainment are expressed with admirable conciseness and clarity in "The Governess" (1785)[6] in which the views of "professional" teacher and layman are given in a series of dialogues. Mrs. Skilful's idea of Education at least gives some fundamentals: "Good reading, good orthography, capable to indite half a dozen lines correct in sense and diction, this I call learning." (p.52). The modesty of the demand is a reflection of contemporary achievement.[7] Mrs. Skilful, who was one of the nouveaux riches, was distinctly ambitious. Mrs. Dull-

(1) "The Governess," pp.25-6.

(2) Vide supra, Chapter IV.

(3) Mrs. Hannah More: Structures in Female Education, section viii.

bright in the same play was less exacting. She was overshadowed by a daughter who knew all the parts of speech and injunctions and the singtax and a husband who was a veritable progeny of learning, since he was a recognised authority on Jupiter, Barometers, Balloons and the Great Bear. Rather pathetically "she hopes that learning don't teach children to be proud and disobedient to their parents." The spread of Education had its drawbacks.

This brings us to the curriculum, which in the case of "educated" women was mainly concerned with deportment and "accomplishments". The first of these was part of the heritage of the middle ages, and the second was like unto it but had gained in importance as a result of changing social conditions resulting in an increase of wealth and leisure.[2] Any curriculum must be judged both by what it includes and by what it omits and in both these respects the XVIIIth century courses of study are tried and found wanting. If the ideal personality is to be reached through the harmonious development of all sides of man's nature - body, mind and spirit, intellect, emotion and will - education demands more than a "furore of accomplishments", more than "swarms of abridgments, beauties and compendiums, the infallible receipt for making a superficial mind." [3]

(1) Practical Education, ch. xx, pp. 873-5.

(2) Thackeray: "Vanity Fair."

Further, one may ask what did these accomplishments amount to? The answer is supplied both by observing the finished product of such a training and by listening to the criticism of such competent judges as Miss Edgeworth and the more enlightened advocates of reform. In "Practical Education", for example, the popularity of musical studies is analysed with remorseless logic, and the one thing lacking is a love of music for its own sake or as a means towards spiritual uplift.[1] French? Becky's excellent French was sufficient to prevent her being taken for an Englishwoman.[2] Most of these maidens, we gather, resembled Chaucer's Prioress who spoke French

> "After the schole of Stratford atte Bowe
> For Frensshe of Paris was to hir unknowe."

and we have further to add on the debit side that their French was often better than their English. A fruitful subject for meditation.

The low standards of achievement need cause little surprise when we remember the teachers and the manner of teaching. Miss Simmons' Uncle and the outraged headmistress in "The Governess" put the matter in a nutshell as far as the teaching of modern languages was concerned. "'Tis the mediocrity of price that causes the French language to be so ill-taught in our schools ..... the greater part of

(1) "The Governess", p. 61.

(2) It was customary then as now for a number of boarding schools to receive day pupils. Working class girls went to the dame schools, charity schools and workhouse schools.

.....

French masters are Swissers or Provincials, persons of mean birth and no education; some having travelled through France in the capacity of servants, and having acquired a loquacious part of the language, come to England, engage themselves for masters in our schools, and sometimes in those called respectable ones. And what is very astonishing is that these people are esteemed because they are wholly ignorant of English; as if it was possible to teach French to a native of England or English to a native of France without having a competent knowledge of both languages."

One is tempted to ask whether this far-seeing critic of 1785 was not rather more than 150 years ahead of her time?

Boarding Schools.

The English boarding school has for long played an important part in the upbringing of English youth. Descriptions of girls' boarding schools in the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries are legion, and many and vigorous are the criticisms levelled against them. In the absence of anything analogous to the Scottish parochial system these were the chief and often the only educational institutions which girls outside the working classes could attend. Their

(1) Epidemics such as typhus were frequent. See "Jane Eyre", for example.

(2) Dr. Erasmus Darwin: Plan for the Conduct of Female Education.....(1797), esp. sections 26-28, and p. 103.
He points out the discomfort of two pupils (of unequal size) sharing one small bed with a scanty feather mattress and one blanket. No heating in dormitories of course. Cubicles are a modern innovation, like separate qusrters for mistresses. Among other horrors of the XVIIIth. century boarding school were contraptions such as backboards and "collars", such as Maria Edgeworth endured.

(3) See Thackeray, "Vanity Fair", ch. I.

handicaps were painfully evident. Unlike the boys' public schools they lacked such essentials as money and a permanent home. Tradition they had none. They depended, as they still do, on private enterprise and parents had a habit of economising where their daughters' education was concerned. There were of course no educational standards, no trained and qualified teachers, the facilities for instruction and often for accommodation were almost negligible.[1] In the last connection Dr. Darwin's recommendations on ventilation, sleeping accommodation and general hygiene show the need for drastic reform.[2]

Tom Hood in "Love and Lunacy" gives a humorous and apt description of a XIXth century boarding school which supplements the accounts of Miss Pinkerton's and other Academies.[3]

"And thus their studies they pursued: - on Sunday
Beef, collects, batter, texts from Dr. Price's
Mutton, French, pancakes, grammar - on a Monday;
Tuesday:- hard dumplings, globes, Chapone's 'Advice',
Wednesday: fancy-work, rice milk (no spice);
Thursday - pork, dancing, currant bolsters, reading,
Friday - beef, Mr. Butler* and plain rice;
Saturday - scraps, short lessons, and short feeding,
Stocks, backboards, hash, steel collars and good
breeding."

Physical education in the modern sense there was none. In the Grove -

---

* Butler's "Guide to Useful Knowledge."

(1) For example, Scottish schools and teachers in theory and in practice during this period. See in this connection Mrs. Hamilton's "Cottagers of Glenburnie" or George Macdonald's "Alec Forbes." Things are seldom what they seem!

(2) (a) Abolition of slavery (b) Political reform. (c) Interest in childhood and educational movements. (d) Legislation affecting women, e.g. Property Bills.

3. (a) e.g. Carlyle. (b) e.g. Corot, Millet, Israels. (c) e.g. Wordsworth, Burns.

(3) (a) e.g. Carlyle. (b) e.g. Corot, Millet, Israels. (c) e.g. Wordsworth, Burns.

the world a new social code and a new Education.

2. Conflict and Progress.

The study of women's education between 1750 and 1850 is complicated and difficult in the extreme. It was a century of transition and change, marked by the contradictions and anomalies which inevitably accompany any stage of social evolution and spiritual development. At every turn we are confronted with problems that pertain not to education only but to the very fabric of our civilisation; with paradoxes and inequalities inherent in human nature itself.[1] The influence of great contemporary movements, political, social and economic, is seen in direct conflict with age-old conventions, traditions and prejudices from an immemorial past; and the veil of the temple is rent in twain. The cult of individualism rises side by side with a new conception of the state; and the state is seen in its relation to other states in a way that heralds the internationalism of the XXth century. The privileges of race and class come to be regarded ever more and more against a background of humanity;[2] bars of colour,[a] class,[b] age[c] and sex[d] are recognised as artificial, and efforts are made to set the prisoners free.[3] In the eyes of philosophers,[a] artists[b] and poets[c] labour be-

(1) Historical perspective is necessary to an understanding of this most complex period. For example, in the sphere of politics, the idea of nationality evolved during the XIVth. and XVth. Centuriesand has been the determining factor in European diplomacy for the last four hundred years. During the XIXth. Century we see (a) Britain emerging from her policy of isolation, and (b) Europe and the world reacting upon each other.The League of Nations was an expression of the new international spirit. An example in the sphere of education is to be found in the admission of women to the higher centres of learning. (See below, p.30.)

(2) Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol.IX, ch. xv, p.403

(3) Cf. Mrs Hamilton: Hints to School Teachers, and "Cottagers of Glenburnie," also the Scottish novels of the "Kailyard School".

(4) Mrs. Hannah More: Works, vol. 1, p.192: "The whole extent of learning which we intend to give to the poor is only to enable them to read the Bible....." Mrs. Jones is trying to wheedle a subscription out of Farmer Hoskin who thoroughly disapproves of educating his workmen.

(5) Report of the S.P.C.K.

comes invested with dignity, the claims of ability are put forward in opposition to those of rank and wealth, and England embarks fearfully upon a system of elementary education. The whole period is one of transition and fulfilment; the cycle which began in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries is nearing completion, and while the facts of life may remain unaltered they are seen in a fress perspective.[1]

3. The Church.

Paramount among the traditional influences affecting the lives of girls and women in this period is that of the church. Professor Adamson[2] has pointed out that three avenues were open to the XVIIIth century English girl, those of the housewife, the devotee and the fine lady, but the religious motif dominated them all, and the church both in England and Scotland was a controlling force in Education.[3] The poor were taught reading primarily in order to read the Bible, and to learn therefrom the morality of obedience to their masters and contentment with their lot[4] - with the performance "of those servile offices which are necessary in all communities, and for which the wise Governor of the World has in His providence designed them."[5] The XVIIIth century housewife's meagre bookshelf contained little

(1) It is difficult to imagine what Mrs Malaprop and company made of Locke's "Human Understanding", Bishop Butler's "Analogy",Duncan's "Logic"(these virile suggestions come from Mrs. Hannah More) or even such lighter morsels as Seneca's "Morals."(The latter is Dr. Hickes' suggestion.)C Clarissas and Pamelas were rare.

In the North philosophy gave place to religion if Lady'Cawdor's library is to be regarded as typical. The list included Alain's "Godly Fear," "Balm of Gilead," "Sighs from Hell,"and Geddes's"Saints' Recreation" as an antidote. Terrestrial affairs were represented by the "Art of Complaisance" and "Rules of Civility." (Henry Grey Graham:Social Life of Scotland in the XVIIIth. Century, p. 23.)

(2) The influence of religion is twofold. It leads to (a) the idealisation of woman, seen in the worship of the Virgin and in chivalry; (b) the seclusion and degradation of woman, seen at its worst in Islam, e.g. in the Soviet East, especially among the Turkmans. Both of these influences repressive.

(3) Cf. the work of the Dissenting churches innthe education of the masses by the middle of the XVIIIth. Century.

(4) This is reflected in "Adam Bede"(Dinah Morris). Cf. too the account of the Lollard women martyrs. Mrs. Barbauld is an exception.

beyond her cookery book and her Bible, with perhaps a devotional volume or two which she could probably neither read nor understand.[1] Deeper than any formal teaching, however, is the persistence of the early Christian tradition in standards of conduct and manner of instruction. To this source may be traced in no small degree the emphasis on deportment which constituted the essential part of a society girl's training in the middle ages, and as late as the Victorian era; to it also we owe the Victorian governess.

The influence of orthodoxy was invariably repressive.[2] The Dissenting Churches on the other hand - especially the Quakers - allowed their womenfolk more latitude, and laid far more stress on education generally, including the education of the masses.[3] Scottish Calvinism acclaimed the right of every individual to education, a factor which greatly contributes to the difference between English and Scottish women of the period. In England the biographies of George Foxe, Susannah Wesley, Elizabeth Fry and others afford ample proof of the emancipating influence of the nonconformist faith.[4]

Other factors almost as powerful play their part in the emancipation of women and these will receive due pro-

(1) The emphasis laid by Mill, for example, on the social inequality of women may blind us to the fact that working men and children also suffered. Social injustice was rampant. Only in theory so far has the ideal of the just state been realised: "Il n'y a pas de justice sur terre."

(2) Cf. Bartle Massey's night school (George Eliot: "Adam Bede," ch. xxi.

minence in the discussion which follows. Chief among them is the economic situation resulting from the spread of industrialism and the financial strain of the Napoleonic Wars. Women were driven by necessity to earn their own living and in order to do so education was indispensable. Two results followed inevitably: (1) the reorganisation of girls' education and their admission to the universities and higher centres of learning on the same footing as men; and (2) the emergence of woman from the home to take her place in the army of the world's workers.

4. General Considerations.

Finally, before considering in more detail the separate phases of women's education in the XVIIIth and early XIXth centuries we may note these general qualifications.

1. The education and social background of women and girls to be seen in true perspective must be regarded as part of the general scheme of things during the period. For example, the appalling conditions under which women worked in factories were originally shared by men, or worse still by tiny children of either sex;[1] and neither men nor women had much chance of education before 1870.[2]

2. Historical perspective - an appreciation of the unity and continuity of history - is absolutely essential to the

(1) Cf. Norwood: The English Tradition in Education, p. 19:- "For what has happened in the last hundred years is that the old ideals have been recaptured....."

This observation requires modification, however, for ideals change in the process of being "recaptured." There is variety rather than repetition and evolution is spiral, not circular. But the essential truth remains.

right understanding of any isolated movement. In these hundred years we discern plainly the interplay of forces operating over long periods of time. Ideals of chivalry, the emphasis laid by the Protestant faith upon the individual, the rebellion against class distinctions which became articulate in the French Revolution, the humanitarian sympathy with the suffering and oppressed - all these and more contribute to XIXth century progress, of which the emancipation of women is simply one aspect.

3. The existence of fundamental differences between English and Scottish education must be clearly grasped. Social conditions, ideals, and educational practice are so much at variance that a separate section is devoted to Education north of the Border.

4. Speaking generally, the century 1750-1850 may be regarded as a whole. Although it has all the characteristics of a period of transition, and new ideas are gradually gaining acceptance, practical education remains largely the same throughout. The whole period in some ways resembles a railway tunnel through the Alps; behind lie the sterility and bleakness of the Restoration and Augustan age, in front are spacious plains and far horizons lost in light. In the darkness of the tunnel no progress can be appreciated - but it emerges into another world.

"Not till the hours of light return,
All we have built do we discern."

(1) Maria Edgeworth was educated at a boarding school. Later in the century these institutions opened their doors to lower middle class children. Even some of the boys' boarding schools became less select: Brookfield admitted "the town cheese." (see "Goodbye, Mr. Chips!")

II. THE THINGS THAT WERE.

The hierarchy of class distinctions, the most outstanding feature of English society, is inevitably reflected in the education of English women. By the middle of the XVIIIth century three strata are clearly distinguishable, each with its accepted mode of education. Girls of the aristocracy were as a rule educated at home by a governess, and sometimes sent to a "finishing school" to confirm them in the ways of ignorance and emotional instability. Boarding schools were attended by the daughters of wealthy middle-class parents and sometimes by the country gentry. Schools for the poor included dame schools, and various types of charity and industrial schools, but these were attended only by a fraction of the population, the rest being left in total ignorance.

The education of girls, to whatever class they belonged, was wholly private and, in England, conducted entirely by women; the responsibility rested with mothers (these constituted the majority of "teachers") or with governesses at home and in boarding schools; and the instruction given was unbelievably inadequate. The accepted theory of the intellectual inferiority of women is here seen at its worst. Apart from the absurdly narrow and ill-balanced curriculum,

(1) Swift asserts (1765) that in the middle of the XVIIIth. century, of 15,000 gentle families, one in thirty was tolerably educated.
G.R.Porter remarks that in 1839-41, in the counties of Cheshire and Lancashire, 40% of the males and 65% of the females signed the marriage register with a cross. (Progress of the Nation, Vol. II, p.181.) Quoted in Neff, p.58.

(2) Cf. Cameron's admiration for Simon Blake (Barrie: Mary Rose, Act II):- "It iss not Mr. Blake's learning. He has not much learning. But I haf always understood that the English manage to do without it."
At the time of which we are speaking, Burke, unique among English politicians for his combination of philosophy and knowledge, was dubbed the "dinner-bell of the House."

(3) Cf the attitude to the Blue Stockings. And Mrs. Malaprop's "I don't think so much learning becomes a young woman."
The same theme pervades the sickly "Woman as she is and as she should be," published in 1835. (2 vols.)

(4) Mrs. Gardiner: English Girlhood at School, pp.361-2.

(5) "The Governess" - 1785.

varying with the social status of the pupil, and the prevailing illiteracy of parents[1] and teachers, there were no accepted standards of attainment and no enlightened public opinion to provide them. The English as a people have always been peculiarly insensitive to the value of intellectual attainments[2] and in the case of women these were accounted not only superfluous but unnatural.[3] From higher and University Education they were of course rigidly excluded, and the vicious circle of ignorance in teacher and taught continued unbroken.

1. The Education of the Middle and Upper Classes.

"The young gentlewoman", writes Mrs. Gardiner in her review of girls' education during the first half of the XVIIIth century, "was in all essentials more neglected than she had ever been, a poor captive bound from early childhood to the chariot wheels of ludicrous and unseemly fashion."[4] The statement is only too readily supported by contemporary evidence. "How few do we find of our sex whose education surpasses a minuet, a cotillon, talking a little French, playing a few airs on the harpsichord, and an easy deportment!....."[5] The wail rises louder and louder as the century proceeds, culminating in the "strictures" of Mrs. Hannah More and the invective of Mary Wallstonecraft.

(1) See "The Rivals" I,ii,esp. The kernel lies in her outburst: "You thought, miss! I don't know any business you have to think at all. Thought does not become a young woman."

(2) Sheridan:"The School for Scandal," II,i.

(3) Day: Sandford and Merton,vol.II, pp.225-9(1786ed.).

(4) Ibid. II,p.225.

(5) "Jane Eyre," ch. X. Except that Jane's English is not called in question the standards are much the same.

(6) "The Governess, or the Boarding School Dissected ... wherein are exposed, in Dramatic Order, the Errors in the present mode of FEMALE EDUCATION, and the Method of correcting them, in order to form the Mind and Improve the Understanding." (Title page.)

(7) The rudiments of orthography and arithmetic presented insurmountable difficulties. Ingenuity in spelling became a stock devise of the novelist (cf. Smollett;Humphrey Clinker.) In 1901 Miss Phoebe was still working out the standard problem of the herring and a half "with real herrings." (Barrie:Quality Street,Act II.)

.....

The plays of Sheridan afford many excellent illustrations of contemporary theory and practice. Mrs. Malaprop's opinions will recur to everyone,[1] and Lady Teazle's account of her girlhood was probably no exception to the general rule.[2] Miss Sukey Simmons, educated by an eccentric uncle on spartan and practical lines, with no accomplishments and social graces, was an object of contemptuous ridicule.[3] The ideal of the XVIIIth century young lady was embodied in her fellow guest, Miss Matilda, whose mother had spared no pains to give her every possible advantage.[4] "She plays most divinely upon the harpsichord, talks French even better than she does English, and draws in the style of a master" - a tribute which recalls Bessie's inquisition of Jane Eyre sixty years later.[5]

Contemporary ideals and standards of attainment are expressed with admirable conciseness and clarity in "The Governess" (1785)[6] in which the views of "professional" teacher and layman are given in a series of dialogues. Mrs. Skilful's idea of Education at least gives some fundamentals: "Good reading, good orthography, capable to indite half a dozen lines correct in sense and diction, this I call learning." (p.52). The modesty of the demand is a reflection of contemporary achievement.[7] Mrs. Skilful, who was one of the nouveaux riches, was distinctly ambitious. Mrs. Dull-

(1) "The Governess," pp.25-6.

(2) Vide supra, Chapter IV.

(3) Mrs. Hannah More: Strictures in Female Education, section viii.

bright in the same play was less exacting. She was overshadowed by a daughter who knew all the parts of speech and injunctions and the singtax and a husband who was a veritable progeny of learning, since he was a recognised authority on Jupiter, Barometers, Balloons and the Great Bear. Rather pathetically "she hopes that learning don't teach children to be proud and disobedient to their parents."[1] The spread of Education had its drawbacks.

This brings us to the curriculum, which in the case of "educated" women was mainly concerned with deportment and "accomplishments". The first of these was part of the heritage of the middle ages, and the second was like unto it but had gained in importance as a result of changing social conditions resulting in an increase of wealth and leisure.[2] Any curriculum must be judged both by what it includes and by what it omits and in both these respects the XVIIIth century courses of study are tried and found wanting. If the ideal personality is to be reached through the harmonious development of all sides of man's nature - body, mind and spirit, intellect, emotion and will - education demands more than a "furore of accomplishments", more than "swarms of abridgments, beauties and compendiums, the infallible receipt for making a superficial mind."[3]

(1) Practical Education, ch. xx, pp. 873-5.

(2) Thackeray: "Vanity Fair".

Further, one may ask what did these accomplishments amount to? The answer is supplied both by observing the finished product of such a training and by listening to the criticism of such competent judges as Miss Edgeworth and the more enlightened advocates of reform. In "Practical Education", for example, the popularity of musical studies is analysed with remorseless logic, and the one thing lacking is a love of music for its own sake or as a means towards spiritual uplift.[1] French? Becky's excellent French was sufficient to prevent her being taken for an Englishwoman.[2] Most of these maidens, we gather, resembled Chaucer's Prioress who spoke French

> "After the schole of Stratford atte Bowe
> For Frensshe of Paris was to hir unknowe."

and we have further to add on the debit side that their French was often better than their English. A fruitful subject for meditation.

The low standards of achievement need cause little surprise when we remember the teachers and the manner of teaching. Miss Simmons' Uncle and the outraged headmistress in "The Governess" put the matter in a nutshell as far as the teaching of modern languages was concerned. "'Tis the mediocrity of price that causes the French language to be so ill-taught in our schools ..... the greater part of

(1) "The Governess," p. 61.

(2) It was customary then as now for a number of boarding schools to receive day pupils. Working class girls went to the dame schools, charity schools and workhouse schools.

.....

French masters are Swissers or Provincials, persons of mean birth and no education; some having travelled through France in the capacity of servants, and having acquired a loquacious part of the language, come to England, engage themselves for masters in our schools, and sometimes in those called respectable ones. And what is very astonishing is that these people are esteemed because they are wholly ignorant of English; as if it was possible to teach French to a native of England or English to a native of France without having a competent knowledge of both languages."

One is tempted to ask whether this far-seeing critic of 1785 was not rather more than 150 years ahead of her time?

Boarding Schools.

The English boarding school has for long played an important part in the upbringing of English youth. Descriptions of girls' boarding schools in the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries are legion, and many and vigorous are the criticisms levelled against them. In the absence of anything analogous to the Scottish parochial system these were the chief and often the only educational institutions which girls outside the working classes could attend. Their

(1) Epidemics such as typhus were frequent. See "Jane Eyre", for example.

(2) Dr. Erasmus Darwin: Plan for the Conduct of Female Education.....(1797), esp. sections 26-28, and p. 103.

He points out the discomfort of two pupils (of unequal size) sharing one small bed with a scanty feather mattress and one blanket. No heating in dormitories of course. Cubicles are a modern innovation, like separate qusrters for mistresses. Among other horrors of the XVIIIth. century boarding school were contraptions such as backboards and "collars", such as Maria Edgeworth endured.

(3) See Thackeray, "Vanity Fair", ch. I.

handicaps were painfully evident. Unlike the boys' public schools they lacked such essentials as money and a permanent home. Tradition they had none. They depended, as they still do, on private enterprise and parents had a habit of economising where their daughters' education was concerned. There were of course no educational standards, no trained and qualified teachers, the facilities for instruction and often for accommodation were almost negligible.[1] In the last connection Dr. Darwin's recommendations on ventilation, sleeping accommodation and general hygiene show the need for drastic reform.[2]

Tom Hood in "Love and Lunacy" gives a humorous and apt description of a XIXth century boarding school which supplements the accounts of Miss Pinkerton's and other Academies.[3]

> "And thus their studies they pursued: - on Sunday
> Beef, collects, batter, texts from Dr. Price's
> Mutton, French, pancakes, grammar - on a Monday;
> Tuesday:- hard dumplings, globes, Chapone's 'Advice',
> Wednesday: fancy-work, rice milk (no spice);
> Thursday - pork, dancing, currant bolsters, reading,
> Friday - beef, Mr. Butler* and plain rice;
> Saturday - scraps, short lessons, and short feeding,
> Stocks, backboards, hash, steel collars and good
> breeding."

Physical education in the modern sense there was none. In the Grove -

---

* Butler's "Guide to Useful Knowledge."

"Thrice a week for soul's and health's economies
Along the road the seventy four were led,
Like coupled hounds, whipped in by two she-dominies,
With faces rather graver than Melpomene's."

Doubtless there were schools where children learned and lived under favourable conditions, but one is appalled by some of the accounts of organisation and discipline which have survived. There seems to have been a total ignorance of the physical capacity of growing children in school, factory and home during this period, and the conditions prevailing at Lowood or in Madame Beck's establishment appear less fanciful when compared with, say, Elizabeth Sewell's description of an actual school at Newport, in the Isle of Wight.

"Lessons went on from morning till night and consisted almost entirely of learning by heart. Extra lessons were imposed as the penalty for every fault, even for beginning a word twice in repeating a lesson or saying "come here" instead of "come hither" in play time. Tasks which could not be got into the day, even by beginning work at daybreak in the cold bare bedroom and continuing till bedtime in the dimly lighted schoolroom, accumulated; it was possible for a girl to be as much as 70 lessons in arrears. The moral discipline was more deadening than the lessons, and girls were half-starved with cold and insufficient sleep,

(1) Elizabeth Sewell: Autobiography.(1907).

(2) Miss Matty in "Cranford" for example, and cf. A.A.Milne's fine study, "Milestones". Miss Lucinda in Brighouse's "Followers" is a symbol of the suppressed tragedy of Victorian womanhood...."You have had your life, Charles, a full life, a man's live..... For you the years have brought a great careerr. For me, catastrophe".

and the lack of nourishing food."[1]

Similar conditions prevailed in the expensive school attended by Francis Cobbe at Brighton - learning by heart, no exercise, no recreation save a walk with a governess reciting French verbs. At a school in Kirkcaldy, the day's work began at 7 a.m. with dancing, followed by Bible reading and recitation; 10-11 was given over to "play", 11-12 to music and accounts, 12-1 to sewing. The afternoon was devoted to grammar but the evenings were lightened somewhat. And to complete the picture, it must be remembered that the school year was not divided into terms in the modern fashion. Holidays came twice and often, alas, only once.

There is no need to waste words in criticising such practice; the products are themselves its condemnation, from the samplers preserved in national and family museums to the lives that were warped or wasted, the energy that spent itself in trivialities, often with unsurpassed grace and sweetness.[2]

So a hundred years wore away. The fashionable dolls of the Victorian era differ very little from those who frequented Lady Sneerwell's dressing-room save that they are rather more stupid, and given to hysterics. Miss

(1) Susan Ferrier: "Marriage", 1816. The book gives an invaluable picture of contemporary Scottish and English education of upper class girls, heightened by the contrast between the spoilt daughter of the English earl and the Laird's three sisters with their gawky neices.

(2) It was the middle class women who did most for reform. See below, pp.34ff.

(3) "Patience.... " Mrs Chapone's ideal. Alice in Wonderla is the typical mid-Victorian little girl. The March siste ("Little Womwn") reflect the beginning of the change to modern times.

(4) "Cranford", chapters xiii-xiv. See esp. the record of Miss Matty's attainments. The record is doubly interestin because it shows (a) the type of education, and (b) the economic necessity which helped to drive middle class women to revolt.

(5) Grey and Sherriff: Intellectual Education, vol.I, p.54.
(Quoted in Neff, p.223.)

Ferrier in Lady Juliana Courtland gives a satirical full length portrait of the fine lady in the beginning of the century; Thackeray's novels provide the later editions. The women of the middle classes were growing restive,[2] but the time-honoured standards of "patience, propriety, neatness" still persisted in the days when Alice was young.[3] Neither for the idle woman nor for the ladies of Cranford was salvation possible by way of education. Its inadequacy is revealed in Miss Matty's predicament when the failure of the Town and County Bank left her with five shillings a week to live on, and no means of earning a livelihood;[4] and Miss Sheriff's bitter criticism condemns it as a preparation for the right use of leisure. "In the middle of the century education for girls of this class remained a mere blank and worse, a tissue of laboured frivolities under a solemn name; a patchwork begun without aim, fashioned without method, and flung aside when half-finished, as carelessly as it was begun."[5]

2. Working Women and Girls.

The revolutionary and romantic movements of the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries focussed attention on the hitherto neglected and despised "submerged sixth" of Western society. The stone which the builders rejected is become for good or

(1) Hardy's novels, the Dorset Poems of William Barnes, Masefield's "August 1914"("the dumb loving of the Berkshire loam").

(2) E.g. between 1795 and 1801, the wages of a carpenter increased from 15/- to 17/- per week while provisions which in 1795 cost 5/- in 1801 cost 26/5d. The facts become still more significant when we remember that this sum had to be provided out of the average labourer's wage of 9/-weekly.

(3) The worst was the Speenhamland system.

(4) Those forces were partly social but they were also the result of industrialism - mechanisation and later electricity. Through them man has both gained and lost his freedom because they tend to pass beyond his control. Trade Unionism would be an example from industry itself and in "The Great Hunger" Johan Boyer shows wonderfully how steam finally dominates man, its former master.

(5) Inaugurated only.

(6) Edgeworth was forced to defer the opening of his village school for ten years because no competent teachers were obtainable. ("Memoirs")

ill the head of the corner, but the transition period was one of inarticulate longing and bitter striving for ends not even dimly descried. It is the stolid, unquestioning acceptance of hopeless conditions, the inability to express feelings and ideas, that so often impresses one in descriptions of English peasant life, particularly in the south;[1] and the student of social history between 1700 and 1832 is forever haunted by a vision of this sea of dumb, hopeless, ever increasing misery entitled the state of the poor.[2] But the industrial and agrarian revolutions, the drain of the Napoleonic wars, the bungling attempts to mitigate the constantly increasing distress,[3] the cataclysmic forces which were remoulding society,[4] finally swept away prejudices and conventions older than time and inaugurated an age of enlightenment and reform.[5]

Education for the masses was thus a discovery of the late XVIIIth-XIXth centuries, and progress was at first slow. In Bristol, for example, in the thirties, only about 20% of the children attended school; in Leeds 15000/33000 had no teaching whatever, not even in Sunday schools. These figures become still more significant when we remember the brief school time (1½ years was a common average), the barren curriculum, the incompetent teachers.[6] Against a background of ignorance and vice, the schools of the period present a

(1) Mrs. Hamilton: "The Cottagers of Glenburnie," pp.306-7. It is hard to say whether urban or rural poor fared worse educationally. Men over thirty went to Bartle Massey's school(mid-century), and in the 1880's Suffolk labourers could not read. Ernie in Milne's "Romantic Age" might well have been drawn from real life. Eppie in "Silas Marner" went to school for two hours daily.

(2) cf. the S.P.C.K. Reports, the opinions of Dr. Bell, Mrs. More, Sir Joshua Fitch and others. Mandeville (1720) cuts clean through cant, hypocrisy and indifference: "In a free nation where slaves are not allowed the surest weal consists in the Multitude of the laborious Poor." (See Mrs. Gardiner: English Girlhood, p. 314.)

sorry spectacle. Nor, if we are to believe Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton and others, were these conditions confined to England, or to industrial areas. In Glenburnie,

"The schoolhouse being set back from the street, left an area of the width of 10 or 12 yards in front of the house; and on this convenient spot a former incumbent had erected a pig sty, and piled up a nasty dunghill. Every shower of rain washed part of the contents on to the unpaved footpath, through which the children paddled ankle deep in mud up to the schoolroom door. But they were used to it, and no one in the village had ever objected to the inconvenience."

"The schoolroom had been left in a ruinous condition: the tables or benches broken or disfigured; the plaster in some places peeled off the walls, and in others scrawled over with chalk or ochre: the panes and windows broken and stuffed with rags; and the floor covered with such a thick paste of dirt that it was not till after much hard labour that the pavement was rendered visible."[1]

South of the Border the reason for such a state of affairs is to be found largely in the conviction that education was a preparation for life, and that as the function of the poor was to minister to the needs of the rich, "learning" in their case was superfluous. The reiteration of this belief becomes wearisome.[2] It proves conclusively that educa-

(1) As an illustration we may quote the rate of infant mortality in the workhouses. In 1767 the record was 88 deaths out of a 100 - 12 survived. (I.B. O'Malley: Women in Subjection, p.86.) Perhaps the 88 were the fortunate ones.

(2) One instance among many quoted by Mrs. Gardiner (English Girlhood, p.318) is that of Artleborough, founded in 1705. By 1715 it was a school of industry.

(3) Dickens: "The Old Curiosity Shop", ch. XXI.

(4) See for example, the Journal of John Wesley, Biographies of Mrs. Trimmer, Mrs. Hannah More and others.

tion in XVIIIth century England and long after "was inexorably a question of social position", and with the industrial revolution this attitude was intensified. If the XVIIIth century cared little for the child in general, for the poor child it cared not at all.[1] By the middle of the century the charity schools had entered upon their period of occupational instruction and decline and approximated more closely to the workhouses - forerunners of Blake's dark satanic mills, where children worked almost unceasingly from 5 or 6 a.m. to 8 or 9 p.m., summer and winter, to provide an additional 1/- or 2/6 per week for the family budget.[2] In the early decades of the XIXth century child labour, the concomitant of industrialism, was not only tolerated but approved: Mr. Andrew Ure, for example, wrote that "the scene of industry in one of these mills so far from exciting sad emotions in his mind was always exhilarating. The work of these lively elves seemed to resemble a sport in which habit gave them a pleasing dexterity." And readers of Dickens will recall Miss Monsfather's onslaught on Little Nell.[3] We are forced to the conclusion that in the industrial areas education for the poor was non-existent.[4]

The education of working girls fits into the general

(1) cf. O'Malley: Women in Subjection, p.284. "Only those who happened to be within reach of a Dame school or one of the new Sunday Schools had any education."

(2) cf. the pictures of Corot, Millet, and others. Girls and women sometimes sold other, less attractive wares. One recalls Hogarth's "Shrimp Girl," Molly Malone's cockles and mussels, and the "Caller Herrin'" of the Stonehaven fishwaves.

(3) The Cranford ladies employed "generals" from Charity schools. Mrs. Mason ("The Cottagers of Glenburnie") went to the "big house" at the age of ten.

(4) cf. the treatment of girl apprentices in the cases of Brownriggs and Metyard. An account of these and others only less dreadful is to be found in O'Malley's "Women in Subjection," p.88 and ff.
XIXth. Century fiction reflects contemporary conditions. Cf. Dickens' "Marchioness" in "The Old Curiosity Shop," Cosette in Hugo's "Les Misérables."

(5) For two reasons. (a) It was not thought necessary. "It is not proposed that the children of the poor be educated in an expensive way or be even taught to write or cipher" says Dr. Bell. And cf. the opinions of Dr. Watts and Mrs. More. (Works, vol. I, pp.179-80.) (b) Many teachers could not write themselves. As late as the 1851 census 2% of them signed with a mark.

picture on the one hand and corresponds to the status of women on the other. In rural England before the industrial revolution their lot was similar to that of their medieval and Tudor ancestors. There were always younger children to mind and countless odd jobs to be done within and without. Fortunate was she if the community boasted a dame school.[1] Later we see her "gathering sticks, binding sheaves, cutting withies for baskets", going to the weekly market, or perhaps selling primroses and lavender.[2] Apart from cottage industries shared with her family, two avenues were open to her: domestic service[3] or apprenticeship to some trade.[3] Apprentices might be bound at the age of seven, and the fate of girl apprentices, when it entailed no worse, was only too often that of a household drudge, starved, beaten and unprotected.[4]

The <u>curriculum</u> in schools for the poor was as we have seen, lacking in the barest essentials, the subjects of study being limited for the most part to reading and "religion". Writing was not always included,[5] and arithmetic was generally beyond the capacity of female teachers, in dame and charity schools. Handwork - spinning, knitting, sewing - was a sine qua non; housework was included occasionally but the industrialisation of the schools barred

(1) Mrs. Hamilton, Mrs. Hannah More.

(2) "Cottagers of Glenburnie" pp.311-12.

(3) Various suggestions were made. Mrs. More proposes cooperation between the school and the "big house" which the girls would visit one day a week; they would receive instruction from the housekeeper, cook, laundrymaid, housemaid, etc. There were no school kitchens or laundries, of course, for many a day to come.

(4) Introduction of the 10 hour working day.

(5) See Wesley's Journal.

almost everything save occupational instruction. In Scotland where conditions were rather different and the avowed aim was "to make good wives for working men" the programme for girls was still not very extensive in 1788;[2] needlework and reading were supplemented by some housework. The need for elementary domestic knowledge in a society where marriage was the approved vocation for women came to be recognised, but more than a century was to pass before any systematic attempt was made to meet the need.[3] The obvious solution of home training was of course impossible in industrial centres before 1847.[4] Even in charity schools which specialised in training girls for domestic service facilities seem to have been limited.

The shadow of modern industry fell deeply across England's green and pleasant land between 1750 and 1850; darkness covered the earth and gross darkness the people.[5] Speaking generally, almost unrelieved ignorance characterised the lower classes in 1832, nor was the position much better for the adult population for another half century. Not until the 1870 Act was there any effective attempt made to lift the universal ignorance of the working classes as a whole.

One class of workers has not hitherto received any

(1) In lace-making, for example, the hours were 4-5a.m. to 11p.m. Earnings amounted to 3/-5/- per week. Children began work at the age of 6 or 7 years and were blind in adolescence. (cf. O'Malley: Women in Subjection, p.298.)

(2) Kirsteen's assistants (mantua-makers) read aloud as they worked. (Mrs. Oliphant: "Kirsteen.")

(3) Non-textile workers were nearly always very poorly paid - 2/6, 3/-, 4/-, per week. Housing conditions (the cellars in Manchester, for example) were dreadful and morals worse. Thieving and laudanum were regularly resorted to as offsets to their misery.

(4) Prostitution was one of the worst social evils of the century, and was fostered by the appalling conditions of living. Girls were prostitutes at the age of 13-15 years. Authorities were quite callous. In Sydney, for example, in the days when it was still a convict settlement, men prisoners were provided on discharge with both food and accommodation; women were provided with a ration only.
Cf. Josephine Butler's scathing account of conditions in English seaports and industrial towns in "Woman's Work and Woman's Culture", 1869.

attention in this survey and in some respects their lot was the most pitiful of all. With Factory Reform children in the industrial centres were given some chance of Education; women and non-textile workers had none, nor if any legal provision had been made for them had they either the time or the strength to profit by it.[1] In rural areas cottage industries were whole-time occupations; and reading aloud was the only means of Education.[2] Agricultural depression set in after 1814 and people lacked bread, let alone books. The Reports of the Children's Commission 1842-3 and the Reports on Mines give some terrible pictures. One girl aged 20, for example, had headed pins for 13 years, 12-14 hours per day, for 6/- a week. Another, a matchmaker, is described: her body, in a dark room, was luminous with phosphorus and her face was partly consumed.[3] The working hours of a dressmaker's apprentice might amount to 22/24 in the busy season; the working conditions and food were such that "almost all establishedments killed a girl a year". Prostitution was the temporary alternative to poverty.[4] An account of the lives of sewing women and ~~shop~~ slop workers is a revelation of the abyss of human misery. The best comment on the Victorian working women's education is the thesis propounded by Shaw in "Major Barbara". Diseased and starving bodies, minds and souls numbed and dehumanised by suffer-

(1) Castiglione: of; Spenser: Faeria Queene, VI, et passim.

(2) e.g. Locke, Swift, Shenstone, Crabbe, and the host of critics of contemporary education.

(3) The chief of the pioneers was Stow. Battersea College was founded in 1840, Dalry House (Church of England) in 1850.

(4) "Goodbye, Mr. Chips!"

ing, were incapable of Education.

3. The Status of Teachers.

England.

Teaching as a profession cannot be said to exist in England before the second half of the XIXth century. The reason is to be found partly in the peculiar origin of the Faculty of Arts in medieval universities, partly in the association of Education with the Church - for centuries the only official educator - partly in the tendency of society to rate intellectual achievements below practical ability. The ideal of the scholar had long since given place to that of the courtier[1] and the status of the teacher in the XVIIIth and early XIXth centuries was one of intellectual, professional, social and economic inferiority. Of the poverty of their mental equipment there is no shadow of doubt: apart from contemporary evidence,[2] the curriculum and standards of attainment for rich and poor alike supply convincing proof. Nor was this deficiency balanced by professional training. The first college for the training of teachers in the United Kingdom, the Dundas Vale Training College, Glasgow, was founded in 1837 after more than thirty years of pioneering;[3] in the 1880's graduates from Oxford were let loose in the English public schools with sufficient knowledge, perhaps, but certainly little else.[4] Until 1872

(1) See Hume Brown's History of Scotland, vol. III, ii, (on Education), and Craik: A Century of Scottish History, vol. II, ch. xxiii.

Cf. also, Galt's novels, and Mrs. Hamilton: "The Cottagers of Glenburnie."

(2) cf. Hugh Miller: My Schools and Schoolmasters, ch. III, Janet Beith: No Second Spring, George Eliot: Adam Bede, and the novels of Ian Maclaren and the Kilyard School where the dominie is a stock figure.

Salaries.				Per annum.
1707.	Banbury Blue Coat School.	Master £25,	Mistress	£12-10
1710.	Colchester.	" £30,	"	£15
	Wakefield (house included)	" £21,	"	£6-10/ (2/6 a week

(Quoted by Mrs. Gardiner (p.315) from "An Account of Charity Schools.)

In Scotland, by the Act of 1696, the heritors of each parish were to pay the schoolmaster 100-200marks (£5-11-1 to £11-2-2). By the Act of 1803, his salary was to be £16-13-4 to £22-4-5, with a house (two rooms) and garden. (Hume Brown, vol. III, ch. xii, Craik, vol. II, p.443.

(3) The heads of Boarding Schools in the late XVIIIth. Cent. according to the Governess, might be and often were,

"decayed tradesmen's wives, not possessed of more education than is necessary to provide for a family and manage a kitchen." ("The Governess," p.56.) The lady herself is not above pocketing a gratuity.

(4) They still are. Look at the faces at any educational gathering.

appointments both in England and Scotland were in the hands of the Church;[1] promotion there was none, and the salaries of the rank and file were often so low as to entail real hardship.[2] A schoolmaster in the XVIIIth century was passing rich with thirty pounds a year; most of them had much less. It was the rag and bobtail among the professions, a sort of cul-de-sac, the last resort of the ill-qualified and impecunious,[3] stekit ministers, clergymen's widows, and the like, and its members not without reason were among the despised and rejected of mankind.[4]

Scotland.

Some qualification of these general statements is necessary in the case of Scottish parish schools and schoolmasters. Salaries were low, and conditions of living were often hard in a country so poor as Scotland at this time, but the schoolmasters in other respects were fortunate. Their social and professional status was assured, and they were often men of culture and outstanding ability. "The schoolmaster entwined himself with the very heart of Scottish life and formed an inseparable part of it. His horizon was not unduly circumscribed, and in all the concerns of the country, in all its aims, in all the diversity of its social interests, he had his recognised place and had associated himself, even with its poetry and its romance.

(1) Craik: A Century of Scottish History, vol.II, p.444.

(2) Vide supra, p.20 (The school at Glenburnie) and cf. "Murder Malison" in "Alec Forbes." (George Macdonald.)

(3) cf. Cameron, in "Mary Rose," "He iss getting the grandest thing in the world out of it, he iss getting education," and what of John Shand in "What Every Woman Knows"?

(4) See Craik, vol.II, ch. xxiii, on High Schools and education in the Highlands . Contrast England!

(5) Ibid, vol. II, ch. xxiii.

A recent example of the same tradition would be that of the late Dr. Harry Miller. He left his West End church in Edinburgh to become Warden of the New College Settlement, and later became Principal of St. Mary's in St. Andrews University.

Under his care the parish school achieved a work which it is hard for anyone not acquainted with Scottish life to comprehend ....."[1] It were idle to reiterate that while there were grievous exceptions,[2] education held a place in Scottish life it never pretended to hold south of the Border,[3] and that the schools of Scotland at their best were centres of local culture free to everyone, regardless of sex, social standing or even religious denomination.[4]

The atmosphere and conditions reflected in an endless succession of Scottish novels, anecdotes and so on are summed up by Sir Harry Craik: "It was one of the peculiarities of Scottish life that no very wide barrier separated the various grades of professional status. The schoolmaster was often a licientiate of the church; he was not seldom the assistant of the parish minister, and might himself hope to attain that position." So, too, a parish minister might in his turn become a professor; there were no insuperable lines of demarcation.[5]

Women Teachers.

The adverse conditions militating against the status of men teachers during this period were intensified in the case of women both by her inferior place in contemporary

(1) "Gravis, pallens, sordidata, subtristis," Jane Eyre, and still more her teachers, Miss Scratcherd for example, belong to this straitlaced company. Confidantes, companions and nurses abound in fiction and drama - Medea's nurse, Shakespeare's Emilia, the confidantes in "Le Cid," "Hernani," etc. Juliet's nurse is a caricature.

(2) Vide supra, p. 26, note (2).

(3) Mrs. Gardiner: English Girlhood, ch.xv, p.336. Cf. "The Governess," p.61, quoted above on p.14. Rousseau is confronted with the same problem in his advice on the upbringing of the Princess Sophie.

(4) There were over 21,000 governesses in the 1851 census.

(5) And. one may add, with the minimum of intellectual and professional qualifications. Cf. Ruskin in "Of Queens' Gardens," "What teachers do you give your children?"

(1) See the novels of the Brontë sisters, Mrs. Gaskell, Harriet Martineau, Jane Austen ("Emma") Thackeray.

(2) As a middle class heroine - with none of the traditional romantic attributes.

(3) "Shirley," ch. xxi.

(4) This was a literal truth! The governess was responsible for her charges every hour of the twentyfour. She often shared their rooms and even their bed. ("Villette") In one of her vacations Lucy Snowe looked after a cretin.

(5) "Shirley" ch. xxi. cf. Mary Wollstonecraft's unhappy experience.

(6) Ibid. Jane Eyre met with the same treatment in Mr. Rochester's drawingroom.

the most popular heroine in Victorian fiction,[1] and her appearance in literature is charged with significance. She is a symbol of social revolution and a herald of reform.[2] The most eloquent exponents of her wrongs and aspirations are of course Charlotte and Ann Brontë, whose studies are based on personal experience. The details of the full length portraits given in Jane Eyre, Lucy Snowe and Agnes Grey are summarised in Mrs. Pryor's conversation with Caroline Helstone in "Shirley",[3] and may be supplemented from the opinions expressed in Charlotte Brontë's biography. "My life in this house", says Mrs. Pryor, "was sedentary, solitary, constrained, joyless, toilsome." Her position as a dependent debarred her from any social intercourse with her employers, her refinement excluded her from the company of even the upper servants, who despised her, and her pupils, to whom she was tied night and day,[4] "however much they might love me, and how deep soever the interest I might take in them, could not be my friends."[5] "Governesses must ever be kept in a sort of isolation; it is the only means of maintaining that distance which the reserve of English manners and the decorum of English families exact."[6] Small wonder health gave way under the strain; and always she lived with the dread of destitution hanging over her. Her miserable earnings, which would have allowed little hope of saving in

(1) See Ann Thackeray: "Toilers and Spinsters", and "Woman's Work and Woman's Culture," ed. Josephine Butler. (1869)

The Governesses' Benevolent Institution was founded in 1848. (The movement started about 1841) In 1846 a home for unemployed governesses was opened in 66 Harley Street, with a registry office and bank attached, and a systematic attempt was made to assist the aged.

(2) B.A.Howard: THe Mixed School, p. 20.

any case, very often went to support a needy family, and until the middle of the XIXth century there was no kind of insurance against sickness or unemployment, and no superannuation.[1]

The Higher Education of Women.

The writers of XIXth century fiction inveighed against the social disabilities of the governess, but the roots of the problem went far deeper than class distinctions. It was fundamentally a question of intellectual status and professional training, and the only satisfactory solution lay in this direction. Two needs had to be recognised: "some education for all girls and a liberal education for some girls".[2] The raising of the general level of education was impossible while the teachers themselves remained in ignorance; before they could educate others they themselves had to be trained and educated. It meant a thorough revision of the whole system of girls' education, and it meant, in short, the higher education of women. Only so, when teaching became a career, for which adequate preparation was given, and when women ceased to be regarded as intellectually inferior to, and socially dependent upon men, could the social menace of ignorant and ineffective womanhood be met with any hope of a successful issue.

(1) "The Industrial and Social Position of Woman" pp.21-2, quoted in Neff: "Victorian Working Women," ch.vi, pp.227-8.

It is hardly necessary to point out the medieval origin of women's educational disability. The break comes with the foundation of the universities from which women were excluded, "accomplishments" providing a sorry substitute. For centuries they had followed a side-track, wandering aimlessly in a by-path meadow which led them finally to the Castle of Giant Despair. As the writer of "The Industrial and Social Position of Woman" puts it, describing the education of boys and girls in the same family:- after childhood comes the public school for the boy, the "accomplishments for the girl", then "the university comes and the fate of the woman is sealed. Debarred from an institution that has done so much for the youth of the other sex, woman sees her brother going forward step by step in his haughty career of knowledge and ambition. She, left on her father's threshold, can but gaze after him, or turn back and weep."

The time was fast approaching, however, when neither tears nor passive acquiescence would suffice, for to longing and aspiration were added the whip and spur of human suffering and economic need. In this respect the demand for the higher education of women is part of the revolutionary and humanitarian movements of the time and we are not surprised to find that the mid-century marks the turning of the tide.

(1) Alice Zimmern: Renaissance of Girls' Education, 1898.

The year 1848 saw another wave of revolutionary feeling break over Europe: "Women's share was an attempt to throw off the shackles of ignorance."

4. Some Conclusions.

The story of women's education in the years 1750-1850, however much it may help to explain some of the social and educational chaos of the XXth century, does not make very heartening reading. The aim and scope of Education, the status of the teacher, and the part played by education in the life of the people, are closely related to underlying social ideals and current values, by which the process itself is in no small measure determined. This fact explains the tragedy of working women's education; it also explains the tragedy of the other great social class to whom some degree of tuition was allowed. An education so restricted, conducted entirely by women, the majority of whom were ignorant, incompetent and untrained, could not fail to produce disastrous results. Undisciplined intelligence and emotional instability do not make for a balanced and harmonious personality. Even less do they make for normal happy human relations, and herein lies the tragedy of women whose training was avowedly social, whose acknowledged vocation was marriage. An unnatural and wholly indefensible

(1) "Industrial and Social Position of Women" pp.21-2.

(2) "Nothing can supplement the true and needful educating process of individual freedom." (Josephine Butler, in "Woman's Work and Woman's Culture," Introd. p. xxxviii.)

(3) (1) Is still going on.
(2) School Certificates, admission to Public Examinations and the Universities. The Joint Board of Inspection and Examination (Oxford and Cambridge) was established in 1873.

(3) Miss Edgeworth had advocated this in 1798 (See "Practical Education") In 1846 Diplomas were issued to governesses.

(4) Girton, 1869-1873. Admitted to lectures at Cambridge 1881. Admitted to the L.L.A. St. Andrews, in 1876, and to the Arts Diploma Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1877.

(5) Elementary Education Act 1870, and the Education Act, 1902.

(4) In physical education, for instance.

estrangement of the sexes, with all the repressions, inhibitions and distorted outlook on life which accompanied it, could have but one result. "An incongruity of taste, a diversity of pursuit, a clashing of sentiment, a want of common ground in matters of reasoning"[1] prepare the way for the catastrophe described by Ibsen in "The Doll's House". The remedy lay in the recognition of the claims of personality, in the reorganisation of society on a basis of freedom and equality, and in the evolution of an education for both sexes which would minister to that end.[2] In practice this involved:

(1) an overhaul of curriculum and methods of teaching;

(2) an attempt to formulate reasonable and comprehensive standards of attainment;

(3) the raising of the status of teachers by adequate training and remuneration;

(4) the abolition of social and vocational restrictions on women's activities, and their admission to higher centres of learning;

(5) the provision of educational opportunities based not on class distinctions but on ability, and
3 according to the dictates of humanity.

These are the ideals of the Romantic movement translated to the sphere of Education. It would be idle to claim that they have been realised, but at least we can say that in the hundred years which follow, even unto this present time, in spite of many hindrances and obstacles, appreciable progress has been made.[4]

III. THE BREAKING OF THE BONDS.

1. The Coming of Reform.

The Middle Classes.

It was in the nature of things that agitation for reforms so drastically needed should originate with the middle classes. Society dolls were much too busily engaged in the pursuit of pleasure to concern themselves with needs which they neither felt nor understood; working women were absorbed in the bare struggle for existence. It was the women of the middle stratum of society who led the way in education and philanthropy; from this class teachers, novelists, and writers on Educational subjects were drawn, and to this class the most direct appeal was made. Without the qualifications of rank they had wealth and leisure, ability and independence of outlook. They were the advocates of higher education for women, and the vocational opportunities to which it led. To this group belong the Blue Stockings, and the pioneers of the mid-Victorian era.

The Economic Factor.

In the upheaval consequent upon the Napoleonic wars economic necessity fostered their aspirations. Superfluous females became an acute problem in the XIXth century. The

(1) The population of Europe increased enormously between 1750 and 1900. In England and Wales between 1750 and 1800 it rose from 6½ millions to 9 millions. Increase in the population during the XIXth. century is shown by such figures as the following:-

England and Wales	1801:	8,893,000	1901:	32,528,000
Scotland	"	1,608,000	"	4,472,000
Europe	1800:	187 millions		
	1850:	266 millions		
	1900:	400 millions.		

It is obvious that in this factor alone we are confronted with a major social problem.

(2) "Woman's Work and Woman's Culture," Introd. p.xv.

(3) cf. Ann Thackeray: "Toilers and Spinsters," ch. I.

theory of woman's dependence was exploded because fathers, husbands, brothers were no longer able to support her; and what was the use of insisting that woman's place was the home when there was no home, nor the wherewithal to create one? Again, records of the population from the beginning of the century show an increasing preponderance of women, and more and more of these became self-supporting as time went on.[1] "The demand of the women of the humbler classes for bread may be more pressing", wrote Josephine Butler in 1869, "but it is not more sincere than that of the women of the better classes for work."[2]

By the middle of the century the position was growing desperate. Highly educated women could find nothing to do; uneducated women were incapable of doing anything.[3] The way of salvation surely lay in an education which recognised the dignity of work and its relation to the independence and self-respect of the individual, man or woman. Enlightened opinion is expressed by Elizabeth Walstenholme in her essay on the Education of girls in which she refutes indignantly the enforced dependence and helplessness of women: speaking of those most affected by the Endowed Schools Bill, 1869, she writes: "The practical exclusion of girls from the highest Educational advantages offered to this class is in very many cases equivalent to a sentence of lifelong pauper-

(1) In "Woman's Work and Woman's Culture" - p. 318.

(2) There is reason for saying that altruism in various forms is a fundamental attribute of woman. As regards England, traditionally women were associated with philanthropic interests. The word "lady" itself means "loaf-giver" (A.S. Hlafdige), and even in the XVIIIth. century the ideal survived in sewing for the poor, and in the supervision of charity schools.

(3) Mrs. Gardiner: English Girlhood at School, p.481.

(4) e.g. John Howard (prison reform), General Gordon (slums) Lord Shaftesbury, Pasteur, Lister. The life of Florence Nightingale illustrates wonderfully the conflict between Victorian conventions and an ideal in which self is lost in service. The same ideal is reflected in much of the imperial poetry of the later XIXth. century - e.g. in Kipling's "Take up the white man's burden."

ism and dependence. It is to the last degree indecent that women should be dependent on marriage for a professional maintenance. It is highly inexpedient that they should be restricted to a few avocations for which it is presumed that the slightest possible Education - or none at all - is adequate. Yet such is the practical result of the exclusion of girls from higher education."[1]

The Philanthropists.

There was yet another incentive to reform, in some ways the strongest of all. Large scale humanitarian movements, the product of romanticism and revolution, were a prerogative of the XIXth century, and to these by nature and tradition women were rendered peculiarly sensitive.[2] "It was characteristic of the Englishwoman that her demand for better education became insistent when her conscience had fully awakened to social needs which, in a modern civilisation, only a better mental equipment could qualify her to serve."[3] The outstanding examples are women like Elizabeth Fry, Florence Nightingale, Mary Slessor; but these are only leaders in a vast army, both men and women, who devoted their lives and all they possessed, to the service of others.[4]

2. The Changing Perspective.

Certain fundamental principles emerge clearly from the

(1) "Treatise on the Education of Children and Youth."

(2) "Vindication of the Rights of Women," (1792) p.106.

history of women's education in this period. There is first and foremost the growing recognition of the claims of humanity against those of sex and class. Secondly there is the growing recognition of the claims of individuality; and thirdly there is the recognition of the right to a chosen career.

(1) The Claims of Humanity.

"Every child hath a right to be taught by its parents", wrote Dr. Watts in 1725 - and then went on to specify the kind of education suitable for the two sexes and the different classes. Comenius long before had gone further. "Equally are they God's children", he says of girls, "equally are they partakers of grace..... Equally are they furnished with minds agile and capable of wisdom. Yea often beyond our sex." Foxe, as we have seen, was of the same opinion. Not so Rousseau, who if he did nothing else to further the cause of women's education at least called forth the "Vindication" of of Mary Wallstonecraft.

"The Vindication of the Rights of Women", written with soul afire, in words sometimes incoherent in their tumultuous intensity of feeling, goes straight to the heart of things, and her arguments are irrefutable. Woman is primarily a human being; her functions and duties are human duties; she

(1) "Vindication of the Rights of Women", p.71.

(2) Ibid. pp. 133ff. "Ignorance is a frail base for virtu (p.

(3) Ibid. pp 115ff.

(4) Ibid. p. 143 Rousseau's Thérèse ?

(5) Ibid. p. 806, p. 71. "Let them attain conscious dignity by feeling themselves dependent only on God."

(6) Ibid. pp 44,77. "Intellect will always govern."

(7) Ibid. p. 155.

(8) The question of co-education hardly comes up at all as far as the schools are concerned. Mrs. More accepts Sunday Schools and Charity Schools of her day, Miss Edgeworth is describing family education.

too shares in the rationality which distinguishes man from the lower animals[1] - then why have an education based on differences of sex, instead of developing the humanity common to both? For the contemporary admiration of the softness, gentleness, delicacy, dependence of the sex, Mary has no words strong enough.[2] All this specious homage is a root cause of the degradation of woman;[3] as for the "domesticated woman", that is, "the square-elbowed family drudge" - what sort of companion is she likely to make her husband? What interests will she have in the society beyond her own four walls?[4] For men and women truth is the same, ethical principles are the same[5] - strengthen the human mind by enlarging it,[6] and let boys and girls have the same education. Her experience had been gained in a hard school, but there is great tenderness and pity for suffering womanhood. "It is justice not charity that is wanting in the world,"[7] proclaims this child of the Revolution, the torchbearer of freedom for her sex on the grounds of their common humanity.

As far as co-education was concerned, Mary Wallstonecraft was a voice crying in the wilderness. Her contemporary, Mrs. Hannah More, is still of the XVIIIth century; so too, in these matters, is Maria Edgeworth, although both attack accomplishments and in logic and insight the latter is beyond cavil.[8] Mary's most staunch supporter is Mrs.

(1) "Let your children be brought up together....let their sports and studies be the same." (Letters on Education, No. IV, p.50.)

(2) J.S.Mill: The Subjection of Women. (1869)

Catherine Macaulay:[1] her successor is John Stuart Mill, in whose essay the underlying principles of freedom and social equality are clearly seen.[2]

(2) The Claims of Personality.

The claims of humanity, personality and vocational independence are so intimately related that it is well-nigh impossible to separate them. Personality implies self-realisation, and in the process of self-realisation work plays a vital part because of the meaning and purpose it gives to individual and social life. A career means - or should mean - more than economic independence, itself of no small importance; it means increased self-respect and the joy which springs from self-expression and the rendering of free and worthy service to one's fellows.

The right of the individual to self-determination and freedom of development was of course inseparably linked with the revolutionary and scientific spirit of the age. As we have seen, a woman in the middle of the XVIIIth century and long after was not a person but a female; not an individual but a chattel, or a plaything, or both - an appendage. The principle of organic growth, of free self-determining activity was not applicable in her case; the only claims recognised were those of society.

(1) Published 1879.

(2) cf. Mme Campan's reply to Napoleon on his enquiring what was wrong with French education: "Mothers!"
An interesting treatment of this theme is to be found in "Woman's Mission," which is based on Aimé Martin's "Sur l'éducation des mères." The fifth edition was published in 1840.

These claims were naturally most exacting in the case of the married woman, and unless some adjustment between rival interests could be made, revolt was almost inevitable. Perhaps nothing more illuminating has been written on this theme than the last scene in Ibsen's "Doll's House", when Torwald and Nora face each other in the cold light of reality. The Doll's House lies in ruins, and Nora, completely disillusioned, realises what a travesty her married life has been, what a travesty her whole life has been. "Here I have been your doll-wife just as at home I used to be papa's doll-child." A mother, to educate her children, must first be educated herself; moreover she has duties to herself as well as to them.

"Your holiest duties lie in the home ..... Before all else you are a wife and mother", Helmer argues, voicing the claims of society and current opinion. But Nora disagrees. "That I no longer believe. I believe that before all else I am a human being just as much as you are - or at least that I should try to become one." Only on a basis of equality can the miracle of miracles happen, "when communion between us shall be a marriage". And so, like Parsifal, she goes to find her soul.

(3) Vocational Independence.

The emergence of woman from the home has bid fair to

revolutionize modern industrial and professional life. Barrie in his satirical "Twelve Pound Look" describes the triumphant satisfaction of the typist who prefers her modest salary and her own latch key to the colourless, torpid existence of a rich business man's wife. Edgeworth in his recommendations for Irish education made no reference whatever to occupational training for girls; today careers open to women are numbered by the hundred, of infinite variety and every grade of usefulness, so manifold are the changes which Time hath wrought since the Brontë sisters, "the children of wind and moor" withered and agonised, and Miss Matty's tiny shop bell tinkled discreetly in Cranford High Street.

Apart from teaching, the career most thoroughly revolutionized during the mid-Victorian period was that of nursing. In 1859 the first lay training school for nurses was founded at St. Thomas' Hospital, and the first class of 13 graduated in 1861. No vocation for women has a nobler record in its eighty years of service than this whose members are the self-constituted ministers to suffering humanity of any creed, colour, or nation.

3. Looking Forward.

The chief landmarks in the expansion of women's education

(1) e.g.Cheltenham(1853), North London College School (18
The'Eighties see the rise of a number of girls' schools and colleges both here and in the Dominions, Examples include George Square and The Edinburgh Ladies' College, and the Wellington Girls' College, the senior girls' school of New Zealand. The latter was founded in 1883.

(2) See Wanda Fraiken Neff: Victorian Working Women, ch.V, for an illuminating and comprehensive study of the XIXth century governess. Her-status has already been considered (see above, pp.28,29) "From such an anomalous ran the reformers raised her to a position which mist be prepared for with adequate education, be decently paid, and receive dignified treatment. By 1850She belonged to what is still one of the most important occupations for middle class women." (ch. V,p.181)

(3) Mrs. More: Strictures, p. 14.

(4) Mrs. Chapone: Letters on the Improvement of the Mind. This is the central theme!

come after 1850 and to most of these some reference has already been made. The general tendencies are clear. The Factory Acts paved the way for the Elementary Education Act of 1870 by which girls and boys alike benefited. Secondary Education belongs to the XXth century, although a number of girls' schools were founded previously,[1] and the Schools' Enquiry Commission, 1864-8, emphasised the importance as well as the deficiencies of the Education of middle class girls. In the 1860's women began to push the university gates ajar, Cambridge being the most hospitable to these new alumni. From the 1840's attempts are made to cope with the problems of teachers and governesses;[2] and with the turn of the century education and the training of youth generally was recognised as being of national importance.

With the dawn of the new day we are conscious of a changing ideal of womanhood. The clinging weakness, the dependence and submission, the sensibility and narrow vision of the XVIIIth century, become slowly - very slowly - metamorphosed in the space of a hundred years. "Propriety", Mrs. More had written, "is to a woman the first, second and third requisite."[3] "Patience, propriety, neatness", counsels Mrs. Chapone;[4] and Dr. Darwin subscribes. Miss Thackeray, seventy years later, gives us the Victorian ideal, a woman "calm, beautiful, dig-

(1) **Ann Thackeray: Toilers and Spinsters, ch. I.**

(2) **"Les Femmes Savantes." (Henriette).**

nified and gentle, not necessarily accomplished but intelligent, a good administrator, wise and tender by instinct", with wide interests and generous social sympathy.[1]

Wide interests, generous social sympathy .... It is an ideal essentially true to English character, and in following it Englishwomen have given of their best not only to their own day and generation, but to humanity and for all time.

Moliere had written two centuries before:[2] "La jeune fille instruite sans pédantisme, vertueuse sans pruderie, honnête d'imagination, prenant la vie telle qu'elle est." In its simplicity, its clarity and its sanity it was an ideal that lay beyond the power of the XIXth century to grasp. Perhaps it also lies beyond the twentieth.

IV. NORTH OF THE BORDER.

1. The Character of the People.

The change in local scenery which never fails to strike the traveller on crossing the Border is reflected in the character and outlook of the inhabitants. Two centuries of political union have been unable wholly to eradicate differences rooted in an immemorial past, and accentuated by time, history and circumstance. Not only do the two countries vary in climate and configuration, the two peoples differ in race and temperament, in religion and law, in language and social structure. They differ fundamentally in education.

The climatic and geographical features of the country, the extraordinary mixture of races, the turbulent national history and finally the Calvinistic theology, combined to produce a distinctive national character which to the outsider appears a mass of contradictions. Meanness and generosity, practicality and poetry, dourness and tenderness, clannishness and the cosmopolitan spirit, philosophy and humour - no wonder the Scot is an enigma to any but his ain folk. He may excel in practical ability, or in organising power, but the poetry and mysticism of the Celtic spirit are continually breaking through. His national story is a tale

(1) Flodden, Culloden.

(2) Cf. the corresponding English document. Nothing could illustrate more clearly the difference between the two peoples.

(3) Cf. Dean Ramsay's "Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character," and John Buchan's essay in "Scottish Characteristics."

(4) e.g. Meg Merrilies' speech in "Guy Mannering" beginning: "Do ye see that burnt and broken end of a shelling?" or the final speech of Mary Stewart in "Campbell of Kilmohr." It is most clearly seen in Scottish poetry, in laments ("The Flowers o' the Forest") and songs of exile.

of lost causes[1] and the music that lies nearest to his heart is always minor. The melody of "Scots wha hae" is fundamentally the same as "The Land o' the Leal".

Yet the contradictions are surely more apparent than real, and like so many warring elements are reconcilable on a higher plane, or it may be, at a deeper level. The key to the Scot's character would appear to be a certain type of intellectual imagination - the kind of ability which seeing clearly the actual, yet sees beyond it to that which it may become. This sort of thinking it is which solves mathematical and scientific problems and systematises knowledge; and is it not allied to the intuition which is the very warp and woof of the mind of artist and poet?

> "For he sings of what the world will be
> When the years have died away."

The same imaginative power underlies the breath-taking opening of the Shorter Catechism;[2] it certainly underlies a great deal of Scots humour, which seizes with devastating accuracy on the weak point in the opponent's armour,[3] and it is most clearly manifest in the blend of transcendental thought and suppressed emotion which gives to the Scottish vernacular its peculiar poignancy.[4]

(1) As in parts of the Highlands. cf. Jeems in "The Grey Coast" (Neil Gunn), and the picture of the villagers in "No Second Spring" (Janet Beith).

(2) As in the unending struggle with the auld enemy, the English!

(3) See the biographies of these poetesses in "The Songstresses of Scotland."

(4) The population of Glasgow in 1800 was only 80,000

2. The Social Background.

The character of a people is inseparably bound up with its history, and the foundations of Scottish character are to be found in the land itself and the social and economic conditions resulting therefrom. From his birth the Scot was inured to poverty; rich and poor were relative terms, for there were no rich. Where it did not produce inertia and spiritual deterioration,[1] the unending struggle with a niggardly soil bred hardiness, independence and enterprise. Obstacles and hindrances were part of the scheme of things, and opposition, whether from internal authority or foreign foes,[2] only engendered unyielding resolution and an unsurpassed devotion to the poor land which was his all.

Among the most important effects of these conditions is the simplicity and freedom from convention so characteristic of Scottish as contrasted with English society. It was a life lived close to nature by rich and poor alike. The crofter shared his peat fire with the pet lamb and his poor hovel with such beasts as he could afford; high bred girls like Lady Ann Lindsay and Lady Grisel Baillie grew up with their farmyard friends as playmates.[3] As there were no large towns in Scotland before the middle of the XIXth century,[4] this nearness to nature has a profound influence on the national character. It is reflected in the exile's

(1) "Are you not weary in your distant places?"(Neil Monro) and the answering cry is "Hame! Hame! Hame!" cf. R.L.Stevenson's prayer in Samoa:

"Be it granted me to behold you again in dying,
Hills of home....."

(2) cf. plays, novels, and "Courage" by Barrie, and the long tale of Scottish novels from Galt onwards.

(3) As in the "ill years" 1696-1703, when " the living wearied of burying the dead". 1709, 1740, and 1760 were all years of famine.

(4) See Henry Grey Graham: Social Life of Scotland in the XVIIIth. Century, ch.VII.

(5) See the "Life and Letters of Alison Cockburn," the life of Sir Walter Scott, Henry Grey Graham's "Social Life of Scotland," etc.

love of his grey and barren land, and in the faithful observation of nature found in every Scottish writer from Blind Harry to Neil Gunn. It meets us in "Greyfriars Bobby" and the National War Memorial: "Remember also the humble beasts which served and died."

Again, it is a life of frugality, often poverty, and even privation.[2] A series of bad harvests meant famine, pestilence and death.[3] As late as the XVIIIth century the Scots had little currency and rents were paid in kind. For the rich there were few luxuries, for the poor often few necessaries.[4] Scottish noble families lived on their estates among their tenantry; when rank and fashion foregathered in the capital it shared a common stair - and a dirty one - with professional and business men, artisans, chimney sweeps and water caddies. The result could not have been other than it was. Class distinctions as they obtained South of the Border did not exist in Scotland; the divisions of society like the tenements in the High Street of the capital extended vertically, not horizontally. Laird's son and tenant's son shared a bench in the village school provided there was one, and the humblest clansmen could challenge with dirk drawn injustice or insult on the part of his chief.

We have thus an intimacy, freedom, and social equality which no XVIIIth century English person could possibly have

(1) "Archie Campbell and a' his money and men are less to them than the wind blawin' in their faces!" (Campbell of Kilmohr.)

(2) "If the Saxon gentlemen are laughing because a poor man such as me thinks my life, or the life of six of my degree, is worth that of Vich Ian Vahr, it's like enough they may be very right; but if they laugh because they think I would not keep my word and come back to redeem him, I can tell them they ken neither the heart of a Hielanman nor the honour of a gentleman."

(Trial scene, "Waverley", ch. lxviii)

(3) Mistress Jean. (Lady Nairne: "The Laird o' Cockpen.")

understood. The ties between master and man were not those of compulsion and servitude, but of loyalty freely given, contemptuous of gain and greater than the fear of death. £30,000 was the price offered by the English government for the capture of a Prince the clansmen hardly knew, and not a man or woman would betray him. Bribes and torture were alike unavailing.[1] Ewan Dhu gives his English judges a new interpretation of the word gentleman.[2] To a people so poor, money meant nothing; a man's goods consisted not in the things which he had. The criterion is not wealth but worth, not rank but character, not what a man has but what he is. There is no room for class distinctions in such a philosophy.

Indeed, pretensions to wealth and greatness, especially of a mercenary nature, are mercilessly ridiculed. The Laird o' Cockpen, for instance - and a woman's hand it was that dealt the blow.[3] Gretna Green existed to outwit the portly Sassenach who sold his daughter for rank and fortune. The bewildered Scot after 1714 has difficulty in adjusting his ideas of royalty:

> "Wha the deil hae we got for a King
> But a wee, wee, German lairdie!"

The conclusion so far as education is concerned is perfectly clear. This democratic and virtually classless

(1) This fact explains the correspondingly greater influence of the revolutionary ideals in England.

(2) As an example of the Scottish combination of metaphysics and realism one is tempted to recall John Buchan's anecdote of the old lady who lay dying while a thunderstorm was raging. The end was very near when a particularly loud clap of thunder shook the house. She opened her eyes and the watchers by the bedside strained their ears. "Sic a nicht to be fleein' through the air!" she muttered.

(3) Cf. Scottish law in education!

society stood at the opposite pole from one in which education was inexorably a question of social position. The revolutionary ideals of individual freedom and social equality towards which England was painfully struggling were in the north accepted and in no small measure realised.[1]

3. Religion and Education.

These ideals had been fostered and encouraged by Scottish Calvinism, a branch of the most definitely intellectual and democratic form of the Protestant faith. To a people so independent and individualistic, naturally inclined to logic and metaphysics, yet always with feet firmly planted on solid earth,[2] it was the ideal form of religion, and while it appealed to the national temperament on the one hand, on the other it focussed attention on what the traditional Scot rates so highly, education. Here once again we see that blend of intellect and imagination which has given us one of the most highly organised systems in the world together with the maximum of latitude wherewith to meet any eventuality in practice.[3]

Religion and Education had had a long partnership in Scotland. Iona had been a centre of light and learning in the VIth century, and the twain are never separated. Three hundred years before the Education Act was passed which ad-

(1) Few things belie more forcibly the reputed meanness of the Scots than their method of dealing with the poor. Kirk Session records in the XVIIIth. century are almost startling. Poor (Irish) students, dispersed seamen, persecuted Polonians, French refugees, victims of Moorish oppression, and the "objects" of their native land, all share in the poor bounty. There was no Speenhamland system north of the Tweed, and beggars were never turned away hungry from the doors of rich or poor.

For an interesting account of the poor in Scotland see Henry Grey Graham's "Social Life in Scotland in the XVIIIth. Century," ch. VII.

(2) Again - contrast England!

(3) There were unfortunately a fair proportion of Maclartys and Mucklebackits, however. (See Mrs. Hamilton's "Cottagers of Glenburnie" and Scott's "The Antiquary.")

mitted the poor in England to the status of potentially rational beings, Knox and his fellows had drafted a scheme of national education, uniform, systematic, comprehensive and amazingly just. This was no sneering and shortsighted capitulation won at the point of a political bayonet, it was the open acknowledgment of individual worth in the sight of God, and the recognition of the claims of merit and ability upon the generosity of a people who, inured to hardship, were ever ready to give what they could spare to those less fortunate than themselves.[1]

The dream of the great reformer was not realised. But in practice it gave Scotland the elementary education which has contributed so much to her history, and in the realm of ideas it fostered a regard for the things of the mind which she shares with ancient Greece and few beside.[2]

2. Scottish Women.

Character.

The interaction of the forces indicated above is manifest in the character of Scottish women, and helps to explain the extraordinary difference between them and the women of the South. There were no dolls' houses in Scotland, and no fair sex to mismanage them.[3] Scottish women were not dolls whatever they were, and though they well

(1) "She's daft to refuse the Laird o' Cockpen!"

(2) Henryson's Pastoral.
"The man that will nocht quhen he may
Sall haif nocht quhen he wald."

(3) e.g. Kirsteen (Mrs. Oliphant: "Kirsteen"); Nicole (O.Douglas:"The Proper Place"); Alex (M.and J. Findlater: "Crossriggs").

knew what was meant by hard work, "poor dumb beast" is a term equally inapplicable. Poor they were certainly, as everybody was, but not dumb. Not in Scotland. They were individualists every whit as much as the men, and as independent. Witness the Lady Jean before whom the Laird o' Cockpen retired in dumfounded disorder, not to mention the dire tragedy of Robin and Makyn.[2] Black Agnace, the heroine of "Edom o' Gordon", Kirsteen and the rest, are cast in a different mould. Spartan in training and outlook, the women of Scotland stand beside their menfolk, identifying themselves with their interests, sharing with them the burden and heat of the day, facing life and death alike with dignity and without fear. Their lives are shattered - they pick up their work and carry on, outwardly the same. "Whoso can look on death ~~with~~ will start at no shadows."[3]

Status.

The place held by Scotswomen and girls in life and education accounts for the absence of the sex motif which meets us at every turn in the South. In a life lived so close to reality, elemental in its simplicity and relatively free from the surveillance of Mother Grundy, men and women worked, played, thought, and laughed together, and differences of sex were minimised. The influence of religion and

(1) See Miss Ferrier's "Marriage" for a complete study of the education of a laird's daughter at home; and for a good many sidelights on contemporary standards as well.

(2) Barrie: "What Every Woman Knows."

education tends to the same end. Intellect superseded emotion, ability to meet the practical demands of a workaday existence is the criterion by which they are judged. Although the education of the upper classes might contain many useless elements of instruction, these were offset by home surroundings and circumstances.[1] The Victorian heroine has no place in Scottish literature. Yet Scotswomen had their own peculiar charm. "Charrum", says Maggie wistfully,[2] "is a kind of bloom on a woman" - rare and lovely as a summer day in the north, the more appealing because it has intellect and character to give range and depth to womanly sweetness and grace.

A Problem.

Yet - herein a paradox. These women have a measure of freedom, individuality, education not found South of the Border, and yet they have no outward mark in history and civic life during the period. There are no Elizabeth Frys, Mary Wallstonecrafts, Florence Nightingales. Against the English women novelists one can place only two, neither well known. One searches almost in vain for educational writers to compare with Miss Edgeworth in ability or Mrs. Hannah More in quantity. Only in poetry do they attain pre-eminence. Why?

(1) It has been more than once suggested with good reason that woman's failure to attain anything like equality with man a number of vocations is can be partly explained by her being compelled to dissipate her energies on other tasks, such as housework. As one writer, a woman, needless to say, has aptly pointed put, it was all very well for William Wordsworth to call his sister to join him in the woods that spring morning but somebody had to wash up the breakfast dishes!

(2) See Bess Streeter Aldritch:"ALantern in her Hand" for a study of a pioneer woman's life.

1. In the first place they had not the same incentive to rebellion as English women. For themselves they already possessed most of what the latter were fighting for, or did not particularly wish to possess it. Their acknowledged status was an argument not for rebellion but acquiescence. And in the small and less industrialised country the philanthropic urge was weaker.

2. Even had they wished to rebel, how could they? In the first place there was no money after the sons of the family had been equipped for life, often at considerable sacrifice. Secondly there were few openings for girls between 1750 and 1850; the effects of industrialism were longer in making themselves felt, and the day of higher education and vocational training had not yet come. And thirdly there is the problem of their immediate environment. They were essentially domestic women, and housework in those days and for many a day to come was synonymous with drudgery. Until money became more plentiful and housework was mechanised, Scottish women were not likely to have much time or strength for higher tasks. As has already been remarked, leisure for the worker is an idea of the XXth century, and where standards of living are poor, as in the working class homes of the old world and the backblocks and waybacks of the new, the working hours of wife and mother are not regu-

(1) "They Grey Coast," pp.234,184. To anyone who has seen the sacrifice of women's lives in the backblocks of the Empire, or in any circumstances where primitive conditions persist, the description is not exaggerated. In the case of Scotland, these are the "ppor proud homes" which according to Barrie constitute her fifth and greatest University. ("Courage").

lated by Act of Parliament. Neil Gunn in his masterly description of life in the north of Scotland in the XXth century states the position simply and clearly: "The women of the sea might have their haunting fears, their sorrows; but for the women of the crofts was reserved the misery that knows no end, the profitless warping, drudgery that knows no rest but that of the kirkyard .... Maggie could have her longing and desires, but the law was to endure and to accept."

The Ideal.

Deepest of all it is a question of ideals. Scotswomen shunned publicity in any form even where money and talent might have bestowed it upon them. Lady Nairne and her sister-poetesses hid their identity with scrupulous care. Conventionalities they ignored, but conservatism and inborn reserve limited the activities of women in almost every sphere.

What then was the Scotswoman's ideal? The answer seems plain enough. Hers was the day of small things. Her life-work lay in the home, her services to society were rendered through husbands or sons. Examples are innumerable - the biographies of outstanding Scotsmen with very few exceptions bear eloquent testimony to this all-pervading influence.

Their ideal was part of their hereditary nature and is the ideal of womanhood by far most commonly accepted by men. Of such there is no memorial, but their story lives on far away, without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of the lives they moulded and cherished.

Which brings us back to fundamentals once more, for the conflicting aims of humanity, society, personality and sex are here seen to be in some measure reconciled. It was not a complete solution of the problem, but it was effective; and it was true to their national character and to the best they knew.

Chapter VI.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN'S LITERATURE.

I. THE BEGINNINGS.

A literature designed to cater for the needs and interests of children cannot be said to exist before the second half of the XVIIIth century.

"Forty years ago", states an article written in 1790 or 1791, "an author would have been ridiculed had he dedicated his talents to the service of a race of infants. The whole juvenile library consisted then in a dry uninviting book called "Geography for Children" and in a set of minute volumes which described Westminster Abbey and the Tower of London, and which to the best of the editor's remembrance intermixed spectre stories with topical descriptions. Mother Goose also added her tales, but from them neither instruction nor moral were gained."[1]

(a) Causes.

Various causes contributed to the growth of a literature for children. First and foremost is the combined revolutionary and romantic movement, with its insistence on freedom and individuality, its fresh approach to nature and man, and its sympathy with simple everyday things. It allies itself on the one hand with religion and on the other with

1. From the volume containing the "Life of Day."

science. From the first it learns kindness to all living creatures, especially the weak and the oppressed, from the biological sciences it learns the principle of organic life and the unity which underlies diversity - the hidden wisdom of the universe. With the acceptance of these truths comes the new conception of the child found in the English romantic poets, and in the educational writings of Rousseau. The acceptance of the child's individuality in itself constitutes a claim to consideration in literature, which by its very nature must reflect life; and this claim is undeniably strengthened by the increasing influence of women which becomes more marked as the XVIIIth century draws to its close. As readers they had to be catered for, as writers their main interests pertained to their own sex and to children in the world of everyday.

(b) Early Books for Children.

These early books for children are not very attractive to modern eyes. They are usually diminutive octavo editions, in very small print, without coloured illustrations, indeed with very little illustration at all, and pages of unbroken narrative. "And what is the use of a book without pictures or conversation?" said Alice. Later the Bewick woodcuts make a welcome embellishment; very fine they are, these country scenes in miniature; but the general effect of, say,

1. Reprinted in the "Child's Own Book," 1833.

the "Children's Miscellany" of 1788, or "The Child's Own Book" of 1833, is one of colourless monotony. The production of books was still an expensive business and the destructive habits of children were taken for granted along with more heinous propensities.

The beginnings of a literature for children is found about the middle of the XVIIIth century with the work of "the philanthropic bookseller", Newbery, and his associates. One of the earliest contributors of children's stories was his client Oliver Goldsmith, to whom we owe the stories of the Giant Wog-log and his dog ~~Tower~~ Jowler, and in all probability "Goody Two Shoes". In temperament and style no one could have been better fitted to write for children. But he is one of the lonely pioneers of the movement, and he shows all the reluctance of professional writers to "dedicate their talents to the service of a race of infants". A generation was to pass away before the child's claim in literature was recognised, and it was long after that when he entered into his heritage.

The year 1788 may be taken as a convenient landmark. It is no less noteworthy in the history of art than of literature for in the year which saw the publication of the "Children's Miscellany" Reynolds painted his "Age of Innocence". In the portrait of the doomed artist's little

grandniece we see a perfect revelation of the romantic conception of childhood - wholly a child yet with something of the mystery and wonder that prompted Wordsworth to write his "Ode on the Intimations of Immortality". In the "Miscellany" we are a long way short of the vision of poet and artist, but it marks the beginning of half a century of unprecedented enterprise in this new field, as a comparison with the "Child's Own Book" of 1833 makes clear.

(c) Illustration.

The Children's Miscellany and The Child's Own Book: 1788 - 1833.

The contents of the "Children's Miscellany" may be classified under three headings:-

1. Simple child narrative - The story of Little Jack (by Day) and Philip Quarll; the first is a life history but - this is the important point - with the emphasis on childhood: the second is a long-drawn out imitation of "Robinson Crusoe" without the convincing verisimilitude of the original and with an unnecessary admixture of morality - and misanthropy.

2. A number of obviously noral tales like the impossible "Little Queen"; "The Nosegay" - a sermon to all vain and selfish maidens on the text that only virtue never fades; and a painful cautionary tale like "The Fatal Effects of Delay",

1. Advertising "The Children's Friend."

which compares most unfavourably with XXth century Matilda, or Mary's daring William Goat.

3. Three selections dealing with Natural History, on the Elephant, the Lion, and the Two-horned Rhinoceros respectively - somewhat exclusively big game for little people. The fairy tales of science as yet were all about giants.

Such was the child's fare in 1788, avowedly designed "to inculcate the best principles of religion and duty and to combat every malignant propensity." There is no attempt at grading the material, very little dialogue, and one illustration. The moral and intellectual pill was gilded with tinsel covers, that was all.

"The Child's Own Book" (1824) 1833 affords a welcome relief from the Histories of Jemima Placid and her relations, and the "Apt Tales, Short Dialogues and Moral Dramas / All intended to engage Attention, cherish Feeling and inculcate Virtue in the rising generation." Philip Quarll still holds an honoured place, but what wealth besides! We have:-

1. Folk and Fairy Tales - English, French and Oriental; lasting favourites like Cinderella, Aladdin, Robin Hood, Tom Thumb, Dick Whittington and his Cat, Sind Bad and others. Even the medieval Griselda figures in these pages despite Chaucer's warning.

2. Travel Stories - not of fictitious romancers like

1. As shown by the advertisements, for example.
"Lately published by Mrs. Barbauld, Lessons for Children from 2to 4 years of age. Four parts, Price 6d.each....."

2. Written in collaboration with her brother, Dr. Aikin.

Baron Münchausen, but of real people like La Perouse - which reflects contemporary enterprise in the South Seas.

3. Poetry (or at least verse) ranging from "The House that Jack Built" to "We are Seven" (Wordsworth), "John Gilpin", and "The Battle of Blenheim". Not much perhaps: but it is a beginning.

II. STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN'S LITERATURE.

These two little volumes, very similar in appearance, may be taken as illustrative of the change which came over child literature in the half century between 1780 when such books began to be popular[1] and 1830 which may be taken as the close of this first period. There are three clearly marked stages in the development.

(a) The 'Eighties.

Representative books are: Day's "Sandford and Merton", 1783-89; Berquin's "Ami des Enfans" - later translated and adapted; Mrs. Barbauld's "Hymns", "Evenings at Home" (1780)[2], Mrs. Trimmer's "Fabulous Histories". Imaginative stories are represented by the Nursery Classics ("Robinson Crusoe" and "Gulliver's Travels"), and "The Travels of Baron Münchausen" (1781).

This period is exploratory both in the wider field of

1. "Human" is obviously a relative term when lessons began at the age of two.

children's reading and in the more human "textbooks" like Mrs. Barbauld's "Easy Lessons", which replaced the horn book and mercifully supplemented the reading and spelling primers then in use.

(b) c.1800.

This period is dominated by the work of the Edgeworths which falls on both sides of 1800 and of which the influence is felt during the next thirty or forty years. Representative works are "The Parent's Assistant" and Miss Edgeworth's "Moral Tales" (1801) and "Popular Tales" (1804).

The groping and uncertainty of the first period have given place to definite purpose. These books are written to supplement a theory of education, and behind them lies not only the English educational tradition but the influence of Rousseau. The more obvious faults of the early technique are gone; the stories are carefully graded, adapted to different temperaments, and there is plenty of dialogue. In content they stand midway between the XVIIIth century with its interminable moralising (too often "laid on with a trowel" even here) and the "ampler ether and diviner air" which came with the new education. The Moral Tales - "The Good Aunt", "Mlle.Panache" and the like, are avowedly didactic, and survive not by their virtue but by their fun and knowledge of child nature; the Popular Tales are less so, and

1 cf. Mrs Field, p.290.

consequently more enduring both as children's stories and as literature. It may be added that during this period the foreign influences which are brought to bear upon general literature appear in books for children. Of these the chief are French, North European (more especially German), and Oriental, represented by the Arabian Nights. A very fruitful French source was Mme. Genlis' "Tales of the Castle," and Berquin was translated c.1788. The Edgeworths refused to have anything to do with folk and fairy tales, English or foreign, hence Miss Edgeworth's work is representative of the period in character rather than range.

(c) Early XIXth Century.

The limits of the third period are less easy to define though the changing tone of the productions is clear. Mrs. Field takes the "Child's Own Book" (1824) and the "Children's Guide to Knowledge" (1826) as indicating the line of demarcation, and for all general purposes we may regard children's literature as definitely established both in the booksellers' shops and in the mind of the reading public by 1833 when the Reform Parliament granted the first state subsidy to education.

Education problems had been widely and sometimes hotly discussed during the later decades of the XVIIIth century, and far reaching political and social changes had led to

1. cf. Pestalozzi, Froebel, and the Household System of Edgeworth.

2. e.g. "Tom Brown's School Days."

3. This reflects conditions in the girls' boarding schools of the time. Sixteen forlorn new arrivals gather round the fire and tell stories of their childhood.

concentration on the home as an educational unit.[1] As the XIXth century follows its course, however, the school in some form is reinstated and with it comes the addition of school stories[2] to the children's repertoire, and the production of books - adventure stories and the like - suitable for school libraries. The movement extends throughout the century, but we see its beginnings in the school stories of the period under discussion, and in the books for children written by Charles and Mary Lamb, the "Tales from Shakespeare", "The Adventures of Ulysses", "Mrs.Leicester's School".[3] In these last the difference in atmosphere impresses us no less than the grace and rhythm of the prose style. It would be hard to find anything more charming or more childlike than some of these stories in which we glimpse afresh the creator of the lovely "Dream Children" and the exquisitely poignant "Child Angel". Here - in "The Father's Wedding Day" for instance, or "The Sailor Uncle" - morals are humanised and the protagonists are real children at last.

III. CLASSIFICATION OF CHILDREN'S BOOKS.

It will be readily seen that child literature from 1780 to 1830 falls into three well-marked divisions:-

(a) Moral Tales.

"Histories in common life which may tempt the little reader to study, and at the same time may lead him in the paths of good nature and virtue." "The Family Book or Children's Journal, consisting of / Moral and Entertaining Stories", and published in 1798 "from the French of M. Berquin" is an excellent example. The frontispiece entitled "Parental Instruction" shows a stiff family group of seven, with one child reading; the motto, so to speak, proclaims the central purpose of the book:

"PAULINA: Ah! Mama, pray help me to reflect.

MRS. VERNON: It is the principal object of all our discourse."

The contents afford plenty of opportunity for reflection: "On Obedience"; "Justice"- thirteen pages in three doses, aptly followed by "The Useful before the Agreeable", and "The Danger of Crying for Nothing"; "Elegy on a favourite Linnet", followed immediately by "A Prayer", and "A country reformed by four Children". Then comes a homily on "The Fatal Effects of Passion" (only temper tantrums). At intervals nature study selections make their appearance (Air, Growths of Plants, Rain, etc), with elegies on deceased pets interspersed, and the book very suitably ends with "The General

1. Miss Edgeworth specially recommended some of the Berquin stories (The Four Seasons, Little George, The Little Canary Bird, The Little Needlewoman) but these are omitted from this collection.

2. The reader is reminded of the remark of Mr. George Bernard Shaw: "Children's Books, from the accursed "Swiss Family Robinson" onwards I always loathed and despised for their dishonesty, their hypocrisy, their sickly immorality, and their damnable dullness."

3. "Captain Cook's Third and Last Voyage to the Pacific." Order of His Majesty. 4/- Bound."
From "Advertisement for Books for the Instruction and Entertainment of the Young," (End page of "The Children's Miscellany," 1788)

and Particular Wants of Man" and "The Advantages of Society".[1] Rousseau's comment on such a selection would have been illuminating, considering what he thought of the attempt to teach one of Fontaine's Fables.[2] Yet the strain of piety endured throughout the XIXth century, and is found in volumes as diverse as Mrs. Gatty's "Parables from Nature", Mrs. Burnet's "The Land of the Blue Flower", "Uncle Tom's Cabin", "Masterman Ready" and - surely at its worst - in "The Wide, Wide World". All of these were popular and often dearly loved by children, but every one of them made other claims upon the reader's attention.

The Moralities make up the majority of the early child literature selections.

(b) Stories for Entertainment.

These vary from the adaptations and imitations of classics like "Robinson Crusoe" and "Gulliver's Travels" as well as the originals themselves, to tales of pure fantasy like "The Travels of Baron Münchausen" and the Fairy and Folk Tales, Nursery Rhymes, and so on, which crept in during the 'nineties. Later developments also include tales of travel and exploration, with characters either real or fictitious. "Captain Cook's Voyages",[3] the ancestor of such XXth century collections as "The Book of Polar Exploration", or "The Book of Epic Heroes", was an early favourite. The innumerable

1. An excellent little story is that entitled "Lady Lucy's Petition."

2. e.g."Joan the Maid" (Hermon Ould), "Au Petit Trianon," "Piper's Pool,"etc.

3. "Juvenile Rambles," deals with a motley collection of subjects ranging from asses, mice and coal to cinnamon and peacocks.

versions of Arthurian and Celtic legend, Kingsley's "Westward Ho!" and Marryat's sea stories come under this heading; the latter's "Masterman Ready" was a prime favourite with young people in the early XXth century, small print, quaint illustrations, tattered covers and all, while Fenimore Cooper satisfied the yearnings of the more vigorous head-hunters.

History as well as Geography is used as a background for fiction. An early example of the more imaginative treatment of history is found in Agnes Strickland's "Historical Tales Illustrated for British Children" (1833) which gives a fairly representative series of vignettes, quite well written and showing considerable sympathy with the child's point of view.[1] These modest beginnings are the ancestors of "The Cavaliers", "The Tower of London", the Scarlet Pimpernel stories, the tales of the "Forty-five" and - in the XXth century - a number of very fine historical plays for children.[2]

(c) Books of Information.

Books designed to supply information, such as the "Fabulous Histories" already referred to, "Juvenile Rambles through the Paths of Nature" (1828)[3], Mrs. Gatty's "Parables", and the curious compendiums of knowledge of the most miscel-

1. Price 3/-.

2. From Mangnall's "Miscellaneous Questions," quoted by Mrs. Field, pp. 325-6.

laneous kind exemplified in "The Child's Guide to Knowledge" (1824)[1], Richard Mangnall's "Miscellaneous Questions" (1806) and, most extensive of all, that ancestor of the Children's Encyclopedia, "The Little Library", 1830-34 ... in eight or more volumes.

The information supplied is staggering alike in its range and compression:

> "What progress did the Greeks make in the arts? - "From the time of Cyrus to that of Alexander they were gradually improving. Warriors, statesmen, philosophers, poets, historians, painters, architects, and sculptors form a glorious phalanx in this golden age of literature, and the history of Greece at this period is equally important and instructive." [2]

Less indigestible perhaps is the "Child's Guide to Knowledge", but mental agility of the very highest order is necessary. The first few questions are rather breathtaking:-

> "What is the world? - The earth we live in.
> "Who made it? - The Great and Good God.
> "Are there not many things in it you would like to know about? - Yes, very much.
> "Pray then, what is bread made of? ....."

or later:-

> "How many oranges will a good tree bear? 1000-2000."

and again:-

> "Where are the States of Barbary? - In North Africa.

"What is a sponge valued for? - Its use in surgery and painting, to wash out and soften colours."

(The last two questions are cheek by jowl).

Most voluminous is the "Little Library", but comprehensiveness is not its only merit. The information is given in essay form and illustrations though not coloured are plentiful. The natural history section has two volumes on quadrupeds by Frederic Schobeof illustrated by Landseer, and there are articles on the zebra, bison, buffalo, gnu, giraffe, elk, reindeer, tapir, llama, and our old friends the elephant, rhinoceros and hippopotamus, with divers other big game. Illustration is often quite dramatic - the picture of the wapiti for example shows a lion in hot pursuit.

Comprehensiveness too is the motto of the various sections: ocean, ship, Bible illustration, a mine (reflecting contemporary conditions), British and French histories, London, Gardens, the Buildings of Westminster, Ancient Customs, Sports and Pastimes of the English, and so on. Whatever else these volumes lack, they make a sincere attempt to provide information on a number of subjects and as we should almost expect in a publication of the 'thirties, the preacher and his text are not quite so much in evidence.

1. It will be remembered that reading was the backbone - if it possessed a backbone - of the elementary curriculum.

(d) Reading and Spelling Primers.

It is not possible that a comparison of the ancestors of the "Annuals" and "Wonder Books" of today, or of the "Chatterbox" and "Little Folks" of yesterday should be in favour of the former. The XVIIIth century was only feeling its way, and neither the art of the child's book nor the knowledge of the child had progressed far enough to ensure order, beauty and insight. One is sometimes tempted to wonder on what principles, if any, these early writers based their selections for children. But their deficiencies in this respect pale before the appalling primers which in these days were the accepted means of teaching reading and spelling. For example a spelling primer begins the child's three-letter words with:-

A rod is for all who are bad.
.....
For to do ill is to be a bad boy.
.....
My son put thy joy in God,
No joy can be had but of him
O let me not go in the pit,

and two verses further on:-

Put us in thy way O God
Q we do not use at all now.
Rob no one for it is sin.
See you do not sit by a bad boy.
To die is the lot of all men.

Comment on such pernicious rubbish is superfluous.

A primer dated 1833 contains these pearls of wisdom:-

1. An illustrated alphabet.

   i for "eye";

   s for "star", with the Star of the Garter and "Honi soit qui mal y pense" for its accompanying illustration;

   p for "pot", legend under a pewter mug frothing, presumably with ale.

2. Consonants and vowels are introduced in these ancient and thrilling combinations:-

   ba, be, bi, bo, bu, bla, ble, bli, blo, blu.

3. Three letter "words" include -

   tal, sin, sol, fle, nis, nil, tit, fop.

4. A later reading list has such childish words as -

   acme, amel, cion, copal, magi, adage.

5. The high lights of the book are -

   (i) A story of an old man's ass which returned to him after being stolen by wicked people. Illustrated — one illustration.

   (ii) A collection of admonitions, prefaced by the woodcut of a church.

   (iii) Four verses of poetry entitled "Bedtime".

By such means did knowledge unfold her ample page to the extravagant and erring spirits of XIXth century youth. One can understand why Edgeworth devised a rational primer, and Wordsworth wrote "~~Exposition~~ Expostulation and Reply" and "The Tables

Turned". It is indeed a far cry from these early primers to the Radiant Way and the Beacon Readers of today, when the compilation of wordlists is checked by experts and interest is a fundamental criterion of teaching. Yet a study of these uncertain beginnings is not without its value, both for the light it sheds on progress already made, and for the emergence of principles on which the child literature of tomorrow may be more reasonably and securely based.

1. G.M.Young in "Early Victorian England," p.493.

2. The exploration and colonisation of Africa, and the spread of missionary activity from 1790 onwards are examples of this movement.

International organizations, like the Red Cross, come into existence in the second half of the century.

was the Industrial Revolution, which brought about a radical change in the entire social order and transformed irrevocably man's outlook and manner of living. The unchanging peace of centuries was broken; the security of home, the stability of village and rural life, were irresistably undermined and finally engulfed in the tempestuous seas of industrialism. Great cities sprang up, and later, organized communities; a network of roads and railways changed the face of Europe. Men's ideas of distance were revised; the tempo of life was quickened.

The industrial revolution allied itself with contemporary political movements on the one hand, and with scientific developments on the other. As a result of these combined forces we find for the first time in history power vested in the lower social orders, and women emerging from their immemorial seclusion: "no longer isolated as heroines, but individuals bent on a career, they drew out into the sexless sphere of disinterested intelligence."[1] New means of transport and communication prepared the way first for the centralisation and organisation of national life, and ultimately for the breaking down of age-old insurmountable barriers between the peoples of the world. This becomes increasingly evident as the century wears on: after 1850 British history becomes more intimately bound up with European, and Europe and the rest of the world react upon each other.[2] National claims are

1. These show the progress of the reactionary movement. Tennyson's "In Memoriam" (1833-50) ends with qualified optimism; Clough and Arnold

"Waive all claim to bliss and try to bear,
With close-lipped Patience for our only friend,
Sad Patience, too near neighbour to despair,"

and in Hardy's poems and novels (especially "Jude the "Obscure")night has fallen. Cf. "The Darkling Thrush," or

"That with this bright believing band
I have no claim to be;
That faiths by which my comrades stand
Are mysteries to me,
And mirage mists their ~~shing~~ shining land
Is a ~~drear~~ strange destiny."

seen, dimly at first, in the light of international relations; and the poet's dream of a world state, the federation of mankind, begins to take recognizable form.

3. Science and Philosophy.

In science and philosophy as in politics and social life, a new leaven is at work. Science - again for the first time in history - affected demonstrably the material welfare and ultimate destiny of millions, permeating as it did every phase of the life of individuals and nations. On the one hand it made possible the material progress which marks the Victorian era, and on the other it opened up vast new fields in the intellectual sphere of scientific and medical research.

But the cost of progress was high, and when in the later decades of the century, the theories of Darwin and Huxley startled a world where faith had become largely a matter of morality and dogma, we find that conflict between science and religion which is reflected so clearly in contemporary literature, and especially in the poetry of Tennyson, Arnold, Clough and Thomas Hardy. The fervid hopes of the youthful Wordsworth, like the noble aspirations of Mazzini and Shelley's splendid dream, all appear to have faded into the light of common day, the day of agnosticism and scientific rationalism.

"The Sea of Faith
Was once, too, at the full, and round earth's shore,

1. "Dover Beach."
Cf. Dryden's "Religio Laici":-

"Dim as the borrowed beams of moon and stars
To lonely, weary, wandering travellers
Is reason to the soul...."

2. European literature in general shows the return to realism; e.g. Ibsen, Dostoievsky, Zola, and in English literature Hardy and Masefield. In Scotland George Brown's "House with the Green Shutters" marks the reaction to Barrie and the "Kailyard School" and is the forerunner of Cronin's "Hatter's Castle" and Neil Gunn's "The Grey Coast."

3. Cf. Verlaine:-

"Qu'as-tu fait, O toi que voilà,
Pleurant sans cesse,
Qu'as-tu fait, toi que voilà,
De ta jeunesse?"

Lay like the folds of a bright girdle furled.
But now I only hear
It's melancholy long withdrawing roar,
Retreating to the breath
Of the night wind, down the vast edges drear
And naked shingles of the world."

Reaction was inevitable, and in this respect the Victorian age is reminiscent of the XVIIth century. Men's eyes, constantly focussed on vanishing horizons, grew weary with the vastness of infinity ever before them, and their hearts heavy with voyaging through strange seas of thought alone. As the end of the century approaches they turn from the remote and intangible to seek refuge in the real and even the sordid.[2] The more courageous spirits triumph - Browning, Carlyle - but the prevailing note is one of reaction and despondency. It is the end of an age.[3]

4. The Heritage of the Past.

Explorers admit the difficulty of estimating the height of a range from the foothills and in like manner historians stress the need for perspective in the interpretation of a particular period. No age can ever be seen truly in isolation. It is one with the past which gave it birth, and one with the future whose course it will in turn determine. The XIXth century is the logical outcome of the XVth, and in it the cycle of four hundred years approaches completion. The age of geographical discovery, dominated by the figures of

1. Cf. Hamlet's speech to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern:-
"What a piece of work is man! How noble in reason! How infinite in faculty! in form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god!"
"Hamlet" II,ii,295-8.

2. "Early Victorian England," pp.428-9.

Columbus, da Gama, Magellan and Drake, has its counterpart in the explorations of Cook, Livingstone, Franklin and Scott. From the Reformation springs that appreciation of individual worth on which all democratic thinking is based, and that belief in private judgment - in the right of every individual to read and interpret God's word for himself - which underlies the movement for popular education. Nor does it require any great insight to see in the scientific progress of the Victorian Age the fruits of the Renaissance spirit of enquiry, when men turned from the contemplation of the divine to the enjoyment of the human, when, looking abroad upon the earth, they saw that it was good.

> "We must all the time remember that the Victorian Age is only the island counterpart of a secular movement, as significant as the turn from the Greek middle ages in the fifth century or the Latin middle ages in the fifteenth. Twice the European mind had been carried to the verge, and twice it had been baffled. In the nineteenth century it won the top and saw stretching before it that endless new world which Bacon had sighted or imagined, where nothing need remain unknown, and for everything that is known there is something that can be done; the world of organized thought where even modern scientific man was only the rudiments of what man might be." [2]

5. The Promise of the Future.

Yet, while the unity and continuity of history is never broken, and no age may be understood without reference to its past, every period has certain distinctive features peculiar to itself and contains within it the promise of

that harvest which future generations will garner or destroy. The XIXth century is characterised by a conscious striving which no one of the influences so far enumerated can wholly explain. The French and Industrial Revolutions in their several ways hastened the coming of reform, and the spread of scientific knowledge bade fair to remove or mitigate ills from which humanity had suffered since the beginning of time. Yet when we try to explain the riddle of the century solely in terms of democracy, industry or science, we are forever conscious of something missing, some elusive spiritual essence which gives the key to the direction of men's thoughts and activities. The French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, and the progress of science, seen in the light of historical perspective, answer the question of the 'a quo'; but they do not answer the 'ad quem'. Whence came that unprecedented belief in the perfectibility of man, that dynamic conception of a golden age for all mankind which lies not in the past but in the future, not in being but in becoming, which is the hallmark of nineteenth century thought?

The obvious answer is the French Revolution, the motto of which was liberty, and the vindication of the rights of man. But the French Revolution, like all political revolutions was in its origin negative, disruptive; for the cause of revolution is always disharmony, and the nature of the process

1. Cf. Leslie Stephen: The English Utilitarians, p.194.

2. The connection between the romantic and revolutionary faith in the perfectibility of man is here seen most clearly. The creed of progress ministers to both.

is invariably destructive. Destruction is valuable in that it clears the ground and makes construction possible, but in itself it is not enough. Something more than revolution is necessary if the good in the existing order is to be preserved, and a better order of things result. Now as we have seen, the counterpart of the French Revolution, and that which gives it meaning and purpose, is the romantic movement which runs parallel with it. Without the romantic spirit of unquenchable optimism, of faith in the infinite possibilities of human nature and belief in God,[2] without men of vision and spiritual leaders capable of translating that vision into reality, the revolution would have ended in negation, chaos, despair. The revolutionary and romantic movements act and react upon each other, and once the two streams of influence blend, in the 'thirties and after, it is almost impossible to distinguish between them. Further, the romantic spirit, which finds its fullest expression in the poetry and art of the time, is the complement of the humanitarian spirit which animated social reformers like Owen, philosophers like John Stuart Mill, and all that vast body of nameless philanthropists who, following the lead of poets and prophets, began in earnest to build Jerusalem in England's once green and pleasant land.

The revolutionary faith in the infinite capacity of the individual, when extended to society, explains the origin

1. See Findlay: The Children of England, chap. VII.

2. This new sentiment underlies the "new" colonial system, the idea of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and Kipling's recurring theme of "Take up the white man's burden."

The Utilitarian philosophy, based on self-love, is only a half-way house towards the altruistic outlook.

of the XIXth century interpretation of Utopia. The idea of a golden age was not new. Plato had outlined in detail his conception of the just state, and the theme is a favourite one with poets in all generations. But Plato's ideal was static, not dynamic, and his attitude to the hoi polloi was wholly at variance with modern democratic trends. The XIXth century ideal was a blend of old and new: the revolutionary and the romantic faith in the perfectibility of man allied itself with the faith in progress which was a legacy of the XVth century, but had been refined and deepened in the long process of time. From advancement being a matter of individual enterprise and national aggrandisement, it comes to envisage society as a whole. The egoistic gives way to the altruistic ideal, towards which the utilitarians are groping their way, and finds its consummate literary expression in the poetry of Shelley and the teaching of John Ruskin.

We are now in a position to estimate the influence of the romantic movement in XIXth century thought. It is one of the great moulding influences of the period, blending with all the others in turn, unifying the interests and directing the energies of men in every branch of social service. And nowhere was it more clearly manifest than in the field of education.

1. **Chapter V.**

6. Educational Evolution.

Political, humanitarian, industrial, scientific and romantic influences operating over a long period of time separately or in unison, effect what virtually amounts to a revolution in educational theory and practice. At the beginning of the XIXth century in England, education was still a matter of social status. Higher education was represented by the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge to which only Anglicans and the landed aristocracy had free access; secondary education for boys was provided in the public schools and grammar schools; what was the girls' portion we have already seen. Such elementary education as was available for the masses was to be had in dame schools, charity schools and Sunday schools. Of an organised system of elementary education there was no trace. Instruction was limited to the three R's, and not a single training college existed throughout the length and breadth of the British Isles. The salaries of teachers are sufficient indication of their professional status. It was a dismal outlook for a century which preached the gospel of enlightenment.

Much still remains to be done in the sphere of education but the advance made in the course of one hundred years is almost beyond the power of the imagination to grasp. In 1902 we find "a complete system of elementary schools, something approaching a national scheme of secondary education,

1. Watson's Encyclopedia, Art. on "General Survey of Education since 1800," vol.II, p. 526.

2. The Factory Acts. In literature: the novels of Dickens and George Eliot esp.; the poetry of Wordsworth, Coleridge and some of the minor poets and poetesses.

a renovated Oxford and Cambridge, and a band of younger universities meeting local needs."[1] Teachers are placed on a new footing professionally and financially; the curriculum is in process of revision. There is an increasing recognition of the social responsibility of the school which finds expression in such measures as make provision for physically and mentally defective children, necessitous children, and in 1918, the adolescent.

As has already been suggested, behind all these breathtaking innovations, their life and soul, lie a new philosophy of education and a new attitude to the child. The first is in large measure due to foreign influences, especially those of the Revolution and Rousseau, grafted on to native stock; the second, almost wholly indigenous, is the fruit of the religious revival and the romantic spirit translated through literature to life. The freedom and individuality which the revolution claimed were the inalienable right of every human being could not be withheld indefinitely from the child; and the recognition of this right is symbolised by his appearance in contemporary literature as well as in the laws passed for his special protection.[2] If any additional stimulus were needed to foster the development of a sentiment fundamentally in keeping with the freedom-loving character of the English, it was to be found in the Wesleyan Revival which, along with the French Revolution, exerted the most profound influence on

1. Cf. C.G.Robertson : England under the Hanoverians, p.210.

2. Findlay: The Children of England, chap. IX, pp.142-3.

3 "Sweeping " may appear too vigorous a term to use here, but a hundred years in history is only a moment of time, and how much has been accomplished in that brief interval!

the life of the time.[1] Taken in conjunction with the romantic movement, it goes far to explain the contrast between the XVIIIth and the XIXth century view of childhood, a contrast so great that it amounted almost to a transformation. "Speaking generally, we may say that it was a reversion to sentiments such as may be found in the Gospels, found again spasmodically in a poet like Traherne, but now for the first time winning acceptance, more and more as the century progressed, in the public mind ..... The age became kindly to children."[2]

And since the school invariably reflects the attitude of the society of which it is a part, we are not surprised to find sweeping changes within its walls.[3] The curriculum is broadened, teaching becomes more efficient, discipline more natural, education more comprehensive. The school is becoming human.

II. THE SOCIAL & POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE XIXTH CENTURY.

The eighty odd years in European history which elapsed between the French Revolution and the foundation of the Third Republic may be conveniently divided into three periods. The first twenty-five years, from 1789-1815, is taken up with the Revolutionary wars and the Napoleonic conflict; the second period, from 1815-1848, is one of reaction and revolution, thirty-three years of unstable equilibrium and uneasy peace;

and the last twelve years or more, from 1848, sees in general the qualified acceptance of romantic and revolutionary ideals. The last decades of the century, while they continue to show the effects of the great movement then on the wane, mark the beginning of a fresh cycle not yet completed.

The history of England during these years, while following the general trend of European development, has certain well-marked features of its own, and the threefold division is not so clearly defined. The first period (1789-1815), though dominated by the life and death struggle with Napoleon, has always in the background the gathering storm of the industrial revolution, the effects of which were not felt in European countries until the 'thirties or later; and while revolutionary political thought on the continent expressed itself chiefly in a striving after national independence, England, freed from the danger of foreign aggression after 1805, safeguarded by her insular position, and with her naval supremacy established beyond all question, felt no such urge. Domestic reforms occupy her statesmen during the thirty years of peace, and only when these are satisfactorily settled does imperial and foreign policy receive its share of attention. A turning point is reached about the year 1848; the liberalism of the mid-century, essentially a product of English character and history, allies itself with the revolutionary principle of nationality. While the reforms of the 'thirties

1. Leslie Stephen: The English Utilitarians, p.211.

'forties continue to bear fruit, horizons are widening and by the end of the century or shortly after, Britain has forsaken her inviolate policy of insularity and is committed to active participation in European and world affairs.

Ideas penetrate the public consciousness very slowly, however, and nearly a generation was to pass before the emancipating doctrines of the revolution gained general acceptance. For this reason we may consider the first half of the century as a whole, seeing in revolution and the aftermath of war the seeds of reform, and in romanticism, applied science, and the evangelical faith the spiritual forces that gradually penetrated the abyss of human suffering and brought light out of a great darkness.

b

England 1789-1815.

1. The Napoleonic Wars.

In the eyes of contemporaries if not of posterity the central fact of the years 1789-1815 was the conflict with Napoleon.

> "The great struggle was beginning in which England commanded the ocean while the continent lay at the feet of the Empire. For a time the question was whether England too should be invaded ..... Upon one side the war was now appealing to higher feelings. It was no longer a crusade against theories, but a struggle for national existence, and for the existence of other nations threatened by a gigantic despotism."

In face of imminent peril, with an army of invasion at

1. Hodges: Modern History, pp 28-9.

2. The figure given by J.A.Thomson (The Control of Life, chap.VII) are as follows:

1750	England and Wales:	6½ millions.	
1801	"	8,893,000.	
1901	"	32,528,000.	
1801	Scotland:	1,608,000.	Europe: 187 millions.
1901	"	4,472,000.	" 400 "

Boulogne led by the greatest soldier in history, reinforced by a redoubtable fleet which, had it been skilfully led, might well have turned the scale - no wonder every other question was shelved, and every dissenting voice silenced. This fact alone would almost explain how it was that the evils of industrialism grew apace, and left to the thirty years of peace a legacy more terrible than war itself.

2. The Industrial Revolution.

> "By 1800 the transformation of Britain into the workshop of the world was complete..... In 1720 our exports were short of 8 millions; in 1800 they exceeded 34 millions, while our imports had risen from 6 millions to more than 28 millions. Our National Debt had increased from 130 millions (during the Seven Years' War) to upwards of 861 millions. Our survival of that burden and the drain of revenue involved is the measure of the wealth we had amassed."

That wealth, it will be readily admitted, was an indispensable factor in our successful prosecution of the war against Napoleon; but the price was human life and health of soul.

Among the social problems created by the rise of industrialism one of the most serious was the increase and changed distribution of the population. Roughly speaking the figures indicate an increase during the XIXth century of from three to four hundred per cent..[2] In the fifty years 1750-1800 the population of England and Wales rose from 6½ to 9 millions; in 1900 it was more than three and a half times as much, and

1. It meant the total breakdown of such educational organization as previously existed. Village schools meant to accommodate 30 pupils could not cope with hundreds, or ~~even~~ sometimes thousands, where the population increased rapidly; see the writings of Mrs. Trimmer, the More sisters, Wesley's Journal, etc.

.....

2. In the early years of Pitt's ministry, 1783-9.

3. Smith: History of English Elementary Education, p. 29.

European statistics show approximately the same result. It is scarcely necessary to add that since the increase meant large families among the industrial workers and the poorer classes generally it created a problem of the first magnitude in education.[1]

The insidious evils which accompanied economic change were aggravated by two other factors which in their different ways contributed to the terrible state of affairs revealed later by investigating committees. One was the French Revolution, which by its excesses had bred fear in the minds of the governing classes and the factory owners. Political reform was on the way in England before 1789,[2] and an association had been formed for the abolition of slavery in 1787, but the abstract theories of the revolutionaries and the extremes to which the Paris mob resorted after the death of Mirabeau alienated all sympathy with the proletariat, and led to the passing of laws and the enforcing of penalties unequalled for their injustice and severity.

The English distrust of theory and hatred of fanaticism was in this case coupled with their deep-rooted individualism as exemplified in the commercial system of laissez-faire.

> "While social problems were multiplying on all sides, the state remained inactive. Harassed by the war 1792-1815, terrified by the fears of revolution, bound by a fatalistic political economy and the doctrine of laissez-faire, the governing classes salved their consciences by private charity, and by preaching a lusty individualism and the virtue of self-help." [3]

The other side of the picture, hidden from the protagonists in the struggle, is only too clear to us now. The evils of industrialism had one redeeming feature: they compelled redress. Little need to recapitulate here the sufferings of those helpless victims of circumstance of which the most pitiful were the children. Not from the teaching of Rousseau, nor from the new educational philosophy then taking shape on the continent, but from the spectacle of their misery and degradation, did the English elementary school system originate. Nor was there any need for a hard and fast theory of state control in Education. War intensified already existing evils; voluntary aid and individual effort proved useless; only the state could cope with a problem of such magnitude, and from 1833 onwards the state gradually accepts responsibility for the social and educational welfare of its citizens.

Of the aftermath of war in the years immediately following Waterloo, and of the depression of the Hungry 'Forties it is also unnecessary to speak. For our purpose their meaning is clear: they drove men to think afresh, to throw overboard the outworn creed of respectability and the easy tolerance of festering sores in social and national life. This meant reform of existing evils and an attempt to build anew; wherein once again we recognise the twin influences of revolution and romanticism which we have seen all along.

1. Cf. Leslie Stephen: The English Utilitarians, pp.116, 134, 194

2. See "Early Victorian England", pp.428-9.

3. From the meeting of the Model Parliament in 1295.

4. Cf. the picture of Sir Roger de Coverley. The nouveaux riches of the commercial world did not participate in this tradition, and the gulf between industrial employers and employees widened in consequence.

3. The Revolution in England.

Over the forty years following the fall of the Bastille broods the shadow of the Revolution, but its effects in England and on the continent are very dissimilar. In the first place the Revolution did not inaugurate reforms in England; where it did not cause a temporary setback it synchronised with them, and added momentum to the romantic and humanitarian spirit already at work. Secondly, the reforms which may be ascribed to its influence are in these earlier years domestic, and in this way are an expression of the first rather than the second great principle it enunciated. In the third place it was evolutionary rather than revolutionary.

For the last there were two main reasons: (1) English political history, where for six hundred years freedom had been slowly broadening down from precedent to precedent; and (2) the tradition of noblesse oblige which helped to bridge the gulf between the upper and lower classes. Rank in England involved responsibility; in the outworn feudalism of XVIIIth century France it meant only privilege. The centralised and bureaucratic form of government which persisted in so many European states even after the Revolution and which was free only in name, in the long run meant tyranny and oppression which only strong subversive action could overthrow. The flexible British constitution left the subject a

1. "The power of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." So much for George's attempt to be a king. This explains why the abstract theory of the rights of man fell on unsympathetic ears. Nobody feels impelled to demand the shadow when the substance already lies within his grasp.

2. Hodges: Modern History, p. 79.

very large measure of independence, and any attempt to infringe long-established rights was promptly opposed: "Sovereignty in Great Britain was a partnership; in a great part of Europe it still retained the monopoly of a ruling prince, a bureaucracy or a privileged caste."[2]

One qualification must be made, however. Before 1832 the partnership only included the upper classes. Hence, through this whole period we have a middle class determined to assert itself, and a lower class - whose "freedom" under existing conditions was pure myth - struggling for recognition. In this sense the revolutionary doctrine of the sovereignty of the people fell on good ground. In politics "Parliamentary Reform" became the rallying cry of the masses, the open sesame to an untravelled world of boundless possibilities.

That untravelled world of ever receding horizons was the goal of men's ambition: but how to reach it? For forty years, from one side and another, in one form or another, continuously, almost unanimously, one answer is given: by means of education.

4. The Evangelical Movement.

It is when we compare the results of the revolutionary movement in England with developments on the continent that we begin to ask whether some other and perhaps deeper influence may not have been at work; and as we investigate the philanthropic efforts that were made to combat the growing

1. Cf. Hayes: Foundations of Modern Europe, p.xxi.

2. C.G.Robertson: England under the Hanoverians, p.210.

evils of industrialism, our conviction is strengthened that such was indeed the case. Nor is the answer far to seek. That other influence - sometimes seen in co-operation with contemporary scientific developments - is beyond all question the evangelical revival which was the most vitalising force in English religious life since the Reformation, and completed the revolution in the attitude to one's fellow men that had begun in the XVth century. The intimate connection between Protestantism in religion and democracy in politics is established beyond all doubt; the claims of individuality are recognised by both, and both make for toleration and the emancipation of the human spirit. It is easy to see, therefore, that the revolutionary and romantic movements were in complete harmony with the spirit of the Wesleyan revival, which was itself a revolutionary and romantic faith.

Just how revolutionary it was is made clear by contrast with the orthodox church:

> "Wesley swept the dead air with an irresistible cleansing ozone. To thousands of men and women his preaching and gospel revealed a new heaven and a new earth; it brought religion into soulless lives and reconstituted it as a comforter, an inspiration, and a judge. No one was too poor, too humble, too degraded, to be born again, and share in the privilege of divine grace, to serve the one Master, Christ, and to attain to the blessed fruition of God's peace ....." [2]

We see in a flash how it expressed in religious terms the faith of the romantic and the revolutionary, and how it

1. Hodges: Modern Europe, p.33.

2. After 1832.

3. Cf. "Early Victorian England," p. 416.

served as the inspiration of humanitarianism and philanthropy, since in preaching the fatherhood of God it also taught the brotherhood of man; to love whom then as now was to serve and save from worse than death. In the industrial world it was an antidote to the heartless materialism of laissez-faire, and, in politics, largely through its agency, "the fierce revolutionary enthusiasm which in France was debased into irreligion and crime, was in England largely diverted into these religious and humanitarian channels."[1]

The influence of Methodism in England during the first part of the XIXth century can hardly be over-estimated. In the first place it has no European parallel; in the second place, it is the religion of the middle classes, politically and socially the most important stratum of the community, since from their ranks were drawn the political leaders of the future through whose efforts reforms were most likely to materialise.[2] Finally it gave to Victorian England, when the pure flame of early enthusiasm died down, that moral code which was the strongest binding force in the nation through the period of stress and change.[3]

These, then, are the moulding influences of the Victorian Age; the revolutionary and romantic movements, the industrial revolution and the humanitarian spirit it called forth, the evangelical revival and the creed of progress. With the passing of years they blend imperceptibly, and the cycle of "change

quietude, chance, certainty" is fulfilled. "To the age of revolt which runs from Rousseau to Shelley succeeds the age of acquiescence." As we might reasonably expect, it is during the latter period that reforms take shape, but our interest here lies less in the reforms themselves than in the conditions which made them necessary, and in the spiritual forces that brought them into being. For this some understanding of the background of social and religious life is indispensable, and a review of a sufficiently long period is the most obvious means of determining the strength and direction of current trends. A period so near, so rich in material, presents added difficulties; it is by assembling and classifying the evidence impartially that some general hypothesis can best be reached. Only so can we distinguish between the swirling of innumerable whirlpools or eddies and the broad onward sweep of the main stream.

III. EDUCATION & SOCIAL LIFE IN ENGLAND, 1789-1848.

> "How can we account for the widespread conviction that knowledge, secular knowledge, is a panacea for social ills? This conviction is a novelty; it had been held here and there by men of the XVIIIth century, but with them it had been an eccentric opinion: in the XIXth it came to be a fashionable opinion."
>
> (Findlay: The Children of England, p.116.)

1. Education the Panacea for Social Ills.

In one field in particular all the influences of reaction,

11. Cf. Robert Owen.

2. Cf. Chalmers, Place, Bryce and others.

3. Ruskin.

revolution and reform meet and fuse. The connection between education and politics was made clear by Plato twenty-three centuries ago; the Hebrew prophets had stressed the place of religion in the training of the young: "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom". In the XIXth century a new age - the age of machinery and steam - came into being, and the familiar world of long established certainties began to crumble away. Things rank and gross in nature, sin and vice, and misery, all that man could know of human suffering, descended like an avalanche upon society and threatened it with extinction. In pity and terror men learned the lesson of tragedy. The XIXth century discovered that education was a matter not only of politics and religion but of social and industrial life as well;[1] that it was not one of the privileges of rank and wealth, but one of the rights of the common man;[2] and as such involved the training of practical ability as well as intellect. Later they began to realise that education implied more than instruction, that it was concerned not merely with the tools of learning but with a way of living and a philosophy of life, and that its foundations could hardly be too broad, or its ideal too high.[3] It is this ever-widening conception of education in relation to society that gives unity to the intricate story of XIXth century educational progress.

1. See Findlay: The Children of England, p.118.
Cf. the striking passage describing the power of steam in Bojer's "The Great Hunger."

2. Cf. Lord Shaftesbury:-
"The middle classes know that the safely of their lives and property depend on their having round them a peaceful, happy, and moral population."

2. Popular Education as the Solution of Social Problems.

The main source of the movement towards popular education is to be found in the revolutionary faith in the perfectibility of man. Education was the gateway to that brave new world even then opening up before the dazzled eyes of the multitude, and all who had the people's cause at heart. It was fed by the creed of progress inseparable from an all-embracing commercial system, for knowledge was the passport to efficiency, and efficiency meant money and power. Without knowledge the workman remained a workman, the tool of his employer and of the machine he apparently controlled.[1] Further, among the middle classes this widespread desire for education was reinforced by the social evils of the time, the menace to child life, and the menace to society embodied in the swarms of untaught and undisciplined children found in every large industrial town.[2] On its nobler side the suffering to which the industrial system gave rise called forth a ready response in spirits more finely touched by humanitarian ideals, or imbued with the missionary zeal engendered by the evangelical revival.

From 1783 to 1833 education is a matter of voluntary effort and individual enterprise, and attempts are made to find a solution to the ever-increasing social problem in one of three ways:-

(1) The first was the individual solution, characteristic of the masses, sporadic, general, undisciplined, but since public opinion is a controlling factor in social progress and demand creates supply, this is one of the most powerful forces in the movement for popular education.

(2) The second was the religious solution. It was almost exactly contemporaneous with the first and ministered to it, especially through the medium of the Sunday Schools.

(3) The third was the social and humanitarian solution which began rather later, and included the work of social reformers like Owen and Bentham, pioneers in the movement for Public Health like Percival, Kay, and all who attempted to reform society by ameliorating the conditions in which the masses lived and worked.

The Movement towards Popular Education.

(a) The Individual and Popular Solution.

(1) Growth of a Reading Public. A striking feature of the last quarter of the XVIIIth century is the widespread and intensive desire of the masses to learn to read. Religious reformers in the XVth century had postulated the right of the common man to read the Bible, but progress had been hampered by the troubled history of the two succeeding centuries and the absence of popular literary forms. As we have seen, the stable conditions of the so-called Augustan Age, the increase of wealth and leisure, the progress of science, and the XVIIIth century mode of life, supplemented by literary developments and the evolution of a social prose, were all predisposing factors in the growth of a reading public. It was the

1. After 1816 when it was reduced from 1/- to 2d.

2. Cf. Brougham's "Practical Observations" and Janet Hamilton's "Poems, Essays, and Sketches."
"People between 1850and 1890 had come to respect the printed word and to recognise its value." (Findlay, p.138).

3. E.g. the Haddington libraries (see Brougham's "Observations" p.7) In 1815 the Haddington Library began with a few volumes, and by 1825 there were 19 itinerant libraries of 50 volumes each, and 700-800 readers. Janet Hamilton gives some interesting details of the contents of these libraries;-
"The full half of them (the books in the library) were works of divinity, then biography, travels, voyages, and several sets of "The British Essayist," and a fair proportion of history and geagraphy, no poetry, nothing of the drama, and but one novel, in five volumes, entitled 'Henry, Earl of Moreland, or The Fool of Quality," by Brooke."
(From the sketch "AScottish Roadside Village Sixty Years Since.")

4. In Chapter IV.

5. Wallas: Life of Place, p. 22.

age of the novel, of periodicals and pamphlets, and political developments at home and abroad were of absorbing interest and importance to everybody. Appetite grew with what it fed on; the distribution of popular literature became one of the pedlar's most profitable lines; and the increasing significance and rapid spread of the movement is indicated by the enormous circulation of Cobbett's "Weekly Register"[1] and the spate of "Popular Educators" which found their way into XIXth century working class homes.[2]

(2) Libraries and Discussion Groups. One of the most important manifestations of the people's enthusiasm for knowledge is seen in the rapid and general growth of local libraries[3] and discussion groups corresponding to the coteries in the middle and upper classes whose work has already been discussed.[4] An interesting account of one such working men's group is given by Francis Place (1771-1854) who was for some years a member of the London Corresponding Society, the activities of which may be taken as general.

> "In this society I met many inquisitive, clever, upright men .... They were in most, if not in all, respects superior to any with whom I had hitherto been acquainted. We had book subscriptions, ... only the books for which any one subscribed were read by all the members in rotation who chose to read them before they were finally consigned to the subscriber. We had Sunday evening parties at the residences of those who could accommodate a number of persons. At these meetings we had readings, conversation and discussions. There was at this time a great many such parties; they were highly useful and agreeable."[5]

1. In 1825.

2. Reference to Bentham, "his twenty years' friend and good master," in a letter dated May 2, 1834. (Wallas, p. 92.)

3. Later the British and Foreign School Society.

4. The movement originates with the night schools and Sunday Schools for adults, where writing and arithmetic were taught (reading had been taught in the Sunday School). The principal centres of activity were in the Midlands and in the West of Scotland. The Birmingham Sunday Society was founded in 1789, and Dr, Anderson lectured on science to workmen in Glasgow 1790-96. In 1798 the first adult Sunday School on an undenominational basis was founded at Nottingham and reading, writing and arithmetic were taught to working women.

See Smith: Eng. Elem. Educ., chap. II.

5. In 2-3 years his class numbered 700 students.

Later on, it will be remembered, Place's own shop at Charing Cross became a centre of reading and discussion, and he himself is an example of the excellent work which could be done by these informal methods. He was self-taught, self-made, but besides being one of the moving forces in the repeal of the iniquitous Combination Laws,[1] he was closely associated with the Philosophical Radicals[2] on the one hand and with the Royal Lancastrian Association on the other.[3] He was an ardent champion of popular education and is generally regarded as the pioneer of the movement, "Schools for All", illustrating in himself the limitations, but even more the possibilities, of self-education.

(3) Working Men's Institutes.[4] A more specialised development of the movement is found in the Working Men's Institutes and similar associations which came into being about this time. These represent the growing interest in science which accompanied industrialism, and serve to remind us that XIXth century educators had to solve the problem of illiteracy not only among children but among adults, a fact which added immeasurably to the difficulty and immensity of their task.

The movement began about 1800 and the experience of Dr. Birkbeck in Glasgow showed, by the response he gained, that these institutions ministered to a very real need.[1] The example of Glasgow was followed by Edinburgh in 1821, and in 1824 the Mechanical Institution of London was founded. By

1. Brougham: Practical Observations, pp. 17-24.

2. 20 editions in one year.

1825 Newcastle, Kendal, Hawick, Haddington (School of Arts 1821), Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool and other towns had provided themselves with similar associations and by 1830 this form of Education was thoroughly established.[1]

(4) Brougham's "Practical Observations". Brougham's "Practical Observations upon the Education of the People (1825)" may be taken as expressing the aims and methods of the popular solution. It is addressed directly to the workers, of whose handicap in time and money he is well aware. Yet much can be done individually, he says, and in a spirit of friendly co-operation. Cheap publications: libraries, book clubs, reading societies, discussion groups, lectures, courses of study at the various institutes, all these are aids to the spread of knowledge; but initiative and responsibility in organising such activities is the secret of their success, and the people must learn to depend upon their own efforts.

The book had a phenomenal circulation[2] and doubtless did much to popularise such methods, though as a piece of educational theory it is thoroughly disappointing. It is characteristic of its period in that it recognises only three branches of education - infant schools, elementary, and adult instruction - and adheres to the general principle of freedom from state control. "Any meddling with the first (i.e. infant schools) would be inexpedient, with the last (adult education) perilous to civil and religious liberty." Between vested

1. It was something that the sheep were hungry. Much more parlous was the plight of the sheep who were not - the middle classes in whose hands was so soon to be entrusted the destiny of the Empire. Their shortcomings was a favourite theme with Matthew Arnold.

2. Practical Observations, p. 32.

interests and sectarianism, for many a day to come, "The hungry sheep looked up and were not fed."

Even so, we are a stage farther on. There is no longer any question as to whether the masses shall be educated; that at least has been decided. And Brougham sees dimly that an educated proletariat is going to compel the upper classes to take stock of their own deficiencies in this direction. He had not visited Fellenberg for nothing.

"To the upper classes of society, then, I would say, that the question is no longer whether or not the people shall be instructed - for that has been determined long ago and the decision is irreversible - but whether they shall be well or ill taught - half informed, or as thoroughly as their circumstances permit and their wants require." He goes on to champion his protégés against the old fear that education might make them a danger to the rest of the community, and suggests a simple and obvious remedy: their betters "must too devote themselves more to the pursuit of solid and refined learning; the present public seminaries must be enlarged; and some of the greater cities of the Kingdom, especially the metropolis, must not be left destitute of the means within themselves, of scientific education."

(5) The People's Contribution to the Final Solution. It is safe to assume that by 1830 the popular zest for knowledge had come to make itself felt in the community at large. Illi-

1. Smith: English Elementary Education, p. 135

teracy was something to be ashamed of, reading and study had taken a permanent place in the working man's scheme of things.

This was a fact of tremendous importance, and wholly without precedent. It constituted a revolution in itself and was unquestionably a powerful influence in the cause of popular education.

The criterion, as was to be expected, is still quantity. Indeed individual and local enthusiasm at times passed all bounds. Thomas Cooper, for example:

> "I thought it possible that by the time I reached the age of 24 I might be able to master the elements of Latin, Greek, Hebrew and French, might get well through Euclid and through a course of Algebra; might commit the entire 'Paradise Lost' and seven of the best plays of Shakespeare to memory; and might read a solid course of history and of religious evidences and be well acquainted with current literature of the day."

This gargantuan feast of intellectual provender could be matched by the religious aliment provided by some of the Sunday school libraries of the time. The library in Newcastle on Tyne, for example, in 1815 contained 359 volumes the contents of which are suggested by the following titles taken at random:-

> "The Religious Tradesman, Mrs. Rowe's Devout Exercises, Solomon's Temple Spiritualised, The Art of Divine Contentment, Mrs. Rowe's Friendship in Death, Essay on the Usefulness of Oriental Learning, Milk for Babes (a catechism in verse), Precious Remedies for Satan's Devices, Sighs from Hell."

1. Ibid. p. 67.

2. Plotinus.

"Yet the report for 1816 states that the library continues to be resorted to by the children with increasing avidity."[1]

Surely no further proof is required of the desire of the masses for knowledge and of the enthusiasm with which they sought it. And this is the first step towards the acquisition and assimilation of knowledge: for "the teaching is only of whither and how to go; the vision itself is the work of him who has willed to see."[2]

(b) The Religious Solution.

(1) Recognition of the Child Problem. The first solution of the educational problem was a general one, the expression of a need felt by the labouring section of the community under the stress of economic change, and in response to those subtle manifestations which indicate the presence of unseen and spiritual forces in an age unconsciously seeking the light. But this general desire for knowledge still functions on the adult level. There is as yet no organised or specific attempt to deal with the problem of the neglected child which was to assume such proportions later. Indeed, generally speaking, there is no recognition of its existence. The credit for the discovery of the child problem, "the central fact in education" must be given in the first place to the Wesleyan Methodists, whose attempt to solve it was naturally a religious one. The place of the child in XVIIIth century

life is strikingly illustrated here: an adult in miniature, among the poor he was a miniature workman and a potential wage-earner, and on him fell the heaviest burden imposed by the interaction of war and industrial upheaval. The revolutionary idea of the freedom of the individual had not as yet been extended to children, and contemporary indifference to child needs was as we have seen fostered by a religious faith which had for its foundation a profound belief in the doctrine of original sin and a lively hope of hell.

These two forces, one Hebraic and Calvinistic, based on a religion of fear, the other the product of human selfishness and greed intensified by contemporary conditions, worked in absolute harmony towards the eclipse of child life among the poor. Just at this point other forces were brought to bear upon this darkest period in English social history. Like mountain winds across a malaria-infested plain, the romantic view of childhood swept across these pestilential territories. The revolutionary faith in human freedom and the perfectibility of man dispelled selfish fears and timid misgivings, and revealed ineffective goodness and half-hearted philanthropy for the canting hypocrisy it was. The religious revival, preaching a new heaven and a new earth in terms that the simple and sinful, the childlike and the pure in heart, could understand, gave to men a fresh vision of eternal truth, and in the light of that vision swept the spirit clean. And finally the human-

1. Findlay; Children of England, p. 111.

2. See the numerous references in the "Journal."

3. The letter dates from 1770. (Journal, V, p. 104, foot note).

itarian feeling which had been steadily growing for half a century, found a response in the heart of man, in the primary instinct of human nature to relieve distress and succour the helpless. "He that loveth God loveth his neighbour also"; and especially "these little ones".

(2) John Wesley and the Methodist Sunday Schools. To the Methodists, then, must be given the credit for inaugurating reform in the treatment of children. Their mission was to the poor and oppressed; their work lay in slums and mining villages. Men like Wesley and Whitfield could hardly fail to pity and seek to relieve the most wretched of all the human beings to whom their gospel was destined to bring healing and a new life. "The Sunday School was the first institution which really came to the rescue of forlorn children, offering them a fragment of schooling on the only day when they were released from labour."

Wesley's interest in child problems, and his consciousness of public indifference to them, are apparent through his long and arduous life. Fourteen years before Raikes began his work, an enthusiastic disciple, Miss Hannah Bell, had opened a Sunday School at High Wycombe:-

> "The children meet twice a week, every Sunday and every Monday. They are a wild little company but seem willing to be instructed. I labour among them, earnestly desiring to promote the interest of the Church of Christ."

1. Journal, vol.VII, p.3 and note.

2. Smith: Eng. Elem. Educ. p. 60.

At first the purpose of the Sunday school was obviously the saving of souls - not necessarily according to the tenets of some particular faith - but in an entry under July 18, 1784 Wesley appears to sense their educational potentialities more clearly. Referring to the Bingley Sunday School which had an attendance of 240 children within a month of opening, he says: "So many children in one parish are restrained from open sin, and taught a little good manners at least as well as to read the Bible. I find those schools springing up wherever I go. Perhaps God may have a deeper end therein than men are aware of. Who knows but some of these schools may become nurseries for Christians?"

Here we see the germ of the modern elementary school system and the conception of education as more than instruction and more than individual tuition. It is a training in social adaptation and a way of life. Wesley and his followers, like the Reformers before them, were building better than they knew: "It was through the Sunday school that the idea of universal education was first conceived possible."

(3) The Sunday Schools and the Movement towards Popular Education. The importance of the Sunday schools in the evolution of a system of popular education is clear. They were more than a religious institution; they were educational and social agencies as well. "While discussion was still raging whether the labouring poor should be taught to read,

1. Smith: Eng. Elem. Educ. p.60.

2. Ibid. p.66.

3. Ibid. p. 67.

a knowledge of reading was spreading throughout the country. Every preceding educational agency had been a selecting institution confined to those who could afford to pay or had intelligence enough to warrant the help of endowments or charity; the Sunday School was all embracing and free."[1] For the first time in centuries, different social classes met free from distinctions of money or position, in the service of education; and thus the revolutionary principle of social equality was realised. Again, they ministered to the popular demand for knowledge just when that demand was most urgently seeking satisfaction. "They appeared at a time when the desire to read was felt almost as a universal passion, a possession of infinite value, to be acquired at whatever cost."[2] They provided, without money and without price, the first and indispensable means to educational advancement, which to the multitude symbolised the path to freedom. And finally they introduced a rudimentary system of organisation and control. From the Sunday School it is but a step to the manitorial day school, which forms a link between the religious and social influences at work in education and prepares the way for the elementary state school of the future.[3]

The Monitorial System. The monitorial day schools, which occupied the limelight for the first quarter of the century and appeared to many to be a satisfactory solution of pressing problems, are interesting both because they are the immediate

predecessors of the state school and because they are almost perfect reflection of English character and methods in dealing with difficult situations. In the first place they are a wholly native product. They are exactly contemporary with continental movements springing from the same passion for humanity and desire to relieve distress, but it is generally conceded that they owed nothing whatever to Pestalozzi and his associates, with whom Bell and Lancaster have little in common. Secondly, they were concerned less with the imparting of knowledge than with the introduction of some sort of order and discipline among vagabond youth - a necessary preliminary to instruction but one quite in keeping with the English regard for ethical rather than intellectual standards; and in the third place, as Smith points out, the monitorial system was a rough and ready attempt to deal with the problem of the neglected child - practical, not theoretical, kindly but unimaginative.

In essence it was an industrial solution of a problem created by industrial conditions - which possibly subconsciously suggested the method. The school was not unlike a factory, and the aim was mass production in the shortest possible time. The teaching was mechanical, the "teachers", as in the factory, were juniors under a foreman, and overhead expenses were cut down to a minimum. Apart from the humanitarian motive, anything further removed from the romantic spirit in education

1. The Manchester Board of Health was formed in 1796.

2. Early Victorian England, p.432.

could hardly be imagined, and unfortunately the system left its mark in the exercise of rigid economy and the utilitarian outlook which exasperated Matthew Arnold. At best it was a temporary expedient and came to an end with the recognition that all purely voluntary effort was incapable of dealing with problems so vast and so complex.

(c) The Social Solution.

The fact that the educational problem was fundamentally a social one dawns slowly on English consciousness during the years immediately following the Revolution.[1] Yet for nearly half a century effective action was delayed on one pretext or another, while conditions went from bad to worse in the new industrial towns. "Meanwhile, lying outside the orbit of the old ruling class, neglected by their natural leaders, the industrial territories were growing up as best they might, undrained, unpoliced, ungoverned, and unschooled."[2]

There are two ways of attacking social problems: by improving conditions and environment, or by changing the outlook of the people. The Wesleyans had followed the latter course, and achieved remarkable results. The social reformers attacked the evil from the other angle, realising that so long as conditions in home and factory remained unaltered, any attempt at a final solution could only be palliative, never remedial.

1. From James Seth: Ethical Principles, p.85.

2. Cf. Owen: New View of Society, p.9:-
The ruling principle of conduct: "The happiness of self clearly understood and uniformly practised; which can only be attained by conduct that must promote the happiness of the community."

(1) The Utilitarian Philosophy. With the social solution, two new forces are brought to bear upon the central problem. One is the utilitarian philosophy, the working faith of the Philosophic Radicals, which with Methodism formed the groundwork of Early Victorian thought; the other is the all-embracing influence of science. The utilitarian philosophy, a modern form of Epicureanism, was in its essence a product of the XVIIIth century and the period of revolution and change:-

> "Whenever life loses its meaning, or when that meaning shrinks to the experience of the present, when no enduring purpose or permanent value is found in this fleeting earthly life, when in it is discerned no whence or whither, but only a brief blind process, then the conclusion is drawn with a fine logical perception, that the interests of the present have a paramount claim and that present enjoyment and unconcern is the only good in life."[1]

The individual, in so far as he is certain of anything, is certain only of himself, for social life has lost its significance; society is no longer an organic unity but simply a collection of individuals, each an end in himself. There is no recognition of the teleological aspect of personality; the sole check on desire is rational self-control; and the desire for the common good. The greatest happiness of the greatest number, therefore, has its foundation in self-love.[2]

(2) Science and Utilitarianism. The utilitarian philosophy had much in common with the rational and scientific spirit

1. Mme. Curie, (Biography, p.233).

2. Early Victorian England, pp.448and 421.

which distinguished XVIIIth century thought and became so marked in the late Victorian age. Science is concerned first and foremost with facts and the world of reality and time. Its methods are those of investigation and enquiry; it seeks to establish on the basis of sound reasoning, the relation between cause and effect: its ideal is dispassionate and absolute truth within its accepted orbit. "In science we must be interested in things, not in persons." Eschewing abstractions, it seeks to explore to the uttermost the known and knowable universe, to reduce its phenomena to order and system, but with the world of large vital human relationships, of ultimate values, it declines to have anything to do. It stands apart, impartial and aloof.

We can see at a glance the connection between influences apparently so diverse. Both approach the social and educational problem in a rational and scientific manner, unhampered by religious dogma, free of the trammels of class and tradition. "The Radicals had conceived the possibility of applying disinterested intelligence to social problems." ... "They came down into a world where mediaeval prejudice, Tudor law, Stuart economics and Hanoverian patronage still luxuriated in wild confusion, and by the straight and narrow path they cut we are walking still." Their work in legal reform is characteristic. It was an attempt to bring order out of chaos along the lines dictated by reason and common sense. Their

1. See Richard Dale Owen's interesting account of an even-spent with Clarkson. ("Threading my Way," p.107).

2. Leslie Stephen: The English Utilitarians, p.259.

methods were scientific in their patient thoroughness, and the technique of "Inquiry, legislation, execution, inspection, report", as well as their unofficial means of educating public opinion, are still with us.[1] The soundness of their suggestions for educational organisation on a national scale is proved by the adoption and extension of those measures when sectarian prejudice had died down sufficiently to permit men to judge according to reason instead of feeling.

Theirs was no ideal philosophy. It was their mission "to articulate the creed of progress, to state its evidences and draw its implications". The end they sought was happiness, the means they advocated was justice; in morality they were concerned "with concrete human beings and not with motives running about by themselves."[2] They succeeded because they did not attempt the impossible.

Science and philosophy working in co-operation provided a salutary corrective to vague revolutionary aspiration, religious prejudice and fanatical zeal and well-meaning ineffective goodness in their efforts to straighten out the social tangle. With their help men learned to see what was before their eyes, to appreciate the part played by circumstances and environment in the formation of human character and standards of conduct, to dispense with the hope of future bliss as an excuse for tolerating present misery. Here again we see the blend of old and new. The medieval preoccupation

1. New View of Society, Essay I. "Any general character from the most ignorant to the most enlightened, may be given to any community....."

with the spiritual and remote is giving place to the Renaissance interest in the tangible and the material. The ascetic ideal which had survived in the form of Puritan repression, is being discarded; the dual nature of man is recognised, and the process of secularisation, which is one of the most impressive of XIXth century developments, is here traced to its source. When the control of youth passed from church to state, such a result was inevitable.

These then are the influences which science and philosophy brought to bear on social problems and they may be summed up in the word reform. Within forty years, sporadic effort and voluntary enterprise had given way to concerted action and state control, and within eighty years education was in effect universal, compulsory and in large measure secular. Reason had become one of the guides of social life; and education was recognised as part of the social heritage, accessible and free to all.

(3) Robert Owen. The outstanding example of the social reformer who was also philosopher and factory owner is Robert Owen, the story of whose experiment at New Lanark needs no recapitulation here. His whole theory is based upon a belief in (1) the unlimited power of environment in moulding human character, and (2) the ruling principle of happiness as the mainspring of human effort. Create an ideal environment, and since man is endowed with a nature both passive and plastic,

1. Ibid. p.42. "Relieve the human mind from useless and superstitious restraints....."

2. Ibid. pp.9,40,49. This was the ruling principle in the Infant School at New Lanark. "Each child on his entrance into the playground is to be told..... V ' that he is never to injure his playfellows, but on the contrary, he is to contribute all in his power to make them happy.'"

3. Cf. the extreme forms of Behaviourism in modern psychology.

4. The distinctive feature of man as compared with the lower animals is his much greater adaptability and variability of response.

4. See, for example, pp. 44,45,53. "Man therefore, never did, nor is it possible he ever can, form his own character."

an ideal character will result. Eliminate undesirable elements from an environment which is at present very far from ideal,[1] and then "keeping vice out", leave the child free to grow in the knowledge of truth and goodness learned from the teaching and example of those about him. Knowing goodness, he will come to desire it, and will realise that his own interest and happiness are bound up with the interest and happiness of others.[2]

It is not difficult to seize upon weak points in Owen's argument. His theory of environment, for example, is too simple and too rigid, for no theory which reduces human nature to terms of automatic response to environment can ever be anything but incomplete.[3] To regard man as the puppet of circumstances is not only bad philosophy and faulty psychology but plainly untrue.[4] Again, man being a rational as well as a sentient creature, the ethical ideal cannot be stated solely in terms of happiness, nor can a philosophy based on self-love afford a satisfactory foundation for morals. Owen's own life was an eloquent refutation of his doctrines.

Disregarding will,[5] the conative aspect of man's threefold nature, he falls into the error of confusing virtue with knowledge - a belief which underlies the slogan "Education the panacea for social ills". Virtue is the child of knowledge, vice of ignorance; let us dispel ignorance and all will be well with society. To know what is right is to do what is right.

1. Manfred.

2. Drinkwater: A Prayer.

3. Cf. the connection, or at least the resemblance, between theories of environment and Wordsworth's "Education of Nature." Are we in these modern days trying to combine the two?

Owen's contemporary, Byron, knew better: "The tree of knowledge is not that of life." So did Paul, had Owen cared to consult him: "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me out of the body of this death?"

> "Knowledge we ask not; Knowledge Thou hast lent.
> But Lord, the will - there lies our bitter need.
> Give us to build above the deep intent
> The deed, the deed." [2]

Yet Owen performed an estimable service to the cause of social reform. He compelled men to recognize facts they had hitherto been only too willing to overlook, and to realise that moral standards cannot with impunity be indefinitely excluded from commercial enterprise. Moreover it is true that environment does contribute in very large measure to human happiness and efficiency besides being part -

> "of all that mighty sum
> Of things forever speaking",

which enables the soul to grow to its full stature in wisdom and heavenly grace.[3] This surely is what Plato inferred in his conception of the City Beautiful. Of the Knights of the Grail Galahad alone was spared that weary search; born in the mystic Castle, surrounded by that pure and gracious atmosphere from childhood, to him the Holy Thing was a part of his daily life.

Owen's conception of education is derived from his social

1. Lloyd Jones: Life, Times and Labours of Robert Owen, p. 90.

2. New View, p.12.

3. New View, p. 32.

4. New View, p. 65. "The end of government is to make the governed and the governors happy. That government then is best which in practice produces the greatest happiness to the greatest number; including those who govern and those who obey."
Cf. Lloyd Jones: Life , p.438.

theories; it is the means through which they may be realised in practice, and of its importance he has no shadow of doubt. "He had studied the subject carefully and deeply, and had come deliberately to the conclusion that education for the development of the individual human creature, as well as for the safety and progress of society, was the highest and most important duty men could be called on to perform."

This was something new in his day. So too was the emphasis he laid on hygiene,[2] for which his friends in Manchester were even then waging a bitter fight. In his insistence on physical health as the necessary foundation for spiritual wellbeing, he is at one both with the Greeks and with the findings of modern science. Education to him was not so much intellectual as social and ethical, and it included all the influences which go to the making of human character. Hence its importance in social and national life: "Can any question be brought forward of deeper interest to the community than that which affects the formation of character and the wellbeing of every individual within the Empire?"[3]

This is the signal for the death of laissez-faire, and a challenge to the state to shoulder the responsibility it has shirked too long. The next step, and logically it is a short one, is national education.[4]

1. Lloyd Jones: Life, p.120.

2. A world "without idleness, without poverty, without crime and without punishment."
(New View, pp.31-2)

3. Lloyd Jones: Life, Prefatory, p.4.
Cf.
"When man to man the world ower
Shall brithers be for a' that."

4. History of English Utilitarianism, p. 240.
See the fine passage in J.S.Mill's Autobiography, p.46.

This is not all, however. The horizons are widening. The cosmopolitan spirit of the XVIIIth century is returning in a new guise. Education is not only a national affair; it is a matter which concerns all mankind. "His New Lanark experiment was an attempt to carry into practice what he felt to be a pressing necessity, not only in the interest of Great Britain, but in the interest of the masses of the people in every part of the world."[1]

Here we see the romantic sympathies which existed side by side with Owen's utilitarian philosophy, and reveal his work as an expression of the romantic movement in education. Like the poets, he too dreamed of an ideal world, though his ideal is framed in the language of industry and economics such as the working man could understand;[2] like them he believed in its coming, and in his own sphere tried to bring it nearer. His was no heavenly Jerusalem descending from the clouds, no nobler Athens, radiant city of intellect and beauty. It was a heaven upon earth he was working for, a higher life for the common people in connection with their daily labours - "an increase of knowledge, a love of truth, a kindlier intercourse, a wiser tolerance of every form of difference in thought."[3]

Surely we recognize the picture now? "It was an agnostic" writes Albee of J.S.Mill, "who first brought the utilitarian doctrine into closest touch, not only with our moral but with our religious consciousness."[4] It was another agnostic, essay-

1. cf. Shaw: Major Barbara:-

CUSINS. Then the way of life lies through the factory of death?

BARBARA. Yes, through the raising of hell to heaven and man to God, through the unveiling of an eternal light in the Valley of the Shadow.

2. Other members were Dr. Erasmus Darwin, Joseph Priestly.

ing much and suffering greatly, who gave us the most reasonable interpretation of the golden age which the romantic poets had sung: a Kingdom of God upon earth, not established suddenly by some divine miracle, but evolving slowly through long generations, the work of men who in patient faith laboured and died for the vision which, though it tarried, they believed would come.[1]

(4) Science and Health. While the philosophers proclaimed happiness as their goal, the scientists were content with a more matter of fact formula. The scientific criterion is not happiness but health, and this proved in practice a more convincing argument than the rights of man and the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

The movement for industrial reform in the interests of public health began in 1796 with the founding of the Manchester Board of Health by Dr. Percival, President of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society and a friend of Robert Owen.[2] Insanitary conditions in the industrial towns had greatly increased the danger of epidemics, and fear was a powerful agent in drawing parliamentary attention to the resolutions put forward by the Manchester Committee as a result of his investigations. Long hours, night work, and unhealthy conditions in the factories were condemned as a menace to public health, and the total absence of any education or moral and religious in-

1. It limited the hours of labour to 12, prohibited night work, and recommended that instruction be given in reading, writing and arithmetic.

2. Reform only came with the representation of the middle classes in Parliament, that is after 1832.

3. The intricate story of the years 1815-39 has been fully told elsewhere. (e.g. in Smith's History of English Elementary Education).

struction, was deplored. The outcome was the Health and Morals Apprentices Act 1802,[1] the first of the long series of legislative measures which finally set at liberty the child slaves of the factories and mines and made education compulsory as well as free.

The first Factory Act did little more than point the way to later reforms.[2] It applied only to apprentices, and no efficient inspection was provided to ensure that regulations were enforced. The second Act (1819) was likewise ineffective. It forbade the employment of children under 9, and reduced the working hours of all under 16 to twelve per day, but as there was still no adequate supervision, and as no birth certificates were issued until 1837, the imposition of an age limit was useless. Parents and employers conspired to evade the law. Not until the Third Factory Act of 1833 was the matter handled seriously, and by that time social reform had joined forces with politics, philosophy with public health.[3]

(d) The Political Solution.

(1) The Gathering Storm. Meanwhile matters were coming to a head. The cause of reform was rapidly gaining ground and by 1830 the end of the long Tory regime was in sight. The aftermath of war, the repressive measures of the government, and an iniquitous economic policy had succeeded where the Revolution itself had failed. And behind the political unrest

1. Early Victorian England, pp.426-7.

2. 1834 onwards.

3. Chartism, Past and Present.

and social discontent which permeated working class homes from the fever-stricken dens of the East End to the cellars of Manchester and the slums and closes of Glasgow, lay the contradiction which was the canker of English life:-

> "English society was poised on a double paradox, which its critics within and without called hypocrisy. Its practical ideals were at odds with its religious professions and its religious beliefs at issue with its intelligence..... It could not last. It was impossible to maintain forever the position that Christian responsibility was a duty everywhere except in economic life, and that strength and vigour, the control of nature by science, of events by prudence, are good things everywhere except in the hands of the state."

All the influences that we have seen went to the making of the Victorian Age were concentrated finally in the humanitarian movements which found expression in the 'thirties in measures introduced by a more liberal government; and the disclosures made by the various parliamentary committees of enquiry[2] further directed the attention of the public to social and educational abuses of long standing. The fire of popular indignation was fed from other sources - by the satire of Dickens and the wrath of Carlyle.[3] Other voices, from Scotland, from Ireland, from the continent, gradually made themselves heard above the tumult; and behind all these things was the shadow of economic depression and the advancing spectre of the Hungry 'Forties.

(2) Education in the 'Thirties. "Education in the 'thirties

1. Smith: Eng. Elem. Educ., p.152.
Details are given in "Early Victorian England" in "Education in the Nineteenth Century" and elsewhere.

.....

2. The central problem to contemporaries was the rescue of children from the factories. Cf. Findlay, Children of England, p. 122.

presents a disquieting picture." Conclusions reached by the Manchester Statistical Society's enquiries may be taken as giving some indication of the general state of affairs. "Expressed briefly, out of every ten children of school age, four went to no school at all, three went to Sunday school only, two attended the very unsatisfactory dame and common day schools, and one received an education which at least escaped the strictures of the committee."[1]

From these and similar statements we may fill in the details. As we understand the term, schools were practically non-existent. There were no buildings, no teachers, no organization, and sometimes no children; the curriculum was limited to the three R's, the maximum attendance was about two years. Although the central problem which had faced reformers in the 'thirties was in process of solution, the others had hardly been thought of.[2] Children had been rescued from the factories to be sent to school: but where were the schools? Who was to teach them? And what were they to be taught? There was no comprehensive policy of educational reform, only isolated fragments of past experience; and the example of Scotland and the continent where social conditions were radically different. "Lancaster had convinced his age that the cost of education could be made small enough to include the poorest classes; Bell had given the Church an opportunity to face a national task; Owen had emphasized the

1. Smith: Eng. Elem. Educ. Chap.III, pp.101-2.

1. War and Laissez-faire.

importance of early training, and Wilderspin had popularised the infant school; Stow had drawn attention to the need for trained teachers and with Wood had raised the art of teaching to a higher level."[1]

So far every attempt to solve the educational problem had failed though each solution had added its quota to the final one. The desire for knowledge, the belief in knowledge, the movement for social reform, the humanizing and uplifting force of religion - all in themselves had proved inadequate. The popular enthusiasm for knowledge and the spread of literacy - which provided the angry public opinion that drove politicians to act - could not by its very nature be anything more than a foundation on which to build. The religious attempt had perished on the rocks of sectarianism. Social reform was the most immediately promising because it held the key to further developments and made clear the fact that no amount of individual and voluntary enterprise, no amount of philanthropy, could deal with a nation-wide evil intensified by conditions that were rooted in the policy, foreign and domestic, of the state.[2] Only state action, state revenue, state control, could provide the organized effort essential to an effective solution.

"The great defect of English education", said Sir Thomas Wyse, "is the total want of a national organisation. There is not, as in all continental countries, a Minister and Council of Instruction; nor as in Scotland a General Assembly; nor as in Ireland, a Board of Educa-

1. Quoted in Smith, p. 160.

2. Mill's Essay on Liberty, for example.

3. It was not, of course, the whole cure. Probably in itself it would have been as ineffective as the others, but in conjunction with them it holds the key to success. Behind all instruments and means lies the human factor, the vision, insight and practical ability, which can use them to further the end in view.

tion. It forms the one great exception to the civilised world..... The voluntary system of public instruction, with no central power to guide, aid, or control, has not only not worked well, but worked nearly as ill as any system could." [1]

(3) National Education. Organisation, control. These were not popular in English political history, nor were they accepted without question in education.[2] But it was the only way. And it was made possible by the industrial and scientific developments which in other ways had been so devastating in their effects on social life. Material progress, which had at first threatened to wreck men's happiness, was entering upon a new phase. Science was like the sacred spear which healed the wound of Amfortas; the weapon which had dealt the blow provided the means to an effective cure.[3]

The years 1833-1848 see the launching of the national programme. Timidly, often blindly and indifferently, each step is taken: a £20,000 grant for the provision of school buildings; the appointment of committees to investigate and report on actual conditions; the establishment of a central board with a permanent secretary whose statesmanlike view and sound practical judgment enabled him to "found broad and strong, aim high", and plan for the years ahead; the training of teachers; the reform and extension of secondary and higher education. All these were preparing for the vintage of the 'seventies and after, when the arts of peace flourished for a brief space before war and its aftermath of poverty and

depression swept away forever the Victorian world of mahogany and old china, of lavender and hollyhocks and the scent of mignonette.

So the state gradually assumes control of its children. But the English mind is still haunted by the social aspect of the question and we find the humanitarianism of the revolutionary period seeking a new form of expression in the care of those who cannot fend for themselves. The physically and mentally defective - the blind, the deaf, and the maimed in body and mind - have special provision made for them; later the sick and the hungry, the homeless and the unclean - the submerged sixth of child life and adolescence. Out of its health and power the state will provide for those who have neither. We observe how characteristically English the solution is - a tardy yet effective method of meeting a compelling need, an urge to reform, less for educational than for social and ethical reasons; and through it all that curious blend of indifference and a sense of responsibility, of conservatism and compromise, and the age-old tradition of noblesse oblige.

Chapter VIII.

ROMANTICISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

(ii) Towards Utopia.

Educational developments in the XIXth century do not present a spectacle of uninterrupted progress. Even after the state assumed responsibility the forward movement was only too frequently hindered or checked by reactionary forces, and the period between 1833 and 1870 may be best described as one of unstable equilibrium. The state is slow to exercise its authority, slower still to formulate a comprehensive policy. As early as the late 'twenties the inadequacy of an elementary curriculum limited to the three R's was realised, and forty years later Matthew Arnold was still protesting politely but vigorously against the same evil in another form.[1] The importance of a trained and educated body of teachers was with difficulty impressed upon those in authority, and it is significant that the first English training college was due to the iniative of one man whose observation and experience had been broadened by foreign contacts. The two forces which operate continually in the political and social history of the period are seen equally at work here: reaction and reform, instability, uncertainty, and slow consolidation mark the evolution of the national system of education.

The present chapter deals in the main with the period

[1] The system of Payment by Results.

1. Until 1839 the Education Grant had been administered by the Treasury. In this year the government raised the grant to £30,000 and created an Education Department consisting of the president of the council, the vice-president, and four other members. In 1899 the Board of Education replaced the committee of the privy council,

2. Sir Joshua Fitch gives some revealing details in his lecture on "Primary Education in the Nineteenth Century". (In "Education in the Nineteenth Century," R.D.Roberts, ed.)

1820-65. Continental influences reasserted themselves after the close of the Napoleonic Wars with the publication of Brougham's Report in 1816 and Hills "Plans" in 1822. With the appointment of Arnold to the Headmastership of Rugby in 1828, and the foundation of the University of London in the same year, secondary and higher education in England entered upon a new phase. The various strands of development are interwoven in the work of Matthew Arnold in the 'sixties, and when the Education Act of 1870 was passed the romantic movement was already on the wane. Science held undisputed possession of the field of interest, and theories of philosophers and poets were being put to the test in a practical manner, and adapted in the process to the needs of an everyday world.

I. THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM RE-STATED.

By 1840 the state had virtually assumed control of education. Grants had been voted by Parliament, ~~an Board of~~ Education Department had been established with Kay Shuttleworth as permanent Secretary, and arrangements made for the inspection of schools. Men sat back and congratulated themselves on having found a satisfactory solution to the educational problem at last.

In reality they had only made a beginning. As late as 1870 and later, accommodation was still inadequate; factory children had been safeguarded by legislation but these comprised only a proportion of the school population. Agricultural and

1. Matthew Arnold (Popular Education of France, p.101) gives some figures for 1856:

In Glasgow 21,025 children did not go to school, in Manchester 17,177, and in England the number estimated was 2,250,000.

non-textile workers still toiled for 14-16 hours a day, and the Mines Report in 1842 revealed horrors as yet undreamed of. The problems of school attendance and the elementary curriculum were to remain for the greater part of the century, and a resolute attempt to cope with the demands of post-primary education belongs to the present day.

1. The Challenge.

Looking back over a hundred years of progress we can see more clearly what were the issues involved. To contemporaries two major difficulties presented themselves for immediate consideration: the training of teachers, and the education of the middle classes. It was recognized that these were closely associated; later it became increasingly clear that any attempt to deal with them adequately raised the question of secondary education in general: and beyond that, opportunities for more advanced study in the universities and higher centres of learning on a basis of sex equality. Thus, from being a matter of the minimum of instruction for the lower classes, the problem resolved itself into "Education for All". But still further questions arose concerning the kind and quality of education, and the manner in which it was to be provided. To these and kindred topics very different answers were given by different people at different times. In the following pages only a few of these answers can be discussed: it will be seen that all have

1. Page 14 in the volume of Pamphlets.

one quality in common - the idealism which remains to the end the hallmark of the romantic faith.

2. "Education for All."

A series of pamphlets published between 1818 and 1828 gives some indication of the variety of standards and the general trend of enlightened opinion at the beginning of our period. At one extreme, for example, stands the Prospectus and Examination Syllabus of the Feinaglian Institution of Dublin, (1823). The curriculum includes "General Grammar, English Grammar, Elocution, Composition, Letter-writing, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, Italian, Geography, History and Chronology, Elements of Geometry and Algebra, Arithmetic and Writing." "Most anxious attention is given to the moral and religious instruction of the pupils ....." and it is noted that corporal punishment is not resorted to, mental - or 'moral' - suasion being considered more effective.

Details are given. In English the preparatory classes specialise in grammar and parsing; there is nothing for the seniors beyond the Third Class, in which "They will exhibit a critical knowledge of the general construction of propositions, change the inverted disposition of their component parts to the simple order, determine the different complements of each word, and show a critical and rational acquaintance with the subject."

1. The "Sketch" is prefaced by a letter to Dr. Chalmers.

2. p.44 in volume of Pamphlets.

We begin to understand why corporal punishment could be dispensed with. This is an English syllabus in the golden age of romantic poetry and the English Essay. Alas, scope for youthful imagination seems to have been confined to the History syllabus (ominously designated 'Chronology'). The Third Class by way of recuperation after their English periods studied "The facts from the creation of the world to the Babylonish Captivity", and in the following year, as the Fourth Class, they concentrated on "The events from the creation of the world to the birth of Alexander the Great." The curriculum makes no mention of science, art, practical activity or physical culture. This princely education is provided for 80 guineas per annum (40 guineas for the preparatory) and each pupil has a bed to himself.

(a) R.J.Bryce: Sketch of a Plan for a System of National Education for Ireland (1828).[1] From R.J.Bryce, Principal of Belfast Academy, on the other hand, comes an excellent little pamphlet, outstanding alike for candour and insight. Two fundamental needs must be satisfied, he argues, before any real progress is possible. There must be (1) an education suitable for all classes, not merely for the poor; and (2) adequate provision for the training of teachers: "We have all entered upon our profession unprepared."[2] Nor is professional training enough, by which a mechanical and stereotyped method may be

1. p. v in Preface.

2. p. 45. The reasons are:- 1. disagreeable work; 2. odium associated with 'master' and chastisement; 3. low remuneration.

3. pp.15 et seq. The training should include:- Instruction in the Theory of Education by a recognised Professor of the Art of Teaching; practice in model schools under his control; a sound general education; good character; teaching ability (most important).

substituted for sound general culture and a knowledge of child-nature: "All endeavours to improve Education, however zealous and generous they may be, must utterly fail as to every purpose of real value unless means be provided for enabling teachers to study education as a liberal art, founded on the philosophy of the Human Mind." As a practical means to this end he proposes that a Chair of Education be established in each university and all teachers be required to obtain a certificate of competency.

The Training of Teachers. The book is almost entirely taken up with the exposition of these central ideas. He puts his finger on the reasons for the unpopularity of teaching as a profession, indicates clearly the nature of the training required, and takes as his chief criterion not the candidate's knowledge (though knowledge is necessary) but his ability to teach. In defiance of the chorus of approval which had greeted the monitorial system, he condemns in the strongest terms the employment of immature, inexperienced, untrained teachers, quoting in support of his opinions an article which had been published in a recent number of the North American Review:-

> "Shall we build school houses and purchase books and collect large sums of money ..... and leave undone the very thing that is to give efficacy to all the rest? Shall we rear a system of machinery with great labour and care, without attention to the very power by which it is to work with energy and effect? For we aver, and repeat, that the intelligence of the teachers is the

1. pp. 54-5

2. In Works, vol.XII, pp.191ff.

3. pp. 194-6

4. p. 219.

the power, the vital principle, the mainspring in our social establishments." [1]

In his grasp of essentials Bryce was a revolutionary. The inspiration for his book, however, came from an outside source. In 1819 Chalmers had published his "Considerations on the System of Parochial Schools in Scotland", and it was this short essay which formed the nucleus of Bryce's "Sketch".

(b) Chalmers: "The Parochial System".[2] The ideal which Chalmers describes grew out of the Scottish parochial system of education. He deprecates both the wholly unendowed (or fee-paying) and the free type of school. Against the first he argues that since mental and spiritual needs do not, like those of the body, drive men to seek satisfaction, a population sunk in ignorance and degradation sinks still lower if left to itself. As for the other alternative, he urges with considerable truth that "what is gotten for no value is rated at no value",[3] and parents, children and teachers are apt to shelve responsibility under such a system. He therefore advocates a compromise such as existed in the schools he knew, where the buildings and part of the teacher's salary were provided, the deficit being made up from fees. His ideal school is one "where education is so cheap that the poor will count it no hardship to pay, and where education is so good that the rich will find it of no hurt to their children to send." [4] The people in this case are met halfway, and the independence and respect

1. p. 31. "The power of reading is indeed given to them; but that is not education; it is barely the introduction to it."

2. pp. 32-3.

of all parties retained.

With this point of view Bryce is in complete accord. The beggarly three R's are barely an introduction to the world of knowledge.[1] He would have English Grammar, General History and Geography taught to every human being capable of profiting by such education, and he scorns the notion that an interest in contemporary politics is harmful. With Dr. Johnson he believes that "'all truth is innocent and that the greatest safety lies in its widest circulation.'"[2] It was a pity more of those in authority had not been gifted with a similar breadth of outlook.

(c) A National System. Bryce goes further than Chalmers, however. He was compelled to do so in the circumstances. With characteristic insight he seizes upon the greatest obstacle to an efficient teaching service, namely the all but illiterate middle classes. He had postulated a sound general education as one of the necessary qualifications of a teacher, but how was this to be attained? On the analogy of the Scottish system he suggests (a) an improved and more extensive elementary curriculum, and (b) a common education for middle and lower classes, to provide a common background for teachers and taught. He suggests that elementary mathematics, Latin and Greek, and even some of the modern languages should be taught in these national schools:-

11. p. 34.

2. p.44.

"This is desirable not only for the sake of those children of genius who are to be found in the dwellings of poverty, but also for the sake of that large and important class of society, composed of substantial farmers and independent artisans, who occupy a middle station between the rich and the poor and are well able to pay for the education of their children. From this class of people the great mass of those who live by intellectual industry come. It is therefore of the greatest importance that they should have the means of a good early education." [1]

It is not practicable, of course, to require all children regardless of intellectual capacity, occupational requirements, and so on, to follow the same curriculum, nor is the course which Bryce suggests sufficiently comprehensive to command unqualified approval. but we have to remember that modern educational psychology was not in existence in 1828, that the supremacy of the classical tradition had only recently been questioned, and that education of the masses was still in its infancy. It is surely in the highest degree commendable that he realises the need for more than the tools of learning, that he pleads for equality of educational opportunity (for that is the principle underlying his remarks), and for the abolition of class distinctions within the teaching profession. Indeed, greater demands are made on the skill if not on the knowledge, of "those who labour among the poor.... because the minds on which (they) are to work are in an inferior state of cultivation." [2]

It was the ideal which animated Kay and his friend Tufnell

when they founded Battersea College twelve years later; simplicity, even austerity, was part of the training of those who went forth "as lay priests to the poor" in the service of humanity. Bryce's aim is a truly national system of education in a society no longer bound by class prejudice. It is easy to see the influence of Scotland, and one is tempted to recall the words of Dr. Cyril Norwood exactly a century later.

> "International war and social war can only be stopped by an education which is both general and thorough; education alone can give to the whole nation that poise and sympathy which will make possible a more real social justice."

II. NEW VOICES, OTHER MINDS.

1. Continental Influences after 1816.

Between 1792 and 1815 we look in vain for any direct influence of European thought in English education. The significance of Pestalozzi's experiments, which were exactly contemporary with those of Bell and Lancaster, was not appreciated until nearly twenty years later, and then only tardily. Bell saw nothing remarkable in the institution at Yverdun, nor apparently was Owen deeply impressed. Dr. Mayo appears to have been the most direct link with the great Swiss teacher; he opened a school at Epsom on his return to England in 1823, and by lecturing and writing sought to disseminate his master's ideas. But if the evidence of contemporary school books is any indication,

1. And Carlyle's admiration is called forth not by Rousseau's strength - "not a strong man" - but by his sincerity.

2. Gosse: Aspects and Impressions, chapter on "Rousseau in the Nineteenth Century."

3. In politics especially. A case in point is Place.

the English in the first instance adopted Pestalozzi's methods rather than his principles, and progress was slow.

Rousseau meanwhile was under a cloud. He was popularly regarded as one of the prime movers of the Revolution, and Burke's diatribes appeared to be fully justified in the light of subsequent events. The English took exception to his politics in the first place and to his character and morals in the second place, while deeper than either of these was the divergence in temperament and outlook. Carlyle and Hazlitt were among the few who remained faithful after Byron and Shelley died. Gosse[2] produces a good deal of evidence to show that after 1835 Rousseau was neither approved nor read until Morley resurrected him in 1873.

This does not mean that his influence was no longer felt, however, though it is notoriously difficult to trace, partly because it had at first been so all pervasive.[3] In education we have seen how, after the early false starts, the Edgeworths adjusted his theories to suit English standards, and it will be remembered that the Edgeworth group had many links with contemporary movements. Rousseau's ideas were reflected also, in the children's literature of the day, especially in the very popular stories of Maria Edgeworth. "Sandford and Merton" and "The Fool of Quality" were read by all classes, and of the indirect influence of the poets it is unnecessary to speak at

1. J.S.Mill: Autobiography, pp.146-50.

2. See Stanley's "Life," e.g.vol.8, pp. 315,327,359.

3. R.D.Owen: Threading my Way, chapter V.

4. Autobiography, p. 61.

5. cf. "Open my heart and you shall see
Graved inside it 'Italy.'"

length. Wordsworth, for example, whose affinities with Rousseau are patent, exercised a profound influence on John Stuart Mill,[1] and he was one of Arnold's closest friends.[2] Shelley, a disciple of Godwin, and Byron, made no secret of their affection. Among Rousseau's confessed disciples later were George Eliot and Ruskin, whose effect on contemporary thought no one would question.

Hardly was the Treaty of Vienna signed than continental intercourse was resumed, and it is interesting to note the stimulus derived from even the most casual contacts. Owen, for example, came under the spell of ~~Hofwort~~ Hofwyl, and from his son Richard we have a most delightful account of what must surely have been an almost ideal school.[3] Mill testifies with deep sincerity to the effect on his character of that year in France "which had a very salutary effect on my development, keeping me free from the error always prevalent in England .... of judging universal questions by a merely English standard."[4] In the second half of the century we have Matthew Arnold's enthusiasm for French culture, Ruskin's interpretation of continental art and Alpine scenery, and Browning's love of Italy.[5] In endlessly diverse ways, often unperceived, fresh air and light were admitted to the stolid, circumscribed Victorian world.

1. Owen (p. 142) gives an interesting sidelight. One pupil, De Saussure by name, had asked a question which the mathematics master was unable to answer. The latter "sidestepped," and De Saussure appeared to accept the explanation. Owen, knowing his friend's mathematical ability, questioned him later. The reply was:

"Would you have had me, before the class, shame the good man who takes so much pains with us, and is u usually so clearheaded? We must work it out ourselves tonight."

2. Fellenberg.

The European reformer who appears to have exercised the most direct and immediate influence on England was Philipp Emmanuel von Fellenberg (1771-1844). Articles dealing with Brougham's evidence before the Committee of Enquiry in 1816 were published in the Edinburgh Review (Nos. XXXI and XXXII) in 1817 and 1818, and Fellenberg's aims and methods were described at length. Richard Dale Owen was a pupil at Hofwyl between 1819 and 1821, by which time the school had a European reputation, and its later fame rivalled that of Yverdun.

(a) Aims and Methods. The aims and methods of the great teacher are clearly outlined in the published articles and in R.D.Owen's memoir. Like Rousseau, Fellenberg insists that education be adapted to the needs of the pupil, and the teacher is not a master but a guide and counsellor. He does not favour rewards and punishments: the key to his discipline is to be found in the golden rule.

Romantic in sympathies, Fellenberg was "a Republican but not a Leveller", and this probably explains the secret of his influence: he combines enthusiasm with sanity, breadth of vision with organizing ability. He avoided the extreme individualism of Rousseau, and the success of his experiments testifies to his grasp of practical affairs. His ideal was a

1. Owen: Threading my Way, p.135.

2. The estate was bought in 1809. In 1815 there were 30 scholars, in 1819 the number was between 40 and 50: (Owen, pp.135-6).

3. See the account in the Third Report (1818) of the Select Committee to inquire into the Education of the Lower Order of the Metropolis, pp.194-7, Quotation in Smith's "History of English Elementary Education," p.131.
A more matter of fact account is given in the Edinburgh Review for October 1819 (vol. XXXII).

national education, differing in essence from that suggested by Chalmers, and much more likely to appeal to English sympathies since it recognized existing social inequalities.

> "The one great idea of his life appears to have been not (as Mme.Roland and the Girondists thought possible) to fuse in the crucible of equality the upper and the lower classes, but to seize the extremes of society, and carefully to educate them both: the one to be intelligent, cultivated workers; the other to be wise and considerate legislators, enlightened and philanthropic leaders of civilisation."

It is a modern adaptation of Plato's theory in the "Republic", and since it was essentially in the nature of a compromise, in a world where the forces of reaction were still strong, it was much more likely to win approbation than more revolutionary doctrines.

(b) The Wehrli School.[2] The Institutions at Hofwyl were really four in number, of which the Academy and the "Wehrli" school exercised the widest influence. The latter, which was imitated in both England and and America, represented the school of industry at its best. It was designed to provide a scientific and practical training in agriculture for those who would work on the land, and though the inmates were orphans or the children of peasants left destitute, nothing less like a "workhouse" could be imagined.[3] Various descriptions of the school have come down to us, and the contrast between the spirit and curriculum of Wehrli and those of the English schools

1. Smith (pp. 153-6) gives an account of the more import- and schools established in England on the Wehrli model.
William Allen's Village School in Sussex (1825).
Children's Friend Society: two schools:-
Brenton Asylum at Hackney Wick (1831),
Victoria Asylum at Chiswick (girls)
Lady Noel Byron's School at Ealing Grove (1833).
Rev. W. L. Rhaum's School, Winkfield (1835).

2. e.g. New Zealand Agricultural and Technical High Schools. Fielding and Massey College specialise in agricultural training. At Paerata this is combined with a general course.

of industry for the poor does not make for the comfort of English readers. The hours of labour are still absurdly long (though they seem to have been extraordinarily pleasant) and the children have far too little play, but their "studies" included drawing, geography, natural history (particularly mineralogy and botany which they learned in the fields) and music, and the lively interest they took in such things is reflected in the remark that many had private collections of specimens. In this sort of education - education, not instruction - the three R's seem to have vanished over the horizon!

His work among the poor lay very near to the great reformer's heart. One gains an indelible impression of kindliness, humanity, almost tenderness, in his dealings with them. His ideas appealed at once to the American people, and rather later to the English; in parts of the Empire today there exist schools which consciously or unconsciously have followed the Wehrli model, and seek to provide a sound practical training with an education suited to the needs of the non-academic pupil.[2]

(c) The Academy. We are fortunate in having a description of Hafwyl from one of its most devoted alumni. Writing after more than half a century, R.D.Owen's enthusiasm is unabated: "Much that comes before me now, by the light of a life's teach-

1. Richard Dale Owen: Threading my Way, p.124. The references in this section are all from the same source.

2. p.136.

ings, and by comparison with the realities of after years, more like a dream of fancy seen under the glamour of optimism, than anything sober, actual, really to be met with in this prosaic world."[1] The spirit of ~~Hapwyl~~ Hofwyl breathes through every line, and we no longer marvel at the far-flung influence of its founder's teaching.

The setting was ideal to begin with. Rousseau and the romantic poets had opened men's eyes to the grander aspects of natural scenery, and Ruskin later was to acknowledge his indebtedness to the beauty of the Swiss mountains. Travel was slow in those days and for pupils like Owen, whose homes were at a distance, the summer vacation was spent in Switzerland, among scenes of unforgettable splendour in the companionship of minds attuned to the sublime and beautiful. The spirit of ~~Hapwyl~~ Hofwyl was the spirit of the mountains; in that ampler ether and diviner air essentials were seen clearly, while the trivial and the petty were forgotten.

This same spirit, one gathers, marked the human relationships in the school. Pupils of high rank and royal blood mingled without distinction with those who depended entirely on the generosity of the Principal.[2] "We had among us many of the nobility of the Continent - dukes, princes, some of them related to crowned heads - and minor nobles by the dozen; yet between them and others, including the recipients of Fellenberg's bounty, there was nothing, in word or bearing, to mark

1. p. 136.

2. p.138.

3. p. 126.

4. pp. 140ff.seq.

the difference."[1]

Social equality found its counterpart in religious toleration: Protestants, Catholics, Greek Orthodox, and undenominational - "members of no Church"[2] - met on the common ground of practical, liberal Christianity embracing essentials, and differences of creed were forgotten. So, too, in large measure, were differences of race and country. "Half the nations of the world - Swiss, Germans, Russians, Prussians, French, Danish, Italians, Greeks, English and I know not of what other nationalities"[3] foregathered there, bound by the ties of their common humanity.

Instruction was on the same high level. The curriculum was ultra-modern in its breadth and sanity. Not instruction but education in its fullest sense was Fellenberg's aim. Classics were balanced by modern languages (French and German), history by mathematics and science, art and music by physical culture. Classes were small (10-15 pupils) and the discipline excellent. Advancement in knowledge was accompanied by growth in personality. Small wonder that the influence of such a training lasted throughout life, "ad extremum vitae halitum", and that spirits so finely touched left an indelible mark on their day and generation. So, looking back across the years, Owen writes his testament of youth: "While I live the golden memories of our College, as it once was, can never fade. With

1. p. 149.

2. All references are to the 1825 edition.

me they have left a blessing - a belief which existing abuses cannot shake nor worldly scepticism destroy, an abiding faith in human virtue and in social progress."[1]

Thus the poetic soul, gazing from the eastern windows of the Palace Beautiful, sees afar off the long blue line of the Delectable Mountains rising beyond the Valley of the Shadow and the towers of Vanity Fair.

3. The Hazelwood System.

Meanwhile continental influences were reaching English education through other channels. Twenty-four years after the appearance of "Practical Education" Thomas Wright Hill published an account of his ideal school in Birmingham. Hill had been a member of Joseph Priestley's congregation, had taught in Sunday School, and had come under the spell of Maria Edgeworth's stories. The school was a family concern, and the family was distinguished both for its humanitarian sympathies and its originality.

The title page[2] strikes a new note in English education. It reads: "Public Education. Plan for the Government and Liberal Instruction of Boys in large numbers, as practised at Hazelwood School." Private tutors at the great public schools had been the general rule hitherto and instruction in the latter could hardly be described as liberal. The system is discussed under the heads of (a) Government or discipline, and (b) In-

1. Art. in Monroe's Cyclopedia, Vol. III, pp. 278-9.

2. p. 2. Expulsion was resorted to on rare accasions - "rather than say that a boy should be submitted to treatment which might lead himself and his school-fellows to forget that he was a gentleman." (p. 181).

struction. The writer openly acknowledges his debt to the Edgeworths, Bell and Lancaster, Rousseau, Pestalozzi and others, but does not hesitate to modify or reject what does not suit his purpose.

"This book", says Sir Michael Sadler, "was epoch-making. It forms one link of the chain of influence which beginning with Rousseau's "Emile" took on English characteristics in the "Practical Education" of R.L. and Maria Edgeworth, and subsequently culminated in Stanley's "Life of Arnold". It was reviewed in the London Magazine by De Quincey and in the Edinburgh Review, and Hill won the sympathy and support of Bentham and his friends. It attracted pupils from Greece and the new South American republics, and the Swedes founded a similar institution in Stockholm. Like Hapwyl it was cosmopolitan and undenominational; and its influence, through Arnold, may be said to have been world-wide.

(a) Self-Government. The model for the "government" of the school, as may be seen from the appendix, was the English constitution. Discipline and management are largely in the hands of the boys themselves. A chosen committee makes the laws, offenders are tried before a juvenile "court" and suitably graded penalties are inflicted, mostly in the form of fines paid in marks which are gained by working overtime. Punishments are "as slight as is consistent with their being effective", the most severe being deprivation of responsibility.

1. p. 217.

2. He cites Pestalozzi: "La liberté de choisir ceux qui ont plus d'analogie avec leurs dispositions naturelles." (p.210).

3. p. 209.

4. pp. 6, 218.

5. p. 224.

The boys' time is very fully occupied, and opportunities for misbehaviour are thus reduced to a minimum, though the account of the daily routine in places is suggestive of a military barracks, if not a concentration camp.

(b) Curriculum and Methods of Instruction. The school avowedly caters for the children of well-to-do parents, and the curriculum therefore is not confined to the rudiments.[1] Hill believes in allowing free scope for individual aptitudes.[2] Progress is more rapid in subjects congenial to the child's taste and disposition, and the consciousness of success is an invaluable stimulus to further effort, besides compensating for possible deficiencies in other directions.[3] A cardinal principle of sound teaching is the encouragement of self-activity:[4] it is better to learn than to be taught, and the teacher therefore is inspirer and guide, not master of his pupil.

Self-activity on the part of the learner does not relieve the teacher of responsibility, however; rather the reverse, since it involves a knowledge of child psychology in general and of the individual child in particular. Sympathy and observation must be supplemented by width of experience and real teaching ability; clear exposition is the necessary prelude to the pupil's comprehension and lifeless teaching will never provoke enthusiasm. There is a hunger of the mind as well as of the body, and the appetite for knowledge must be aroused before an attempt be made to satisfy it.[5] Exit the monitorial

1. Chap. IV.

2. He quotes Pestalozzi: "On doit étudier une langue comme un art pratique et non comme une science."

3. p. 236.

system.

Hill's theories are illustrated in the section entitled "On Acquiring Languages",[1] one of the most interesting parts of the book. The contrast between the bi-lingualism of the Welsh and the results of our own bungling attempts to teach Latin convinced him, inter alia, of the efficacy of what is virtually the modern "Direct Method" - which in capable hands is the most effective way of teaching a modern language where residence abroad is not possible. Any serious student would concur with his two fundamental principles: (i) we learn to speak a language synthetically, as a child acquires habits of speech.[2] Hence the futility of teaching a foreign langue by means of grammatical rules; or worse still, of attempting to teach English composition through the medium of formal grammar. (ii) To "acquire" a language it is absolutely necessary to think in it. Speech is an instrument of thought, as well as communication. Hence the value of rapid reading and of constant practice in ordinary conversation.[3]

Hill's book marks a definite advance in English educational theory, and directly or indirectly owes much to Rousseau and the French encyclopedists. But the outlook is fundamentally English, and it signifies the blend of Anglo-French theory applied to English secondary schools. Rousseau in "Emile" concentrates on the individual; the Edgeworths adapted his

1. pp.5,300.

2. Sir Michael Sadler in art. in Monroe, vol III, p. 279.

ideas to English ways of thinking and extended the practice to the family in their "Household System of Education". Hill applies it to the "large numbers"; with Arnold it becomes part of the English public school tradition and the process of absorption is complete.

So complete is it that some of the original spirit is lost. With Rousseau's extreme individualism Hill had little patience. The training is social and so too is the instruction: the great value of public as distinct from private education is that the child lives as one in a community of equals,[1] and while his intellect is stimulated by contact with others, he finds his life in losing it. Ordinary human relations may be safely trusted to supplement the lessons taught by the law of necessity and will dispense with the "cumbrous conspiracies" and unnatural situations created for the benefit of Emile. This consciousness of the claims of society and the responsibilities as well as the rights of the individual is essentially English. "The Hills were thus among the first to give utterance in the sphere of education to the new Collectivist ideal which arose in reaction to the individualistic presuppositions of XVIIIth century rationalism and of the French Revolution."[2]

The most obvious defect of the Hazelwood system became plain when it was adopted by Arnold. Self-government is a good thing;— so too is responsibility; but both of these de-

1. Stanley's "Life," p. 55.

2. Norwood: The English Tradition in Education, pp.65ff.

mand a certain maturity and there is a danger that the carefree spontaneous joy of youth may be sacrificed. The effect of such a training is summed up in the remark made by a pupil of Hazelwood: "We were premature men." Only a sane and balanced judgment safeguarded by humour and a sense of proportion, can avoid extremes and combine successfully the primary functions of school life - the development of intellect and personality, and the training involved in the harmonious adaptation of the individual to himself, to the community and to the infinite.

III. THE YEARS BETWEEN.

In the year 1828 Thomas Arnold became Headmaster of Rugby and the University of London came into existence. Both events were of major importance in the history of secondary and higher education in England. Dr. Hawkins' prediction regarding Arnold's influence on English public schools was not without foundation,[1] though, as Dr. Norwood points out,[2] Thring and Bowen had no small share in the reforms of the mid-century.

1. Arnold of Rugby.

J.J. Findlay's observation on the work of Ascham, Locke and Rousseau might be applied to the most famous headmaster of the XIXth century. "Most important advances in the principles of Education", he says, "both in England and on the Continent,

1. Children of England, p. 55.

2. Stanley, vol.I, p.399.

3. Ibid. vol. I, p. 259.

4. Cf. Professor Withers: The Teaching of History in England in the Nineteenth Century. (Lecture in "Education in the Nineteenth Century," I. (P. 115ff.)

have not been made by professional schoolmasters, but by men whose duty was limited to the training of two or three children."[1] Arnold had no training as a professional teacher; he was in Holy Orders, and his experience previous to his appointment to Rugby was gained in preparing young men for the university. Apart from family and friends, he does not appear to have had much to do with young children. Yet one feels that those quiet formative years at Laleham were the foundation of his future career.

The moulding influences in Arnold's life are clear even in those early days: the out of doors, school and college, Aristotle and the classics, the Christian faith. He loved the English countryside, whether it was the Thames valley or his holiday home in Westmoreland,[2] and the sea by which he had spent his boyhood had opened the world to him.[3] At an early age he came under the spell of English history and tradition, for Winchester was one of the oldest of the great public schools, and Oxford is still the most medieval of English universities. He introduced the systematic teaching of history[4] and gave French and mathematics a place in the curriculum at Rugby, raising a chorus of disapproval for so doing. At the same time he consistently maintained that classical studies had a permanent and cultural value: "Expel Latin and Greek from your schools and you confine the views of the existing generation to themselves and their immediate predecessors, you will cut off so many cen-

1. Quoted in Fitch: T. and M. Arnold, p. 35.

2. Stanley's "Life," vol. I, p. 106.

3. Ibid. vol. I, p. 104.

4. Ibid. vol. II, p. 14.

5. Ibid. vol. II, p. 24.

6. Art. in Monroe's Cyclopedia, vol. V, p. 219.

7. Art. in Monroe's Cyclopedia, vol. V, p. 26.

turies of the world's experience, and place us in the same state as if the human race had first come into existence in the year 1500."[1]

Deepest of all was the influence of the Christian faith, which colours every phase of his activity. "The business of a schoolmaster, not less than of a parish minister, is the cure of souls."[2] His school was to be beyond all else a school of Christian gentlemen, and the first quality he looked for in a teacher was not scholarship - though he was far from underrating intellectual and academic attainments - but goodness.[3] His ideal was "the constructing of a truly national and Christian Church and a truly national and Christian education."[4] Religion and politics were the two really vital things in life - which is, being interpreted, love to man and love to God. "Science and literature are but a poor make up for the want of these."[5]

Arnold's fourteen years at Rugby are the outward expression of these beliefs. As A.F.Leach has pointed out,[6] it is not true that he was the maker of Rugby, or that he was the means of introducing the prefect system into English public schools. Under his predecessors James and Wooll, the roll number of the school had increased from 52 in 1778 to 381 in 1806, and the prefect system, which was in operation at Winchester in Arnold's own youth, was an integral part of the public school tradition and harks back to the middle ages.[7]

1. Stanley's "Life," vol.I, p.136.

2. Ibid. II, p. 26.
cf. Browning ("Paracelsus"):-
"To know
Rather consists in opening out a way
Whence the imprisoned splendour may escape,
Than in effecting entry for a light
Supposed to be without."

3. Art. in Monroe, vol.I, p. 221.

Arnold's greatness does not lie in his originality, it lies in his practical ability, his adaptation of means to ends, and in his intense moral earnestness. Barriers fall before any man so deeply imbued with the consciousness of a mission, whether the sphere of activity be church or state or the world of everyday.

His affinities with Hill and the educational reformers are not difficult to trace. The system of self-government, the idea of the school as a community, the introduction of a more liberal curriculum, the ideal of service, are all English - and modern. His increasing conviction that "it was not knowledge but the means of gaining knowledge that he had to teach"[1] recalls many passages in Hill's "Plan" and the XVIIIth century idea of the child's mind being a tabula rasa vanishes in the conception that "education is a dynamical, not a mechanical process".[2] Whence it follows that the teacher must himself be a vital and dynamic personality if he is to inspire his pupils with real enthusiasm for knowledge. The growth of the child mind, as we have seen, was one of the themes of Wordsworth's poetry; and remembering the deep friendship which existed between the two men, their close companionship in later years, and the similarity of their tastes and outlook, it is not unreasonable to suppose, as Sir Michael Sadler has suggested,[3] that Wordsworth in particular among the Lake poets exerted a profound influence on his younger contemporary, and,

1. Which (in spite of the absence of direct reference to Rousseau in Wordsworth's poetry) rather suggests the combibed influence of English romanticism and Rousseau.

2. e.g. King's College, Auckland, N.Z.

through him, on the English speaking world.[1]

It is idle to belittle true greatness. Someone has described Arnold as one of the really heroic figures of the XIXth century. His influence can best be appreciated in the spirit which pervades the schools that follow the old world tradition in the outposts of a far-flung Empire.[2] Standing in the twilight dusk of a chapel aisle beneath the Southern Cross, far from the sounds of the English countryside that Arnold knew and loved, one gains a deeper and truer insight into the familiar lines of "Rugby Chapel" -

> "Ye fill up the gaps in our files,
> Strengthen the wavering line,
> Stablish, continue our march,
> On, to the bound of the waste,
> On, to the City of God."

2. "The Idea of a University."

At the beginning of the XIXth century England possessed two universities (Scotland had four) governed by traditions rooted in the middle ages and providing a curriculum dating from the XVIth century. They were centres not of learning but of rank and wealth, and from their precincts the nonconformists, the middle classes and of course women, were rigidly excluded. The effect of this exclusive policy on the community in general and on the teaching profession in particular, is only too obvious.

The founding of the University of London was one of the

1. From Hoskin: The Rise of the Universities, 1923.

2. Literary Selections from Newman, p.42.
(Unless otherwise stated, all references are to this volume.)

most revolutionary steps in the history of XIXth century education. It flung open the gates of learning to the non-conformists, the middle classes, the not-too-well-off, and later to women. It severed the age-old link between religion and learning, it challenged the supremacy of the classical tradition, it began the long process by which in time the university may become a vital force in the life of the community. It was part of the democratic movement in education and symbolised the ultimate possibility of a more liberal education for all.

Such radical innovations were attended by obvious dangers. There was, for example, the very real risk that the university might become a means instead of an end, that culture might be sacrificed to utility, a liberal education to a vocational training. Such a contingency is always present, and it was not lessened as provincial centres followed the example of the metropolis. Hence the abiding interest of Newman's "Idea of a University" in which is set forth once and for all some of the most beautiful philosophical prose in the whole range of English literature, the ideal of "an association of masters and scholars leading the common life of learning."[1]

<u>The Nature and Function of University Training.</u> "A university", according to Newman, "is a place of concourse whither students come from every quarter for every kind of knowledge."[2] It is a school of universal learning, where its inmates absorb

1. p.43.

2. It will be seen that Newman's conception of a university follows the medieval tradition. It is a place of universal learning.

3. p.13ff.

4. p. 15.

knowledge not only from books but from one another, and from the inspiration of contact with minds richer and finer than their own. There the professor becomes missionary and preacher, "displaying his science in its most complete and winning form ....." [1] so that his hearers catch the spirit of that pure and sacred flame. "It is a seat of wisdom, a light of the world, an Alma Mater of the rising generation." [2]

The supreme business of a university is the education of the intellect, its finest fruit that philosophical habit of mind which only a liberal education supplemented by an intellectual tradition of many centuries can bestow. [3] It does not itself traffic in the useful and the commonplace, though one of the benefits it confers is to enable its alumni to render more worthy service in the world beyond the academic cloister garth. It is in no sense a place of purely technical instruction, designed to further professional or other advancement. It is beyond all else a centre of culture, a home for the intellectual life of man through the ages. Knowledge is its own end, and however precious it may be to us and to our fellows indirectly, "we are satisfying a direct need of our nature in its very acquisition". [4] The supreme value of a university education, therefore, is to train the mind for that intellectual activity which Aristotle held to be the chief end of man, the life of contemplation.

From this lofty definition of the nature and function of

1. p. 23.

2. p. 24.

3. p. 65.

a university, Newman goes on to distinguish between instruction and education, knowledge and learning, virtue and knowledge, and finally to describe the characteristics of a trained and disciplined mind.

(i) Instruction and Education. There are two kinds of knowledge, says Newman, useful and liberal, and there are two methods of teaching, mechanical and philosophical. "The one rises towards general ideas, the other is exhausted upon what is particular and external."[1] The knowledge that is gained from a liberal education "is not a mere extrinsic or accidental advantage which is ours today and another's tomorrow, which may be got up from a book, and easily forgotten again.. .... it is an acquired illumination, it is a habit, a personal possession and an inward endowment." Education is more than instruction: it is vital, dynamic, progressive. "It implies an action upon our mental nature, the formation of a character, it is something individual and permanent."[2]

(ii) Knowledge and Learning. Thus, while there is no true culture without acquirements and philosophy presupposes knowledge, knowledge and learning are two very different things.[3] Learning implies the acquisition of information, knowledge its assimilation. It is not until we have discarded the unnecessary lumber which attends the learning process, and have attained to freedom and mastery in the handling of a given subject, that we can be said to know it. Only then can we dis-

1. Cf. p. 70 :- "It is not the mere addition to our knowledge that is the illumination, but the locomotion, the movement onwards, of that mental centre, to which both what we know and what we are learning, the accumulating mass of our acquirements, gravitates."

2. Cf. Spencer's distinction in his discussion of the "innocence" of the child. (Essay on Moral Education, p. 136 in 1861 ed.)

3. p. 30.

tinguish the wood from the trees. The experience is one of growth, the gradual emergence of mind and spirit into light and freedom and a knowledge of the truth.[1]

(iii) Virtue and Knowledge. While it may be true, as Bain maintained, that every moral error is primarily an intellectual error, goodness and knowledge, however closely related they may be, are not synonymous.[2] Newman's teaching on this point is quite clear, and he emphasizes a fact which the Victorian age was slow to grasp, with regrettable results in educational practice. "Knowledge is one thing, virtue is another: good sense is not conscience, refinement is not humility, nor is largeness and justness of view faith ..... Liberal education makes not the Christian, nor the Catholic, but the gentleman."[3] There is a perfection of the intellect, and it is to this end and this end alone that a university education ministers.

(iv) Intellectual Perfection. What then, is "that perfection of the intellect, which is the result of education and its beau ideal, to be imparted to individuals in their respective measures?" Newman's answer is comprehensive and clear. In reliability it far surpasses the erratic power of genius; it transcends mere erudition in that it has learned to leaven the dense mass of facts with the elastic force of reason. It depends on discipline and long training no less than on innate capacity, and it implies spiritual insight and imagination as

1. pp.74-5.

2. Cf. Carlyle's remarks in "Sartor Resartus," Book II.

3. cf. "Through such souls alone
God, stooping, shows sufficient of His light
For us i' the dark to rise by."

well as balanced intelligence. "That perfection of the Intellect which is the result of education and its beau ideal, to be imparted to individuals in their respective measures, is the clear calm accurate vision and comprehension of all things as far as the finite mind can embrace them, each in its place and with its own characteristics upon it. It is almost prophetic from its knowledge of history; it is almost heart-searching from its knowledge of human nature; it has almost supernatural charity from its freedom from littleness and prejudice; it has almost the repose of faith because nothing can startle it; it has almost the beauty and harmony of heavenly contemplation, so intimate is it with the eternal order of things and the music of the spheres."

That such an ideal was far from being realised in the universities of the time, Newman was fully aware.[2] It is far from being realised now, nearly a century after these words were uttered. But we may love the truth without possessing it, and it is through men of such quickened imagination and clear penetrating vision that human progress is made possible.[3]

3. Nineteenth Century Humanism.

Matthew Arnold, whose life and work illustrate the interplay of so many of the influences we have been studying, was an apostle of humanism in a mechanical and material age almost wholly out of sympathy with his outlook and ideals. While

1. Report 1878 (p.210) ; 1872 (p.163).

2. Report, 1852.

3. Popular Education in France, p.77; Schools and Universities on the Continent, chap. XXXIII (end).

4. Schools and Universities on the Continent, Chap. VIII, pp.105-6 and Chap. XXIII, p.281, esp.

5. Ibid. Chap. XXIII, pp.276ff, and esp. p.281; "The result is .....desian of our education."

6. Pref. to Popular Education in France, p. xliii. "A fine culture is the complement of a high reason..."

he did not minimise the importance of scientific and practical studies, he never ceased to urge the claims of those possessing a literary or "formative" value.[1] He protested against the soul-destroying rigidity of the Revised Code, the absence of a sound general culture among teachers,[2] and the deplorable state of the majority of English secondary schools. "Organise your secondary instruction"[3] was a text from which he preached in season and out of season. He had no illusions on the subject of state interference: he saw clearly that elementary education to be effective must be compulsory,[4] and that education for the poor and education for the middle classes were but two aspects of one and the same problem.[5] As he interpreted it, the crying need of his age was an antidote to selfishness, soullessness and narrowness of vision.[6] Against apathy, indifference, and the toleration of the ugly in thought, word and act he waged incessant war.

In temperament and outlook he was classical, not romantic. It is significant that among his favourite authors were Homer and Sophocles, "the most gracious human spirits of all time". Order and design, clearness and simplicity, harmony and poise, he loved, as the Greeks who were his masters. Dignity, grace, austere beauty, restraint, were the qualities that appealed to him most, and behind his undying hatred of the mean and sordid lies the noble interpretation of art as complete harmony between the real and the ideal.

1. e.g. the function of criticism:"A disinterested endeavour to learn anddpropagate the best that is known and thought in the world."

2. Arnold was probably the most cosmopolitan figure in the nineteenth century literature.

3. The utilitarian philosophy transformed.

Complete Human Perfection. Of his idealism there is no possible doubt. It speaks in every line of his poetry, in every prose essay, grave and gay, in his famous definitions,[1] in the very human reports he submitted so conscientiously through thirty-five difficult years. Always it comes back to one transfiguring theme: more life, more culture, more light; gentleness and justice, beauty and truth. So shall men learn to make reason and the will of God prevail.

His ideal is similar to that of Newman, but he gives it a far wider application. Culture to him is both individual and social, national and international; it is a thing of sweetness and light, of intellect and spirit, and it passes the bounds of place and time.[2] True culture is simply the study of perfection; but it is no mechanical or outward thing, it is an inner spiritual development: "not a having and a resting, but a growing and a becoming". Again, it is not individual but general, for no man liveth unto himself: "The individual is required, under pain of being stunted and enfeebled in his own development if he disobeys, to carry others along with him in his march towards perfection." He that loseth his life shall find it: "'To promote the Kingdom of God is to increase one's own happiness.'"[3] Finally, "perfection is the harmonious expansion of all the powers which make the beauty and worth of human nature, and is not consistent with the over development of any one power at the expense

1. Schools and Universities on the Continent, chap. XXII, pp. 258,268. This chapter gives a very clear exposition of Arnold's conception of education.

2. Report 1878, p. 213.

3. Report 1882, pp.255-9, and cf. Schools and Universities on the Continent, chzp. VIII, p. 104 (against cramming).

4. "Vital and formative knowledge." See Schools and Universitiesonn the Continent, chap. XXII, pp. 258,267.

5. His ideal of elementary education is that of Comenius: "To train generally all who are born men to all which is human;" - "without pedantry and without platitudes we should all seek to reach this aim in the most practical manner," (Report 1880, pp. 233-4).

of the rest." It makes for symmetrical self-development, social order and harmony.

The True Aim of Instruction. This ideal of culture, of complete human perfection, is the central theme of all Arnold's teaching as it was the mainspring of all his endeavour. His thoughts on education are simply particular applications of it. The true aim of instruction, therefore, is not primarily to make a man a good citizen, or a good Christian, or even a gentleman, or to fit him for his future occupation. "Above all its prime direct aim is to enable a man to know himself and the world."[1] This underlies his conception of elementary education and the duties of the primary teacher.[2] It follows that the schools are not places where one acquired the maximum of information in the shortest possible time:[3] Gradgrinds suffered badly at the hands of this particular inspector. "The true aim of the schools is to develop the powers of our mind, and to give us access to vital knowledge."[4] Vital knowledge. What might that be? - The kind of knowledge which is obtained from a general liberal training, involving both the study of the humanities and the study of nature or the world we live in;[5] which brings us back to his idea of popular education.

Popular Education. It goes without saying that the schools Arnold visited, especially in the earlier years of his official duties, did not come within sight of any such ideal, and with infinite patience he laboured to raise intellectual

1. Reports 1876, 1878, 1882.

2. Reports 1860, 1867.(reading books).

3. 1872 (recitation); 1882.

4. 1860.

5. 1860, 1869end.

6. 1863, end.

7. 1853 end.

standards while he humanised instruction. He makes many suggestions but two call for special notice.

(i) He aimed at an extension of the curriculum beyond the limits prescribed by the Revised Code. He strove to foster a truer sense of values in the choice of subjects and in the proportion of time allotted to each. In accordance with his ideas of a liberal education he emphasizes the need for (1) some sort of elementary science teaching analogous to the naturkunde of German schools, hygiene and also geography,[1] and (2) literary and historical studies, representing the humanistic side of "liberal instruction".[2] Literature was naturally one of his deepest interests. He encouraged memory work or recitation;[3] he was instrumental in improving class reading-books, he fully realised the value of literature as an aid to composition,[4] and the reading of the Bible as the best means of introducing the elementary school child to the only great literature for which he had any preparation whatsoever.[5]

(ii) He deplored the absence of general culture among the teachers; he encouraged them to study for a university degree, and to extend their knowledge in any and every possible way.[6] He began with their preparation for their profession: "It is now abundantly clear that the teacher to whom you give only a drudge's training will do only a drudge's work and will do it in a drudge's spirit."[7] He was always

1. cf. Report 1878, p. 214.

2. See the Prefaces to "Schools and Universities on the Continent," and "Popular Education in France."

3. "Friendship's Garland." cf. Introd. to "Popular Education in France," p.xxiv.

4. A French Eton, p. 60, (and in "Thoughts" (selections), p.101).
See p. 126 for his picture of an enlightened middle class, "liberalised by an ampler culture, admitted to a wider sphere of thought, living by larger ideas, with its provincialism dissipated, its intolerance cured, its pettiness purged away,"

ready to help and encourage; his ideal for them resembled his idea of the true critic: it was for them "to learn, and propagate the best that was known and thought in the world" in so far as the children could comprehend it. He would have them, as apostles of true culture, bring sweetness and light into the elementary school.[1]

Secondary Education. "Our middle classes are nearly the worst educated in the world" - and he kept reminding them of it! This was one of Arnold's favourite themes; he considered this branch of the education of the very greatest importance, and was appalled not only by the glaring defects, exemplified in the 'educational homes' he detested, but by the utter complacency which refused to treat the matter seriously.[2] Whereas elementary instruction had been taken over by the state, secondary schools enjoyed an autonomy for which they were manifestly unsuited: secondary education "is neither organised enough nor intelligent enough to take care of itself." What the middle class needed was ideas, and none of the three classes of Philistines had any to spare - as for the aristocracy, "ideas an aristocracy has nothing to do with".[3] How the system of laissez faire which was proving so disastrous to the national wellbeing could be reformed he did not clearly see. Two things at least were requisite: "sufficient provision of good schools, sufficient security for these schools continuing good".[4] The universities might ensure a higher

1. A.French Eton, p. 61; and in"Thoughts" p. 101.

2. "That queen of romance.....steeped in sentiment as she lies, spreading her gardens to the moonlight, and whispering from her towers the last enchantments of the middle ages." (Preface to "Essays in Criticism.")

standard of attainment: this would satisfy the second need. But how to satisfy the first? As we know, the answer to that question was not found in Arnold's life-time: organised secondary education under state supervision belongs to the XXth century.

The answer he does give is characteristic. He reverts to his fundamental belief in the power of an ideal. "The education of each class has, or ought to have, its ideal determined by the wants of that class, and by its destination." Arnold does not dream of a classless society, or a uniform system of education; he is content to begin at the beginning and improve matters as they stand. "To the middle class the grand aim of education should be to give largeness of soul and personal dignity: to the lower classes, feeling, gentleness, humanity."[1] One is reminded of Browning's "Paracelsus". Knowledge, however complete and noble in itself, is not enough: it must be humanised.

<u>The Universities</u>. The new universities were only just coming into being in the second half of the XIXth century, and Arnold's strictures are therefore confined to the two older institutions. Much as he loved Oxford,[2] he was not blind to the shortcomings of the university courses of study; and his criticism might be levelled against the Arts Faculty at least in the British universities of today. M.Matteucci had described them as "hauts lycées", and a comparison with American

1. In one northern university within recent years there were 16 research students during a session when the matriculation roll was 4934.

2. The term usefulness is not used in a utilitarian sense, but the need for intelligence and thorough knowledge in every walk of life becomes more apparent.

Swift's satire in "Gulliver's Travels," Book III, illustrates the point. The Laputians had to be brought back to reality by the aid of brute force!

3. Slightly paraprased, from the essay on "Sweetness and Light," which gives the essence of Arnold's conception of perfection.

and French universities (which Arnold had in mind) gives point to the phrase. The Honours degree, with all its concentrated thoroughness, tends to be merely an extension of the secondary school curriculum and frequently affords little scope for independent research and individual scholarship. Post-graduate study cannot yet be said to hold the place to which it is entitled in the organisation of the university or in the lives of its alumni.[1] The ideal commonly accepted still tends to erudition, an ideal which unhappily is apt to interfere with the usefulness,[2] in their after life, in a practical sphere, of the very people who should be the leaders in thought of their day and generation. Again the ideal is humanised knowledge: "This is the social idea; the men of culture are the true apostles of equality. Such were Abelard and Lessing; great as was their learning in this they were greater still." They humanised knowledge, they broadened the basis of life and intelligence; they worked powerfully to diffuse sweetness and light, to make reason and the will of God prevail."[3]

The truth of Arnold's teaching is beyond question; never was a dream of perfection described with more winning loveliness or more gracious humanity. And this last is the word which sums up his influence best: he was human, and nothing human was alien to him.

1. Preface to "Popular Education on the Continent," p.xxxii.

IV. THE TURN OF THE TIDE.

While the work of Matthew Arnold illustrates the fulfilment of many of the romantic and revolutionary aspirations it would be erroneous to credit him with undivided sympathies. His poetry is not romantic in the same sense as that of Keats or Shelley. He is no individualist. He would always prefer sanity to unreasoning enthusiasm. He places intellectual beauty and the love of truth above feeling and unfettered imagination. He realises only too well the dangers of a dead level of mediocrity and the disintegrating forces ever at work in a democracy. Greatness in individuals or nations can only come from the inspiration of an ideal which unifies, controls, and directs to higher ends, all forms of human energy. "The difficulty for democracy is how to find and keep high ideals. The individuals who compose it are, the bulk of them, persons who need to follow an ideal, not set one." We hear in such words the voice of reaction, not revolution, and in this he reflects the changing spirit of his age, an age of scientific thought, which substituted intellect for feeling and intuition in the conduct of affairs, and laid increasing emphasis on methods of observation and experiment and the evidence of fact. The new influence permeated every phase of Victorian life and thought, and made itself felt in educational theory and practice in a more rational and scientific approach to the subject and a broaden-

ing conception of education in relation to the individual and later to society.

1. Herbert Spencer.

These tendencies are illustrated in the four essays[1] of Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) who represents the practical and scientific as opposed to the humanistic attitude to educational problems. So far, he argues, among mental as among bodily acquisitions, the ornamental has preceded the useful.[2] The foundation of a boy's education is a classical training which, in most cases, will serve no practical purpose in later life, and as for girls, the only subjects likely to be of future use to them are reading, writing, spelling, grammar, arithmetic and sewing, the so-called accomplishments being nothing more than a badge of respectability.[3] No standard of relative values for the different kinds of knowledge has ever been fixed; in fact the need for some such standard has not even been realised.[4]

The aim of Education will determine the organisation of the curriculum, and education is a preparation for life: "To prepare us for complete living is the function which education has to discharge, and the only rational mode of judging of an educational course is, to judge in what degree it discharges such function."[5] A guide will be found "in the leading kinds of activity which constitute human life",[6] self-preservation, means of livelihood or occupation, parenthood,

1. Education, 1861.

2. p.2.

3. pp.3-4.

4. p.5.

5. p. 8. The term "complete living" admits of more than one interpretation, however.

6. p.9.

1. p. 65. cf. Rousseau and the Edgeworths.

social and political relations, leisure. A knowledge of the laws of health is obviously necessary, and likewise a sound scientific training. Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Social Sience - all these are of paramount importance in the successful prosecution of agriculture, industry, and the endlessly diverse activities of man.

The key to the essays on intellectual and moral education is to be found in the theory of evolution which Rousseau had anticipated in its application to child development. Spencer with impressive lucidity states the laws of mental evolution and reaffirms the fundamental principles of self-education or self-instruction, and pleasurable learning, which in practice imply conformity to the methods of nature and the end of childish misery and repression. "Asceticism is disappearing out of education as out of life, and the usual test of political legislation - its tendency to promote happiness - is beginning to be, in a great degree, the test of legislation for the school and the nursery."

Evaluation. Spencer approaches educational problems from the rational and scientific angle, and the value of his contribution lies as much in his clarity of thought as in the emphasis he lays on aspects of education too long neglected. It is the viewpoint of an individualist, practical and matter of fact. His defects are only too obvious: his outlook is utilitarian, his treatment of the humanistic studies and the

arts, especially in the section dealing with leisure, is both inadequate and unjust, and his discussion of physical education does not go nearly far enough. Yet he performed a very real service to education. What he saw he saw clearly: he rightly attempted to redress the balance innfavour of scientific and physical training, and in a more commonsense view of the whole process he showed the inadequacy and desultory nature of contemporary instruction. He sensed the need for an education which would develop the social as well as the intellectual side of man's nature, and an intellectual training which would increase his happiness and efficiency as a worker, and lead him to a truer appreciation of the world of nature and things. In these matters he was at one with Ruskin and Matthew Arnold. Such training surely helps "to prepare for complete living" and has its place in the ideal education which must provide not only for the intellectually and artistically gifted, but also for the dull and slow-witted, and those of average ability.

2. Review.

It is convenient at this point to review the progress made in educational theory when Spencer's Essays appeared in their final form and Arnold was publishing his Reports on Education on the Continent. In practice, the system of Payment by Results was to dominate elementary instruction for another generation, but the reforms which took place after 1895 may

1. cf. Fitch: Matthew Arnold (in "Great Educators"), p.240.

be traced to the changes in educational thought which are reflected in the writings of Spencer, Ruskin and Arnold.

(a) The Revolutionary Influence. Above everything else the Revolution had stressed the importance of the individual, and inevitably its influence in education followed the same course as in politics and social life. Hence we find an increasing recognition of individual needs and in time the provision of facilities for individual development. This meant less rigidity in the curriculum together with greater freedom in organisation and discipline, and these liberative tendencies are reinforced by the findings of science, the demands of industry and the growth of a more tolerant and less Puritanical spirit in religion. The teaching of Rousseau was supported by the facts of evolution; the self-determining activity of the child was seen to be rhythmical and progressive, and it was recognised that an education designed to minister to his needs must be in accordance with the laws of natural growth and development. This is free and natural education.

(b) The Influence of Industry. This operated in three ways. (1) It emphasised the importance of practical and manual training and of scientific studies; (2) it tended to foster a utilitarian outlook and a contempt, real or assumed, for liberal and humanistic studies; (3) it introduced a false social standard and an erroneous conception of the function of the school. The first of these influences was distinctly

beneficial, and its educational significance has not yet been fully recognised. The second, as Arnold saw very clearly, held disastrous possibilities: the acceptance of a utilitarian standard in education is only too apt to warp the judgment and eliminate the finer things upon which the spirit of man subsists: "To be always seeking after the useful does not become free and exalted souls", and where there is no vision the people perish.

We are even now suffering from the evil effects of the third, in conjunction with a false interpretation of freedom and individuality. The school under an infamous industrial system had provided a means of escape from manual work and wage-earning, and both came to be despised. Manual work, with its vast educational possibilities, was banished from the school, and those children whose occupational training compelled them to attend a technical institution were regarded as socially inferior to their companions who had proceeded to secondary school or college. Further, the education which symbolised freedom from toil taught the child to play but not to work, and the romantic principles of education did nothing to remedy the defect. Interest and self-expression are excellent things, but not when they are encouraged at the expense of mental concentration, perseverance and self-discipline. Self-expression is only one aspect of self-development, the

other is self-restraint, and a training which neglects one or other is a poor preparation for complete living in any sense of the term.

(c) Desiderata. If education be "a preparation for complete living", and not merely existence, if it be taken to imply symmetrical and harmonious self-development in relation to the individual, the community and the infinite, it is obvious that the last word was not said by Spencer and his followers. There is the world of fact, but there is also, we believe, a world of the spirit. "A spark disturbs our clod", and no philosophy of education which refuses to take account of these intangible realities can ultimately satisfy the spirit of man. The order and system of the world of science have their counterpart in the beauty and harmony of the universe and human life at its best. Science and humanity, art and industry, individual and social, national and international, real and ideal, all these go to make the unity in diversity, the infinitely variegated perfection which alone can satisfy the complex nature of man, and these must find a place in any education for the life here or hereafter.

It is necessary therefore to supplement Spencer's theory of education which typifies the forces of reaction, and the incoming tide of realism, and the representatives of the other point of view are his contemporaries, Arnold and Ruskin.

The ideal of Arnold as we have seen was humanised knowledge, that of Ruskin is spiritualised intelligence. Both carry on the romantic tradition in education, but it is a saner and purer romanticism, purged of its eccentricity and isolating individualism, finding in service the true realisation of self, and in surrender and self-discipline the final prize of freedom.

V. LOOKING FORWARDS: CIVITAS DEI.

1. John Ruskin: Art and Social Reform.

The key to Ruskin's theory of education is to be found in his writings on art and social reform. To him as to Plato education was a branch of politics, and its aim was above all ethical and social: a means towards the development of a noble character and a training in the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. Thus while he has affinities with several of his contemporaries, his peculiar contribution to Victorian thought and to the romantic philosophy of education lies in his appreciation of social and spiritual values in relation to society rather than to the individual. His master Carlyle had preached the dignity of labour and the spiritual worth of man; Spencer had directed attention to the need for physical and scientific training; Arnold and

1. The terms are used throughout in their broad general sense, not with reference to any special art. In education Ruskin, for example, realised the value of music and dancing as well as drawing.

Newman had dwelt on the power and beauty of intellect and thought. Morris was relating art to industry, Browning with unquenchable energy was proclaiming afresh the romantic faith in humanity and God. Ruskin, moralist and social reformer, brings to bear upon timeworn questions the mind and outlook of the artist, in whom the love of perfection is united with the passionate desire to serve his fellow men.

Underlying all his theories is the groundwork of his personality and upbringing. His lonely childhood was brightened by an early acquaintance with art and the joy of travel, and his strict religious training imbued him with the zeal for righteousness that colours all his writing. Like Milton he is both preacher and artist; and while beauty is never divorced from truth and goodness, goodness is never exclusive and self-centred, and justice is always tempered with gentleness. The twin themes are inextricably blended: art and morality, feeling and intellect, discipline and self-expression, form and spirit, work and worship.

(a) The Artist and his Art. In art at its best lies the supreme challenge to individualism, self-righteousness and Puritanical repression. (1) Art is essentially social in its manifestation, and the artist, whatever else he is, must never be an egotist. (2) To Ruskin it was also ethical. Art is creative activity, and in this sense it means self-expression

1. "Q "I too will something make
And joy in the making."
(Robert Bridges.)

2. "Arts can never be right themselves unless their motive is right." (Sesame and Lilies, III, 106)

3. Ibid. 105.

4. Spenser.

5. Cf. Butcher (Aristotle's Theory of Fine Art, p.377), "The ideal in Greek art was not the opposite of the real, but rather its fulfilment and perfection. Each sprang out of the same soil; the one was the full blown flower of which the other was the germ."

and joy, but self-expression must never degenerate into individualism and eccentricity, and the joy of creation is in part objective and universal.[1] There is a morality of art and the complement of self-expression is self-restraint. "Law is the first step towards freedom." (3) Art is spiritual in that it is concerned not merely with the reproduction of beauty but with its interpretation and inner meaning. It is the expression of man's striving towards completeness, and the quality of the product is determined by the nobility of the nature which called it into being. Great art is the outcome of high ideals,[2] and technical perfection is not sufficient to ensure greatness or permanence. Failure arises from "the want of sufficiently earnest effort to understand the whole law and meaning of existence, and to bring it to noble and due end."[3]

(b) Art and Life. "A work of art", according to Aristotle, "is an idealised representation of human life - of character, emotion, action - under forms manifest to sense: the ideal and the real are not opposed, therefore, but complementary.

> "For of the soule the bodie forme doth take;
> For soul is forme and doth the bodie make."[4]

The actual finds its consummation in the spiritual, the real in the ideal, and the noblest art seeks to establish absolute harmony between them.[5]

This explains in some degree the connection between

1. E.T.Cook:Life of Ruskin, pp.563,579.

2 Hugh Walpole in "Fortitude."

3. Ses. and Lil. III, 152.

4. Stones of Venice, III, App. 7.

Ruskin's theory of art and his views on social reform. Morality and art were inseparable; beauty, truth and goodness three aspects of the one Ideal. "To him as to William Morris, art was life and beauty a call to action..... Art not for art's sake, but art in relation to life; art as the expression of individual and of national character; life without industry as quiet, but industry without art as brutality; beauty in a world governed by social justice."[1]

"The whole duty of art is listening for the voice of God."[2] Art - in its widest sense - is not only a means of occupying leisure hours, as Spencer thought: beauty is a part of life itself and souls in their degree may enjoy this revelation of the divine. "Art dignifies industry and adorns daily life." It is therefore social, not individual: it is a criticism of life, it ministers to life and ennobles life. It is part of the spiritual heritage of the past,[3] and the artist no less than the preacher is called upon to interpret the handiwork of the Most High.

2. Ruskin's Theory of Education.

From these principles Ruskin derives his theory of education which in his view is concerned first and last with the development of character. "Education then briefly, is the leading human souls to what is best, and making what is best out of them."[4] Its purpose is twofold: to develop the capa-

city of the individual to its fullest extent and to enable him to discharge worthily his obligations to society. It is a training for both manhood and citizenship. Like Spencer he regarded education as a preparation for complete living but his conception of what that implied is infinitely wider. Like Carlyle he believed in the dignity of labour, but again the scholar outruns the master, for work at its noblest becomes art, and art itself has evolved in man's attempt to satisfy his elemental needs; art grows out of the work of the artisan, and the craftsman of noble mind becomes the artist.

Since education is a preparation for complete living, three branches of knowledge are fundamental: physical science, or the knowledge of the world of nature and things; religion implying not sectarianism but the principles and practice of Christianity; and "politics", by which he means social relationships. Education, therefore is the process which ensures symmetrical self-development, social harmony, and the highest type of spiritual beauty.

(a) What constitutes Education? Certainly not mere erudition, especially if that be synonymous with the classical pedantry of the schools. Indeed, the place which such learning holds in popular esteem is the leading error of modern times. "The end of life is an action, not a thought,

1. Stones of Venice, III, App. 7.

2. Crown of Wild Olive, § 431. (On Work).

however noble" said Carlyle, and since education is a preparation for <u>living</u>, the criterion is not knowledge but efficiency and happiness in work. A man is only educated "if he is happy, busy, beneficent, and effective in the world" and the training which makes men happiest also makes them most serviceable to others. We must educate, therefore, for work and service.

This suggests the <u>criterion of usefulness</u>. Work, says Ruskin, should be honest, useful and cheerful; and all wise work is useful. In a striking passage he denounces the pointless, soul-destroying activities in which so many human beings are engaged, "the bees' business that turns to spiders", and the honeycomb to cobweb. Of all wastes this is the most cruel and deadly.

> "It is the slightest way of killing to stop a man's breath ..... At the worst you do but shorten his life, you do not corrupt his life. But if you put him to base labour, if you bind his thoughts, if you blind his eyes, if you blunt his hopes, if you steal his joys, if you stunt his body and blast his soul ..... this you think is no waste and no sin!" [2]

His criticism is capable of almost indefinitely wide application since work in some form or other is an integral part of life from childhood to old age. The principle involved, if applied seriously to education and in the spirit by which Ruskin was animated when he uttered his condemnation, would create a ~~revelation~~ revolution from primary school to university.

1. "The best and simplest type of capital is a wellmade ploughshare."

2. Sesame and Lilies, III, 135. (On the Mystery of Life and its Arts).

3, 4. Ibid. 139, 140.

It would mean the elimination of useless lumber, the introduction of a sense of proportion based on life values: and the substitution of joy and satisfaction for bitter frustration and much resulting unhappiness. Though his outlook and mode of expression were different, Ruskin like Arnold believed in humanised knowledge.

(b) Practical Implications. What kind of work is useful work? The answer is derived from Ruskin's political economy.[1] Man depends for his very existence on food, shelter and clothing, and all who labour in the production of these necessaries are performing an inestimable social service. "Sure good is therefore first in feeding people, then in dressing people, then in lodging people, and lastly in rightly pleasing people, with arts or science or any other subject of thought."[2] These are the first duties of Christians. But they are also the readiest means to the acquisition of knowledge. "You will find nearly every educational problem solved as soon as you truly want to do something."[3] Man learns by doing, action precedes thought and grows into it. The problem of motivation or interest is thus solved, while the ideal of unselfish service is also kept in view. More: "On such holy and simple practice will be founded indeed at last an infallible religion, founded on rational, effective, humble, and helpful action."[4]

(c) Education in the Just State. Where shall wisdom be

1. Crown of Wild Olive, 144.
cf. "The first interference of the government should be in education." (A Jot for Ever).

2. Stones of Venice, III, Appendix 7.

3. Preface to "Unto this Last."
In "A Joy for Ever" he strongly advocates manual training).

4. The illustrative references for this section are drawn from "Sesame and Lilies."

found? How is this training in kingly virtue and devoted service to be attained? Where else but in the schools which the just state will provide for its citizens during the years of immaturity. Education is a branch of politics: "Educate or govern, they are one and the same thing",[1] and it is the duty of the state "to see that every child born therein shall be well housed, clothed, fed and educated till it attain years of discretion."[2] Training schools for youth should be instituted under government supervision and maintained at public expense. Instruction should be compulsory in (a) the principles and practice of hygiene, (b) "habits of gentleness and justice", and (c) the future occupation of the individual. Factories and workshops should be established in connection with the schools; these too should be under government control, and the state should make suitable and ample provision for the unemployed, the sick, the aged, the infirm and the destitute.[3] This is of course national education as a branch of social service in the just state.

(d) <u>The Ethical Ideal</u>.[4] The ideal then in relation to society is helpfulness, co-operation, service. It is not competition and "getting on in life", usually at the expense of other people. For girls this obedience to the laws of common serviceable life is a natural expression of their instinctive mercy and womanhood. Not so with the other sex

1. Ses. and Lil., III, 140.

2. Ses. and Lil. I, 42.

3. Ibid. I, 52.

whose education in the past has been too often directed to wrong ends. They - and indeed all of us - must learn a new sense of values. "We have to turn their courage from the toil of war to the toil of mercy, and their intellect from dispute of words to discernment of things; and their knighthood from the errantry of adventure, to the state and fidelity of kingly power."[1] Then shall abide faith, hope and cherity among men.

The ideal of service to society does not preclude the existence of an ideal for each individual life; rather, indeed, the reverse is true since to lose one's life nobly is to save it. A man's work is the expression of his personality and the measure of his spiritual development. The ideal is kingship:[2] "Mighty of heart, mighty of mind, 'magnanimous' - to be this is indeed to be great in life ..... He only is advancing in life whose heart is getting softer, whose blood warmer, whose brain quicker, whose spirit is entering into the Living Peace." And there is only one pure kind of kingship - "that which consists in a stronger moral state and a truer thoughtful state than that of others; enabling you therefore to guide or raise them."[3] Thus the personal is merged in the universal, the transitory in the abiding, and human life is seen in its infinite relations.

(e) <u>Spiritual Evolution</u>. The realisation of the endless

1. Cf. Browning: Rabbi Ben Ezra:-

"Thoughts hardly to be packed
Into a narrow act,
Fancies that broke through language and escaped;
All I could never be,
All men ignored in me,
This, I was worth to God, whose wheel the pitcher shaped."

2. Carlyle: Sartor Resartus, BookIII, ch.viii.

potentialities of human nature, the vision of life "sub specie aeternitatis", presupposes the possibility, indeed the certainty, of shortcoming and apparent failure in the present.[1] A life which reaches out towards infinite possibilities by its very nature is bound to appear outwardly incomplete, and only in that larger room beyond the gates of death may the ideal be realised. The problem therefore lies in the reconciliation of incompleteness with perfection, and the solution is to be found in the conception of spiritual evolution. Man is always growing, becoming. The life of the soul, like that of the body and the mind, is dynamic, organic, and at its noblest, invariably progressive.

There is no death, only a perpetual unfolding. "Know of a truth that only the shadows have perished or are perishable; that the real Being of whatever was and whatever is, and whatever will be, is even now and forever."[2] No failure and no defeat is final:

> "What is our failure here but a triumph's evidence
> For the fullness of the days?"

A man's work is of far less moment than the man himself: there is no wealth but life, and the highest responsibility of the state - in government, economics, education, or anything else - is to promote life and health of soul.

(f) Conclusion. Education therefore is not a means to

advancement, getting on in life. Its true aim is the manufacture of souls of a good quality; it is to make a child of nature and a human being, and in the process nature and art, science and practical ~~acting~~ activity, and everything in training and environment that ministers to the growth of noble manhood and worthy citizenship will contribute. The foundation is a healthy physique; the final product a sound judgment, a disciplined character, a heart of compassion, a balanced and harmonious personality. The ideal is righteousness united to beauty and truth, that kingly state of mind wherein are manifest the virtues of magnanimity, gentleness and justice that proclaim man's kinship with the divine.

> "Thy work with beauty crown, thy life with love,
> Thy mind with truth uplift to God above:
> For whom all is, from whom was all begun,
> In whom all Beauty, Truth, and Love are one."

3. Magic Casements.

With the writings of John Ruskin our study of educational aspects of the romantic movement in Britain may fitly close. Apostle of culture and lover of beauty, he strove tirelessly and with unshakeable fortitude to promote a better understanding among men, "to make reason and the will of God prevail". In the ideal he portrayed the individualism of the romantic revolt is disciplined and controlled, industry is humanised and ennobled. "Art is the one form of human energy", wrote John Galsworthy,

1. Robert Bridges.

"that really works for union and destroys the barriers between man and man. It is the continual unconscious replacement of oneself by another." And therein surely, in an enlightened understanding and more generous tolerance born of imagination and sympathy, lies the hope of the cosmopolitan spirit which ushered in romanticism and the Revolution.

With the Reformation the common people won the right to read the Bible in their mother tongue, but only with the romantic movement came any adequate conception of what education really implied. For the first time in the history of mankind knowledge became free and accessible to all, regardless of age, sex, or social status. Less than a century saw a transformation which was destined to revolutionise human society. Instruction in the tools of learning evolves into a conception of education co-extensive with life itself, embracing every aspect of human activity, and, as we should expect, the revolution in thought originates in the changed attitude to nature and man; both are seen ultimately as the revelation of the divine. The heavens are the Time vesture of the Eternal, earth is the living garment of God, and the true shekinah is man. What is there we cannot love since all was created by God?

The body becomes the temple of the Holy Ghost, a thing of ageless beauty. No longer is it despised, rather it is regarded as the medium through which the spirit may function in a

world that borders eternity:

> "Thy body at its best,
> How far can it project the soul on its lone way?"

With the departure of the Puritan régime and the lessening of sectarian differences comes a new view of art and religion. The windows of the soul are opened to admit all sweet sounds and harmonies and with the growth of a more tolerant spirit religion becomes less a ~~motto~~ matter of creed and dogma than of life and experience. Men's ideas of God expand, and with deeper insight is born a new humility. In Him all Beauty, Truth and Love are one, and the irresistible evolution of history like the irrefutable facts of science shows the kingdoms of the world to be in very truth the Kingdom of God.

So romanticism has one last word to say, and it speaks through poet and prophet, artist and social reformer, who seeing the poverty of the actual, strove to mould it to the likeness of the ideal, and saw in the infinite potentialities of man the hope and promise of better things. Dreams might be realised on earth - but what if earth be but the shadow of heaven, and man himself a revelation of the divine? Faith is properly the one thing needful; and in that faith the romantic spirit lives forever.

> "O worker of the universe! We would pray to thee to let the irresistible current of thy universal energy come like the impetuous south wind of spring, let it

come rushing over the vast field of the life of man, let it bring the scent of many flowers, the murmurings of many woodlands, let it make sweet and vocal the lifelessness of our dried-up soul-life. Let our newly awakened powers cry out for unlimited fulfilment in leaf and flower and fruit."

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

GENERAL REFERENCE.

History and Literature.

Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol.IX.

Craik, H.: A Century of Scottish History. 1901.

Graham, H.G.: Social Life in Scotland in the XVIIIth Century. 1899.

Hayes, C.J.H.: Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe, Vol.II, 1830-1935. 1937.

Herford, C.H.: The Age of Wordsworth.

Hodges, H.W.: Modern History, 1750-1925. 1927.

Hume Brown, P.: History of Scotland. 1911.

Mackie, R.L.: Scotland. 1916.

Robertson, C.G.: England under the Hanoverians.

Saintsbury, G.: Periods of European Literature.

Education.

Boyd, W.: History of Western Education. 1921.

Findlay, J.J.: The Children of England. 1923.

Gardiner, D.: English Girlhood at School. 1929.

Norwood, C.: The English Tradition in Education. 1929.

Monroe: Cyclopedia of Education.

Sadler, M.E.: Outlines of Education Courses in Manchester University. 1911.

Smith, F.: History of English Elementary Education, 1760-1902. 1931.

Strang, J.: History of Secondary Education in Scotland. 1909.

Watson: Encyclopedia and Dictionary of Education.

Chapter II.

Boyd, W.: The Educational Theory of Jean Jacques Rousseau, 1912.
Minor Educational Writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau, 1910.

Graham, H.G.: Rousseau. 1882.

Gosse, E.: Aspects and Impressions. 1922.

Hudson, W.H.: Rousseau. 1903.

Locke, J.: Some Thoughts concerning Education. 1693. (Ed. Daniel, 1880)

Magnus, L.: European Literature. 1934.

Morley, J.: Rousseau, 1873.

Texte, J.: Jean Jacques Rousseau and the Cosmopolitan Spirit. (trans. Matthews). 1899.

Rousseau: Emile and La Nouvelle Heloïse, esp. (Emile: trans. Everyman).

Chapter III. Poems of -

Crabbe (esp. The Borough, XXIV), Cowper (esp. Tirocinium), Blake (esp. Songs of Innocence and Experience), Burns, Wordsworth (esp. Prelude and Excursion), Coleridge, Byron, Shelley and Keats.

Brailsford, H.N.: Shelley, Godwin, and their Circle.

Brooke, S.A.: Naturalism in English Poetry.
Theology in English Poets.

Chapter IV.

Barbauld, Mrs.A.: Works and Memoir, 1825 (Essay on Education, esp.).

Brooke, H.: The Fool of Quality. 1859 ed.

Day, T.: Sandford and Merton.

Edgeworth, M. & R.L.: Memoirs, 1820.
Practical Education, 1798.

" R.L.: Professional Education, 1812.

" M.: Early Lessons.
Moral Tales.
Parents' Assistant.

Keir, J.: Life of Day. 1791.

Lawless, E.: Maria Edgeworth. 1904.

Paterson, A.: The Edgeworths. 1914.

Thackeray, Ann: A Book of Sibyls. 1883.

Chapter V.

Burnet, Bishop: Thoughts on Education. 1761 ed.

Chapone, Mrs.: Letters on the Improvement of the Mind.

Clarke, E.H.: Sex in Education. 1875 ed.

Darwin, E.: Plan for the Conduct of Female Education. 1797.

Edgeworth, R.L. & M.: Practical Education. 1798.

Fordyce: Character and Conduct of the Female Sex, Sermons.

Gardiner, Mrs.D.: English Girlhood at School. 1929.

"The Governess." 1785.

Graham, H.G.: Social Life of Scotland in the XVIIIth Century.

Gregory, Dr.: A Father's Legacy to his Daughters. 1774.

Hamilton, Mrs.E.: Remarks on Schools,
The Cottagers of Glenburnie. 1788.

Howard, B.A.: The Mixed School. 1928.

Macaulay, Mrs.C.: Letters on Education.

Watt, L.Maclean: Scottish Life and Poetry. 1912.

Mill, J.S.: The Subjection of Women. 1869.

More, Mrs.H.: Works, 1833, Vol.I esp., and Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education. 1834 ed.

Neff, Wanda Fraiken: Victorian Working Women. 1929.

O'Malley, I.B.: Women in Subjection. 1933.

Rousseau, Jean Jacques: Emile V. esp.

Sheridan, R.: Plays.

Stuart, D.M.: The Girl Through the Ages.

Thackeray, Ann: Toilers and Spinsters. 1874.

"The Songstresses of Scotland." (Tytler and Watson). 1871.

Watts, I.: Works - Essay on the Education of Children and Youth, esp. 1725.

Wollstonecraft, M.: Vindication of the Rights of Women. 1792.

"Woman as She is and as She should be." 1835.

"Woman's Mission." 1840.

"Woman's Work and Woman's Culture", ed. Josephine Butler. 1869.

"Three Hundred Careers for Women." (Vyrmy Biscoe). 1932.

Additional: Biographies of Mrs. Carlyle, Charlotte Brontë, Florence Nightingale, Mrs. Cockburn, and others.
Contemporary fiction (English, Scottish, etc), by way of illustration.
Contemporary Magazines and Parliamentary Reports.

Chapter VI.

Children's Miscellany. 1788.

Children's Guide to Knowledge. 1828.

Child's Own Book. 1833.

Children's Monitor. 1824.

" Preceptor. 1812.

Little Library. 1830-34.

Reading and Spelling Book (in volume of pamphlets, 1833).

Baron Münchausen. 1781. (French trans. Gautier).

Barbauld, Mrs.: Easy Lessons. 1780. Hymns. Evenings at Home. 1792.

Edgeworth, M.: Moral Tales. Harry and Lucy, etc..

Lamb, C. & M.: Mrs. Leicester's School.

Strickland, Agnes: Historical Tales, illustrated for British Children. 1833.

Trimmer, Mrs.: Fabulous Histories.
Memoir.

Field, Mrs.: The Child and his Book. 1891.

Chapter VII.

The Utilitarians.

Bentham, J.: Chrestomathia. 1816 (and Works).

Brougham, H.: Practical Observations on the Education of the People. 1825.

Mill, J.S.: Autobiography. 1873.
On Liberty. 1865.

Stephen, L.: The English Utilitarians. 1900.

Wallas, G.: Life of Place. 1908.

Robert Owen.

Owen, Robert: New View of Society. 1826 ed.
The New Moral World.
New Lanark (Pamphlets).

Owen, Richard Dale: Threading my Way. 1874.

Jones, Lloyd: Life, Times and Labours of Robert Owen. 1895.

Podmore, F.: Robert Owen. 1906.

Miscellanea.

Carlyle: Works.

Galt, J.: Annals of the Parish. 1821.

Hamilton, Janet: Poems. Essays and Sketches.

Contemporary Magazines, Reviews, Fiction, etc..

Chapter VIII.

Bryce, J.: Plan for a System of National Education in Ireland. 1828. (In Book of Pamphlets, 1818-28).

Chalmers, T.: System of Parochial Schools, 1819. (Works, Vol.XII).

Fellenberg.

Edinburgh Review, XXXI and XXXII. (Dec.1818, Oct.1919).
Richard Dale Owen: Threading my Way. 1874.
Report of the Education Committee, 1816.

Thomas Wright Hill.

Public Education.
Plans for the Government and Liberal Instruction of Boys in large Numbers. 1825 ed.

Thomas and Matthew Arnold.

Arnold, T.: Miscellaneous Works. (Education Essays, 1835 esp.).
Stanley, A.P.: Life and Letters of Thomas Arnold. 1844.
Edinburgh Review. January 1845.
Fitch, J.: Thomas and Matthew Arnold (Great Educators), 1897.
Hughes, T.: Tom Brown's School Days.
Arnold, M.: Reports on Elementary Schools, 1852-82.
Popular Education in France. 1861 ed.
Schools and Universities on the Continent, (1868.
A French Eton.
Huxley, L. (ed.): Thoughts on Education - extracts, 1912.
Roberts, R.D.(ed).: Education in the XIXth Century. (Lectures) Nos. III, IV, VI, XII esp.
Stanley, C.: Matthew Arnold. 1938.

John Henry Newman.

Idea of a University. 1852.
Literary Selections. 1920.

John Ruskin.

Works, Library,ed.
Stones of Venice, III. App.7. 1853.
A Joy for Ever. 1857.
Unto this Last - esp. Preface. 1862.
A ~~Grower~~ Crown of Wild Olive.
Sesame and Lilies, esp.Lecture III. 1871.
Fors Clavigera. 1871-84.

Cook, E.T.: Life of Ruskin. 1911.

Hobson, J.A.: John Ruskin: Social Reformer. 1898.

Herbert Spencer.

Education. 1861 ed.

Contemporary fiction and periodicals; general literature.